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A Biographical
Dictionary of Later Han
to the Three Kingdoms
(23–220 AD)

by

Rafe de Crespigny

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A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF LATER HAN
TO THE THREE KINGDOMS (23-220 AD)

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Dedicated with affection and respect to

HANS BIELENSTEIN

a great scholar and an inspiring teacher

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	ix
A Short History of the Later Han Dynasty	xvi
Chronology of Later Han	xxviii
Table 1: The Emperors of the Two Han Dynasties	xxxii
Table 2: The Imperial Inheritance of Later Han	xxxiv
Biographies of Men and Women of Later Han	1
Genealogical Tables	1186
Table 3: Summary of the Lineage of Deng Yu of Nanyang	1186
Table 4: Summary of the Dou Family of Youfufeng	1187
Table 5: Summary of the Liang Family of Anding	1188
Table 6: Summary of the Ma Family of Youfufeng	1189
Table 7: Summary of the Geng Family of Youfufeng	1190
Table 8: Summary of the Yang Family of Hongnong	1191
Table 9: Summary of the Yuan Family of Runan	1192
Provinces and Commandery Units of Later Han	1193
An Outline of the Administrative Structure of Later Han	1216
Chinese Titles and English Language Renderings	1236
Bibliographies	
Early Sources	1242
Modern Works	1247
Literary and Scholarly Works of Later Han	1255
General Index	1267
List of Styles	1287
Notable Experiences of Women	1302
Maps	
Map 1: The Northern Steppe in 90 AD	1308
Map 2: The Western Regions during the Later Han Period	1309
Map 3: The Later Han Empire c. 140 AD	1310

INTRODUCTION

In 1994 my friend and colleague Michael Loewe of Cambridge University suggested that it might be possible for me to prepare a biographical dictionary of Later Han to serve as a companion to the one he was already engaged on for the Former Han dynasty. His compilation was published by in 2000 as *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC-AD 24)*; the present work is intended to serve in tandem.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

Following Dr Loewe's plan, it was agreed that the dictionary should attempt to provide an account of every person recorded as having lived under Later Han or, in the case of non-Chinese people, in relationship to its government. The dynastic period is dated from the proclamation of Liu Xuan 劉玄, the Gengshi 更始 Emperor, in 23, and concludes with the abdication of Liu Xie 劉協, Emperor Xian 獻帝, in 220 AD.

There are some problems of demarcation at the beginning and the end of this nominal period. For the first, we adopted the rule of thumb that if a person was identified as a subject of Wang Mang, his/her details would be provided by the earlier volume. If they served or dealt with the restored Han dynasty, they would be included here. There are of course some overlaps, but in general such men as Wang Yi 王邑, who served Wang Mang and died with him in 23, has a biography only in Dr Loewe's compilation, while Guo Qin 郭欽, who surrendered to Han and was enfeoffed by the Gengshi Emperor, appears also here.

The last years of the dynasty present greater problems. Liu Xie held title as emperor from the middle of 189 until his abdication in favour of Cao Pi 曹丕 and the empire of Wei 魏 on 11 December 220, but he never controlled the government, and his reign saw thirty years of division and conflict between contending warlords. Much of *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, "The Record of the Three Kingdoms," deals with events which took place before the end of Han, and Cao Cao 曹操, one of the great figures of that romantic age and the founder of the state of Wei, remained a subject of the dynasty until his death.

It is in these circumstances that the reference to the Three Kingdoms appears in the title of this work, and I have sought to deal with every person recorded as having made his or her mark on history up to 220. Many leading figures of the third century AD are known or can be assumed to have been born before that year, but they are not normally given an entry unless they played a role in events up to that cut-off date.

It may be observed that the number of people dealt with is more than that for Dr Loewe's volume. His contained six thousand entries; this has more than eight thousand. Material for the history of Qin, Han and Xin is largely contained within the standard histories *Shi ji* 史記 and *Han shu* 漢書, but Later Han produced a great number of ancillary writings, such as family and local histories, many of which have survived in whole or in part, while the vast majority of stele from the Han period were composed and carved in the second century AD. I discuss this matter further in the section on sources below.

FORMAT OF THE ENTRIES

Where possible, information at the beginning of each entry is provided as follows:

Surname 姓 *xing* + **personal name** 名 *ming*, **style** 字 *zi* [in brackets], **years** of birth and death (in brackets), followed by **commandery** unit of registration;

Sample: **Ban Gu** 班固 [Mengjian 孟堅] (32-92); Youfufeng.

Where a personal name is not known, but the style is, the style is presented in brackets;

Sample: **Gongsun [Boda]** 公孫伯達.

Where a surname is unknown or uncertain, or where both the personal name and the style are unknown, this is indicated;

Samples: **Guo** 郭 [personal name unknown]

Hong 弘 [surname unknown]

[**Yuanbin** (style)] 元賓 [surname and personal name unknown].

Variant characters and or readings are indicated and cross-referenced;

Samples: **Liu Desheng** 劉德升/昇 [Junsi 君嗣]

Lao Xiu 牢脩 or Lao Shun 順; also, probably mistakenly, as Lao Chuan 川

Ma Fang 馬訪 also as Zhen Fang 甄訪

Zhen Fang 甄訪 see Ma Fang 馬訪.

Entries are arranged in alphabetical order of the transcription of the name; where the transcription is the same, they are listed in approximately chronological order.

The **style** served as an intimate personal name, used only by close friends and relatives, or, in somewhat contradictory fashion, as the literary name, appended to published works. It is not always easy to distinguish a style from a two-character personal name, and I have been conservative in identifying styles as such. Notable indicators are the characters *bo* 伯, *zhong* 仲, *zi* 子 and *ji* 季, which were commonly awarded to the first, second, third and subsequent sons of a family.¹

In many texts, people are referred to simply by their style [e.g. Guo Tai 郭泰, frequently as Guo Linzong 林宗], and some are best known by their style [e.g. Liu Yan/Yin 劉縝, usually as Liu Bosheng 伯升]. Because of the importance of these secondary personal names, I attach a **List of Styles** recorded for men and women of Later Han.

All **dates** are given as AD unless otherwise specified. Dates of birth and death appear at the head of the entry only when they can be reliably placed within a calendar year; otherwise they are indicated in the body of the item.

While recognising that the Chinese year ends in late January or early February of the West, I have followed the convention which expresses the Chinese year by its major Western equivalent; unless, of course, more precise dating is required. Thus the death of Liu Zhi 劉志, Emperor Huan 桓帝 occurred on 25 January 168, in the winter at the very end of the Chinese year 167/168. His successor Liu Hong 劉宏, Emperor Ling 靈帝, ascended the throne on 17 February 168, at the beginning of the following Chinese year; both the end of Emperor Huan's reign and the beginning of Emperor Ling's are generally referred to as taking place in 168. Fortunately, such confusion does not often arise.

Measurements given by Han Chinese units are generally followed by Western metric approximations. Thus Chen Wu is described as seven feet (尺 *chi*) seven inches (寸 *zun*) tall [178 cm], and grain is measured by *dou* 斗 [2 litres].

The **commandery** unit identified at the head of an entry is the person's formal place of registration.² Some names of commanderies or kingdoms changed during the course of the dynasty; where this may be significant, variants are given with a dividing stroke;

Sample: **Cui Lie** 崔烈 [Weikao 威考] (d.192); Anping/Boling.

In a few cases, people were able to change their formal place of residence; this is indicated by an arrow-head;

Sample: **Zhang Huan** 張奐 [Ranming 然明] (104-181); Dunhuang>Hongnong.

Characters for place-names are not normally provided in the body of the entries, but a Table of **Provinces and Commandery Units**, including characters, is presented at the end of the biographies. Characters for counties and other units are given in the general index.

Present-day place-names are normally rendered in the style of the tenth edition of *The Times Atlas of the World*.

¹ The rule is by no means perfect: Cao Pi and Cao Zhi 曹植, for example, sons of Cao Cao, both had the character *zi* in their styles: Cao Pi had the style Zihuan 子桓, and Cao Zhi's was Zijian 子建.

² Some leading families, notably those connected to the throne such as the Dou 竇 or the Liang 梁, while formally registered in an outlying region, were in practice resident at the capital.

A survey of **The Administrative Structure of Later Han** provides characters for the most important offices and titles; these and some less common ones are also listed in the Index.

Though I have largely followed the system devised by Professor HH Dubs and developed by Professor Hans Bielenstein, I have made amendments, chiefly for the sake of brevity. For example, I render the title *taishou* 太守, which Dubs and Bielenstein have as "Grand Administrator," simply as "Administrator"; the change from *shou* to *taishou* was significant in Qin and Former Han, but *taishou* was used throughout Later Han. This and other changes, notably the rendering of ministerial titles, are explained in the survey, and I append a table of comparative renderings.

At the end of most entries there are one or more **bibliographical citations**. These are not intended to be full or in any way comprehensive, but rather provide a first point of reference. When a person has a substantial biography in a *Hou Han shu* or *Sanguo zhi*, this is indicated by an asterisk*.

Most bibliographical references relate to early texts but in some cases, where the argument is complex but convincing, I may cite only a modern scholar; readers must examine the evidence that he or she puts forward and decide for themselves.

The rulers of Later Han are best known to history by their posthumous titles, so that the founding sovereign Liu Xiu is commonly referred to as Emperor Guangwu. I usually follow that convention, but entries for each ruler appear under their surname and personal name, with cross-references from the imperial title.

SOURCES FOR THE ENTRIES: BOOKS

Most of our information on Later Han comes from the standard history *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, whose annals and biographies were compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 in the early fifth century. The Treatises, which had been composed separately, as part of the *Xu Han shu* 續漢書 of Sima Biao 司馬彪 in the third century, were later combined with the work of Fan Ye to form the official history, whose first formal edition was prepared in 1022.³

There were a number of other histories of the Later Han, some of which have completely disappeared, while others survive in part or in fragmentary quotation. The most important are *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記, compiled as an official record at intervals throughout the dynasty, the *Hou Han ji* 後漢紀 by Yuan Hong 袁宏 of the fourth century, and the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng 謝承 of the early third century. Some parts of Xie Cheng's work, and fragments from six others, are collected in the *Qijia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書. Twenty-four chapters of *Dongguan Hanji* survive from an original 143, while the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong appears largely complete.

Sanguozhi 三國志, compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 of the third century, was supplemented by the commentary of Pei Songzhi 裴松之, who presented the full work to Liu Yu 劉裕, first emperor of the Song 宋 dynasty, in 420. Chen Shou describes the history of the three rival states, Wei, Shu-Han 蜀漢 and Wu 吳, beginning with their founders, Cao Cao, Liu Bei 劉備, and Sun Jian 孫堅 and his son Sun Ce 孫策, and including other leading figures such as the usurper Dong Zhuo 董卓 and the warlords Yuan Shao 袁紹, Liu Biao 劉表 and Liu Zhang 劉璋. The work is formally composed entirely of biographies, but those of the various rulers can take the form of annals.

Pei Songzhi's commentary is more than a set of annotations to the text compiled by Chen Shou, for he put together many extracts from other works to supplement and sometimes contradict Chen Shou's account of events. His eclectic selection included regular histories, family chronicles and, perhaps most notably, local records. Many of these are preserved only in the fragments quoted by Pei Songzhi, but they demonstrate the wide spectrum of literary and historical material which was available during Later Han and in the first centuries which followed.⁴

Some works survive in more substantial form. Notable are the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 of Ying Shao 應劭, from the end of Later Han, and *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 by Chang Qu 常璩, a history and gazetteer for present-day Sichuan composed in the mid-fourth century, which is largely intact. The *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 of Li Daoyuan 酈道元, from the early sixth century, after the time of Pei Songzhi, also preserves geographical and historical information in its descriptions of the courses of the rivers of China. Sources reconstructed from

³ On the text history of *Hou Han shu* and parallel early works, see Bn 54:9-20. On the Treatises of Sima Biao, see MBeck 90.

⁴ On the historiography of *Sanguo zhi* and the commentary of *Pei Songzhi*, see deC 90:533-589.

quotations are listed in the bibliography of **Early Works Cited**, while other titles mentioned in various entries are listed among **Literary and Scholarly Works of Later Han**.

One feature of the world of Later Han and the centuries which followed is the strong interest in local history and family lineage. This was reflected in works such as *Huayang guo zhi*, and in a whole genre of writing on worthy men of particular regions, such as *Sanfu juehu* 三輔決錄 "Evaluative Records of the Three Adjuncts" by Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧, dealing with gentlemen from the commanderies about the ancient capital of Chang'an 長安, and similar compilations with titles like *qijiu zhuan* 耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs" or *xianxian zhuan* 先賢傳 "Accounts of Worthy Men of the Past" for Chenliu 陳留, Shanyang 山陽, Runan 汝南 and Yingchuan 潁川 commanderies and for other territories.⁵

In the same way, biographies in *Sanguo zhi* and its commentary, and in later histories such as *Jin shu* 晉書, seek to give an account of the ancestry of each individual. Some are exaggerated and unreliable, but a few lineages were recorded through centuries, while many men who might otherwise have remained unknown are remembered through the achievements of their more distinguished descendants.⁶

SOURCES FOR THE ENTRIES: STELE

The same sense of local interest and family pride displayed in books and essays in the last years of Later Han was also shown by the erection of stele, whether in commemoration of public works or to honour an individual, family or clan. In her discussion of Later Han stone inscriptions, Ebrey 80 estimated that there were rather more than three hundred such texts still extant; and others have been discovered in the past twenty-five years. Ebrey noted the use made of them by Yen Keng-wang in his study of local government, by Lao Kan in his work on roads and bridges, and by Yang Shu-ta for information on rituals of marriage and death. As she observed, moreover, inscriptions can be of great value to social historians, for the information they provide on individuals of lower rank who seldom appear in official histories, and for the ordering of their lists of sponsors, which indicate the structures of power and responsibility in local communities.

Stele inscriptions survive in two forms. Some stones are physically extant, and a number have been excavated or otherwise discovered in modern times, but the majority are preserved as copies, notably through the work of the Song dynasty scholar Hong Kua/Guo 洪适, whose *Li shi* 隸釋 and its continuation *Li xu* 隸續 quoted or recorded 185 such texts, together with his own commentary. A further twenty-six appear in the collected works of Cai Yong 蔡中郎文集, and other compilations which I have referred to, both ancient and modern, are cited in Part III of the bibliography of **Early Works Cited**.

In dealing with this material, I generally provide entries for individuals mentioned in the body of the texts, though in some cases the transcription is too uncertain to be used. I do not, however, include sponsors of a commemorative stele unless they are mentioned by other sources. Though a full analysis of all the names has yet to be compiled in a Western language, the present work is not the place for it: the extra number of minor entries would add considerably to its length, and such a basic list of names and incidental functions is better kept for a separate study.⁷ Similarly, I do not provide entries for the minor officials, soldiers, citizens and convicts whose

⁵ On this style of local history and biography, see deC 96:563-565.

⁶ The best-known example is probably that of the Cui 崔 family of Anping 安平, discussed by Ebrey 78, but the Lu 陸 family in the southeast held substantial position from the time of Former Han through to the sixth century: deC 96:502-503.

The introductions to the genealogical tables of *Xin Tang shu* [XTS 71A-75B] summarise the claims of many leading families over several hundred years; in his commentary to *HHS*, Hui Dong cites a number of these references under the guise *Shi xi* 世系, and Ebrey 78:157-173 discusses the value and reliability of the tables, noting that they were evidently compiled from several different types of source, including private genealogies and more public inscriptions. Some introductions are summary, others, evidently based upon family records, are voluminous. Compiled many centuries later, however, they can naturally be confused and/or exaggerated, and there are many obvious errors and inconsistencies.

For the present volume, I have sought to identify and provide entries for people whom the Tang and Song historians recorded as having been active during Later Han. One must, however, be cautious in accepting any entry which relies solely upon a reference to *XTS*: in some cases I indicate specific doubts, and I may not provide entries for all claimed ancestors. For examples, see the entry for Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 and the discussions of the family of Xin Bozhen 辛伯? [XTS 73A:2880] and of the lineage ascribed to Jia Xu 賈誼 [XTS 75B:3387-88].

⁷ The *Shike tiba suoyin* 石刻題索引 of Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣, in *Shike shiliao congshu xinbian* 石刻史料新編, provides a general index to stele, and Professor Miranda Brown of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is currently studying this great quantity of material; I am

names appear in the corpus of wooden and bamboo strips and fragments found in the north-western deserts of Gansu and Xinjiang: on these, see notably Loewe 67.

One might imagine that stele, as contemporary and apparently permanent documents, would be more reliable than other texts, written on such ephemeral substances as paper, and subject to the vagaries of copyists. This, however, is not always true. Firstly, as we have observed, a great number of inscriptions survive only because they were copied later, while in some cases the stones themselves are of doubtful authenticity: forgery can be profitable and is not uncommon. So provenance and transmission are sometimes uncertain, while many characters are missing or can be misread, and there are specialised formulae. Stele can thus be difficult to decipher and their interpretation is often unclear.⁸

Besides this, one must be aware that the interest and pride in local and family affairs which was taken by the people of Later Han not only produced increasing numbers of stele, but also encouraged exaggerated claims for the ancestry and personal achievements of the men and women who were honoured by such commemorative texts. As Ebrey 80 and Bielenstein 81 have remarked, though inscriptions are generally contemporary, and their information may enhance or correct that which is to be found in the histories, they are frequently eulogistic and omit facts which may reflect badly upon their subject.⁹ Stele are important, but some of their composers had a special agenda.

THE RELIABILITY OF THE TEXTS

We have already considered the problems of stele inscriptions, which can be affected by copyists' errors, by the difficulty of identifying characters, and by the possibility of forgery. The same considerations, of course, apply to early books: an enormous quantity has been lost; there are many passages, even in the works which survive, which present difficulties of interpretation; and very often one must suspect that the text has been corrupted. *Huayang guo zhi*, for example, is a well-designed history of present-day Sichuan, with a quantity of detail, albeit sometimes anecdotal or apparently unreliable. Its transmission, however, is far less secure than that of standard histories such as *Hou Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi*, and there are many places where names and dates are confused.¹⁰

Similar problems are found in such texts as *Shuijing zhu* and the *Fengsu tongyi* of Ying Shao: the text of the latter is often fragmentary and contains many doubtful readings, so it is not always possible to comprehend the significance of an anecdote or incident. And the same may be said of the surviving portions of *Dongguan Hanji*, the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, and the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong, though the difficulties are seldom so serious as for *Huayang guo zhi* and *Fengsu tongyi*.

It is encouraging, on the other hand, to find that the official standard histories, *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi* with the Pei Songzhi commentary, present substantially fewer areas of uncertainty. Despite the prejudices of the authors, sometimes evident and sometimes only discovered by research and analysis, their works have benefited from generations of careful scholarship, and modern commentaries, such as those compiled by Wang Xianqian for *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, and by Lu Bi for *Sanguo zhi*, ensure that we can have a high level of confidence in the reliability of the texts now before us.

Even when we can be reasonably confident that the material is original, however, there still remain questions on its accuracy and interpretation. This is a problem for students of any period and place, and scholars of Han

extremely grateful for her advice, guidance and most generous help to my work on this part of the project.

⁸ See Ebrey 80:330, quoting the twentieth-century scholar Huang Kung-shu 黃公渚. For examples of stele whose authenticity is uncertain or whose content is questionable, see the entries for Fei Zhi, Tangxi Dian and Xia Cheng.

⁹ A number of examples may be observed from a comparison of the biography of the Excellency Qiao Xuan 橋玄 of Liang in *HHS* 51/41:1695-97 and the fractional account in Xie Cheng 2:15b with the inscription texts compiled by Cai Yong [Cai 1:1-4]: see *sub* Qiao Ji 橋基 and Bn 81:578-581. On Hu Guang also, see Bn 81:579-580.

After Cai Yong composed the funerary inscription for Guo Tai 郭泰 in 169, he is said to have remarked that it was the only eulogy he had been able to write without any sense of embarrassment: *HHS* 68/58:2227.

¹⁰ The *variorum* edition of Ren Naiqiang 任乃強, *Huayang guo zhi jiaobu tuzhi* 校補圖志, indicates how many textual variants, and how many errors, may be found in the present-day work. Where *HYGZ* is clearly mistaken, I have not indexed or itemised the variants.

are well aware of the conscious or unconscious biases of the compilers of the material with which they deal. Early Chinese historians, reflecting Confucian tradition, were concerned to report events honestly, but they also regarded history as a matter of morality. This could affect their understanding and rendering of the truth, while the social and philosophical background common to such literate gentlemen meant that their view of the world reflected that of the landed gentry and traditional leaders of the community. At the end of his admirable essay on the historiography of *Hou Han shu*, Bielenstein concludes that, while the work is not specifically partial to the gentry or the imperial clan, it is prejudiced against those who placed themselves outside what were considered to be orderly relations, thus opposing the Mandate of Heaven. In similar fashion, Mather comments on the manner in which Yuan Hong, author of *Hou Han ji*, expressed therein his quasi-naturalistic theory of history, stressing the importance of the relationship between ruler and subject and between father and son.¹¹ Given such opinions amongst those who recorded events, it is not surprising if eunuchs, and others who were regarded as usurping power, have a very bad press,¹² while those who sought the reform of government on Confucian lines, or who were considered to have behaved in the manner of true gentlemen, were reported with tolerance and approval.¹³

There remains, of course, the further question of the authors' own perceptions of reality: What events that are described really happened? What stories have been invented to demonstrate moral qualities? And which accounts of the magical, mystical or supernatural were given credence?

It is not inappropriate that Fan Ye compiled his *Hou Han shu* at the same time as Pei Songzhi prepared his commentary to *Sanguo zhi*, and while Liu Yiqing was working on *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 "A New Account of Tales of the World." This last is a collection of anecdotes relating to historical figures, primarily concerned to develop an impression of character and circumstance, and to entertain their readers; as Mather observes, the collection "was, at least in part, a fictionalization rather than sober history"¹⁴ and some anecdotes are better seen as analogies, not necessarily factual.¹⁵ *Shishuo xinyu* was primarily a work of entertainment, and its lineal descendants are the fictional stories and plays of later centuries, culminating, at least as regards the end of Han, in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義, attributed to Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 of the late fourteenth century.¹⁶ I seldom cite *Shishuo xinyu* as a source, but I do provide references to Mather's summary biographies, and these in turn list the items in Liu Yiqing's compilation.

The blurred spectrum from history to anecdote to fiction may likewise be found in *Shi ji* and *Han shu*, and certainly within *Hou Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi*. Many of the works quoted by Pei Songzhi are accounts of marvels or experiences of the supernatural, such as the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 "Record of Enquiry about the Spirits" by Gan Bao 干寶, while others provide anecdotes of doubtful authenticity. For its part, *Hou Han shu* has chapters on the lives of magicians and diviners, full of mysterious and supernatural achievements, and a number of pure ghost stories.¹⁷

¹¹ Bn 54:20-81 at 81; Mather 76:xxi. We may note that Ying Shao used his *Fengsu tongyi* to give moral commentary; and the relevant chapters of the *Zizhi tongjian* of the great Song historian Sima Guang [ZZTJ 54-69], while providing an excellent account of the fall of Han, may also be read as a lesson on government morality and personal conduct: deC 96:xiii-xiv.

¹² HHS 34/24, for example, contrasts the restraint of the worthy father Liang Shang with the excesses of his son Liang Ji, and similarly distinguishes between the conduct of Liang Na 梁納, consort of Emperor Shun, and that of her younger sister Nüying 梁女瑩, first empress of Emperor Huan.

¹³ The brutal conduct of Su Buwei 蘇不韋 was widely approved, and there was general acceptance of the principle of vendetta, even when carried out by third parties: e.g. Zhi Yun 鄧惲, Dian Wei 典韋, and the Lady Zhao E 趙娥.

¹⁴ Mather 76:xv.

¹⁵ A notable example is in SSXY XXVII.1; Mather 76:441. It tells how Cao Cao and Yuan Shao, as young men about town, raided a wedding. Cao Cao took the bride, but turned pursuers to chase Yuan Shao. This may perhaps relate to a true incident, and such conduct was surely not uncommon, but it is best understood as an analogy for the manner in which Cao Cao, many years later, took possession of the emperor and then blamed Yuan Shao for attacking him.

¹⁶ The *Romance* cannot be taken as a record of fact. It is a historical fiction, based upon the interests of Southern Song, with strong prejudice in favour of Liu Bei and his state of Shu-Han. See, for example, deC 90:578-589.

¹⁷ HHS 82/72A and B have biographies of the *Fangshu* 方術, while among the men of Exceptional Conduct 獨行 in HHS 81/71, Wang Chun 王惲 had close encounters with the supernatural.

Given these conditions, a collection of biographies must include items and incidents of uncertain factual value. My chief purpose, like that of Dr Loewe, is to provide a survey of the information which may be found in the sources, not specifically to compose a series of critical biographies. For the most part, therefore, I accept information at face value, with occasional caveats ("we are told that") and some discussion of contradictions and variant accounts. Any scholar, however, must hold to the motto *Caveat Lector*.

With all these precautions, I present below **A Short History of the Later Han Dynasty**, accompanied by a **Chronology**, to discuss political, economic and social developments of the period, and to provide a historical context to the biographies.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LATER HAN DYNASTY

WANG MANG AND THE GENGSHI EMPEROR¹

In 9 AD, as Wang Mang took the imperial throne and proclaimed his new dynasty of Xin, he had a degree of acquiescence among the political class, not necessarily accompanied by great enthusiasm or trust. The imperial lineage of the Liu family, however, had been greatly weakened by the failure of Emperors Cheng and Ai to leave heirs, and the death of Liu Jizi, Emperor Ping, in 6 AD, meant that there were no surviving descendants of Emperor Yuan, who had died in 33 BC. Wang Mang's puppet replacement, Liu Ying, traced his ancestry back to Emperor Xuan, who had died in 49 BC, but that was a long way away. Wang Mang backed his choice with favourable portents, while in 6 AD and in 7 he crushed rebellions in favour of a more senior nominee. His manoeuvrings thereafter, and his establishment of a new, usurping regime, were largely unchallenged by Liu loyalists.²

By 15 AD, however, there were signs of trouble from several different quarters. The Yellow River had burst its banks in 11 AD, flooding much of the North China plain, and there were also plagues of locusts. As the central government could offer no adequate assistance, many people were driven from their homes and formed into bands, first for self-protection and then for plunder. By the early 20s, as the refugees were numbered in the tens of thousands, they challenged and destroyed the structures of local power, and in 22 the main horde, now known as the Red Eyebrows, was strong enough to defeat imperial armies.

During this same period, Wang Mang's ambitions and aggression on the frontier had led him into dispute with the Xiongnu, nominal tributaries of Han. By 19 AD he was engaged in a major quarrel with the Shanyu Yu, setting up a rival government and gathering a great army along the frontier. Though the enterprise came to nothing, the troops remained on station in the north, a drain upon the economy and a distraction from troubles within the empire.

As disturbance along the Yellow River spread south to the Yangzi, more bandit groups were formed. Among them, the so-called Troops from the Lower Yangzi moved west into the middle basin of that river, while two other bands arose in Jiangxia. From there, they were recruited to an alliance with the Liu clan of Nanyang, dispossessed kinsfolk of the former imperial lineage, and these Han loyalists added their own attacks on the weakened power of Wang Mang.

Initiative for the movement to restore the Han came from Liu Bosheng, member of a cadet branch of the clan. His enterprise was not uniformly successful, but in the summer of 23 a Han army gained major victory at Kunyang in Yingchuan, and a few days later the capital of Nanyang was taken by siege. The insurgents now proclaimed their own emperor, their armies continued to advance, and in the winter Chang'an was taken and Wang Mang was killed.

The new sovereign of Han, however, was not Liu Bosheng, but his cousin Liu Xuan, known from his reign-title as the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Bosheng had been rejected by the commoner Troops, and soon after Liu Xuan assumed the imperial title he had his rival killed.

Establishing his regime at Chang'an, Liu Xuan sent commissioners to the provinces to proclaim his government and to establish local authority. One of these, sent north into Ji province, was Liu Xiu, younger brother of Liu Bosheng. Liu Xiu had taken part in the success at Kunyang, and he had assured the new ruler of his loyalty, but he was fortunate to receive such an independent command. In the winter of 23 he was threatened by the rebellion

¹ The first century of Later Han is discussed by Bielenstein in Chapter 3 of *CHOC*, Bn 86.

² On Wang Mang's seizure of power, see Chapter 9 of Loewe 74, and on his life and reign *QHX*: 536-545, also Dubs 55. On the early and unsuccessful rebellions of the Liu, see Bn 54:87-92.

of Wang Lang in Zhao, but by the summer of 24 his troops had destroyed the pretender and Liu Xiu held a strong position in the north.

In the mean time, the chaotic forces of the Red Eyebrows continued to move to the west. By the latter part of 24 they were approaching Chang'an, and in the autumn they took the city. Liu Xuan was captured and killed, but Liu Xiu had already taken the imperial title for himself.³

EMPEROR GUANGWU (25-57) AND THE RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

Predictably, the Red Eyebrows proved incapable of maintaining themselves at Chang'an: by the end of 27 their strength was exhausted and they were compelled to surrender to Liu Xiu. Elsewhere in the empire, a number of local and regional leaders sought to establish independent regimes, and some took the imperial title, but with territory extending in a broad band to the northeast Liu Xiu was comparatively well placed to extend his authority. By the end of 25 he had received the surrender of the Gengshi troops in Luoyang and established his capital there, and over the next few years he eliminated his rivals across the North China plain and in Jing province. With the support of the warlord Dou Rong he held the northwest under control, and Wei Ao, his major opponent in that region, was destroyed in 33. A last campaign into present-day Sichuan removed the claimant emperor Gongsun Shu, and by the middle 30s Guangwu and his restored dynasty of Han were unchallenged in China.

The frontiers

The lands and people south of the Yangzi played little part in the civil war, and though there was endemic trouble with the non-Chinese of Wuling in the middle Yangzi basin the only major rebellion, that of the Cheng [Tr'ung] sisters in present-day Vietnam, was firmly settled by the Han general Ma Yuan in 42. The north, however, remained a source of concern. The Xiongnu Shanyu Yu had supported Guangwu's rival Lu Fang, and even after Lu Fang's defeat the Xiongnu maintained a presence and expand control. By the mid-40s they occupied large tracts of imperial territory, and their raiding parties reached the North China plain and the Wei River near Chang'an.

The death of the Shanyu Yu in 46, however, was followed by a succession dispute, while the steppe was affected by locusts and drought. Taking advantage of confusion among their enemies, imperial agents encouraged the prince Bi, unsuccessful claimant to the throne, to establish a separate state in the Ordos region, and in 50 this Southern Shanyu was confirmed as an ally and a tributary of Han. As Chinese control was re-established, the former inhabitants were able to return to the north. Not all of them did so, and occupation of these frontier regions was less intense and effective than it had been during Former Han., but for the time being the situation was stabilised by the division of the Xiongnu and Chinese alliance to the Southern party.

The decline of population in the north was matched by an increase in the south. In a process which continued through the dynasty, settlers spread beyond the Yangzi, notably into Changsha and Lingling, the south of present-day Hunan, and into Yuzhang, present-day Jiangxi. The histories tell of frequent rebellions by non-Chinese; but these may better be regarded not so much as evidence of the inherent aggression of the native people but rather as their natural reaction to the steady pressure of alien new-comers from the north. By the middle of the second century the balance of demography within the empire had substantially changed.

Administration

The government of Emperor Guangwu restored most of the structures and systems of Former Han. In the empire at large, some surplus counties were abolished, but the territories of the provinces and commanderies were essentially the same, and previous arrangements for local administration were maintained. There were two major changes: control of salt and iron was removed from the central government and given to local authorities; and the Former Han system of conscription and military training was ended for all except the commanderies of the frontier. Though men could be called up for emergency service, they were not formally skilled in weapons. The threat of internal rebellion was thus reduced, but conscripts from the interior of the empire were now of limited value in dealing with foreign incursions. Henceforth the defence of China would rely chiefly upon professional fighting men, paid for by scutage, aided by non-Chinese auxiliaries from the Xiongnu, Wuhuan and Qiang.

³ Liu Xiu is best known to history by his posthumous title Guangwu.

At the court and capital, the system of ministries, offices and secretaries was modelled upon that of Former Han, but the highest level of government was no longer controlled by a single Chancellor responsible to the emperor. Instead, following an initiative from the end of the Former dynasty, there was now a triumvirate of three Excellencies, each with rough equivalence of power. For a strong and active ruler, this was convenient and practicable, but it was not so successful when the throne was occupied by a man less competent or interested. The Imperial Secretariat, moreover, which had the authority to receive reports and prepare decrees and orders, gained greatly from its access to the sovereign; though substantially lower in rank, an energetic Director of the Secretariat could exercise influence comparable to that of an Excellency.

GREAT FAMILIES

A notable aspect of the restoration was the continuity of power among men of family. Though the fall of Wang Mang came from widespread popular revolt and was followed by more than a decade of warfare, most regions of the empire suffered only passing disturbance, and the structures of local society were left largely intact. Landed families held onto their properties, and they maintained their position throughout the dynasty: manorial estates controlled tenant farming and were supported by profitable trade, while local power was enforced on occasion by gangs of retainers.⁴

Such local gentry provided the vast majority of the officials who governed the empire. Social status and economic power ensured that men of family received the education which qualified them for clerical positions in the county, commandery or provincial administrations, and they could likewise be nominated for commissioned office in the imperial service. The magistrates, administrators and inspectors who controlled the major units of local government were commissioned officials, appointed by the capital from regions other than the one that they ruled, but of similar background and interest. So there was understanding and sympathy between the heads of government in the provinces and the gentry leaders of their communities, and the imperial government made repeated and generally unsuccessful efforts to interrupt this natural alliance. Even at the beginning of the dynasty, Emperor Guangwu had great difficulty in establishing a proper land survey for taxation purposes,⁵ largely due to the reluctance of local officials to enforce regulations against men of their own class and kind, and the situation did not improve over the years.

Over time, some families produced a series of individuals who rose to high office, and many subjects of biographies are described as coming from good or well-established official families, with members who served as administrators of commanderies or held ministerial and other high ranks at the imperial capital. During the course of the dynasty, the Yang family of Hongnong and the Yuan of Runan each had the remarkable record of four Excellencies, the highest position in the civil service, but many others, such as the Cui of Boling, the Li of Runan, the Lu of Kuaiji, the Sima of Henei and the Zhou of Lujiang, held substantial posts throughout the empire.⁶ Such families had personal links through clients and colleagues across the empire, and could wield great influence in the broader spheres of government, but they generally retained links to their various homelands. Their instincts were largely conservative, and their moral attitudes were not always favourable to the pretensions and ambitions of the central government.

In some contrast, a few families gained power through direct contact with the imperial throne. In the early years of the dynasty several cliques rivalled one another for influence, associated either with leading supporters of Emperor Guangwu or connected to the imperial house by marriage. Bielenstein has identified three major factions: one group from Nanyang, home country of the emperor, and two from the northwest, led respectively by the leading general Ma Yuan and the north-western warlord Dou Rong.⁷ Both included allies from other clans of different regions, and all sought to confirm their favoured position by marriage into the imperial clan. Guangwu's

⁴ The *Simin yueling* of Cui Shi, compiled in the mid-second century, describes an active enterprise, trading in grain and other products, and well prepared for defence. It may represent a later development of the system, but the basic structures had been established for many years.

⁵ See, for example, the entry for Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, describing the *contretemps* of 39-40; Bn 79:136-137 and 158.

⁶ See, for example Ebrey 78, and *sub* Li Xian, Lu Xu *et al.*, Sima Fang and Zhou Yi.

⁷ The factions, and the marriage alliances described below, are discussed in Bn 79:93-127.

first empress, the Lady Guo Shengtong, came from the north at a time when he needed support in that region; his second, Yin Lihua, was a woman of Nanyang. The Ma family suffered severe eclipse after the death of Ma Yuan; they were restored to favour when his daughter became the consort of Emperor Ming, but soon after her death they were driven from power by the rival Dou.

In the long term, only a few great clans, the Deng, Dou and Ma, together with the Liang, formerly of Anding, and some others such as the Geng and the Song of Youfufeng, were accepted as suitable for marriage with the imperial house. Of thirteen empresses from the early first century to the end of the second, eleven came from these aristocratic families. The short-lived Empress Yan of Emperor An had relied for support upon the Geng family of the emperor's mother, and the political position of the Empress, later Dowager, He of Emperor Ling and her brother the General-in-Chief He Jin was weakened by their poor social standing.

The contest at court and in the harem could be dangerous, and loss of imperial favour could be fatal, but when they did hold power the prestige of lineage, their contacts and patronage, gave these distant relatives of the imperial house status and influence far beyond even the highest official families of the empire. Their view of the world, moreover, was quite different: long removed from local origins, they were chiefly concerned with the authority of the imperial government and the extension of its power. Loewe has defined the attitude as "Modernist," and well contrasted it to that of the "Reformists," who sought to limit the force of the state and relied upon moral example and good conduct to guide the empire.

In practical terms, the dichotomy between the two approaches to government was strongly displayed towards the end of the first century, in debate between the "forward party" which planned to conquer the Northern Xiongnu on the steppe, and the regular officials who saw no need for such aggression, but rather danger in such excessive ambition.⁸ Later again, through the second century, there was endemic conflict between the men of the capital and the imperial eunuchs, who sought to maintain power, and the more ideal Confucianists who opposed corruption and wanted to reform the machinery of government.

EMPEROR MING AND EMPEROR ZHANG 57-88⁹

Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, was thirty when he came to the throne at the death of his father. He had replaced the previous Heir, his half-brother Liu Qiang, and though they remained on good terms the new emperor had some uncertainty about the loyalty of his other siblings. In 70 Liu Ying the King of Chu was accused of treason and died, and a fierce persecution of all who had been associated with him brought the death or exile of several senior officials and imperial kinfolk.

Such problems affected primarily the upper classes, however, and the general tenor of Emperor Ming's reign was one of consolidation based upon the prosperity and security bequeathed by his father. Notably, the dykes on the Yellow River and the Vast Canal, broken in the time of Wang Mang, were now repaired, while the accretion of the Ailao people in the far southwest saw the territory of the empire extended to the borders of present-day Burma.

Further north, there was conflict with the Qiang on the frontiers of Liang province, and the Northern Xiongnu became troublesome enough to inspire a punitive expedition. This had limited effect, but a secondary campaign revived Chinese interest in the Western Regions and produced a short-lived establishment there.

Like his father, Emperor Ming sponsored New Text Confucianism, both as symbol and as support for of his authority. Where Guangwu had restored the Imperial University, however, Emperor Ming engaged in ritual at the Hall of the Circular Moat, maintaining the ceremonies of Great Archery and Serving the Aged, and Ploughing the Sacred Field. He also presided at a series of annual discussions, culminating in an official commentary evidently based on the *Hong fan* chapter of the *Classic of History* and emphasising the Five Powers.

⁸ In his conclusion to the Account of the Xiongnu in Former Han, Ban Gu contrasted the scholar-officials who sought alliance and peace with the military men who spoke only of war, and observed that the debate continued through his own dynasty of Later Han: *HS* 94B:3830. Ban Gu himself, an adherent of Dou Xian, died in the coup which destroyed his faction in 92.

⁹ The middle period of Later Han is discussed by Loewe 86, Chapter 4 of *CHOC*.

Though Emperor Zhang succeeded his father at the age of only nineteen *sui*, he was formally of full age. He thus required no regency, and after a short period of tutelage under the Dowager Empress Ma, his titular mother, he governed for himself. He travelled widely in the empire, and had some success in presenting an appearance of benevolent government. Interested in ritual and scholarship, moreover, and with a revisionist concern for Old Text Confucianism, in 79 he sponsored the celebrated conference at the White Tiger Hall; it was intended to open up discussion, but the arguments of the emperor and his protégé Jia Kui were largely disregarded, and the records of the debate became a manifesto for the New Text.

At the very beginning of his reign, the government of Emperor Zhang had been faced with a heavy defeat and costly withdrawal of troops from the Western Regions. Almost as an afterthought, however, the envoy Ban Chao was allowed a free hand to operate among the oasis states in the south of the territory, and from a small beginning he established a Chinese hegemony which rose to the height of its power and influence in the following reign.

Closer to home, there was trouble with the Qiang tribes led by Miyu and then Mitang on the frontier of Liang province, but the Northern Xiongnu, affected by drought and concerned by the Xianbi to their east, sought a rapprochement and peaceful trade. This was approved by the court, but the Southern Xiongnu plundered the Northern caravans, while the "forward" group at court argued against any restraint of their allies. The matter was partially resolved by a compromise, leaving no party content, and the auguries for long-term peace were not good.

Emperor Zhang's domestic situation also boded ill. His first Heir, Liu Qing, was born to a Lady Song, protégée of the Dowager Ma, but his Empress Dou had the Song and the Ma families disgraced, and Liu Qing was dismissed. The Empress Dou had no children, but she first arranged that the son of a Lady Liang should be named as Heir, then had the Liang removed in turn. As a result of these intrigues, when Emperor Zhang died in 88 at the age of just thirty-three, his young son Liu Zhao was left in the care of a regent Dowager who had destroyed his true mother and who had a group of male relatives eager for their place in the sun.

REGENCY GOVERNMENT 88-125

In 88 the new emperor Liu Zhao, known posthumously as Emperor He, was aged ten *sui*. He would prove to be the first, but by no means the last, sovereign of Later Han to come to the throne as a minor; indeed not one of his successors until the end of the dynasty began his reign at full age.

In this situation, there was constitutional precedent from Former Han that power of regency was held by the Empress, now Dowager, of the previous ruler. She attended court and issued edicts in the new emperor's name, but she commonly took advice from her male relatives, who received high official ranks. So the government of Emperor He was controlled by the Dowager Dou and her family.

The destruction of the Northern Xiongnu

The conduct of the Dowager's brothers, notably that of the eldest, Dou Xian, was arrogant and embarrassing, but an opportunity soon appeared by which he might cover this poor conduct with military glory. The Dou family had been leaders of the forward party in debate about Xiongnu policy during the previous reign, and in 88 the Southern Shanyu proposed a joint expedition to destroy his rivals. The Northern Xiongnu had been heavily defeated by the Xianbi in the previous year, and they were currently experiencing famine, so the signs were propitious. Dou Xian was enthusiastic, and the Dowager over-ruled all opposition at court. In 89 the armies advanced into the steppe.

The campaign was a thorough success, and by 91 the Northern court had been driven away to the west, into the region of present-day Dzungaria, north of Urumqi. The Southern government, however, proved quite incapable of establishing a unified regime in the Mongolian steppe, and the Southern Xiongnu refused to accept their former enemies. As fighting broke out between the two groups, the Chinese intervened in clumsy fashion, and within a few years the Southern state had been weakened and divided. By the early part of the second century its rulers were variously in abortive rebellion against the Han, or dependent upon Chinese support to maintain a position against the Xianbi.

The situation on the open steppe was still more serious, for the vacuum created by the destruction of the Northern Xiongnu state was filled, not by the Southern Xiongnu, but by the erratic tribes of the Xianbi. By the 120s, these people had acquired their first war-leaders, and the northern frontier of China became vulnerable to their widespread attack. Though Dou Xian's campaign of 89 to 91 had been an immediate success, but it proved a long-term disaster.

Emperor He, Emperor An and the Dowager Deng

The twelve-year-old Emperor He took the cap of manhood in 91, so there was no longer any formal requirement for a regency, and in the following year, soon after Dou Xian had returned in triumph from the north, the young ruler carried out a successful coup to free himself of the over-powerful family. He was aided by eunuchs of the imperial harem, who appear for the first time in a major political role, then governed on his own account for the next several years. He died, however, in 106, aged less than thirty, and though he had sired two sons, both were children and neither had been proclaimed as Heir.

In these circumstances, an Empress-Dowager of Han became even more important. Not only did she act as regent, she was authorised to decide the successor to her late husband. Emperor He's Empress Deng, a woman of strong personality, rejected the older boy, Liu Sheng, on the grounds that he was unwell, and established the younger Liu Long, just a few months old. When the infant died soon afterwards, the Dowager again passed over his brother, and chose Liu You, son of the former Heir Liu Qing, to take his place. It may well be that Liu Sheng was incapacitated, either physically or mentally, but this was a dramatic example and confirmation of a Dowager's power.

It was not unreasonable that the Lady Deng chose the son of a formerly designated Heir, but she continued to hold power even after her nominee, Emperor An, had formally come of age in 109, and she maintained her position until her death in 121. This was well beyond the bounds of tradition and expectation, but the Lady Deng was probably the most competent and effective ruler of the second century; Emperor An was certainly less impressive.

During her period of government the Dowager Deng kept her male relatives under firm control and limited their powers, but despite this restraint Emperor An destroyed her family soon after he gained power for himself. There was a rumour that the Dowager had been dissatisfied with his ability and thought of removing him. This gave him an excuse to act, but the new ruler's own conduct could have justified such a decision.

Emperor An was interested in ritual, but even more concerned with portents, and he relied heavily upon personal favourites, including his maternal uncle Geng Bao, his former wet-nurse and some palace eunuchs, while he was also strongly influenced by his Empress Yan, a woman of low-born family. With her encouragement – and despite protests and a demonstration from many officials – Emperor An dismissed his only son and Heir, Liu Bao. He made no alternative provision, and when he died in the following year, 125, at the age of thirty-two, he left an empty place at the head of the state.

The Lady Yan, now Dowager, used her authority to place an imperial cousin, aged five, upon the throne. The only justification for choosing such a junior cadet would be the expectation of a long period of regency, but the Yan party's plans were disrupted by the death of the boy a few months later, and they were destroyed by a coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng. Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, thus came to the throne through the initiative of palace eunuchs and against the intrigues of a distaff clan.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

During the thirty years from the early 90s to the early 120s the dynasty faced major difficulties. The campaigns of Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu had produced contradictory results: the enemy was destroyed, but the Southern state was weakened and divided, while the Xianbi became increasingly troublesome. The cost of the war, moreover, placed great strain upon the resources of the court.

There is a good deal of evidence to indicate that from the end of the first century the imperial government was in serious financial straits. There was certainly money in private hands, but the traditional system of land tax and the effective abolition of state monopolies meant that the government found it increasingly difficult to gain

access to the real wealth of the nation. Many poor farmers commended themselves to a powerful family in order gain protection from official imposts, and the great land-owners were in a strong position to protect themselves against such exactions. As a result, the central power had reduced capacity to deal with the responsibilities of government, and the Dowager Deng initiated several measures of economy: restricting the food at her own table, limiting some extravagant ceremonies, and rationalising some offices at the capital.

The Great Qiang Rebellion

The situation was made worse by the rebellion of the Qiang in Liang province. The trouble began in 107, when the overstretched government was faced with rebellion in the Western Regions and resolved to withdraw from the position which had been established by Ban Chao. As this sign of military weakness was accompanied by some confusion and uncertainty, a local mutiny among non-Chinese auxiliaries became the trigger for an outburst of rebellion across the whole of north-western China. Though the rebellion was eventually put down in 118, it had lasted more than ten years and devastated the region. Fighting reached as far as Chang'an, raiding spread across the north, and at one stage the Southern Xiongnu joined the enemy alliance.

Following the abolition of universal conscription at the beginning of the dynasty, the lack of trained men within the empire restricted the government's capacity to deal with rebellions and incursions on the frontier. It was at one stage proposed that the whole of Liang province should be abandoned, and although this was formally defeated in debate at court, the situation on the ground was much the same as if the policy had been approved. As great numbers of people were driven from their homes, many took refuge within China proper or migrated further south. The 120s saw some attempt at reconstruction, but former settlers were reluctant to return, and their forebodings were justified when renewed turmoil broke out in the early 140s.

Besides the direct cost of the war, which was enormous, taxation from the territories of the northwest was seriously reduced, and the shortfall could be recouped only by increasing revenue from other provinces. For a traditional economy, such a process was difficult, disruptive and of limited success. The history of the last century of Later Han may be better understood if it is recognised that the central government was functionally bankrupt.

The confidence of the gentry

Its failure to collect adequate revenue meant that the imperial court could no longer offer any substantial assistance in time of misfortune, and its authority was consequently reduced. At the same time, local landed families throughout the empire were gaining in prosperity and self-confidence. Two manifestations may be observed through the second century: the number and quality of grave-goods recovered by modern archaeologists from gentry tombs; and the development of local histories and the production of stele, both of which increased markedly at this time.

A less attractive aspect of this process was an increase in violence, feuding and petty warfare. There are several accounts of how men of family bullied the countryside with their bands of retainers, and many tales of vendetta, including the celebrated Su Buwei, while Cui Shi's guide to the management of a manorial estate, *Simin yueling*, refers to the need to keep weapons in order in case of attack. Below the surface of imperial order, the towers and walls of private strongholds were signs of frequent conflict and threat.

At the same time, the self-confidence of the prosperous gentry class was reflected in its members' attitude towards service to the state. Men who rose to high rank were generally respected, but there was a growing tendency for junior officers and nominees to choose whether they wished to be associated with a particular superior, and on a number of occasions a nomination would be turned down, or an officer would resign his post, if the patron was regarded as a man of inferior morality: *feiqi ren* 非其人. In effect, this meant that an individual's personal standing was considered more important than his public duty, a development which did not bode well for the coherence and prestige of the imperial government.

EMPEROR SHUN AND THE LIANG FAMILY 125-159

Ten years old at the time of his accession, Liu Bao shared his father's tendency to be influenced by favourites, including his former wet-nurses and the eunuch Zhang Fang, while he showed small gratitude to Sun Cheng who had brought him to power. As the court was divided into cliques, some members of the Imperial Secretariat, notably Yu Xu and Zuo Xiong, took advantage of the situation to introduce reforms. Their concerns related primarily to corruption, to the selection of officials, and to Confucian governance, and the first half of the reign of Emperor Shun was an exceptional period when scholar-officials were able to take substantial initiatives.

One success of the Confucianists in the early 130s was the restoration of the Imperial University, which had been allowed to fall into disrepair and decline for quarter of a century. The long-term future of reform, however, depended on the personal commitment of the ruler, but Emperor Shun had neither a stable policy nor any great interest in effective action, while many officials and other men of influence had small relish for major change to a system which served them well. A special commission of eight was sent out in 142, with wide powers of investigation, but it achieved very little, and served rather as a swan-song for the reform movement.

By this time, indeed, effective power had been transferred to the Liang family of the Empress. Member of an established family, which had earlier produced the mother of Emperor He, the Lady Liang Na entered the harem in 128 and was chosen as Empress in 132. Her fine lineage was a significant factor in the choice, and her father Liang Shang appears to have become a senior and trusted adviser and mentor to the emperor. He became General-in-Chief in 135, ranking with the Excellencies at the highest level of the bureaucracy, and after his death in 141 he was succeeded by his son Liang Ji; between them they dominated the government for more than twenty years.

The death of Emperor Shun in 144, aged thirty, was followed a few months later by that of his only son, another infant emperor. To replace him, the regent Dowager Liang and her brother Liang Ji chose the boy Liu Zuan, a great-grandson of Emperor Zhang, but in just over a year he too was dead. There was suspicion he had been murdered, for he had commented unfavourably on the power of Liang Ji, but nothing was proved and the Liang were free to choose again. This time they selected Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, aged fifteen, who was promptly married to the Dowager's younger sister Liang Nüying. Though Liu Zhi came of age in 148 he continued under tutelage, and even after the death of the Dowager in 150 he remained under the control of his own Empress and her brother Liang Ji.

The Dowager had claimed to keep power because the state was facing difficulty, and this was certainly true. During the 120s, under the inspiration of Yu Xu, the government had begun to restore the ravaged northwest, but there were damaging raids from the Xianbi further east, and the northern frontier was vulnerable and unstable. In the Western Regions Ban Chao's son Ban Yong had restored an imperial position in the 120s, but he was withdrawn after just a few years, and Han never regained full authority over those distant lands. More significantly, a rebellion of the Southern Xiongnu in 140 was joined by the Qiang of Liang province, and the work of reconstruction was destroyed. In the early 140s the headquarters of several frontier commanderies were withdrawn, and though their territories remained nominally subject to Han, Chinese control was in reality very weak.

The histories describe Liang Ji as extravagant and cruel, and tell how he persecuted opponents. There is no doubt truth in this, but the hegemony of the Liang family was widely accepted, and few senior ministers were willing to stand against him; one who did, Li Gu, was eliminated very early. When the Empress Liang Nüying died in 159, however, the loss of his immediate link to the inner palace made Liang Ji's position insecure. He wanted to adopt the Lady Deng Mengnü, Emperor Huan's choice for his consort, but he was opposed by her family, and when he tried to resolve the problem by assassination the emperor became fearful for his own life. So Emperor Huan sought the aid of the palace eunuchs, the one group which he could trust, and they led a coup which destroyed the Liang family and their associates.

EMPEROR HUAN, THE EUNUCHS AND PROSCRIPTION 159-180¹⁰

At the time of his coup, Emperor Huan was some twenty-seven years old. He had long accepted the dominance of his relatives by marriage, and he was probably more interested in his extensive harem than in matters of government. Once forced into an active role as ruler, he relied heavily upon his eunuch allies and favourites, but these became a focus of hostility for the scholars and officials of the empire. Not only were such deformed creatures anathema to Confucian principles of family piety, but in practical terms the eunuchs and their relatives began to seek position in their family homelands, and there they came into conflict with established local gentry. There were acts of aggression and atrocities on both sides, and men such as the local officer Zhang Jian and the Administrator Huang Fu became heroes among students at the capital for their firm dealings with the newcomers.

We are told that with sponsorship from the Liang family the University had grown until it had as many as thirty thousand students, but traditional teachings were largely discredited and there was minimal opportunity for direct entrance to the imperial service. So Luoyang contained a host of young men seeking only to acquire a patron or to make a name which might gain them prestige and promotion at home. Among their methods were the composition and chanting of rhyming slogans, and the circulation of lists of men whom they admired, both among officials and from their own number. In general terms, they were inspired by a sense of Confucian morality and opposed corruption, and they gave high praise to senior ministers such as Chen Fan and Li Ying, known as enemies of the eunuchs, and to private exemplars such as Guo Tai.

Bolstered by these populist guardians of virtue, Chen Fan, Li Ying and others carried out a series of political attacks on the eunuch favourites, and Emperor Huan was eventually persuaded against some individuals. By 165 the last of his supporters in the coup had been dismissed and disgraced, while Deng Mengnū was also dismissed as Empress and died soon afterwards. Her place was taken by the Lady Dou Miao, chosen again for her good family background, and her father Dou Wu showed himself an energetic advocate of the Confucianist and anti-eunuch party. As the emperor himself was attacked for his personal extravagance and the size of his harem, he sought to regain some ground by sponsoring official worship of Huang-Lao 黄老, a deity combining attributes of the Yellow Emperor and the legendary sage Laozi. The initiative, however, went no further, and when Emperor Huan died in 168 at the age of thirty-six, he left no son to succeed him. Power came once more into the hands of the consort clan, the Dowager Dou and her father Dou Wu.

The Proscription

During the political struggles of the previous year, the eunuchs had persuaded the emperor to punish and proscribe their more ostentatious opponents, but the new regime promptly reversed the decree, and Dou Wu, aided by the respected Chen Fan, brought reform Confucianists such as Li Ying back to high office. To succeed the late ruler, the Dowager and her father chose the twelve-year-old Liu Hong; he was a cousin of Emperor Huan, but from a distant and junior cadet lineage. It appeared a self-serving choice, for Liu Hong's chief quality was his youth, foreshadowing a longer regency, but few of the reformists objected, for they were only too pleased to see their patrons in power.

To consolidate their position, Dou Wu and Chen Fan now planned to purge the harem eunuchs, but the Dowager objected and the eunuchs struck first. Taking the young emperor with them, in the autumn of 168 they had the Secretariat issue orders to dismiss their opponents, and when Dou Wu sought to raise troops they brought the frontier general Zhang Huan to face him. Dou Wu's men deserted him and he killed himself, while Chen Fan and others were arrested and died. One year later the eunuchs confirmed their power by a renewed purge: hundreds of their opponents were killed, and the Great Proscription of the would-be reformers was maintained for fifteen years until 184.¹¹

¹⁰ A chronicle history from 157 to 189 is given by deC 89.

¹¹ In *HHS* 67/57, Fan Ye devotes a chapter to the Proscribed Party, commonly known as 黨錮 *danggu*.

Brought up under eunuch influence, Emperor Ling gave them total trust and had limited respect for his regular officials. Frivolous and greedy, he instituted a system of purchase or fines for even the highest offices; this might have been justified by the straitened circumstances of the imperial treasury, but in fact he transferred the funds to his own purposes and allowed his favourites to embezzle vast amounts. The authority of the emperor was still not questioned, but the bonds of allegiance, particularly with the Confucianist gentry, were seriously weakened.

Rebellion and the frontier

Outside the capital, there were rebellions in the 160s about Taishan and in Jing province, but the northern frontier was held comparatively well, thanks to the skills and energy of the generals Huangfu Gui, Zhang Huan and the ferocious Duan Jiong. In 168 Duan Jiong received approval for a campaign of extermination against the Qiang, and his success left a desert in Liang province. By the 170s, however, the Xianbi of the steppe had found a war-leader, Tanshihuai, and his raids became increasingly fierce. In 177 a major punitive expedition was despatched, but the imperial army was cut off and destroyed on the steppe, the first such catastrophe since the time of Former Han, and the Chinese were now firmly on the defensive. While the death of Tanshihuai in 181 gave some respite, the next threat to the dynasty came from within the empire.

YELLOW TURBANS, DONG ZHUO AND THE FALL OF HAN 180-196¹²

For the second half of the second century AD Chinese histories contain increasing references to epidemics 大疫, beginning in the first years of Emperor Huan and rising to a peak in the 170s and early 180s under Emperor Ling. Contemporary with the Antonine plague of the Roman empire, this series of inflictions may represent the appearance of a new disease among humanity, and it no doubt had effect both on the economy and upon popular sensitivity.

There are many references to religious sects about this time, commonly associated with Huang-Lao. The doctrines of Huang-Lao had been well-known since Former Han and were not necessarily opposed to the government – Emperor Huan had incorporated the worship into his state ritual – but they could inspire popular rebellion. Probably influenced by the frequent manifestations of sickness, a number of sects offered cures by faith-healing, through charms and drugs and the confession of sins. Several are recorded in the far west, in the region about Chang'an, and in the southeast by the mouth of the Yangzi, but the most widespread was that of Zhang Jue of Zhuo commandery in the north; by the early 180s his Way of Great Peace 太平道 had disciples and adherents as far away as Nanyang and Yingchuan, and even at the capital and in the court.

Local authorities were reluctant to oppose such a popular movement, and warnings by the Excellency Yang Ci and other officials were ignored. Zhang Jue, however, planned a millennial rebellion for 184, first year of a new cycle, and although his intentions were at last discovered and the rising had to be called piecemeal and ahead of time, it was nonetheless devastating. The rebels wore yellow cloth about their heads as sign of the Heaven that was to come, and both they and the imperialists raised armies *ad hoc*. It took several months of desperate fighting before Zhang Jue and his followers were destroyed, and some of the most populous regions of the empire suffered widespread slaughter and ruin. The major disturbance was ended within a calendar year, but the effect of the Yellow Turbans for the people of the time must have been comparable to that of the Taipings in the nineteenth century, and large groups of bandits remained, notably in Qing province, who kept the title alive.

The Yellow Turbans did not destroy the dynasty, and indeed the response and swift success of the government is impressive. The turmoil of rebellion, however, brought further disorder and banditry: in the winter of 184 a mutiny and rebellion in Liang province effectively removed that territory from the control of Han, while the Black Mountain bandit groups of the southern Taihang Mountains rose to such power that they were granted effective autonomy. Yet more serious in the longer term, the mass mobilisation to defeat the rebellion left a vast number of men trained in the use of arms. Not only did future warlords such as Cao Cao, Liu Bei and Sun Jian gain early experience in fighting the Yellow Turbans, so too did their future followers.

¹² The fall of Han is discussed by Mansvelt Beck in Chapter 5 of *CHOC*, MBeck 86. A chronicle history from 189 to 220 is given by deC 96.

The usurpation of Dong Zhuo

The great Proscription was ended in 184, lest disaffected gentry give support to the rebels, but the tenor of government was little changed and Emperor Ling continued his life of extravagant pleasure. He had two recorded sons, one by his Empress He and one by a concubine, the Lady Wang, whom the Empress promptly murdered. The He family was not well-born, but they naturally acquired high position at court, and the Empress's brother He Jin became General-in-Chief. When Emperor Ling died in 189, aged thirty-three, the Lady He and her brother placed her son Liu Bian upon the throne and prepared for another period of regency.

He Jin, however, came under pressure from Yuan Shao, Yuan Shu and other men of family, that he should destroy the eunuchs of the palace: they had held too much influence for long, and many of the troubles of the empire could be laid at their door. Impressed by these men of fine lineage, He Jin was persuaded to put their blood-thirsty proposals into action, but the Dowager opposed him, and as disagreement continued the eunuchs took matters into their own hands. On 22 September they waylaid He Jin and killed him. They then sought to have their own nominees appointed to critical posts but, unlike the coup of 159, they could claim no formal support from the emperor. The Yuan brothers led troops to storm the gates of the palace, and as flames lit the sky the eunuchs were slaughtered. A small party fled with the emperor and his brother, but they were chased and killed, and the imperial children were brought back.

At this point, the scenario changed. The frontier general Dong Zhuo, who had earlier been called to Luoyang to support He Jin, was camped outside the capital. As he saw the fires in the city he brought his troops forward and took over power. He proclaimed a new era of government, but when he deposed Liu Bian in favour of his brother Liu Xie, Yuan Shao and other leaders fled to the east and raised armies against him. By the beginning of 190 the empire was divided between Dong Zhuo and the "loyal rebels" who opposed him, and as the eastern alliance splintered soon afterwards, provincial and local chieftains contended for power.

Unable to hold Luoyang, Dong Zhuo withdrew the court to Chang'an. He was assassinated there in 192, but a group of his officers seized control of the nominal government. with Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, as their helpless puppet. In 195 the young emperor managed to escape, and he returned to the former capital in the following year. Luoyang, however, now lay in ruins, and a few weeks later Emperor Xian was persuaded to accept the protection of the warlord Cao Cao. As the court was transferred to Xu city in Yingchuan, the emperor entered a life-long captivity. Orders were issued in his name, and the dynasty formally survived another twenty-five years, but between Dong Zhuo and Cao Cao the rule of Han was ended.

CAO CAO AND THE THREE KINGDOMS 196-220¹³

While the nominal sovereign was held captive at Luoyang, Chang'an or Xu city, his empire became a gigantic battleground. Liu Biao in Jing province and Liu Zhang in Yi province, each with title as Governor, maintained comparatively stable states, but the open country of the North China plain saw complex conflict between a variety of contenders. By 200, after ten years close fighting, Cao Cao had defeated, destroyed or driven away Yuan Shu, Lü Bu and Liu Bei and held the south of the plain. To the north he faced Yuan Shao, and at the battle of Guandu he defeated him. Yuan Shao died soon afterwards, and by 207 Cao Cao had eliminated his quarrelling sons and controlled the whole of eastern China.

After Liu Biao died in 208, Cao Cao was able to take over Jing province, but as he moved south he was defeated at the battle of the Red Cliffs on the middle Yangzi by remnant loyalists under Liu Bei and an allied army sent by Sun Quan, warlord of the southeast. Cao Cao was forced to retreat, but he still held a line in the valley of the Han. In 211 he defeated an alliance of minor warlords of the northwest, and in 215 he received the surrender of the Taoist theocrat Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. He then sought to move into Yi province, but Liu Bei now held that territory, and in 219 Liu Bei defeated Cao Cao's army and drove his men back across the Qin Ling ranges. He took title as king and later emperor of Shu-Han.

¹³ DeC 91A and B offers a general history of the third century, and a more detailed account of the civil war, with emphasis on Sun Quan's state of Wu, is given by deC 90.

Later in the same year, Liu Bei's general Guan Yu embarked on a major offensive in Jing province. He gained initial success, but as he was still engaged to the north he was attacked from behind by the army of Sun Quan of Wu. Guan Yu was destroyed, Sun Quan gained control of both the middle and the lower Yangzi, and Wu maintained its independence for another sixty years. Though Cao Cao's state of Wei was the most powerful, and his son Cao Pi replaced the dynasty of Han in 220, China was divided into three rival powers, the Three Kingdoms (三國 Sanguo) and unity was restored only briefly by Western Jin in the late third century.

Many traditional historians blamed Cao Cao for his failure to restore a unified empire, and there is certainly a contrast with the period after the fall of Wang Mang, when a dozen years of conflict followed but Emperor Guangwu was able to re-establish central power.

Cao Cao was certainly the most effective and successful military commander of his time, but he had two great difficulties. Firstly, the civil war itself, and notably the period from 190 to 200, saw a total breakdown of government and society. In a process which began in the aftermath of the Yellow Turbans, vast numbers of people were driven from their homes by banditry, warfare and famine. While some set up small self-defence units, others sought security by attaching themselves to a warlord, and the armies of the time became barely-organised masses, cutting swathes across the landscape, and destroying the old structures in their path. In such circumstances, it is impressive that the state of Wei and its rivals were able to establish even a minimal base of coherent government and return the people to some level of settled and profitable agriculture; there were limits to their effective reach over wide distances and in the longer term.

Added to these problems of administration, a second new factor was the changing demography of the empire. At the beginning of Later Han, Guangwu's success in the north had allowed him to take control of the south without major opposition, but the balance of power changed during the next two centuries, with increasing Chinese migration into the south and growing weakness in the north and northwest. By the middle of the second century Chinese settlers had withdrawn from much of the northern frontier, but several regions of the south had gained greatly. South of the lower Yangzi, numbers increased by up to 50% between 2 and 140 AD, while in present-day Jiangxi and southern Hunan the registered population multiplied three or four times. The process continued through the rest of the second century, and once Sun Quan had gained a breathing space after the victory at the Red Cliffs his officers embarked on an energetic process of colonisation, both to gain new land and to conscript troops for service against the north. Wu was defended by the line of the river, and in the west, after the capture of Hanzhong, Shu-Han was sheltered by the rugged barrier of the Qin Ling, but the two states were made viable by the numbers of men they could place under arms, and their successful defiance of the north meant the effective end of imperial unity for four hundred years.

CHRONOLOGY OF LATER HAN

Wang Mang 王莽 [*reg.* 9-23 AD]

before 18 development of the Red Eyebrows rebellion in the east

22 *winter* Han rebellion in Nanyang led by Liu Bosheng, joined by refugee troops

The Gengshi 更始 **Emperor Liu Xuan** 劉玄 [*reg.* 23-25]

23 *spring* Liu Xuan proclaimed as Emperor of the restored Han dynasty

summer Wang Mang's forces defeated at Kunyang

Liu Bosheng executed by the Gengshi regime

autumn fall of Chang'an and death of Wang Mang

24 Liu Xiu, commissioner in the north, destroys the rebellion of Wang Lang

25 Red Eyebrows enter the passes and take Chang'an

summer Gongsun Shu claims the imperial title in Shu

autumn Liu Xiu claims the imperial title in Changshan

winter the Gengshi Emperor captured and killed by the Red Eyebrows

Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 Liu Xiu 劉秀 [*reg.* 25-57]

26-27 defeat of Red Eyebrows by Wei Ao; they surrender to Guangwu

26-30 Guangwu's forces conquer the North China plain and the southeast

Guangwu's forces conquer Luoyang, Nanyang and Nan commandery

26-29 restoration of the Imperial University at Luoyang

29 alliance with Dou Rong in the northwest

30 abolition of compulsory military training within the empire

from 30 warfare in the north against Liu Fang and the Xiongnu

30-33 destruction of Wei Ao in Hanyang

35-36 destruction of Gongsun Shu in the west; Guangwu undisputed emperor of the restored Han dynasty

42 Ma Yuan defeats the rebellion of the Cheng [Tr'ung] sisters in Jiaozhi

43 Guangwu's son Liu Zhuang proclaimed Heir in place of his half-brother Liu Qiang

47-49 rebellion of non-Chinese in Wuling

50 Southern Shanyu Bi accepts Chinese suzerainty, settled in Xihe

56 Feng and Shan sacrifices carried out at Mount Tai

Emperor Ming 明帝 Liu Zhuang 劉莊 [*reg.* 57-75]

late 50s raiding by Shaoqiang Qiang under war-leader Dianyu, obliged to surrender in 59

65 office of the General on the Liao established to keep the Northern and Southern Xiongnu apart

66 establishment of the Palace School for Noble Families

69 accession of the Ailao people of the far southwest

70 repair of the Vast Canal network and dykes on the Yellow River

alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu; widespread arrests and executions

73 unsuccessful punitive attack on the Northern Xiongnu; Dou Gu enters the Western Regions

Emperor Zhang 章帝 Liu Da 劉旦 [*reg.* 75-88]

75 Chinese outposts in Turfan destroyed; major withdrawal from the Western Regions, though Ban Chao remains at Shule [Kashgar]

77-101 Qiang wars against Miyu and then Mitang

79 imperial conference on Confucian doctrine at the White Tiger Hall

84 Northern Xiongnu ask for peaceful trade

Emperor He 和帝 Liu Zhao 劉肇 [reg. 88-105]

- 88 regency of the Dowager Dou for the young emperor
- 89-92 Northern Xiongnu regime destroyed by Dou Xian
- 92 *summer* destruction of the Dou family by Emperor He
Ban Chao proclaimed Protector-General of the Western Regions
- 93 destruction of the Southern Shanyu Anguo by a Chinese army; prince Fenghou escapes to the north
- 97 Ban Chao sends Gan Ying to explore the far west
- 102 Ban Chao returns from the Western Regions, succeeded by Ren Shang

Emperor Shong 殤帝 [the Young Emperor] Liu Long 劉隆 [reg. 105-106]

- 105 regency of the Dowager Deng for the short-lived infant Liu Long

Emperor An 安帝 Liu You 劉祐 [reg. 106-125]

- 106 the regent Dowager Deng brings the youthful Liu You to the throne; she controls her government until her death in 121
summer rebellion in the Western Regions
- 107 withdrawal ordered from the Western Regions; mutiny among auxiliaries in the northwest, developing into full-scale rebellion of the Qiang within China
- 107-118 the great Qiang rebellion
- 108 main imperial army defeated in Hanyang; Qiang leader Dianlian proclaimed emperor in Beidi
- 110-111 commandery administrations withdrawn from the north and northwest; Qiang rebels control Liang province and attack further
- 112 imperial forces successful in Hanyang; Dianlian dies at Lingzhou in Beidi
- 114 Chinese troops recover Jincheng
- 115 Ren Shang on the offensive against the rebel Qiang
- 117 *winter* decisive victory at Fuping in Beidi
- 118 end of the Qiang rebellion; Ren Shang executed for corruption
- 121 death of the Dowager Deng; Emperor An destroys the Deng family
- 121-133 trouble with Xianbi war-leader Qizhijian in the northeast
- 122 beginning of gradual reconstruction in the northwest
- 123-127 Ban Yong in the Western Regions
- 124 influenced by his Empress Yan, Emperor An dismisses his only son Liu Bao as Heir

The Little Emperor 少帝 Liu Yi 劉懿 [reg. 125]

- 125 *spring* death of Emperor An; the Lady Yan, now regent Dowager, brings the child Liu Yi to the throne
winter death of Liu Yi; eunuchs led by Sun destroy the Yan group and place Liu Bao upon the throne

Emperor Shun 順帝 Liu Bao 劉保 [reg. 125-144]

- 126-c.135 Yu Xu, Zuo Xiong and others attempt to establish Confucian reforms of government
- 129-137 encouraged by Yu Xu, accelerated resettlement in the northwest
- 131-132 restoration of the Imperial University
- 132 the Lady Liang Na appointed Empress
- c.133 death of Qizhijian, but Xianbi raiding continues in the northeast
- 135 Liang Na's father Liang Shang named General-in-Chief
- 140-144 rebellion of Southern Xiongnu, later joined by the Qiang; permanent withdrawal of commandery administrations from the northwest
- 141 death of Liang Shang, succeeded by his son Liang Ji
- 142 commissioners against corruption sent out, with inconclusive results

Emperor Chong 冲帝 Liu Bing 劉炳 [*reg.* 144-145]

- 144 death of Emperor Shun, succeeded by his infant son Liu Bing; the Lady Liang Na becomes regent Dowager

Emperor Zhi 質帝 Liu Zuan 劉纘 [*reg.* 145-146]

- 145 *spring* death of Liu Bing; Liang Na and Liang Ji bring the youthful Liu Zuan to the throne
 146 *summer* Liu Zhi is called to the capital and betrothed to Liang Nüying, younger sister of the Dowager; Liu Zuan dies soon afterwards and Liu Zhi is named emperor

Emperor Huan 桓帝 Liu Zhi 劉志 [*reg.* 132-168]

- 147 unsuccessful rebellion in favour of Liu Suan the King of Qinghe; the Excellency Li Gu, who had earlier supported his claim, is destroyed
 148 popular religious rebellions led by Chen Jing and Guan Bo; imperial sponsorship of a temple to Laozi
 154-165 extensive rebellion about Taishan
 159 death of the Empress Liang Nüying; aided by Ju Yuan and other eunuchs, Emperor Huan destroys Liang Ji and takes personal power; appointment of the Empress Deng Mengnü
 159-167 government dominated by the emperor's eunuch favourites; increasing opposition from Confucianist reformers
 160-165 widespread rebellion in southern Jing province
 160-167 warfare with the Western Qiang beyond the frontier
 165 disgrace of the eunuchs Hou Lan, Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan; the Empress Deng is dismissed, replaced by the Lady Dou Miao; establishment of the *Laozi ming* stele
 166 imperial worship of Huang-Lao and the Buddha at Luoyang; Xiang Kai memorialises against misrule and extravagance; self-proclaimed ambassadors from the Roman empire come to the imperial court
 arrest and execution of the anti-eunuch officials Liu Zhi and Cheng Jin; arrest of Li Ying and two hundred others: the First Faction Incident
 167 men of Faction released from prison but proscribed from office
winter Emperor Huan dies; his Dowager Dou takes the regency, guided by her father Dou Wu and the senior Confucian official Chen Fan; men of Faction restored to office

Emperor Ling 靈帝 Liu Hong 劉宏 [*reg.* 168-189]

- 168 Liu Hong brought to the throne by the Dowager and Dou Wu
autumn eunuchs led by Wang Fu destroy Dou Wu and Chen Fan
 168-169 Duan Jiong's campaign of extermination against the Eastern Qiang
 169-181 continual raiding in the north by the Xianbi under Tanshihuai
 169 reformist opposition to the eunuch control of government
autumn arrest of Zhang Jian and others on charge of conspiracy: the Second Faction Incident
winter arrest and execution of Li Ying and others: the great Proscription
 171-185 recurrent and widespread outbreaks of pestilence
 172 purge of anti-eunuch students at the Imperial University
 175 the Confucian classics inscribed in stone
 176 proscription of men of Faction reinforced
 178 the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital established as an alternative route of entry into the imperial civil service; widespread sale of offices
 179-184 rebellions in Yi and Jing provinces and in the far south
 from c.180 numbers of popular sects, including the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue in the north, largely inspired by faith-healing against the regular epidemics
 181 death of Tanshihuai and easing of Xianbi raiding

- 184 *spring* rebellion of the Yellow Turbans ravages the north and east
winter rebellion in Liang province in the northwest
- 185 imperial palace damaged by fire; special taxes levied for rebuilding
- 188 first appointments of Governors to unify provincial administrations
- The Little Emperor** 少帝 Liu Bian 劉辯 [reg. 189]
- 189 *summer* death of Emperor Ling; the Dowager He and her brother He Jin set her son Liu Bian upon the throne and establish a regency government
autumn the eunuchs kill He Jin and are themselves massacred; the general Dong Zhuo takes power at Luoyang and deposes Liu Bian in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie
- Emperor Xian** 獻帝 Liu Xie 劉協 [reg. 189-220]
- 189 alliance in the east against Dong Zhuo, led by Yuan Shao
- 190 Dong Zhuo shifts the imperial capital to Chang'an
as the alliance breaks up, local officials set themselves up as warlords
- 191 Zhang Lu establishes a religious state in Hanzhong
- 192 Dong Zhuo killed by Wang Yun, who is in turn destroyed by Dong Zhuo's officers Li Jue, Guo Si and others
Cao Cao takes over in Yan province
- 195 Emperor Xian escapes from Chang'an
Sun Ce south of the Yangzi
- 196 the emperor comes to Xu city under Cao Cao's control
- 197 Yuan Shu takes the imperial title but is driven south by Cao Cao
- 198 Sun Ce independent in the lower Yangzi
- 199 Yuan Shao destroys Gongsun Zan in You province
death of Yuan Shu
- 200 Yuan Shao attacks Cao Cao but is defeated at Guandu
death of Sun Ce, succeeded by his brother Sun Quan
- 202 death of Yuan Shao, succeeded by his younger son Yuan Shang
- 203-206 Cao Cao takes over north China
- 207 Cao Cao defeats the Wuhuan at White Wolf Mountain
- 208 death of Liu Biao in Jing province; Cao Cao takes over, but is then defeated at the Red Cliffs on the Yangzi by the forces of Sun Quan and Liu Bei
- 210 Liu Bei occupies the south of Jing province
- 211 Cao Cao defeats the warlords of the northwest at the battle of Huayin
Liu Zhang invites Liu Bei into Yi province
- 214 Liu Bei takes Yi province from Liu Zhang
- 215 Zhang Lu surrenders Hanzhong to Cao Cao
- 219 *spring* Liu Bei defeats Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan at Dingjun Mountain and takes Hanzhong
autumn Liu Bei takes title as King of Hanzhong
Liu Bei's general Guan Yu attacks north in Jing province
winter Sun Quan's general Lü Meng attacks Guan Yu and seizes the south of Jing province
- 220 *spring* Cao Cao dies at Luoyang, succeeded by his son Cao Pi
winter Cao Pi receives the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han and proclaims himself Emperor of the Wei dynasty

TABLE 1: THE EMPERORS OF THE TWO HAN DYNASTIES

Part I: Former Han ¹			
<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>Personal name</i>	<i>Acceded</i>	<i>Died</i>
Gao 高 ²	Bang 邦	202	195
Hui 愚 ³	Ying 盈	195	188
[Empress-Dowager Lü 呂 of Emperor Gao] ⁴		187	180
Wen 文	Heng 恆	180	157
Jing 景	Qi 啓	157	141
Wu 武	Che 徹	141	87
Zhao 昭	Fuling 弗陵	87	74
Xuan 玄	Bingyi 病已	74 ⁵	49
Yuan 元	Shi 奭	49	33
Cheng 成	Ao 鰲	33	7
Ai 哀	Xin 欣	7	1
Ping 平	Jizi 箕子; later Kan 衍	1 BC	AD 6
[Wang Mang 王莽]		AD 6/9 ⁶	AD 23

¹ All dates in Part I are BC unless otherwise specified.

² The first emperor of Han is commonly referred to as Gaozu 高祖, a combination of his dynastic title Gao "High" and his temple name Taizu 太祖 "Grand Founder." *e.g.* Dubs 38:145

³ All emperors of Han except the two founders Gaozu and Guangwu had the prefix *Xiao* 孝 "Filial" to their posthumous dynastic names. It is customary to ignore this common factor.

⁴ The Dowager Lü exercised her power nominally on behalf of two infant emperors.

⁵ Liu He 劉賀 reigned for 27 days in 74, but was deposed for bad conduct. He received no dynastic title.

⁶ Wang Mang initially took title as "Acting" 假 or "Regent" 攝 Emperor on behalf of the infant Liu Ying 劉嬰 (AD 5-25), who was declared Heir in AD 6, but never reigned. In 9 Wang Mang demoted Liu Ying and proclaimed his own Xin dynasty. On Liu Ying, known as the "Young Prince" 孺子, see *sub voce*.

Part II: Later Han⁷

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>Personal name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Acceded</i>	<i>Died</i>
The Gengshi 更始 Emperor	Xuan 玄	[?]	11 Mar 23	Dec 25
Guangwu 光武	Xiu 秀	5 BC	5 Aug 25	29 Mar 57
Ming 明	Zhuang 莊 ⁸	28	29 Mar 57	5 Sep 75
Zhang 章	Da 烜	57	5 Sep 75	9 Apr 88
He 和	Zhao 肇	79	9 Apr 88	13 Feb 106
Shang 殤 "Young"	Long 隆	105	13 Feb 106	21 Sep 106
An 安	You 祐	94	23 Sep 106	30 Apr 125
Shao 少 "Little" ⁹	Yi 懿	[?]	18 May 125	10 Dec 125
Shun 順	Bao 保	115	16 Dec 125	20 Sep 144
Chong 冲	Bing 炳	143	20 Sep 144	15 Feb 145
Zhi 質	Zuan 纘	138	6 Mar 145	26 Jul 146
Huan 桓	Zhi 志	132	1 Aug 146	25 Jan 168
Ling 靈	Hong 宏	156	17 Feb 168	13 May 189
Shao 少 "Little" ⁹	Bian 辯	176	15 May 189 ¹⁰	26 March 190
Xian 獻	Xie 協	181	28 Sep 189 ¹¹	21 April 234

⁷ All dates in Part II are AD unless otherwise specified.

⁸ Emperor Ming initially had the personal name Yang 陽, but it was changed after he became Heir in 43.

⁹ Liu Yi and Liu Bian, below, each reigned for less than a year. The term Shao "Little" describes such a minor ruler; it was not strictly a dynastic title.

¹⁰ On 28 September 189 Dong Zhuo deposed Liu Bian in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie...

¹¹ On 25 November 200 Liu Xie abdicated the throne in favour of Cao Pi of Wei. He was thereafter known as the Duke of Shanyang 山陽公.

TABLE 2: THE IMPERIAL INHERITANCE OF LATER HAN
Part I: Emperor Guangwu to the Young Emperor

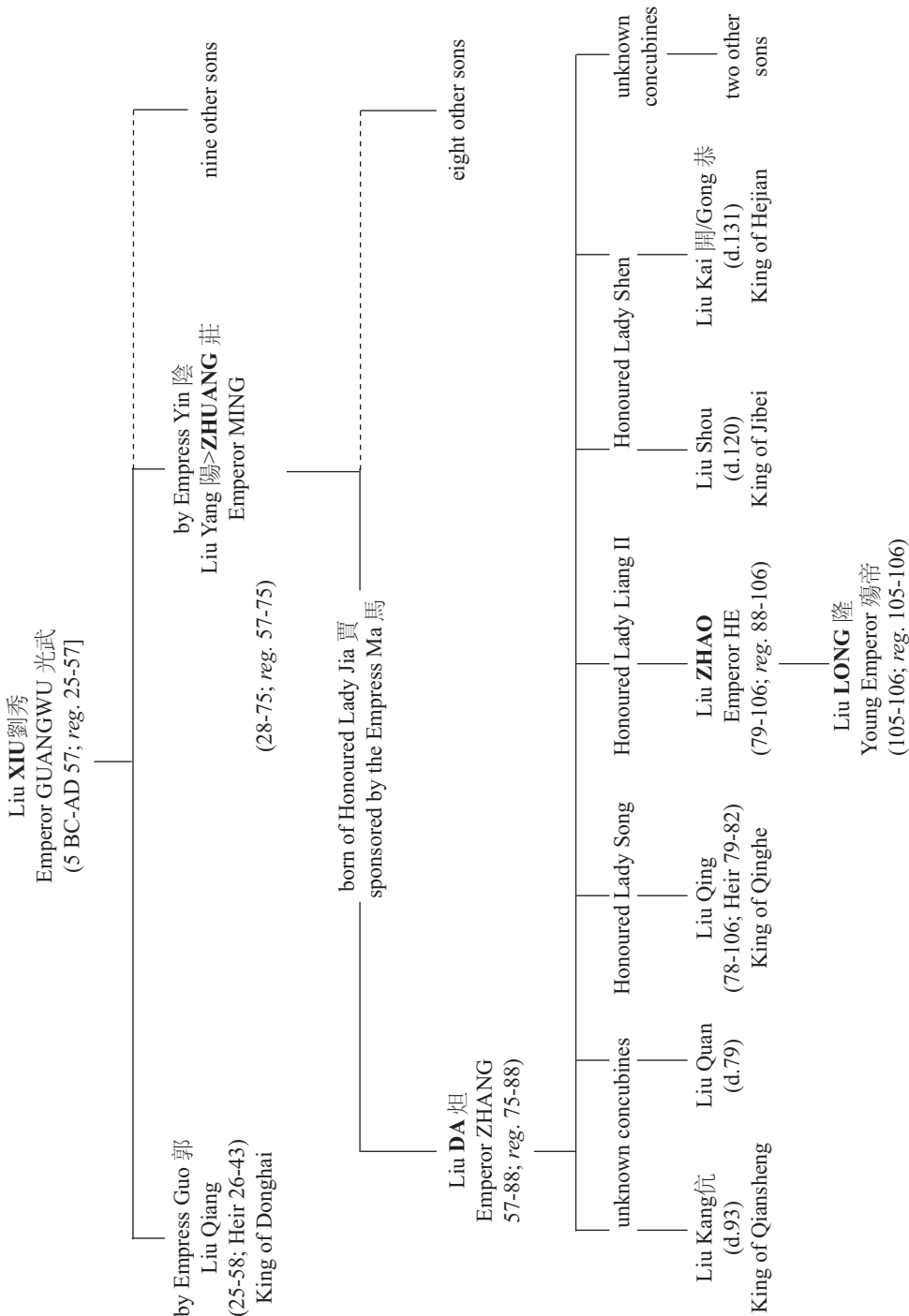
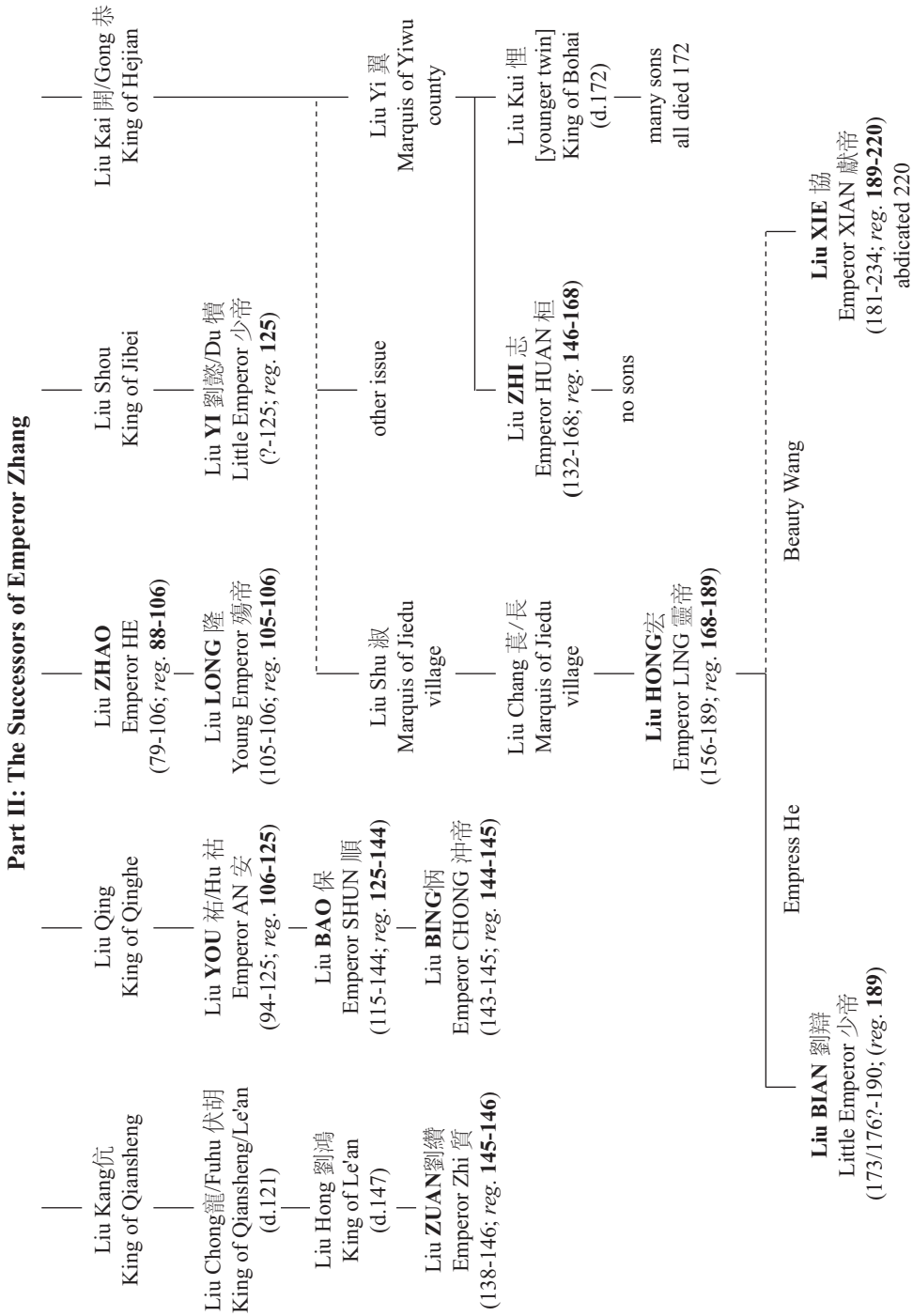


TABLE 2: THE IMPERIAL INHERITANCE OF LATER HAN



BIOGRAPHICAL LIST

A

Agui 阿貴 (d.214); Di. King of the Xingguo Di, in 213 Agui joined his colleague Qianwan to ally with Ma Chao. In the following year, however, Xiahou Yuan destroyed their camp in Wudu, killed Agui, and resettled his people in Youfufeng. -*SGZ* 30:838.

Ai [Aheng] 艾阿橫, the Lady; Wei. Long-lost mother of Pang Jian *q.v.*, she was later reunited with her husband and her son. -*FSTY* 3f:104.

Ai [Bojian] 艾伯堅; Runan. A nominee of the Administrator Li Chang about 150, Ai Bojian went with his colleague Zhou Ziju to take appointment at the imperial capital: see *sub* Li Chang 李偃 and Zhou Cheng 周乘.

Ai Bu 艾布 see Wen Bu 文布.

Ai Jiao 哀焦, the Lady. Ai Jiao's elder sister Ai Zhi, the wife of Zhang Chu, was seduced by Liu Dang the King of Lecheng. Zhang Chu was going to make an official complaint, but Liu Dang bribed Ai Jiao and she killed Zhang Chu. -*HHS* 50/40:1672.

Ai Zhi 哀置, the Lady. Formerly a servant in the imperial palace, Ai Zhi married a commoner named Zhang Chu. Liu Dang, King of Lecheng, had her come to his residence and had intercourse with her. Her husband Zhang Chu was going to make official complaint, but Liu Dang bribed Ai Zhi's younger sister Jiao to kill him. -*HHS* 50/40:1672.

Ajian 阿堅 (d.141); Wuhuan. A Wuhuan chieftain, in 140 Ajian joined his colleague Qiangqu in a rising to support the rebel Xiongnu leaders Wusi and Che'niu. In the following year they were defeated and killed by the Emissary Zhang Dan. -*HHS* 90/80:2983.

Aluoduo 阿羅多 of Further Jushi. King of Further Jushi in 153, Aluoduo quarrelled with the Chinese officer Yan Hao and attacked the Chinese military colony. His officer Tanzhe turned against him, however, and Aluoduo fled with his family to the Xiongnu.

The Chinese placed the former hostage prince Beijun upon the throne, but Aluoduo came back and fought for his position. To avoid further disruption the Chinese withdrew Beijun's insignia and accepted Aluoduo's submission. -*HHS* 88/78:2931.

An, Emperor 安帝 (*reg.* 106-125) see Liu You 劉祐.

An 安 of Shanshan. King of Shanshan in 41, An joined King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] in sending a joint tribute mission to the court of Emperor Guangwu.

Though Guangwu later withdrew Xian's commission as Protector-General, Xian then took the title for himself. In 46, realising that Han had no interest in the region, he planned to consolidate his power and sent instructions to block the road to China. King An refused to do this, so Xian brought an army against him. An was defeated and driven away into the hills, where he died. -*HHS* 88/78:2923-24.

An Cheng 安成 became an Administrator. -*FSTY* 5f:122. [*HS* 30:1744-45; *QHX*:1 refers to a Taoist scholar 道家 named Ancheng. It seems unlikely this is the same man.]

Ancheng 安成 see An Cheng 安成.

Ande 安得 of Further Jushi (d.75). King of Further Jushi, west of present-day Urumqi and north of the Bogda range, in 74 Ande surrendered to the Han commander Geng Bing and accepted a protectorate. As father of the [unnamed] king of Nearer Jushi, south of the range by present-day Shanshan, he also arranged the accession of that state to the Chinese.

A few months later the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu sent one of his kings to attack Jushi with twenty thousand horsemen. They defeated and destroyed the small force led by the Chinese colonel Geng Gong, then attacked Ande and killed him. -*HHS* 19/9:717, 720.

Andun 安敦 of Daqin 大秦. In 166 the court of Emperor Huan received a mission claiming to come from Andun, ruler of Daqin in the far west. Having travelled by sea to Rinan in the far south, the envoys presented ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise-shell, though the Chinese found these gifts less exotic than they had expected.

The name Andun may relate to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [*reg.* 161-180], but it is unlikely this was an official embassy. More probably it was a group of enterprising merchants, who may not have been subjects of Rome. On the other hand, recognition from such a distant and magical land enhanced the prestige

2 Anguo

of Emperor Huan, who had just purged his court of the Confucian reformers. -HHS 7:318, 88/78:2920.

Anguo 安國 (d.94); Xiongnu. Son of the Southern Shanyu Han and younger brother of the Shanyu Xuan, Anguo was Worthy King of the Left and Heir under the rule of his cousin the Shanyu Tuntuhe. He led Xiongnu auxiliaries in the campaigns of Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu, but achieved no distinction.

In 93 Anguo succeeded Tuntuhe as Shanyu, but he was over-shadowed by the prince Shizi, son of the former Shanyu Shi, who had made a name for himself by enthusiastic co-operation with the Chinese and by energetic attacks upon the Northern Xiongnu. Shizi now became the Heir, while Anguo was not popular and had no strong group of followers. He was jealous of his cousin's success and recognition, and he sought support among the surrendered northerners by showing hostility to their persecutor.

Anguo also quarrelled with the Emissary Du Chong, and in 94 he wrote to the court of Emperor He to complain about him. Du Chong intercepted the letter, then joined the General on the Liao Zhu Hui in reporting that they were doubtful of Anguo's loyalty and believed he was planning to assassinate Shizi and other pro-Chinese chieftains. The court ordered an investigation, but gave instructions that in the meantime Anguo should be subject to a special watch and guard.

One night, Du Chong and Zhu Hui led armed men to Anguo's camp. Fleeing in fear, Anguo gathered his own supporters and a number of surrendered Northern Xiongnu, and went to attack Shizi. Shizi took refuge in Manbo, headquarters of the General on the Liao, and the attack was unsuccessful. As Chinese reinforcements arrived, Anguo still refused to surrender, but he was killed by his own followers. No dynastic title is recorded for him.

Shizi succeeded as Shanyu, but this brought rebellion among the surrendered northerners, who proclaimed the southern prince Fenghou as Shanyu and escaped across the frontier to establish a state of their own. Du Chong and Zhu Hui were punished for their mistaken policy, and both men died in prison. -HHS 89/79:2954-56; deC 84:278-281.

Anguo 安國 of Shule [Kashgar]. About 115 King Anguo of Shule exiled his maternal uncle Chenpan on account of some fault. He later died without sons, and with support from the Great Yuezhi people Chenpan

returned to take the throne. -HHS 88/78:2917.

Anguo 安國 of Yutian [Khotan]. In 152 Anguo's father King Jian was assassinated by an officer of King Chengguo of Jumi [present-day Yutian], with the connivance of the Chinese. After a period of confusion Anguo came to the throne through a popular revolt, and his state became increasingly independent.

In 175 Anguo attacked Jumi, conquered it and killed the king. Chinese authorities raised an army and restored the independence of Jumi. -HHS 88/78: 2916 & 2915.

Annu 黯奴 "Black Slave" see Wu Dun 吳敦.

Anwei 岸尾 (d.167); Qiang. A leader of the Eastern Qiang, in the winter of 167 Anwei and his colleague Mobie gathered a number of groups to raid the region about Chang'an. They were defeated and killed by Zhang Huan's officers Yin Duan and Dong Zhuo. -HHS 65/55:2140, 87/77:2898.

Atong 阿佟 or Axiu 阿修; Xiongnu. A king of the Northern Xiongnu, he surrendered to the Chinese armies under Dou Xian shortly before the final defeat and disappearance of the Shanyu in 91. Dou Xian proposed to the court that Atong be appointed Shanyu, controlled by a Chinese resident in the same fashion as the Southern ruler. Many ministers agreed with this policy, but the Excellencies Yuan An and Ren Wei argued that Emperor Guangwu had recognised the Southern Shanyu as rightful head of the whole Xiongnu state, and the southern court should take over a re-united people on the steppe. After intense debate, the separate puppet state was approved, but Dou Xian was obliged to abandon his support for Atong and recognise Yuchujian, brother of the former Shanyu, who had claimed the succession in the north. -HHS 45/35:1520-21.

Axiu 阿修; Xiongnu: see Atong 阿佟. -HHJ 13:161.

Azu 阿族; Xiongnu. In 124 Azu was chief of a division of the Northern Xiongnu. He and his followers who had entered the Chinese frontier to take refuge from the Xianbi, but they now sought to return to the steppe with their families and their property. The Emissary Ma Yi chased them, caught and defeated them. Almost all the escapers were killed, and Ma Yi collected over ten thousand head of horses, cattle and sheep. -HHS 89/79:2959.

B

Ba 拔 (d.128); Xiongnu. Son of the former Southern Shanyu Chang, he succeeded his elder brother Tan in 124. His dynastic title is not recorded.

At this time the northern frontier was largely exposed to Xianbi raids, and one of Ba's senior officers was killed in the fighting. In 126 Ba petitioned the court of Emperor Shun for the strengthening of Han forces in the area. The reserve camp at Liyang, formerly in Wei commandery, was transferred temporarily to the north of Zhongshan, while increasing numbers of men from the border commanderies were called up and trained for militia service.

The new arrangements had some effect, but the appeal by Shanyu Ba marked the failure of the Xiongnu state to deal with the Xianbi. In the beginning the Southern Xiongnu had guarded the borders for Han; they now needed Chinese assistance and protection. - *HHS* 89/79:2959-60.

Ba Mao 巴茂; Beihai. A student and protégé of Ding Hong in the time of Emperor Zhang, Ba Mao later became Minister of Ceremonies. - *HHS* 37/27:1264, *FSTY* 5f:120.

Ba Mou 巴茂 see Ba Mao 巴茂.

Ba Qi 巴祗 see Ba Zhi 巴祗.

Ba Su 巴肅 [Gongzu 恭祖] (d.168); Bohai. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt in the time of Emperor Huan, Ba Su became a county magistrate in Runan and in Qinghe, but resigned each time because he disapproved of the commandery Administrators. Recruited later to the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang, he became a Consultant and was then Administrator of Yingchuan and Intendant of Henan. He was numbered among the popular heroes in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University during the late 160s.

Following the death of Emperor Huan, Ba Su supported the plans of Dou Wu and Chen Fan to overthrow the eunuchs. After Dou Wu and Chen Fan were destroyed in 168 Ba Su was proscribed from office and returned home, but as the eunuchs realised the full extent of his involvement they ordered his arrest. When Ba Su went to the county office, the magistrate offered to free him and escape with him, but Ba Su replied, "If a man is servant of another, he shares his plans and his punishment. I made no secret of my association with Dou Wu, so how can I seek to

avoid his fate?" He was executed.

A stele in honour of Ba Su was erected in the late 180s by Jia Cong the Inspector of Ji province. - *HHS* 67/57:2203* & 2187-88, *XC* 4:7a.

Ba Zhi 巴祗 [Jingzu 敬祖]. When Ba Zhi was Attendant Officer of his province, he refused to allow his wife and children to share his official lodgings, believing that scrupulous honesty was the best example to give the common people.

He was also personally generous, and when he was Inspector of Yang province in the early 180s he gave so much away that he had nothing left from his own salary. He was even obliged to repair his official hat with glue, then refused to light candles and sat in the dark so that his friends and clients would not notice.

As Inspector of Xu in 184 Ba Zhi held command against the Yellow Turbans, and he reported on the excellent conduct of the local leader Zhao Yu. - *XC* 5:6a-b & 5:1b, *HHSJJ* 76/66:2719 Hui Dong, *SGZ* 8:249.

Bahua 八滑 of Further Jushi. Bahua was a son of the former King Nongqi. In 125 the Chinese agent Ban Yong led Bahua and his brothers against the Northern Xiongnu. The campaign was successful, and while his elder brother Jitenu was made king, Bahua was granted honorary title as a marquis. - *HHS* 88/78:2930.

Bai see Bo *passim*.

Ban 班, the Lady; Youfufeng. Elder sister of Ban Gu and Ban Chao, and of the Lady Ban Zhao, she married a man of the Zhou surname and became the mother of Zhou Jizhen.

Ban 班 [personal name unknown: style Ziwen 子翁]. Younger brother of a member of the Imperial Secretariat, he was an Investigator in his commandery. - *LS* 12:9a-10a.

Ban Biao 班彪 [Shupi 叔皮] (3-54); Youfufeng. Member of an established official family, Ban Biao was a son of Ban Zhi 班稚, who was a friend of Wang Mang, and a nephew of Ban Jieyu 班婕妤, a concubine of Emperor Cheng of Former Han.

After the fall of Wang Mang and the subsequent collapse of the Gengshi regime at Chang'an, Ban Biao took refuge with the north-western warlord Wei Ao, and composed many of his proclamations. When Wei Ao asked about a possible division of the empire, Ban Biao warned him that the modern centralised state was more effective than the ancient house of Zhou 周. In his *Wangming lun* 王命論 "Essay on the Mandate"

4 Ban Chao

he observed that power depended upon the virtue of the sovereign and the blessings of Heaven, not upon simple force, and that the restored Han dynasty, with ancient lineage to the legendary Emperor Yao 堯, had the capacity to re-unite China [Loewe 86F:735-737, de Bary 60:192-196].

Such opinions were not acceptable to Wei Ao, and in 30 Ban Biao left him to join Dou Rong, who had lately come to an agreement with Emperor Guangwu of Han. Recommended by Dou Rong, he was nominated Abundant Talent and appointed a county magistrate in Linhuai. He left that post on account of ill health, and then held a number of brief appointments in various offices of the Excellencies.

Following the death of Wei Ao in 33 Ban Biao presented a memorial proposing the restoration of the office of Protector of the Qiang 護羌校尉, to supervise the border regions of the northwest where the non-Chinese lived amongst the Han people. His recommendation was accepted, though the post was not long maintained at this time.

For the most part, however, Ban Biao devoted himself to the compilation of a history of Former Han, aiming both to continue the *Shi ji* 史記 of Sima Qian 司馬遷 and also to improve it and correct bias. He followed the structure of *Shi ji*, with treatises 志 and tables 表 as well as annals and *liezhuan* 列傳, but restricted his work to the one dynastic period: this became an important model for historiography. The work was not complete by the time of his death in 54, but it was continued by his son Ban Gu and then by his daughter Ban Zhao. It is not possible to discern how much each of the three contributed to the final text of *Han shu* 漢書, but the bulk of the compilation is ascribed to Ban Gu.

About 47 Ban Biao returned to clerical office under the Excellency over the Masses Su Kuang, and soon afterwards presented a memorial urging that tutors be appointed for the Heir and his brothers. In 49, at the time of the embassy from the Wuhuan chieftain Haodan, he warned against too heavy reliance on Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries, and again proposed the appointment of a Protector of the Wuhuan 護烏桓校尉, to supervise both groups in the northeast. This was agreed.

Two years later, after the division of the Xiongnu and the endorsement of the Southern Shanyu Bi by the court of Han, the Northern Shanyu sent envoys

proposing peace and alliance. In the debate at court, Ban Biao evidently had a decisive voice, arguing that the proposals should be received, but not on terms of equality. He drafted a reply for the emperor, expressed in arrogant and ultimately unacceptable terms, and little more came of the overtures from the north.

Soon afterwards, at the recommendation of Su Kuang, Ban Biao was appointed a magistrate in Zhongshan, close to the northern frontier. He was popular with local people, but died in office some two years later.

Ban Biao left a quantity of literary work and official documents, as well as the design and the beginning of the great dynastic history which his son Ban Gu continued. His *Beizheng fu* 北征賦 "Rhapsody on a Northward Journey," written about 25 and describing his flight from Chang'an to take refuge with Wei Ao, is translated by Knechtges 87:164-171. -HS 100A-B*, HHS 40/30A:1313-30*; Bn 67:124-130, 135-137, QHX:4-5, Hulsewé 61, Knechtges 87:353-354.

Ban Chao 班超 [Zhongsheng 仲升] (32-102); Youfufeng. Youngest son of Ban Biao, Ban Chao was a brother of Ban Gu; they were born in the same year but are not described as twins, so either they were half-brothers or their mother had two children in swift succession. A strong-willed man, who paid small attention to formal conduct, Ban Chao acquired a general understanding of the classics and was a most loyal kinsman.

When Ban Gu fell foul of the authorities in the early 60s for his work on the history of Former Han, Ban Chao pleaded his case, and when Ban Gu was appointed to the imperial library Ban Chao and his mother accompanied him to Luoyang. The family was poor, and Ban Chao earned a living as a copy-clerk for the government offices. He was ambitious and frustrated. Emperor Ming spoke well of him and gave him appointment as a clerk at the Orchid Terrace, but this was not the work that he wanted and he was later dismissed for some fault.

In 73, however, as the general Dou Gu embarked on his punitive expedition against the Xiongnu, Ban Chao, now forty years old, was appointed as an assistant major. He distinguished himself in command of a detachment against the Xiongnu, and Dou Gu then appointed him to accompany the staff officer Guo Xun on a preliminary embassy to the Western Regions.

As the group arrived at the capital of Shanshan by

Lop Nor, King Guang also received an embassy from his allies the Northern Xiongnu. Ban Chao and a small party of followers slaughtered the Xiongnu envoys and presented the king with their heads. Overwhelmed, King Guang sent hostages to Han.

When this was reported, Ban Chao was rewarded with cloth, while Emperor Ming and Dou Gu agreed that he should be sent on a longer-term mission with rank as a full major. Dou Gu offered him additional troops but Ban Chao was content with the thirty men he had: any more would be clumsy.

Moving past Shanshan along the Southern Road, Ban Chao arrived at Yutian [Khotan], which was locally powerful but had a Xiongnu Resident. King Guangde received him with minimal courtesy, and his soothsayer told him to demand that Ban Chao give him his horse. Ban Chao killed the man, and Guangde was so impressed by such ruthlessness that he killed the Xiongnu agent and offered submission to Han.

Continuing west, Ban Chao and his party came to Shule [Kashgar], where the king had been deposed by King Jian of Qiuzi [Kuqa] and replaced by his officer Douti. Local opponents to the new regime offered support, and Ban Chao's officer Tian Lü took Douti captive. Ban Chao then put Zhong, a prince of the native dynasty, on the throne, but he also insisted on a show of leniency, so Douti was sent back to Qiuzi unharmed.

Further north, the Xiongnu had returned in some strength, and in 75 the state of Yanqi [Karashar] destroyed the Protector-General Chen Mu and besieged the colonels Geng Gong and Guan Chong. Qiuzi and its allied state Gumo, near present-day Aksu, then brought an army against Shule, and though Ban Chao supported King Zhong for several months, the new government of Emperor Zhang, concerned he could be cut off, ordered him to return. The withdrawal was seen as betrayal by the people of Yanqi, and in Yutian they sought to hold Ban Chao back. Fearing they would not let him go, and inspired by his original ambitions, Ban Chao turned back to Shule. He defeated the enemy, killed some turncoats, and restored authority. For the next several years, as he expanded Han influence by diplomatic means, Shule was his base of operations.

In 78 Ban Chao brought ten thousand men from Shule, Yutian, and neighbouring Jumi to attack Gumo, aided apparently by a contingent from distant Kangju [Sogdiana]. After an initial success, he asked

for reinforcements, and offered the possibility of controlling all the Western Regions with the aid of allies. Emperor Zhang approved, and in 80 Ban Chao's former comrade Xu Gan was sent to support him with a thousand reprieved convicts and non-Chinese auxiliaries. There was a rebellion in Shule, soon put down, but no further immediate action took place.

In 83 Ban Chao was promoted Chief Clerk in Command of Troops, with music and banners appropriate to an independent command, and began preparations to attack Qiuzi. Before he embarked on the project, he wanted support, or at least tolerance, from the Wusun people of the Tian Shan ranges, who overlooked the left flank of his advance. He asked that an embassy be sent, and Emperor Zhang approved, but the envoy Li Yi then claimed that Ban Chao's plans would fail, and criticised him for keeping his wife and children with him. Ban Chao, embarrassed, sent his family back to China, but Emperor Zhang trusted him and when the Wusun sent hostages, Li Yi was sent to escort them to Luoyang.

In the following year Ban Chao received another eight hundred reinforcements, but now the king of Suoju [Shache/Yarkand] was recalcitrant and Ban Chao led troops from Shule and Yutian against him. Then King Zhong of Shule turned against the Chinese, and Ban Chao was obliged to go back. Rallying those who continued to support China, he proclaimed his own nominee to replace Zhong. The western state of Kangju sent aid to the enemy, and there was a stand-off for several months. Ban Chao sent gifts of silk to the Great Yuezhi, or Kushans, in the north of present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, who were linked by marriage to the Kangju royal house, and eventually the Kangju troops withdrew and took Zhong with them.

Later, having made a secret alliance with Qiuzi and obtained troops from Kangju, Zhong made a false offer of submission. Ban Chao pretended to agree, but killed him at the welcoming banquet and then eliminated his last supporters.

Suoju, however, remained a problem, and Ban Chao took 25,000 men from Yutian and neighbouring cities against it. The king of Qiuzi sent 50,000 men to support Suoju, but Ban Chao made a false retreat, deceived him into dividing his army, then attacked the Suoju camp directly. Surprised and heavily defeated, Suoju was forced to surrender and the army of Qiuzi withdrew. Though the *Annals of HHS* 3:156 record

6 Ban Gu

this success in 86, it seems more probable that final victory was achieved in 87. In any case Ban Chao's authority affected all the Western Regions.

The Great Yuezhi had formerly sent a contingent to aid Han forces against the states of Jushi about Turfan. They now sent tribute and hostages, but asked for a princess from China in return. Ban Chao rejected their embassy, and in 90 the Yuezhi sent an army of 70,000 against him. As Ban Chao conducted a scorched-earth policy, the Yuezhi began to run out of food. Their commander Xie attempted to purchase supplies from Qiuzi, but Ban Chao waylaid the messengers, killed them, and then showed their heads to Xie, who now sought only to retreat without harassment. The Yuezhi were suitably subdued, and Ban Chao was respected even more.

At this time, moreover, the great campaigns of Dou Xian had destroyed the Northern Xiongnu in the Mongolian steppe, and in 91 Qiuzi and its allies Gumo and Wensu submitted to Han. Ban Chao was named Protector-General of the Western Regions, with Xu Gan as his Chief Clerk. King Youlido of Qiuzi was deposed and sent to Luoyang, while the former hostage prince Boba was placed upon the throne. Ban Chao took up residence at Qiuzi and Xu Gan camped at Suoju.

There remained now only Yanqi and its satellite states Weixu and Weili, which had been responsible for the death of the Protector-General Chen Mu in 75. In the autumn of 94 Ban Chao led a large army, with contingents drawn from Qiuzi in the west to Shanshan in the east, against Yanqi. King Guang came to Weili and gave formal submission, but he later attempted to keep the Han army from his territory, then planned to escape into the mountains. Ban Chao caught him and killed him. After plundering the city to avenge Chen Mu, he placed the former hostage prince Yuanmeng on the throne.

After six months to settle Yanqi, Ban Chao set his base at Yutian, and in 95 an imperial decree granted him a county marquisate with revenue from a thousand households. In 97 he sent Gan Ying on his celebrated mission to explore the far west, and it is claimed that tribute arrived from the most distant countries.

Ban Chao's career and his relation to the throne had evidently not been affected by the execution of his brother Ban Gu in 92, but in 100 he sent in a request to retire on grounds of age and ill health; he was now

almost seventy, and he observed that the barbarians showed little respect for old men. His appeal was supported by his sister Ban Zhao, and in 102 it was approved. After thirty years in the west, Ban Chao returned to Luoyang in the autumn. He died just one month later.

Ban Chao was succeeded as Protector-General by Ren Shang, but in 106 there was a general rising against Chinese power, and in 107 the empire in the Western Regions was abandoned. -HHS 47/37:1571-86*, 88/78:2910, XC 2:12a & 7b-8a; Chavannes 06, 07.

Ban Gu 班固 [Mengjian 孟堅] (32-92); Youfufeng. Son of Ban Biao, Ban Gu was precocious by the age of nine, and he became well-read, though he appears to have had no recognised teacher and he did not engage in the detailed commentaries which were popular at the time. The philosopher Wang Chong admired him, but there were some who said that his scholarship was superficial. He was in any case distinguished primarily for his literary ability.

About 57 Ban Gu presented an essay to Liu Cang the King of Dongping, favoured brother of Emperor Ming, who became his patron. Later, according to Wang Chong, when a flock of strange birds appeared at the imperial palace the emperor ordered his officials to present hymns to these magical creatures, but only the compositions of Ban Gu, Jia Kui and three others were of suitable quality: *Lun heng* 37; Forke 11:274.

Some time later Ban Gu retired to his home to work on the history of Former Han begun by his father. When it was reported to the throne that he was making unauthorised changes to the records of the dynasty, an edict ordered his arrest and the seizure of his books. Ban Gu's younger brother Ban Chao, however, obtained an audience with the emperor and pleaded his case, while the commandery office sent in samples of his work. Emperor Ming was impressed, and appointed Ban Gu to junior office as a collator in the imperial library. It was probably about this time that he presented his *Liangdu fu* 兩都賦 "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals," describing the glories of Chang'an and Luoyang but also praising the moral achievements of Later Han in contrast to the ostentation of the Former dynasty. He also compiled *Li sao jing zhangju* 離騷經章句, a detailed commentary to the poem of Qu Yuan 屈原.

In 72 Ban Gu was promoted and appointed to the Orchid Terrace, where he chaired a committee of

historians commissioned to compile the annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu, 世祖本紀 *Shizu benji*. The Ban family had long links with the Dou clan, so he and his colleague Yin Min evidently supported their interests, while their colleagues Meng Ji and Ma Yan were chosen to represent the rival faction of the Empress Ma; two other scholars were neutral. The work was based on official archives, and Ban Gu also compiled biographies of some leading assistants of Guangwu and of his rival Gongsun Shu. The whole work, renamed "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Hanji*. It was presented to the throne in twenty-eight *pian*, and Emperor Ming then approved Ban Gu's continuation of the history of Former Han.

Ban Gu was somewhat frustrated and embarrassed at his failure to obtain senior office, but after Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, and particularly following the appointment of the Empress Dou in 78, he received great access to the palace. Appointed Major of the Xuanwu Gate, primarily a sinecure with a higher salary, he composed pieces for a number of court ceremonies and imperial occasions, and when the imperial conference on Confucian scholarship was held at the White Tiger Hall 白虎觀 in 79 Ban Gu was responsible for much of the work of recension; it is not known, however, how much of the text of the present *Bohu tong* 白虎通 can be ascribed to his brush.

The greater part of *Han shu* was published in the early 80s, and it was immediately accepted by scholars and other people of the time. On the other hand, it is recorded that Ban Gu's sister Ban Zhao was later ordered to complete the history, and besides additional chapters she probably carried out some editorial work.

In the middle 80s, when the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu sent messengers asking for a treaty, Ban Gu presented a memorial arguing for peace. In 88 he left office after the death of his mother, but in the following year he joined the staff of the general Dou Xian as he embarked on his campaign to destroy the Northern Shanyu. Following a triumphant progress to the north, Ban Gu composed the text of a celebratory stele which was erected at Mount Yanran in the heart of the enemy's homeland. He was then sent on an embassy to the Shanyu, but by the time his party arrived the Northern court had been put to flight and Dou Xian then arranged its final destruction.

In 92 Emperor He, hitherto under the control of the Dowager Dou, destroyed the Dou family in a coup. Ban Gu was dismissed from office as an associate of Dou Xian, and the Prefect of Luoyang Chong Jing, an old enemy, had him arrested. Ban Gu died in prison. -*HS* 100, *HHS* 40/30A-B:1330-86*; Bn 79:121, *QHX*:5-6, Hulsewé 61, Tjan 49, Mather 76:559, Knechtges 82.

We are told that as Emperor He was preparing to deal with the Dou he referred to Ban Gu's chapter on imperial relatives by marriage in *Han shu*. Since the coup against his patron brought Ban Gu's death, this may be taken as a striking, albeit unfortunate, example of the relevance of historical research: see *HHS* 55/45:1800-01.

Ban Ji 班姬 the Lady; see the Lady Ban Zhao 班昭.

Ban [Mengjian] 班孟堅; Taishan. Having served as an officer of the Imperial Secretariat, Ban Mengjian became Inspector of Yan province about 150. He probably died in that office, for a stele was set up in his honour near the provincial headquarters at Changyi in Shanyang. -*SJZ* 8:22a. [One must distinguish this person from the historian Ban Gu, who also had the style Mengjian.]

Ban Shi 班始 (d.130); Youfufeng. Son of Ban Xiong, about 116 he inherited his fief. He married the Princess Liu Xiande, a daughter of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe and an aunt of Emperor Shun.

Ban Shi's wife was arrogant and vicious. When she took a lover she would call Ban Shi into the room and had him stand at the bed-side to watch. At last, in 130, Ban Shi became so angry that he stabbed her to death.

Emperor Shun had Ban Shi executed by being cut in two at the waist 要斬. He was going to have Ban Shi's brothers and sisters (whose names are not recorded) killed too, but apparently dissuaded by Xue Qin. -*HHS* 6:257, 47/37:1586, 101/11:3243, which last claims that the execution was carried out in the Horse Market 馬市 at Luoyang.

Ban Xiong 班雄; Youfufeng. Eldest son of Ban Chao, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in 102. As rebellions broke out in central Asia in 107, Ban Xiong commanded one of the contingents sent out from Dunhuang to withdraw the Chinese garrisons from the region.

After various other appointments, Ban Xiong became a colonel in the Northern Army, and in 115 he was sent with troops from that force to camp in the region of Chang'an and guard against the rebel Qiang.

8 Ban Yi

He was then appointed Intendant of Jingzhao, but died soon afterwards. -HHS 47/37:1586-87, 87/77:2889.

Ban Yi 班姬, the Lady: see the Lady Ban Zhao 班昭.

Ban Yong 班勇 [Yiliao 宜僚]; Youfufeng. Third and youngest son of Ban Chao, he inherited much of his father's character. As a major in 107, he accompanied his brother Xiong to assist the withdrawal from central Asia.

In 120 the Chinese agent Suo Ban was killed by King Junjiu of Further Jushi, allied to the Xiongnu, while the ruler of Nearer Jushi, ally of Han, was driven from his throne. When the ruler of the loyal state of Shanshan sent for help, Cao Zong the Administrator of Dunhuang proposed an expedition, but a majority at court opposed any involvement in the Western Regions. The regent Dowager Deng invited Ban Yong to comment, evidently as heir to his father, and though he did not support a full campaign he did propose a cautious advance: to establish a Senior Colonel Protector of the Western Regions 護西域副校尉 with a garrison in Dunhuang, and an agent at Shanshan to supervise a military colony.

Members of the court were concerned variously about the dangers of Xiongnu raiding and the cost of paying for greedy tribute missions. Ban Yong responded to these questions, and it was agreed that the Han claim to supremacy in the west should be revived, that residents should be sent to various city-states, with their presence backed by a garrison of three hundred men established in Dunhuang. It was judged too ambitious to establish military colonies at this time.

The Xiongnu and the kingdoms of Jushi, however, constantly raided the west of Liang province, and in 123 Ban Yong was given title as Chief Clerk for the Western Regions and was sent out with five hundred convict conscripts. Arriving at Shanshan in 124, he presented royal insignia to King Youhuan and persuaded King Boying of Qiuzi [Kuqa] and his allies of Gumo and Wensu to pay obeisance. With the troops of these states he defeated a Xiongnu army and conquered Nearer Jushi, then set up a military colony at Liuzhong and proceeded to clear the Northern Road.

In 125 Ban Yong brought six thousand cavalry from the north-western commanderies to support the troops of Shanshan, Shule [Kashgar], and Nearer Jushi in an attack on Further Jushi. They captured King Junjiu and

his Xiongnu ambassador, executed both men at the place where Suo Ban had been killed six years earlier, and sent their heads to Luoyang.

In 126 Ban Yong appointed Junjiu's son Jiatenu as king in his stead, and he sent an officer to kill and replace the king of Eastern Qiemi [Urumqi]. All the states of Turfan had now submitted, and in the winter Ban Yong sent them against the Xiongnu king in that region. The Xiongnu were defeated and 20,000 surrendered. One of those taken was a nephew of the Shanyu, and Ban Yong forced King Jiatenu to kill the prisoner with his own hand. The Shanyu himself now brought an army, but he was driven back with loss and no further attacks were made.

Yanqi [Karashar] still kept itself independent, and Ban Yong received permission to attack. In 127 he took command of an allied army while the Administrator of Dunhuang Zhang Lang was sent to join him with three thousand men. As Zhang Lang arrived early, King Yuanmeng submitted after a brief engagement, but Ban Yong was then accused of being late at the rendezvous. He was sent to prison, and though he was later amnestied he held no further official positions and died at home.

The achievements of Ban Yong in restoring a Chinese presence in the far west may be compared to those of his father, but they were not so extensive in time or space. Ban Yong was in the west for less than five years, while Ban Chao was there for more than thirty. Moreover, while Ban Chao had spread the authority of Han over the whole Tarim basin and across the Pamirs, Ban Yong's direct operations went little further than Shanshan and Yanqi. The west of the Tarim evidently endorsed Han authority, and some agents were placed in the various states, but there was no firm and consistent Chinese control, while the Wusun and peoples further west had no political contact. The general settlement, on the other hand, was maintained until the 150s. -HHS 47/37:1587-90*; Chavannes 06.

Ban Zhao 班昭, the Lady [Huiji 惠姬]; Youfufeng. [HHS 84/74 says that the Lady's style was Huiban 惠班 and she had the alternative personal name Ji 姬, but this is probably a corruption of the text. She is also known as Cao Dagu 曹大家 "Aunt Cao:" see below.]

Daughter of Ban Biao, born about 48, the Lady was some thirteen years younger than her brothers Ban Gu and Ban Chao. About 70, at the age of fourteen *sui*,

she married Cao Shou, also a man of Youfufeng, and they had one son, Cao Cheng. Cao Shou died at an early age, probably in the 80s, and the Lady remained faithful to his memory as an unmarried widow. In the family tradition, she obtained a broad education and was celebrated for her scholarship.

In 92 the Lady's brother Ban Gu was executed on account of his association with the disgraced general Dou Xian. Though he had compiled much of the history of the Former Han dynasty, *Han shu* 漢書, and some parts had been in circulation before his death, at least eight tables 表 and the Treatise on Astronomy 天文志 remained unfinished, while it appears that much of the manuscript was still in disorder. It seems likely the Lady Ban had been working with her brother, and Emperor He took the remarkable step of ordering her appointment to the Eastern Pavilion, to complete the history from the library there and from official archives. Not only was this an unusual position for a woman, but the ruler himself had authorised the death of the Lady's brother: the value placed upon this first dynastic history could not have been demonstrated more clearly.

The *Han shu* project certainly involved more than a simple supplementation, for it was continued over several years, and it is not possible to assess just how much of the final work should be attributed to Ban Biao, Ban Gu, Ban Zhao, or their various collaborators. The Tang scholar Liu Zhiji claims that the Lady was authorised to choose ten scholars, including the celebrated Ma Rong, to receive her guidance on reading the work and on its compilation [*Shitong* 12:339]. Ma Rong's elder brother Ma Xu certainly worked with the Lady Ban, but no other collaborators can be identified. Though *HHS* 10A:424, says that the Lady Ban instructed the Empress Deng on astronomy and mathematics as well as the classics and histories [see below], it is generally accepted that the Treatise of Astronomy of *Han shu* was compiled by Ma Xu, who was a distinguished mathematician. Swann 32:46, notes that the development of paper took place at this time, and the formal announcement of its invention by the eunuch Cai Lun was made in 105. It may be that some of the work of the Lady Ban included the transposition of her brother's text from bamboo to the new material.

Besides her work on *Han shu*, the Lady Ban was several times called to court, and Emperor He had

her act as tutor to his Empress Deng and the leading concubines. Honoured with the title "Aunt" [大家 *Dajia* (in this context commonly sounded as *Dagu* 大姑)], she was commissioned to compile rhapsodies and hymns and received many gifts and rewards. About 101 she presented a memorial requesting that her brother Ban Chao, now seventy years old, be permitted to return to China from his position in the Western Regions. This was approved and Ban Chao returned to Luoyang in 102.

As the Dowager Deng took power after the death of Emperor He in 106, the Lady Ban continued to be her close companion, while her son Cao Cheng was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. In 110 Deng Zhi and the other brothers of the Dowager sought leave to relinquish their high positions on account of the death of their mother. The Dowager was at first reluctant, but she consulted the Lady Ban who convinced her of the wisdom of such a show of self-abnegation. Her memorial is preserved in her biography in *HHS*.

When Ban Zhao died about 120, aged over seventy, the Dowager Deng wore mourning for her and sent officials to supervise her funeral. Besides her work on *Han shu*, Ban Zhao is noted for her *Nü jie* 女誡 "Precepts for Women" addressed to her unmarried daughters. With titles such as "Husband and Wife" 夫婦 and "Respect and Devotion" 敬慎, the theme of the seven essays is the importance of a woman's maintaining the proper relationship with her husband and his family, including the essential of marital fidelity and the requirement that widows should not remarry. Admiring the work, Ma Rong had the women of his family study and practise it; together with the *Nü zhuan* 女傳 "Biographies of Women" compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 of Former Han the *Precepts* became models of exhortatory writing encouraging the self-suppression of women.

The Lady's daughter-in-law the Lady Ding compiled her literary works in sixteen *pian* under the title *Cao Dagu ji* 曹大家集. As well as the *Precepts*, some texts survive in the *Wen xuan* collection of Xiao Tong, including the rhapsodies *Dongzheng fu* 東征賦 "Rhapsody on an Eastward Journey," written when the Lady accompanied her son Cao Cheng to appointment in Chenliu [translated by Knechtges 87:172-180], and *Daque fu* 大雀賦 "The Great Bird [from the West]," composed in honour of an ostrich presented to the court by her brother Ban Chao in 101.

Fan Ye placed the biography of Ban Zhao in his Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳, and she is cited in the table of contents as the wife of Cao Shou. The history thus emphasises her importance as a model and mentor to others, rather than her scholarly achievements. -HHS 84/74:2784-92*, XC 7b-8a; Swann 32, Hulsewé 61, *Texts*:129-130 [Hulsewé], Knechtges 87:356, MBeck 90:196-197, C/C 99:43.

Bao 鮑, the Lady; Jingzhao. Mother of Bao Chu 鮑出, she died about 235, aged over a hundred. -SGZ 18:553.

Bao 豹; Xiongnu. Bao was a son of the claimant Southern Shanyu Yufulu, but at his father's death in 195 his uncle Huchuquan took over the nominal title and named Bao as Worthy King of the Left.

In 216 Cao Cao rearranged the government of the Xiongnu state into five regions, and put Bao in command of the Western Division 左部帥. The *Jin shu* biography of the early fourth century chieftain Liu Yuan/Yuanhai 劉元/元海 says that Bao held the Liu surname and was the father of Liu Yuan. The modern scholar Tang Changru, however, has argued that this was no more than a propaganda attempt to identify Liu Yuan with the great imperial lineages of the past. -JS 101:2645; deC 84:537, Tang 55:396-403.

Bao 苞 [surname unknown]; Nanyang. A eunuch, he entered the palace in the time of Emperor An and remained in the imperial service until the late 160s, holding office as Coachman of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager, and Regular Attendant, and receiving enfeoffment as a marquis. He was buried in a richly decorated tomb park. -S/JZ 31:4b-5a.

Though he reached high rank and shared in the eunuchs' power during the reign of Emperor Huan, S/JZ 31 provides the only information on Bao's career; there is no record of his surname.

Bao Ang 鮑昂 [Shuya 叔雅]; Shangdang. Noted for his filial piety, Bao Ang cared for his father Bao De during his long illness and after his death he withdrew from the world. He was nominated and invited to office, but would not accept. He died at home. -HHS 29/19:1023, XC 1:8a.

Bao [Boxiang] 寶伯向; Youfufeng. Noted for literary and scholarly ability in the latter part of the first century, Bao Boxiang later had an official career. -HHS 80/70A:2617.

Bao Cheng 鮑成 of Jingzhao was a younger brother of Bao Chu 鮑出.

Bao Chu 鮑初 of Jingzhao was the eldest brother of Bao Chu 鮑出.

Bao Chu 鮑出 [Wencai 文才]; Jingzhao. As a young man, Bao Chu took pleasure in acting as a knight errant. In the middle 190s the region about Chang'an became seriously disturbed and Bao Chu and his family were short of food. Leaving their mother at home, Bao Chu and his brothers went out to look for wild berries and fruits; when they had gathered some Bao Chu sent three of the party back while he and one other brother continued their foraging.

As the brothers returned home, however, they found that a gang of bandits had seized the household and taken their mother captive. They were frightened and dared not chase after them. Then Bao Chu came back. Furious at their cowardice, he embarked on the quest alone. He caught up with the bandits and attacked, killing several of them, withstood their counter-attack, and continued to fight and kill until the survivors asked what he wanted. He obtained the release of his mother, but continued his one-man offensive until they freed another woman, whom Bao Chu claimed as his sister-in-law.

Bao Chu later took his mother to Jing province, but in 200, as their homeland appeared more secure, he brought her back. The Lady could not walk, and his brothers wanted to transport her in a carriage, but Bao Chu felt that the road was too steep and rough, so he constructed a basket and carried her on his back.

The leading families of the territory admired Bao Chu's dedication, and he was invited to office by both the commandery and the provincial administrations. He refused, however, for he believed himself too humble to acquire the trappings of an official.

The elderly Lady Bao died about 235, aged over a hundred, and though Bao Chu was more than seventy he carried out full mourning for her. He lived another ten to twenty years, but retained the appearance of a man in his fifties or sixties. -SGZ 18:553.

Bao Dan 鮑丹; Taishan. A celebrated Confucian, Bao Dan became Minister Steward and a Palace Attendant under Emperor Ling. -SGZ 12:384.

Bao De 鮑德/得; Shangdang. Son of Bao Yu; when his father became an Excellency in 74 Bao De was made a gentleman cadet. Admired for his moral qualities, as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates in 88 he persuaded Dou Xiang to intercede with his brother Dou Xian on behalf of the official Chen Chong.

Bao De later became Administrator of Nanyang, where he rebuilt schools, honoured old people, and encouraged scholarship and music. As neighbouring territories suffered famine, Nanyang had good harvests; the people praised him as their Spiritual Father 神父.

After nine years Bao De returned to the capital and became Minister of Finance. He died in that office [but cf. *sub* his son Bao Ang]. -HHS 29/19:1022-23, HQ 2:7b.

Bao Die 鮑疊 [Wengong 文公]; Shangdang. A magistrate in Lu in the early 150s, Bao Die joined the Chancellor Yi Ying in a petition asking that an official be appointed to supervise ceremonies at the Temple of Confucius. An edict of 153 gave approval and a commemorative stele was erected. -LS 1:16b.

Bao Fu 鮑福; Kuaiji. Son of Bao Xian, he maintained his father's tradition of scholarship in the *Analects* and tutored the young Emperor He in that field. -HHS 79/69B:2570.

Bao Hong 鮑鴻/洪 (d.189); Youfufeng. In 185 Bao Hong joined Dong Zhuo in defeating the rebels of Liang province at Meiyang.

In 188 Bao Hong was a colonel in the Northern Army at Luoyang, then transferred to the newly-formed brigade of the Western Garden, personal corps of Emperor Ling.

Later that year Bao Hong was sent to attack a group of Yellow Turbans in Runan, but he was reported by the Governor Huang Wan for embezzling local funds. He died in prison. -HHS 8:356-57, HHSJJ 61/51:2213 Shen Qinhan.

There is some uncertainty from the text whether Bao Hong was a man from Youfufeng or was the Administrator of that commandery in 185. There was, however, a local Bao family [see Bao Hui below] and it would be strange for a former Administrator with a successful military record to have held only the rank of a colonel three years later. It seems more likely that Bao Hong raised local troops to assist Dong Zhuo against the incursion by the rebels of Liang province.

Bao Hui 鮑恢; Youfufeng. A clerical officer of the Excellency over the Masses about 30, Bao Hui called at the home of the senior official Wang Liang in Donghai and was surprised at the humble circumstances of his wife and family.

About 35 Bao Hui was a senior assistant to the Director of Retainers Bao Yong. The two men came from different commanderies and were not closely

related, but both were strict and fearless. Emperor Guangwu noted how the two Bao were held in respect by members of the imperial family. -HHS 27/17:933, 29/19:1020; Bn 79:139.

Bao Ji 鮑吉. Intendant of Henan in 159, Bao Ji assisted the coup of Emperor Huan against the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. In the following year he and Zhang Biao, who had been Director of Retainers at that time, were enfeoffed as marquises. -HHJ 21:252.

Bao Jiu 鮑就. Inspector of Yan province in 126-127, Bao Jiu was accused of conspiring with the eunuch Zhang Fang, with Gaotang Zhi and members of the Imperial Secretariat, and with a number of frontier officials. Two men were executed, but Bao Jiu and others were permitted to purchase relief. -HHS 101/11:3243.

Two men accused of the conspiracy had the personal name Jiu; the other was Yin Jiu, an officer of the Secretariat. The history has only the personal names of the two men executed, and one of the names is Jiu. The Kyoto index identifies this unfortunate man as Bao Jiu, but the order of the Chinese text, and the fact that the other man killed was Jiang Shu, also a member of the Secretariat, suggests that it was Yin Jiu who suffered. See also *sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Bao Jun 鮑駿/俊; Jiujiang. A student of the *Classic of History* and a former pupil of Huan Rong, Bao Jun was a friend and colleague of Ding Hong. When Ding Hong sought to abandon his family fief and travel as a private scholar, Bao Jun persuaded him to return home and set up his own academy. He told Emperor Ming of Ding Hong's fine morality and concern for scholarship, so Ding Hong was offered appointment in the government and later became an Excellency. -HHS 37/27:1263.

Bao Shao 鮑邵; Taishan. Son of Bao Xin, he was enfeoffed in 212 in memory of his father's loyalty and service to Cao Cao. He later became Commandant of Cavalry with the Staff of Authority. -SGZ 12:383 & 384.

Bao Sheng 鮑升; Shangdang. Son of Bao Xuan and younger brother of Bao Yong; early in the reign of Wang Mang Bao Sheng was arrested by the Commandant Lu Ping because of the commitment to Han shown by his father and his brother, but he was released soon afterwards by the Administrator Zhao Xing 趙興.

In 25, as Bao Yong held out in Taiyuan for the lost cause of the Gengshi regime, Bao Sheng and his

12 Bao Si

kinsman by marriage Zhang Shu captured Huangcheng in Shangdang, which had been held by Guangwu's Administrator Tian Yi. -HHS 29/19:1017, 28/18A:975-76.

Bao Si 暴汜. Administrator of Huaiyang for the Gengshi Emperor in 23, in the following year Bao Si came to terms with Liu Yong, King of Liang and claimant to the imperial title.

In 26, however, Bao Si surrendered to Guangwu's general Jia Fu. -HHS 17/7:666; Bn 59:134, 152.

Bao Xian 鮑咸 [Ziliang 子良] (8 BC-65 AD); Kuaiji. As a young man in the time of Wang Mang, Bao Xian studied with the Academician Youshi Xijun 右師細君 at Chang'an, and became expert in the *Analects* and the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu. As he was returning home about 20 he was captured by the Red Eyebrows in Donghai, but he so impressed the bandits by his chanting of the *Poetry* that they set him free.

Bao Xian taught privately in Donghai for several years, but returned to his home country in the mid-20s. The Administrator Huang Dang appointed him as his Registrar, and asked Bao Xian to come and teach his sons. Bao Xian told him that students should attend the teacher, not the other way round, and so Huang Dang sent his sons to him.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Bao Xian became a gentleman cadet. He tutored the Heirs Liu Qiang and Liu Zhuang in the *Analects*, and prepared a detailed commentary to that work. He also held official posts as Counsellor Remonstrant, Palace Attendant and then as General of the Household in charge of a corps of gentleman cadets.

Emperor Ming treated Bao Xian with the respect of a student to a teacher, showing him great favour, granting many gifts, and sending for his opinion whenever a question arose about the classics. In 62 Bao Xian was appointed Minister Herald, with double the salary of other ministers. He died three years later. -HHS 79/69B:2570*, XC 5:9b-10a; QHX:9.

Bao Xin 鮑信 (152-192); Taishan. Son of the minister Bao Dan; in 189 Bao Xin was a Commandant of Cavalry at Luoyang under the General-in-Chief He Jin. He Jin planned to destroy the eunuchs at court, and sent Bao Xin back to his home country to raise troops. By the time he returned, He Jin was dead, the eunuchs had been massacred, and Dong Zhuo had moved into the capital. Bao Xin urged Yuan Shao to attack Dong

Zhuo before he could establish himself, but when Yuan Shao failed to act he led his troops back to the east and took over as Chancellor of Jibei.

As allied forces gathered against Dong Zhuo in 190, Bao Xin took a general's command, but gave personal allegiance to Cao Cao, and in 191 he encouraged him to take over Dong commandery. Bao Xin warned the Inspector Liu Dai not to attack the Yellow Turbans, but when Liu Dai was killed in 192 he joined other local leaders to invite Cao Cao to become Governor of Yan province.

Later that year Bao Xin died fighting the Yellow Turbans in Dongping. His body could not be found, so Cao Cao had a wooden image carved and carried out mourning before it. Restrained in conduct and generous to his subordinates, Bao Xin was admired for maintaining Confucian principles in time of war. -SGZ 12:383-84.

Bao Xuan 鮑宣 was the husband of the Lady Huan Shaojun *q.v.* FSTY 3f:107 cites his name as a legal authority, but this is probably a mistake for Bao Yu 昱 *q.v.*

Bao Xun 鮑勛 [Shuye 叔業] (d.226); Taishan. Son of Bao Xin and brother of Bao Shao, in 212 Bao Xun was given a clerical post under the Imperial Chancellor Cao Cao in memory of his father.

In 217 Bao Xun became a member of the entourage of the Heir Cao Pi, though Cao Pi resented his strict morality. Later, when Cao Cao was in the south and Cao Pi had been left at Ye city, Bao Xun was Investigator in Wei. A brother of the Lady Guo, wife of Cao Pi, embezzled government goods. Cao Pi wrote to seek leniency, but Bao Xun reported direct to Cao Cao and the offender was executed. In return, Cao Pi had Bao Xun dismissed, though he later returned to office as an Imperial Clerk.

In 220 Bao Xun joined Sima Yi and others in urging Cao Pi to take the imperial title, and in 223 Sima Yi and Chen Qun recommended him as head of the Censorate; Cao Pi still resented his criticisms but was obliged to agree. In 225, however, Bao Xin was demoted when he opposed the plan for a major campaign against Wu, and in the following year Cao Pi had him charged with lese-majesty and forced his execution. -SGZ 12:383-86*; Goodman 98:118-120.

Bao Ya 鮑雅 of Jingzhao was an elder brother of Bao Chu 鮑出.

Bao Ye 鮑鄴/業. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy

in 62, Bao Ye was ordered to join his colleagues Zhang Sheng and Jing Fang in calculating corrections to the official calendar to fit with the phases of the moon.

As Assistant Musician under the Minister of Ceremonies in 77, Bao Ye put forward several proposals for the reform and restoration of court music. -HHS 91/1:3015-16, 92/2:3025, XY:2a-b.

Bao Yong 鲍永 [Junchang 君長]; Shangdang. A supporter of the fading Han dynasty, Bao Yong's father Bao Xuan 宣 was killed by Wang Mang about 5 AD. Wang Mang wanted to eliminate Bao Xuan's family, and Bao Yong was threatened by the Commandant Lu Ping 路平, but the Administrator Gou Jian 苟諫 appointed him to his *yamen* and protected him there. Bao Yong and Gou Jian discussed the possibility of restoring the power of Han, but then Gou Jian died; Bao Yong escorted his body back to his homeland in Youfufeng. Lu Ping did arrest his brother Bao Sheng, but the new Administrator Zhao Xing 趙興 admired the family loyalty: he released Bao Sheng and appointed Bao Yong as his Officer of Merit. Bao Yong also received provincial nomination as Flourishing Talent 秀才, but he maintained his father's tradition of opposition to the Xin regime and rejected such offers of higher appointment.

Bao Yong became an expert scholar in the *Classic of History* according to the New Text school of Ouyang, and he also cared generously for his widowed step-mother. When his wife spoke unkindly to a dog in her presence, Bao Yong immediately divorced her.

In 24 Bao Yong joined the Gengshi Emperor. He was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, then sent with the Staff of Authority and title as an acting general to settle Hedong, Bing province and Shuofang. He defeated the Green Calf bandits in Hedong and was rewarded with enfeoffment, but despite his military position he maintained his scholarly interests and always wore a plain black gown.

In 25, after the Gengshi regime was destroyed by the Red Eyebrows and Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, had taken the throne, he sent his officer Zhu Dabo to call Bao Yong to surrender. Refusing to accept that their master was dead, Bao Yong and his subordinate general Feng Yan arrested Zhu Dabo and attacked Shangdang, where the Administrator Tian Yi had taken service with Guangwu. At the same time they sent messengers to Chang'an, and these eventually confirmed the death of the Gengshi Emperor.

Releasing Zhu Dabo, Bao Yong and Feng Yan carried out mourning ceremonies, and at the beginning of 26, with plain cloth 幅巾 on their heads to show that they had abandoned their official positions, they went to Guangwu with some hundred followers. Asked about the rest of their troops, Bao Yong explained that he had not wanted to gain personal advantage by bringing a large contingent, so he had disbanded his army. Guangwu was not impressed with such moral pedantry, nor by the delay in submitting.

Though Feng Yan never gained favour, Bao Yong was appointed a Counsellor and persuaded some former colleagues to surrender to the new regime. He was offered a mansion in Luoyang as reward, but did not accept.

Bao Yong was then sent as Administrator to Lu to deal with a subordinate of the eastern warlord Dong Xian. He eliminated the enemy and was rewarded with a secondary marquisate and appointment as Governor of Yang province, where he likewise settled the people. Resigning office on account of his step-mother's death, he distributed his property among his family.

In 35 Bao Yong returned to office as Director of Retainers. When the carriage of Guangwu's uncle Liu Liang, King of Zhao, met that of the General of the Household Zhang Han, Liu Liang shouted at Zhang Han to turn back and abused the gate captain Cen Zun, forcing him to kowtow and then walk in front of his chariot. Bao Yong reported this conduct as unfitting to a king and as Disrespect. The emperor took no action, but Bao Yong was admired for his stand; he and his assistant Bao Hui [not a close kinsman] were treated cautiously by members of the imperial family.

As Bao Yong made a tour of inspection in the capital province, he stopped to pay his respects at the tomb of the Gengshi Emperor and made sacrifice at the tomb of his former patron, Gou Jian 苟諫, who had served Wang Mang. Guangwu was concerned at such behaviour, but the Counsellor Zhang Zhan assured him that Bao Yong was showing personal loyalty and good faith, not dissidence.

In 39 the Excellency Han Xin fell from favour for his criticisms of the emperor, but Bao Yong argued for him and refused to impeach him. Guangwu sent him out as Chancellor of Donghai. In the following year there was a major scandal over the falsification of land registers [see *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming]. Bao Yong was one of the heads of commanderies ordered

to prison, but before he could go he was appointed Governor of Liang province. He died of illness there three years later. -HHS 29/19:1017-21*, HHS 28/18A: 969-76, XHS 3:2b-3a; Bn 79:139, QHX:10.

Bao Yu 鮑昱 [Wenyuan 文淵] (d.81); Shangdang. The style Wenyuan comes from DGHJ and XHS. HHS has the style as Wenquan 文泉, probably changed from Wenyuan to avoid taboo on the personal name of the first emperor of Tang. A fragment of XHS by Sima Biao has it as Shouquan 守泉; this is probably a miswriting.

Son of Bao Yong, Bao Yu followed his father's tradition of scholarship in the *Classic of History* according to the New Text school of Ouyang, and he travelled to Dongping for his studies. In the late 20s bandits were active in the Taihang mountains and Dai She the Administrator of Shangdang, who knew his father's reputation, asked Bao Yu to act as brevet magistrate of a county in his home commandery. Bao Yu accepted, destroyed the local gangs and opened up the roads to the south. He became known for this and served later with equal success in Nanyang.

Recommended by the Inspector of Jing province, Bao Yu held various offices, and in 56 he became Director of Retainers, the same office as had formerly been held by his father and his grandfather. He was dismissed by Emperor Ming in 62 for delay in responding to a fire, but he later became Administrator of Runan, where he carried out major works of water control.

In 74 Bao Yu became Excellency over the Masses, in which post he sponsored reforms to the laws proposed by his clerk Chen Chong, presenting seven chapters of Chen Chong's codification of *Cisong bi* 辭訟比 "Precedents for Civil Cases," and eight chapters of *Jueshi dumu* 決事都目 "General Principles for Deciding Cases." A number of Bao Yu's own judgements were collected by Ying Shao and appear among the fragments of his *Fengsu tongyi* [FSTY 3f: 107: in some cases the personal name is miswritten as Xuan 宣.]

When the Northern Xiongnu attacked the new Han positions in the Western Regions in 75, Bao Yu argued that it was important not to abandon the troops. The garrisons in Jushi [Turfan] were relieved, and Bao Yu later urged that Geng Gong be enfeoffed and rewarded for his heroic defence.

At the death of Emperor Ming in 75 Bao Yu took

charge of the funerary arrangements, even obliging the new Emperor Zhang to follow proper ritual. When there was a drought in the following year the emperor asked Bao Yu's opinion on policy reforms, and he urged him to relieve the persecution of those involved in the allegations against Liu Ying the King of Chu. In the following year the purges were ended.

In 79 Bao Yu became Grand Commandant. He died in that office two years later, aged over seventy. -HHS 29/19:1021-23*, DGHJ 14:2b-3a, XHS 3:3a.

Bao Zhong 鮑衆. Administrator of Runan, Bao Zhong recommended the local worthy Cao Shun as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHS 39/29:1312.

Baqi 拔奇 [Korean: Palgi] see *sub* Yiyimo of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

Bei Gong 卑躬 became Administrator of Youbeiping. -FSTY 5f:125.

Bei Guo 卑國; Henan. An officer responsible for roads and bridges under the Court Architect, in 135 Bei Guo was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -SJZ 16:14b.

Bei Tiao 被條 became Administrator of Zangke. -FSTY 6f:137.

Bei Tong 被通 was a Palace Counsellor. -FSTY 6f: 137.

Bei Yu 貝羽. A county magistrate in Nan in 190, he set himself up as an independent warlord but was later persuaded to submit to Liu Biao. -SGZ 6:211-12.

Bei Zheng 卑整; Yanmen. A Consultant in 175, Bei Zheng joined the eunuch Zhao You in a memorial urging that recognition be given to the Lady Yu, mother of the short-lived infant Emperor Chong, and to the Lady Chen, mother of Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi. Emperor Ling approved: the Lady Yu was named Honoured Lady in attendance at the tomb of Emperor Shun, and the Lady Chen was formally ranked as a concubine of the late Liu Hong, King of Le'an. -HHS 10B:440.

Beigong Boyu 北宮伯玉; non-Chinese Yuezhi or Qiang. A member of the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians of Huangzhong, he became a leader of mutineers in Liang province. The rebellion began in winter 184, with insurrections amongst the Qiang of Beidi and Anding and the frontier people of Longxi by the upper Yellow River, but the critical point came when the Auxiliary mutinied and killed Ling Zheng the Protector of the Qiang. Beigong Boyu and Li Wenhou, troopers of the

Auxiliary, were then chosen to lead the rebel coalition. The headquarters of the Auxiliary were in Wuwei, but it is likely the mutiny took place as the men were led south against the earlier rebellions.

The insurgents soon controlled a band of territory along the Yellow River about present-day Lanzhou. They captured the capital of Jincheng and killed the Administrator, then moved down the Long Road, military highway of the west, defeating the local forces of Liang province and Hanyang. They reached Meiyang in Youfufeng early in 185, and from there they sent raids towards Chang'an.

An imperial army was sent out, commanded first by Huangfu Song and then by Zhang Wen, but neither side gained major success. In the winter of 185, however, the general Dong Zhuo won a battle outside Meiyang. The rebels withdrew, but when they were pursued by a column under Zhou Shen they cut his line of supplies and forced him back. Beigong Boyu and Li Wenhou are not mentioned after this time; they were probably eliminated by internal feuding among the rebels. -HHS 72/62:2320-21; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:147-150, 492-495; and see Han Sui.

Beijianzhi 北鞬支; Xiongnu. Having been a hostage at the court of Han, in 94 Beijianzhi was an officer of King Guang of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. He was sent to welcome the Protector-General Ban Chao, but Ban Chao insisted his office required that he be received by the king in person. He considered killing Beijianzhi, but because of his influence with the king he sent him back with gifts.

When Guang was soon afterwards forced to come and submit, Beijianzhi was a senior member of his escort. -HHS 47/37:1581-82.

Beijun 卑君 of Further Jushi. Son of the former King Junjiu of Further Jushi, Beijun had been a hostage prince in China. In 153 King Aluoduo turned against Han; he was driven to seek refuge with the Xiongnu in the north, and the Administrator of Dunhuang Song Liang then set Beijun upon the throne.

As Aluoduo fought to regain his position and became increasingly successful, the Chinese accepted him rather than face further disruption. Beijun's royal insignia were accordingly withdrawn and he was named as a marquis. He returned to Dunhuang with some three hundred households of followers, who provided revenue for his exiled court. -HHS 88/78:2931.

Ben Xiu 贲休 (d.28). An officer of the warlord Dong

Xian, in the autumn of 28 he seized the county city of Lanling in Donghai and offered to submit to Han. Dong Xian promptly left his headquarters at Tan city and laid siege to him. Guangwu ordered his general He Yan to strike at Tan, but He Yan attempted to relieve Ben Xiu. He was briefly successful, but Dong Xian's troops renewed the attack and He Yan had to escape in a sortie. Dong Xian recaptured Lanling and killed Ben Xiu. -HHS 18/8:687; Bn 59:141-142.

Bi 費 [surname] see also *sub* Fei 費.

Bi 祕 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Kuaiji in the time of Emperor Guangwu, he obtained the help of the local official Peng Xiu to deal with the pirate Ding Yi. -XC 5:12b.

Bi 比 or Sutuhu 蘇屠胡? (d.56); Xiongnu. Son of Nangzhiyasi 囊知牙斯, the Wuzhuliu 烏珠留 Shanyu (reg. 8 BC-13 AD), Bi was a grandson of the Huhanye Shanyu 呼韓邪 (reg. 59/58-31 BC). In accordance with Chinese custom, and under some pressure from Wang Mang, Nangzhiyasi adopted the simpler name Zhi 知 and the names of other members of the royal house were likewise amended.

HHS has no record of Bi's full Xiongnu name. However, HS 94B:3827 has an account of Sutuhu, eldest son of the Wuzhuliu Shanyu Nangzhiyasi/Zhi. QHX:501 suggests that this man probably died after the accession of the Wulei 烏累 Shanyu Xian 咸 in 13 AD. Hui Dong, however, in HHSJ 89/79:3277, suggests that this may be an early reference to Bi, and I therefore include an account of Sutuhu's career.

The Huhanye Shanyu had left instructions that the title of Shanyu should be passed from elder to younger brother, and only when each generation had been exhausted should it be transferred to the next. HS 94B, however, says that Nangzhiyasi/Zhi [hereafter Zhi] had planned for Sutuhu to succeed him, and had appointed him Worthy King of the Left, the traditional post of the heir-apparent. At this time a number of sons holding that title had died, and so Zhi renamed the position *Huyu* 護子 and appointed Sutuhu as his senior surviving son.

Despite this, it appears that when Zhi died in 13 Sutuhu was too young to succeed. His uncle Xian, Zhi's brother, took the throne, and promptly demoted Sutuhu to a junior kingship, well out of the line of succession. According to the legacy of the Huhanye Shanyu, Xian's elder brother Yu should have become Shanyu, but he was held from the position by intrigue

of the pro-Chinese party at the Xiongnu court; he was, however, named Worthy King of the Left, and he succeeded Xian at his death in 18. Yu reigned almost thirty years until his own death in 46.

Soon after his accession Yu killed his remaining half-brother Yituzhiyashi 伊屠智牙師. Sutuhu disappears from the records at this time, so it is possible he suffered the fate of Yituzhiyashi. On the other hand, *HHS* 89/79:2939 takes over the story and says that the Shanyu Yu appointed Bi to a command in the southeast neighbouring the Wuhuan; if Sutuhu and Bi are the same man, he thus received some promotion. Bi was nonetheless resentful that, as senior member of the next generation, he had not been named Worthy King of the Left and acknowledged in the line of inheritance. He refused to attend court, and the Shanyu became suspicious and sent two officials to supervise him.

When Yu's long reign ended in 46, Bi was indeed passed over in favour of the late Shanyu's son Wudadihou, who had earlier been named Worthy King of the Left. Wudadihou died a few months later, but not before naming his younger brother Punu as Worthy King of the Left, and Punu duly took title as Shanyu. At the same time, however, even as the Xiongnu court was unsettled by two swift successions the grasslands were affected by drought and a plague of insects, and the hitherto subservient Wuhuan attacked from the east and seized considerable territory. The new Shanyu sent messengers to Han, seeking to restore peace, and the Chinese sent an embassy in return.

For his part, though Bi's father Zhi had been no friend of Han, and Bi himself was not naturally pro-Chinese, he was angry at his omission from the succession, and he also feared for his life; the fate of Yituzhiyashi a generation earlier was a matter for concern for any claimant in his position. Given the fact that the territory under his control was close to that of China, and his dissatisfaction must have been well known, it seems likely that imperial agents had earlier made some contact with him.

In any event, as the envoy Li Mao passed by on his way to the court of the Shanyu in 46, Bi sent a Chinese in his service to offer maps of Xiongnu territory in token of his readiness to submit to Han. In the following year, moreover, Bi went to visit the Administrator of Xihe and suggested that he act as an agent of Han within the Xiongnu court. This was most

dangerous conduct, and Bi must have been confident of Chinese support. The officers of the Shanyu, still maintaining their supervision, reported this initiative and recommended that Bi be arrested and executed during the great summer ceremony at the Shanyu's headquarters, Longcheng by present-day Ulan Bator. One of Bi's younger brothers, however, learnt of the plan and warned him.

At this Bi gathered his troops, some forty or fifty thousand men, and prepared to kill the Shanyu's officers. They made their escape and told the court. Punu sent ten thousand men against his cousin, but they withdrew in the face of superior numbers. It is notable that the Shanyu's response to a major threat was so inadequate, and it appears the Xiongnu court and the state itself were confused and in difficulty. The Chinese, moreover, appear to have been so confident of their diplomatic success that orders had been given for a reduction of defences in the north as early as the time of the initial embassies and Bi's first approach.

Despite his local superiority, after the formal break Bi could claim the allegiance of only eight divisions [部 *bu*], a small fraction of the Xiongnu tribes. In 48 he shifted his base to the Ordos region, and from there he sought an alliance with China, undertaking to defend the frontier and act as a buffer against the north. At a court conference held to consider this proposal, Emperor Guangwu was persuaded by the arguments of Geng Guo, and in the winter of 48/49 Bi took title as Shanyu. His dynastic or regnal appellation was Xiluo shizhu di 醯落尸逐鞮 [where *di* is taken by Chinese commentators as equivalent to *Xiao* 孝 "Filial" in the titles of the emperors of Han], while he also took the style of Huhanxie, in memory of his grandfather and the support he had received from China.

In 49 the Shanyu Bi sent troops under his younger brother Mo, Worthy King of the Left, against the northerners. They defeated the guard of the Northern Shanyu, captured his younger brother, and returned with ten thousand people, seven thousand horses, and myriads of cattle and sheep. The Northern Shanyu withdrew across the Gobi, and two of his chiefs came with their people to join the Southern court, but at the same time the Shanyu Bi again despatched envoys offering tribute to Han, including some of the state treasures, and sent one of his sons as hostage. Despite his current success, Bi was evidently uncertain about his long-term position between the Chinese and his

more powerful cousin, and with increasing anxiety he asked once more for a renewal of the old alliance and requested an emissary to ensure liaison between the two courts.

In the spring of 50 the Han sent the General of the Household Duan Chen to formally establish Bi as Shanyu. Arriving at his headquarters some thirty kilometres outside Wuyuan, they presented him with a gold seal as Shanyu, but insisted that he make the kowtow and declare himself a subject of Han. Before his weeping attendants, Bi submitted himself. He was then granted permission to set up residence within the frontiers, and received splendid presents and insignia, including chariots and horses, silk and gold, raiment and musical instruments.

A short time later, in the summer, an unnamed younger brother of the Northern Shanyu, who had been captured by Bi's brother Mo in the previous year, escaped from his nominal imprisonment, and with five Southern chieftains and some 30,000 men he went to the north and proclaimed himself as a third Shanyu, possibly as a compromise candidate to unify his people. He was swiftly attacked by the Northern Shanyu and his leading allies were slain. A few months later he was forced to kill himself, and the sons of the five dead chieftains, who had inherited their fathers' troops, attempted to make their way back to the south. Shanyu Bi sent a column to their aid, but before they could arrive the Northern army had captured the renegades, and in a head-on clash they put the southerners to rout. The incident was minor in itself, but the defection of five chieftains showed a lack of approval for Bi even among his most senior followers, while the defeat of his men in a face-to-face encounter restored the balance of power to the Northern state.

When Shanyu Bi took up residence in Chinese territory at the beginning of the year, he was initially in Yunzhong commandery, but in the winter of 50 his capital was shifted to Meiji in Xihe, within the Ordos loop by the western bank of the Yellow River; Duan Chen was appointed Emissary to the Xiongnu.

Unlike previous envoys, the Emissary was stationed at Meiji and supervised Xiongnu affairs in similar fashion to a British Resident at the court of a princely state in the time of the Indian Empire. The Emissary had a civilian staff and a military escort under a senior colonel, while a special guard of fifty crossbowmen, recruited from convicts whose sentences had been

relaxed, was attached to the residence of the Shanyu. Furthermore, from winter to summer each year two thousand Chinese horsemen from Xihe camped at Meiji, with another five hundred reprieved convicts, likewise armed with crossbows, to "guard and protect" the Shanyu.

Hereafter the Shanyu maintained one of his sons as a hostage at Luoyang, and the regular annual change-over was accompanied by exchange of missions, with messages of respect from the Shanyu and gifts from the emperor of Han. Bi himself, however, never visited the imperial court, and it does not appear he was ever again required to perform the kowtow. At the same time, while Bi and his own people settled in Xihe, the other eight divisions which had followed him to the south spread across the frontier from Dai and Yanmen in the east through Dingxiang, Yunzhong, Wuyuan, Shuofang and southwest to Beidi. From the Sanggan valley round the Ordos loop of the Yellow River they acted as scouts and guards for the territory of Han, but they maintained their tribal organisation and occupied the land in common with a dwindling number of Chinese settlers.

There is debate on the true value and cost of Bi's submission. Bielenstein has pointed out that grants to the Southern Shanyu were far greater than those received by the first Huhanye Shanyu, and it may be estimated that official gifts to the Southern court in the first eight years of dependence were almost as much as the total awards made to the Xiongnu in the last fifty years of Former Han, while some hundred millions of cash were also provided annually as subsidy to the puppet state. On the other hand, the Southern Xiongnu were something of a bargain compared to the amounts paid to the Xianbi and the Wuhuan in the northeast, and to the expenditure required for the Qiang wars in the early second century: the cost of operations against the Qiang between 107 and 118 was estimated at 24,000 million cash, not to mention the devastation of the northwest in the course of the campaigns.

So it may be judged that the subventions paid to the Southern Xiongnu were worth their cost to the Han state, and there is no question that Bi's defection and the division of the tribal confederacy gave valuable breathing space to the hard-pressed Chinese. Later events would show that the basic problems of the unstable north were essentially insoluble, but in my own study of the frontier at this time I have argued that

ultimate failure came from problems of geography, loss of Chinese population to the south, and later mistaken policies of aggression and assimilation, rather than directly from the settlement of Xiongnu.

At the same time as the Emissary was sent to Meiji, in the winter of 50 the imperial court gave orders for the repatriation of those who had abandoned their homes along the northern frontier. Refugees from the border commanderies were promised food and assistance, work-gangs were sent to repair fortifications, and the whole enterprise was directed by the Grand Commandant Zhao Xi. The program was only marginally successful, for many families who had left their homes two generations earlier had no desire to return, and had often resettled far to the south. In 57 Emperor Ming abandoned the scheme, and in 65 the office of General on the Liao, first proposed by the minister Geng Guo at the time of Bi's surrender, was adopted.

Stationed in Wuyuan commandery, the duty of the Trans-Liao command was not so much to protect the limited number of Chinese in the region, but to prevent the Southern Xiongnu from communicating and co-operating with their cousins to the north. [The Liao River is actually in the northeast, and there had been a general of that title under Former Han; in Later Han, however, the General on the Liao was concerned only with the Xiongnu to the immediate north of the empire.]

When the Shanyu Bi died in 56 he was duly succeeded by his next younger brother Mo, and the system of inheritance was thereafter maintained through each generation in turn from the oldest to the youngest. -HHS 89/79; Bn 67:116-122, deC 84:229-251, Yü 67:49-51.

Bi Chen 畢諶; Dongping. In 193 Bi Chen was Attendant Officer to Cao Cao in Yan province. When Zhang Miao made his rebellion, Bi Chen was with Cao Cao's army, but the rebels seized his mother, wife and brothers, and Cao Cao gave Bi Chen permission to leave.

When Cao Cao destroyed Lü Bu in 198 he captured Bi Chen. Pardoning his service with the enemy, he appointed him Chancellor of Lu. -SGZ 1:16.

Bi Fan 費汎 [Zhonglü 仲慮]; Wu. A scholarly man, skilled in ritual and music, Bi Fan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. After probation as a gentleman cadet, he became a major in the Northern Army and then a

magistrate in Pei. He served there with great success for nine years, including a period when the virtue of his government was said to have protected the territory from locusts which plagued the rest of the region. He then became Chancellor of Liang, where he governed with equal distinction until he retired on grounds of ill health. He died at the age of eighty.

Bi Fan's grandson Bi Gou set up a stele in honour of Bi Fan and his two sons, Bi Feng and Bi Zheng. -LS 11:18a-19b.

Bi Feng 費鳳 [Boxiao 伯蕭] (112/3-177); Wu. An elder son of Bi Fan, when he was aged about thirty Bi Feng received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. Following a period of probation as a gentleman cadet, he was a county magistrate in Chen, Danyang and Guangling. When he died at that age of sixty-six, his widow the Lady Bu and her brother set up a stele in his memory, another inscription was composed by his distaff kinsman Shi Xu, and he was also mentioned in the inscription erected for his father by his nephew Bi Gou. -LS 9:18a-23a, 11:18a-19b, LX 5:9b.

Bi Feng 費鳳, wife of: see the Lady Bu 卜.

Bi Gou 費均; Wu. Grandson of Bi Fan and son of Bi Zheng, he set up a family stele. -LS 11:18a-19b.

Bi Hai 畢海; Kuaiji. Nominated by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90, Bi Hai later achieved high office. -HYGZ 10A:133.

Bi Hao 畢豪. A pirate on the Yellow River, in 108 Bi Hao brought his men into Pingyuan commandery. The magistrate Liu Xiong led local troops against him, but was defeated and captured. Bi Hao and his men were going to kill Liu Xiong, but his officer Suo Fu asked to take his place. So Liu Xiong was released and Suo Fu died in his stead.

When Bi Hao was later captured by the Administrator of Donghai, he told of this incident. It was reported to the throne, and an imperial letter granted Suo Fu posthumous honours and rewarded his family. -HHS 81/71:2672.

Bi Lan 畢嵐 (d.189). A eunuch, during the 180s Bi Lan was one of twelve Regular Attendants enfeoffed as marquises. As Prefect of the Lateral Courts he cast bronze statues and bells for the Southern Palace at Luoyang, and also constructed water-lifting machines: Heavenly Deer [天祿 *tianlu*] and Frogs [蝦蟆 *xiamā*], probably fed by noria buckets, served aqueducts leading into the palace; while a square-pallet chain

pump [翻車 *fanche*] and Thirsty Crows [渴鳥 *kewu*], probably suction-pumps rather than syphons, supplied the north-south roads of the city.

In 189 Bi Lan was one of the group which waylaid and killed the General-in-Chief He Jin, and he no doubt died in the slaughter which followed.

Needham and Bielenstein emphasise the achievements of Bi Lan as an engineer and artisan, but traditional historians noted the extravagance of his works, which were associated with Emperor Ling's mistaken and corrupted projects of rebuilding at Luoyang. -HHS 8:353, 78/68:2534-37, 69/59:2251; Needham 65:345-346, 358, Bn 76:32-33, deC 89:200, 574.

Bi Min 辟敏 [Shugong 叔公]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Bi Min was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Bi Yang 皮楊/陽. Inspector of Liang province in 114, Bi Yang attacked the rebel Qiang in Longxi commandery but was heavily defeated. He was dismissed from office. -HHS 5:221, 87/77:2889.

Bi Yu 畢瑜. Formerly a county magistrate in Julu, in 191 Bi Yu was sent by Yuan Shao and other leaders of the eastern alliance to offer the imperial title to Liu Yu. Liu Yu, however, firmly refused. -SGZ 1:22.

The main text of HHS 73/63:2355 ascribes this mission to a former Administrator, Zhang Qi, which seems more likely. SGZ PC, however, quotes *Xiandi qiju zhu* as saying that Han Fu and Yuan Shao sent Bi Yu with a golden seal, while HHS 73/63:2356 says that after Liu Yu rejected the imperial title they suggested he claim regency control of the Secretariat. It is possible the golden seal and Bi Yu's visit related to this second proposal, though HHS 73/63 says that Liu Yu not only rejected this, but executed the messenger.

Bi Zheng 費鳳; Wu. Younger son of Bi Fan, he became Administrator of Jiujiang. -LS 11:18a-19b.

Bi Zheng 畢整/正 miswritten for Bei Zheng 卑整. -XHS 1:16a, HHSJJ 10B:421 Hui Dong.

Bian 卞, the Lady (160-230); though her family was registered in Langye the Lady was actually born in Qi. When young the Lady was sing-song girl in a brothel, but she later became a concubine 妾 of Cao Cao. She gave birth to Cao Pi in 187, and also bore Zhang, Zhi [in 192] and Xiong.

When Cao Cao fled from Dong Zhuo at Luoyang in 189, Yuan Shu spread rumours of his death,

but the Lady Bian denied them and held his party together. Following the death of Cao Ang in 197 and the dismissal of the Lady Ding, she became Cao Cao's principal wife 繼室. She was admired for her modest and sensible conduct, notably for her generous treatment of her predecessor the Lady Ding and for her restraint when Cao Pi was named Heir in 217.

Named Queen of Wei in 219, she was honoured as Queen- and then Empress-Dowager by Cao Pi in 220. She protected Cao Zhi from his brother's enmity and restrained the conduct of her own relatives. When her grandson Cao Rui came to the throne in 226 she was honoured as Grand Dowager 太皇太后. -SGZ 5:156-59*; C/C 99.90-94, Mather 76:561.

Bian 便 or Pian of Yetiao/Shetiao 葉調. King of the state, which lay beyond the frontier of Rinan in the far south, in 131 Bian sent his officer Shuhui on an embassy to the court of Emperor Shun. The emperor awarded him the golden seal and purple ribbon of royalty. -HHS 6:258, 86/76:2837.

Bian Bin 便賓; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Chang Yuan, Bian Bin died young. The couple had no children. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Bian Bing 卞秉; Langye. Younger brother of the Lady Bian, he was a senior major under Cao Cao and was later enfeoffed. -SGZ 5:158; C/C 99.93-94.

Bian Feng 邊鳳; Chenliu. A former Intendant of Jingzhao, admired for his administration, Bian Feng was succeeded by Yan Du. The two men were celebrated by the people as comparable to the finest rulers of the commandery under Former Han. -HHS 64/54:2103-04.

Bian Gan 邊乾. As senior assistant to Wang Zhang the Chancellor of Liang in 165, Bian Gan took part in setting up the inscribed stele erected in honour of the legendary Prince Qiao 王子喬 of the Zhou period. -SJZ 23:15b.

Bian Gan 邊竿 see Bian Zhang 邊章.

Bian Guang 卞廣; Langye. Father of Bian Yuan and grandfather of the Lady Bian, wife of Cao Cao, Bian Guang was posthumously ennobled in 230. -SGZ 5: 158.

Bian Guang 卞廣, wife of: see the Lady Zhou 周.

Bian Hong 邊鴻/洪 (d.204); Danyang. A follower of Gui Lan and Dai Yuan, Bian Hong murdered the Administrator Sun Yi. He was later killed. -SGZ Wu 6: 1212; deC 90:232-233.

Bian Ji 卞忌. An attendant to Liu Chang, King of

20 Bian Jing

Liang, he claimed to interpret the king's dreams, encouraged him to sacrifice to the spirits in search of good fortune, and later told him they had said he should become emperor. In 93 the provincial and state officials reported this Impiety; Liu Chang was punished and Bian Ji is not heard of again. -HHS 50/40:1676.

Bian Jing 便敬; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Wang He, Bian Bin died young but left her with children. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Bian Jingbin 便敬賓 see Bian Bin 便賓: the character *jing* is a mistaken addition.

Bian Lan 卞蘭; Langye. Elder son of Bian Bing, he succeeded to his father's fief but received no particular favour from Cao Cao. He became a favourite of Cao Pi, however, by composing a rhapsody of praise for him. He rose in rank to be a general under Wei, and was a close and honest adviser to Cao Pi and to his son Cao Rui, Emperor Ming. A sufferer from diabetes 消渴, attributed to his excessive consumption of wine, he died about 230. -SGZ 5:158-59; C/C 99.90-95.

Bian Lin 卞琳; Langye. Younger son of Bian Bing, he received a share of his father's fief and was a colonel in the Northern Army under Wei. -SGZ 5:158; C/C 99:94.

Bian Mangyi 編盲意 was a magician who dealt with the spirits. -HHS 82/72B:2749; Ngo 76:140-141, DeWoskin 83:87.

Bian Rang 邊讓 [Wenli 文禮] (d.193); Chenliu. A kinsman of Bian Shao, Bian Rang was a considerable scholar, admired also for his skill in conversation and as a composer of rhapsodies. He was a close friend of Xie Zhen, but though Guo Tai admired the talents of the two men, he criticised their lack of true morality.

Bian Rang received appointment from the General-in-Chief He Jin, he was held in high regard at the capital and was recommended by his fellow-countryman Cai Yong. During the early 190s he served with limited success as Administrator of Jiujiang, but as disorder spread he returned to his homeland of Chenliu.

Bian Rang was not impressed by Cao Cao, who became Governor of Yan province in 192, and he made the mistake of saying so. In 193 one of his neighbours told Cao Cao of this, and he killed Bian Rang and his family. Leading men of the province were concerned at the fate of such a distinguished colleague, however, and Cao Cao's position in Yan became vulnerable.

Most of Bian Rang's work is lost, but HHS 80/70B preserves his *Zhanghua fu* 章華賦, a rhapsody on

a pleasure pavilion of the ancient kings of Chu 楚 by the junction of the Han and the Yangzi, the area described also in *Zixu fu* 子虛賦 by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 of Former Han. Bian Rang is said to have used extravagant phrasing but strict rhythmic form. -HHS 80/70B:2640-47*, 68/58:2230-31, 74/64A:2394, SGZ 1:55, 6:197, Cai 8:4; Mather 76:561.

Bian Shao 邊韶 [Xiaoxian 孝先]; Chenliu. Celebrated for his wit and scholarship, Bian Shao travelled widely and attracted hundreds of private students. About 135 he composed a celebratory inscription for a stele marking the completion of the major work of water control on the Yellow River and its tributaries led by the Internuncio Sima Deng.

As a member of the Imperial Secretariat in 143, Bian Shao argued that the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar was calculated from the wrong base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") and did not accord with the apocrypha. The Astronomer Yu Gong accepted that the calendar was not perfect, but argued that it was basically satisfactory and should not be changed. Emperor Shun agreed.

Bian Shao was later a county magistrate in Yingchuan, returning to the capital as a Counsellor about 150. Soon afterwards he was appointed to the library of the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 to work on the third instalment of the official history of Later Han: this was later named *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 but was at that time known simply as *Han ji* 漢記. The compilation included annals, tables of marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, with biographies of empresses and other individuals, including the eunuchs Cai Lun and Sun Cheng.

In 151 Bian Shao supported a proposal for Liang Ji to receive extraordinary honours; the Excellency Huang Qiong put an end to the idea.

Bian Shao later became Administrator of Beidi, then returned to the capital as head of the Imperial Secretariat, and in 165 he was appointed Chancellor of Chen. He composed the inscription for the *Laozi ming* 老子銘 stele, which was set up at Hu county, putative birthplace of the sage, probably to commemorate the visit by the palace eunuch Guan Ba in the winter of 165/166 [LS 3:1a-4a; Seidel 69:122-128, deC 80:72-73 and see *sub* Guan Ba].

Bian Shao died in office, leaving fifteen *pian* of writings, including poems, inscriptions and letters. -HHS 80/70A:2623-24*, 92/2:3035, SJZ 16:9a, 23:5a;

Bn 54:11, Miyakawa 60:34, MBeck 90:59-61.

During the First Faction Incident of 166/167 the name of Bian Shao is among those commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu. This should relate to the same man, but he is described at that time as being only a junior member of the Secretariat; had he been Director, and also served as chief of two commandery units, he hardly needed Dou Wu's recommendation. It is possible the whole reference is anachronistic, and Bian Shao was already dead. -HHS 69/59:2240 and *cf. sub* Zhang Ling.

Bian Xin 編訢. In 85 Bian Xin and his colleague Li Fan were members of the calendrical office. The *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar, which had been in use since that reign-period in 104 BC, had become seriously inaccurate, despite adjustments by the *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences] system of Liu Xin 劉歆 in the time of Wang Mang. The regular office of astronomy was unable to propose a solution, and Emperor Zhang commissioned Bian Xin and Li Fan to prepare a better set of calculations.

In a major reform, Bian Xin and Li Fan proposed a variant of the ancient *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar, and an imperial edict put it into effect. Sivin 69:19-33 points out, however, that while the *Sifen* system was more accurate on the length of the year, it was no better at predicting eclipses. -HHS 92/2:3026-27; Needham 59:247, 401, Loewe 86E:686.

Bian Yu 卞玉 [Zigui 子珪]; Jianwei. An officer of the Yellow Gates, possibly a eunuch, Bian Yu came from the same commandery as the former Director of Retainers Yang Huai/Zhun. In 173 he passed by the tombs of Yang Huai/Zhun and his brother Yang Bi and set up a stele in their honour. -LX 11:11b, Nagata 94:200.

Bian Yuan 卞遠; Langye. Father of the Lady Bian, consort of Cao Cao, in 230 Bian Yuan was posthumously enfeoffed as a marquis. -SGZ 5:156-58; C/C 99.93-94.

Bian Yun 邊允 see Bian Zhang 邊章.

Bian Zhang 邊章; Jincheng. A man of note in the northwest, Bian Zhang served as a county magistrate in Hongnong, and in 178 he was among the sponsors of a stele in honour of Yin Hua the late Administrator of Jincheng: *Guwen yuan* 19:8b and see further below.

In 184 Bian Zhang was at Yuanya, present-day Lanzhou, which was the capital of Jincheng commandery and also the headquarters of Liang province. When

a group of rebels and mutineers under Beigong Boyu appeared before the city Bian Zhang and his colleague Han Sui joined the rebellion; though it is said that they were taken hostage and acted under duress both men became leaders. Bian Zhang held command during an attack towards Chang'an in 185, but the rebels were forced to retreat and he died soon afterwards. He may have succumbed to illness, but was perhaps killed by Han Sui.

Though Beigong Boyu was the first leader of the coalition, and Han Sui was active several years later, Bian Zhang appears to have been the senior figure, and the Liang province insurgents are frequently referred to as "Bian Zhang and Han Sui." -HHS 72/62:2320-21, SGZ 1:45; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:147-150, 492-495.

Some texts suggest that Bian Zhang's original personal name was Yun 允, and that he and Han Sui changed their names after they joined the rebellion. The inscription to Yin Hua of 178, however, lists Bian Zhu 竺 or Bian Gan 竿: taking the latter reading, Haloun argues that it has been corrupted or miscopied from Zhang 章.

Bian Zhao 邊韶 see Bian Shao 邊韶.

Bian Zhu 邊竺 see Bian Zhang 邊章.

Bianhe 偏何 see Pianhe.

Biao 麋 [surname] see Pao 麋.

Big Guo 郭大 see Guo Da 郭大.

Big-Eyes Li 李大目 see Li Damu 李大目.

Bin Qin 郅勤; Henei. A local officer, about 140 Bin Qin took part in the erection of a stele at the funerary temple of the Grand Duke Lü Wang 太公呂望, founder of the ancient state of Qi 齊. -S/JZ 9:7a.

Bing 昺 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Bing Ji 郗吉 (d.124). Bing Ji was supervisor of kitchens in the household of Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, when he was Heir to his father Emperor An. He became a friend and favourite of the boy, and an associate of his wet-nurse Wang Nan. In 124, however, Liu Bao became the centre of a struggle for influence in which Bing Ji and Wang Nan were opposed to the court eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng, allied to the Lady Wang Sheng, former wet-nurse to Emperor An, and her daughter Borong. Upset and confused by the intrigues, Liu Bao took refuge at the mansion which had been built for Wang Sheng.

22 Bing Liang

Bing Ji and Wang Nan attempted to regain control by arguing that the place was affected by spirits which had been disturbed by recent construction, but their protests were ignored. They lost much of their influence and Wang Sheng and her allies soon afterwards accused them of conspiracy. Bing Ji and Wang Nan were killed and their families and associates were exiled to the far south.

Liu Bao nonetheless mourned Bing Ji and Wang Nan, and the members of the successful clique were concerned he might later seek to avenge their deaths. A few months later, therefore, they told Emperor An that Liu Bao had also taken part in the alleged conspiracy, and persuaded him to dismiss him as Heir.

After the accession of Liu Bao through the coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng in 125, Bing Ji's relatives and associates were permitted to return to the capital and were generously rewarded. -HHS 15/5:590-93.

Bing Liang 郗良 [Wenlun 文鸞]; Danyang. Son of Bing Zhi, Bing Liang served under Sun Ce and was appointed Commandant of the east of Kuaiji. -SGZ Wu 16:1398.

Bing Xuan 郗玄 [Wenbiao 文表] (d.226); Danyang. Son of Bing Zhi, when his elder brother Liang died Bing Xuan took over his troops in Kuaiji. He was appointed a General of the Household and later enfeoffed, and because of the family tradition of loyalty Bing Xuan's daughter was married to the Heir Sun Deng.

Bing Xuan evidently died without sons. He was mourned by Sun Quan, but his troops were transferred to Pan Jun. -SGZ Wu 16:1398.

Bing Yuan 郗原 [Genju 根矩] (d.217); Beihai. Bing Yuan's father died early and his family was poor, but Bing Yuan was sponsored by a local teacher, travelled widely in search of learning, and became a close friend and colleague of Hua Xin and Guan Ning. He would not accept local appointment.

In the early 190s the new Administrator Kong Rong nominated Bing Yuan as Knowing the Way, but he still considered the situation too unstable, so he led his household to refuge on an island in the Gulf of Beihai. He later went to Liaodong, where he was welcomed by Gongsun Du and managed to save his fellow-countryman Liu Zheng from his enmity. Within a few months Bing Yuan had become the centre of a group of refugee scholars, but he irritated Gongsun Du by his direct speech, and on the advice of his colleague Guan Ning he left Liaodong and returned home.

Bing Yuan later joined Cao Cao's staff, and when Cao Cao's son Chong died in 208 Cao Cao asked he be buried with Bing Yuan's daughter, who had also just died. Bing Yuan, however, felt this would be immoral and refused.

In 215 Bing Yuan succeeded Liang Mao as Senior Clerk to Cao Pi, General of the Household for All Purposes. He accompanied the army against Wu in 217 but died on that campaign. -SGZ 11:350-54*; Mather 76:562.

Bing Zhi 郗祉 [Xuansi 宣嗣]; Danyang. Bing Zhi served under Sun Jian and was recommended by him to Yuan Shu, who appointed him Administrator of Jiuliang and then Administrator of Wu. Bing Zhi did well in each office, but died in the early 190s. -SGZ Wu 16:1398.

Bing Zun 郗尊 (d.159). In 159 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji wanted to have the Honoured Lady Deng, favourite of Emperor Huan, adopted into the Liang clan in order to maintain his influence in the palace and the court. The Consultant Bing Zun, however, husband of an elder sister of the Lady, saw opportunity for advancement through his sister-in-law's good fortune, and urged his mother-in-law the Lady Xuan not to agree to the proposed change. Liang Ji sent his agent Qin Gong and a band of retainers to kill Bing Zun. -HHS 102/12:3256.

Bique 畢缺; Qiang. A woman of the Shaohe tribe, Bique was a grandmother of the war-lord Mitang. In 92 the Protector Nie Shang attempted to attract Mitang by a show of goodwill and Mitang sent Bique to visit him. Nie Shang appears to have showed her every courtesy, but when his envoys escorted her back to Mitang's camp he murdered them and used their blood to swear enmity to Han. There is no explanation for the *volte-face*. -HHS 87/77:2883.

Bitongqian 比銅鉗, the Lady; Qiang. A woman of the Shaohe, aged over a hundred in the late 50s, she was recognised and trusted as a wise woman. As the tribe was attacked by a neighbouring group, the Lady brought them for refuge to the Xining valley in Jincheng. Some of them, however, offended the laws, and the local magistrate arrested Bitongqian and executed six or seven hundred of her followers. When Emperor Ming heard about this he was angry that such harsh treatment reflected badly upon the quality of his regime. He ordered that the refugees should be released and the Lady Bitongqian receive medical treatment. -HHS 87/77:2880.

Bo 薄/亳, the Lady, see Deng Mengnü 鄧猛女, Empress of Emperor Huan, and also the Lady Xuan 宣. -HHS 10B:444, 104/14:3295.

Bo 白, the Lady. About 215 the Lady's husband, a man of family in Ji province, fled Cao Cao's jurisdiction. Regulations required that the wife should be put to death in his stead, but Cao Cao's officer Lu Yu observed that the marriage was recent and she had never lived with her husband. Traditional authorities thus exempted her from his fate. -SGZ 22:650.

Bo 博 [surname unknown] [Jizhi 季智] see *sub* Wang Bo of Hedong. -Nagata 94:280.

Bo Bo 白波. Bo Bo appears as the name of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. -HHS 71/61:2310, SGZ 8:261. At this time, however, there was a group of bandits, styling themselves as Yellow Turbans, who were said to come from the Bobo valley 白波谷 in Xihe [HHS 8:355 and see *sub* Guo Da]. It is possible that the name of the group has been interpreted as that of an individual.

Bo Cai 波才 (d.184); Yingchuan. A leader of Yellow Turbans in 184, he initially defeated Zhu Jun and besieged Huangfu Song, but was then defeated and destroyed. -HHS 71/61:2301; deC 89:180-184.

Bo Rao 白繞. In 185 Bo Rao was a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. In 191 he raided Dong commandery but was defeated by Cao Cao. -HHS 71/61:2310-11, SGZ 1:8-9.

Bo Shang 白尚; Nan. Through the influence of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, about 146 accusations of corruption were made against Ma Rong the Administrator of Nan commandery. One charge claimed that Bo Shang had paid a bribe to Ma Rong's son Qiang so that he might obtain a senior appointment on his local staff. -HHSJJ 60/50A:2130 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu jue*.

Bo Xiaochang 柏孝長; Nanyang. Officer of Merit of Nanyang commandery for Cao Cao in 201, he was stationed in the city of Xi'e with the magistrate Du Xi. As Liu Biao's forces first came to attack, Bo Xiaochang hid in fear. He gradually ventured out of his hiding-place, and after four or five days he put on armour and took part in the fighting. He explained to the heroic Du Xu that, for him, courage came with practice. -SGZ 23:666.

Bo Yi 帛意; Lujiang. In 30 the army of Emperor Guangwu captured the city of Shu 舒, capital of the warlord Li Xian. As Li Xian fled, his follower Bo Yi

killed him and went to surrender. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 12/2:501.

Bo Ying 柏英 became Minister Herald. -FSTY 5f:130.

Bo [Zhongzhi] 白仲職; Yingchuan. During the first half of the second century Bo Zhongzhi was a teacher of the classics. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Bo [Zilao] 博子勞 was an expert on the physiognomy of horses. -FSTY 6f:138.

Boba 白霸 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. In 78 the general Ban Chao recommended that Boba, hostage prince at court, be named King of Qiuzi on behalf of Han, and after King Youliduo surrendered in 91 he had Boba take his place.

In 106 the imperial commander Liang Qin persuaded Boba to allow Chinese troops into his city so they might defend it together. Despite fierce protests from his officials and people, Boba agreed. When Liang Qin brought additional troops, however, the people rebelled and, aided by neighbouring Wensu and Gumo [Aksu], they besieged Boba and his Chinese allies. Liang Qin held out for several months and eventually drove the enemy off with heavy losses, but the Han withdrew from central Asia soon afterwards. Deprived of Chinese support, it is unlikely Boba survived much longer. -HHS 47/37:1576, 1581, 1591.

Bobo 白波 see *sub* Bo Bo 白波.

Bode 伯得; Xiongnu. A chieftain of the Southern Xiongnu, in 142 Bode and his associate Taiqi joined the rebel leader Wusi in plundering Bing province. Though Wusi was assassinated in the following year, Bode and Taiqi remained at large and continued to cause trouble.

In 155 Bode and Taiqi led some seven thousand men to attack the Xiongnu capital at Meiji 美稷 in Xihe. Isolated and defeated by the Chinese commander Zhang Huan, they were compelled to surrender. -HHS 7:302, 65/55:2138, 89/79:2962-63.

Bogu 伯固 of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. Known in Korean history as Paekko, he was the son of Suicheng, and succeeded him as king about 130, almost certainly as a minor. The kingdom was evidently weakened by internal disorder, and the beginning of Bogu's reign saw the continuation of peace with Han, while the Chinese established military colonies in Xuantu to restore their position in the northeast.

From the middle 140s there was renewed raiding against Liaodong and Lelang, while Bogu and his

people may have come under the influence of the Xianbi chief Tanshihuai. In 169, however, Geng Lin the Administrator of Xuantu attacked Gaogouli and took several hundred heads, and Bogu once again offered submission. When Gongsun Du took over Liaodong in 190, Bogu was still on the throne, and he sent envoys with tribute. -HHS 85/75:2815, SGZ 30:845; Gardiner 69A:32, 69B:181-185.

Bohou [Zi'an] 白侯子安. About 175 Bohou Zi'an was a scholar and teacher of *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*. -SGZ Wu 7:1219.

Boli Song 百里嵩; surname also, probably wrongly, as 白里 [Jingshan 景山 or Jishan 季山]; Chenliu. [Xie Cheng describes Boli Song as a man from Shanyang, but it seems clear that this is a mistake.]

A worthy man, Boli Song became Inspector of Xu province. At a time of drought, he travelled through the province and rain blessed every place he went. Because of the difficulty of the road he missed two counties in the hills, and they continued to suffer until their leaders came and begged him to visit. Boli Song turned back, and the rain duly accompanied him.

Boli Song later became Chancellor of Ji'nian, where a fall of sweet dew 甘露 honoured his regime. Emperor An admired his government and called him to court as Minister Herald. -XC 5:5b-6a, HHSJJ 76/66:2719 Hui Dong.

Boma Shaobo 駁馬少伯 [Little Lord on a Piebald Horse]. During the 20s a number of non-Chinese in the region of Anding joined the local warlord Lu Fang, who claimed descent from the house of Han and then claimed the imperial throne. When Lu Fang fled China in 36 these auxiliaries returned to their home territory. In 45, however, resenting the controls and corvée duties placed upon them by local authorities, they rose in rebellion. Their leader, a large, strong man, styled himself Little Lord on a Piebald Horse. He established a base in the central hill country and made contact with the Xiongnu outside the frontier.

The imperial official Chen Xin was sent as Chief Clerk in Command of Troops and took three thousand horsemen to attack the rebels. As the Little Lord surrendered, he and his followers were shifted to the valley of the Wei River. -HHS 12/2:508; Bn 67:115.

Boque 白雀 [White Sparrow] was the sobriquet of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. -HHS 71/61:2310, SGZ 8:261.

Boying 白英 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. King of Qiuzi in 124,

he was persuaded to submit to Han by Ban Yong. He and his neighbouring rulers of Gumo and Wensu then joined the attack on the Xiongnu in Jushi. -HHS 47/371:1589.

Bu 步, the Lady (d.238); Xiapi. Distant kin to Bu Zhi, during the troubles of the 190s the Lady was brought by her mother into Lujiang. When the commandery fell to Sun Ce in 199, the Lady, who was very beautiful, was taken into the harem of Sun Quan. She became his favourite and bore him two daughters, Luban 魯班 and Luyu 魯育.

The Lady Bu retained Sun Quan's affections by recommending other women for his enjoyment without jealousy. Sun Quan wished to appoint her as his queen and then as his empress, but his officials urged the claims of his earlier consort the Lady Xu V. He took no decision, but the Lady Bu was always treated as empress within the palace, and at her death in 238 she was granted the posthumous title. -SGZ Wu 5:1198*; C/C 99:126-127.

Bu 卜, the Lady: sister of Bu Yin, she was the wife and widow of Bi Feng q.v.

Bu 步. A powerful slave at Luoyang about 30, he admired the youthful scholar Ma Yan and became his patron. -DGHJ 12:5a.

Bu Cheng 卜成 see Shangcheng Gong 上成公.

Bu Jing 卜靜 [Xuanfeng 玄風]; Wu. Widely admired in his region, Bu Jing became a county magistrate in Kuaiji in the service of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 7:1229.

Bu Shaonan 步紹南 of Xiapi was Registrar to the Chancellor Wuju Boji. -FSTY 5f:120.

Bu Si 卜巳 or Bu Yi 已 (d.184); Dong. A local leader of Yellow Turbans, Bu Si was captured and killed by a troop of Huangfu Song's army commanded by Fu Xie. -HHS 71/61:2301, XHS 4:9a; deC 89:185.

Bu Yang 卜陽 (d.164); Guiyang. From the 150s to the mid-160s Bu Yang and his comrade Pan Hong maintained a bandit force in Guiyang, with their stronghold in the mountains, but by 164 they were the last of the insurgents which had dominated Jing province and the south. In that year the Inspector Du Shang attacked their base-camp and settled them. -HHS 38/28:1285.

Bu Yi 卜巳 see Bu Si 卜巳.

Bu Yin 卜胤. Brother of the Lady Bu and brother-in-law of Bi Feng, Bu Yin became Administrator of a commandery. After the death of Bi Feng in 177 he joined his sister in arranging a stele to his memory.

-LS 9:16a.

Bu Zhi 步鷺 [Zishan 子山] (d.247); Xiapi. Bu Zhi's family claimed lineage from the pre-Han period, and he was a man of wide learning, generous and elegant. In the time of civil war in the 190s he escaped to take refuge in Kuaiji. Alone and poor, he joined Wei Jing to grow melons by day and study at night. Despite his background and quality, he was prepared to accept apparent humiliation: see *sub* Jiao Jiao.

Soon after Sun Quan succeeded his brother in 200 he called Bu Zhi to join his staff, but he left his post due to illness. He was later named a magistrate in Wu, but then returned to headquarters. In 210 he was appointed Administrator of Poyang, a commandery which had been established in the eastern part of Later Han Yuzhang.

A few months later Bu Zhi was sent south as Inspector of Jiao, and in the following year he received further titles and the Staff of Authority. Though he arrived in Nanhai with an escort of only a thousand men, he swiftly established his position by executing the unreliable Wu Ju, Administrator of Cangwu. He received general acceptance from Shi Xie and his kinsmen in Hepu, Jiaozhi and present-day Vietnam, though he sought alliance and acquiescence rather than direct control of that more distant region. Through Shi Xie, moreover, Bu Zhi made alliance with Yong Kai, warlord in the south of Yi province. He.

Promoted a general and given enfeoffment, Bu Zhi was succeeded in the south by Lü Dai in 220, and he brought an army of recruits to hold the south of Jing province against the threat of Liu Bei's attack down the Yangzi. Named a chief general, he held increasing responsibility for the defence of the west, and regularly gave advice on government. In 246 he was appointed Imperial Chancellor of Wu, and died in that office in the following year. -SGZ Wu 7:1236-40*.

Bubenyi 卜賁邑; Xianbi. A local chieftain about 150, he stole cattle and sheep from Tanshihuai's mother's family. Single-handed, Tanshihuai pursued the raiders and recovered the goods. -SGZ 30:837.

Budugen 步度根 (d.233); Xianbi. Grandson of the warlord Tanshihuai, he succeeded his eldest brother Kuitou about 205. The family power was now slight, however, and Budugen's elder brother Fuluohan, who had been passed over for the succession, set up a separate state of his own.

Following Cao Cao's defeat of the Wuhuan at

White Wolf Mountain in 207 and through the agency of the Protector of the Qiang Yan Rou, Budugen and other Xianbi leaders paid tribute and received royal titles.

In 224, concerned at the growing power of his rival Kebineng, who had murdered Fuluohan in 218, Budugen came to the court of Cao Pi and sought aid to restore his position. He was well received and settled in Bing province, and for the next ten years he helped to protect the border. In 233, however, Kebineng persuaded Budugen to make alliance with him against China. Budugen took part in some frontier raiding, but soon afterwards Kebineng killed him. -SGZ 30:835-36; Fang 52:179-181, 404-405.

Bujuzheng 不居徵 of Suoju [Yarkand]. Son of King Xian of Suoju, when the Northern Xiongnu joined the army of Yutian [Khotan] to attack Suoju in 60, Xian gave Bujuzheng as a hostage to them.

In the following year King Guangde of Yutian [Khotan] captured Xian and annexed Suoju, but the Xiongnu sent an army which forced him to submit and then placed Bujuzheng on his father's throne.

As power of the Xiongnu waned Guangde formally submitted to China, and in the late 80s he joined Ban Chao's attacks on Suoju. In 87 the enemy surrendered, Bujuzheng was killed, and Guangde's brother Qili took his place. -HHS 88/78:2926.

Buqiao 布橋; Qiang. Leader of a group of the Shaodang tribe, in the autumn of 77 he joined the chieftain Miyu to attack Chinese positions in Longxi, Jincheng and Hanyang. Buqiao laid siege to Lintao, headquarters of the southern Commandant of Longxi, but was deceived by an advance guard sent by the general Ma Fang and was heavily defeated. As the siege was broken, the main body of the Qiang surrendered, but Buqiao maintained defiance in the valleys of the southwest. Early in the following year Ma Fang's forces pressed their advance, and though they suffered a number of setbacks they eventually forced Buqiao and some ten thousand followers to surrender. -HHS 24/14:855-56, 87/77:2881.

C

Cai 蔡, the Lady I; Runan: see *sub* her son Cai Shun.

Cai 蔡, the Lady II. Daughter of an aunt of Yuan Yaoqing, the Lady married Cai Ling and became the

mother of Cai Yong. Cai Yong became known for the care he gave her during her last illness, and for his arrangement of her tomb. -HHSJJ 60/50B:2140 Hui Dong.

Cai 蔡, the Lady III. Daughter of Cai Yong, she married Yang Dao of Taishan. -JS 31:949, 34:1013.

Cai 蔡, the Lady IV; Nan. Daughter of Cai Feng and sister of Cai Mao, she became the second formal wife of Liu Biao.

When Liu Biao proposed to kill Han Song for what he saw as treachery in support of Cao Cao, the Lady argued strongly in his favour and Han Song was only imprisoned.

Since Liu Biao's younger son Zong had married her niece, the Lady encouraged Liu Biao to appoint Zong, rather than his elder son Qi, as his heir. -SGZ 6:213, HHSJJ 74/64B:2650 Hui Dong quoting *Xiangyang qijiu zhuan*.

Cai [Bojie] 蔡伯喈. In *Lun heng* 11; Forke 11:106, Wang Chong describes Cai Bojie, Administrator of Youfufeng, as a man with wide knowledge of things ancient and modern. He was probably a contemporary, living in the first century.

This man's style is very close to that of Cai Yong, but Cai Yong was born some fifty years after Wang Chong was writing; they cannot be the same person.

Cai Boliu 蔡伯流; Jiujiang. In the summer of 138 the bandit Cai Boliu ravaged his home commandery, extended his depredations east down the Yangzi into Guangling and killed a county magistrate. A few weeks later he and his followers surrendered to the Inspector Ying Zhi. -HHS 6:267.

Cai [Boqi] 蔡伯起; Nanyang. About 130 Cai Bojie held appointment in the offices of the Excellencies at the same time as Feng Gun; he later became Administrator of Donglai. He was also a colleague of Wu Shigong, who became Administrator of his home commandery about 140 and proposed to nominate his sons for office. Cao Boqi asked him to wait until his younger son Zan was old enough, and Wu Shigong did so, but he was later demoted for such favouritism.

When Feng Gun went on campaign against rebels in the south in 144, Cai Bojie was able to arrange for his son Cai Zan to hold military appointment under him. -FSTY 4:31.

Cai Chong 蔡充 (d.24). Designated Administrator of Yuyang by the Gengshi Emperor in 24, Cai Chong was sent to replace Peng Chong, an associate of Liu

Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. As they came north, however, Cao Chong and his colleague Wei Shun were killed by Liu Xiu's officer Geng Yan. -HHS 19/9:705-06.

Cai Feng 蔡諷/風 (d.121). In the spring of 121 Cai Feng was Administrator of Liaodong when the neighbouring commandery of Xuantu was raided by troops of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. Cai Feng joined Feng Huan the Inspector of You province and Yao Guang the Administrator of Xuantu in a punitive expedition. They killed several chiefs of the associated Hui and Mo people, and captured quantities of weapons, horses and treasure. Yao Guang, however, was then deceived by a false surrender, and enemy infiltrators burned Chinese settlements and killed people.

As the Chinese position was disrupted by internal disputes, Gaogouli launched a further attack in the summer, this time directly against Liaodong and joined by Xianbi from the north. Cai Feng faced the invaders in the heart of the commandery, but his troops were defeated and, despite the efforts of his junior officers Geng Hao and others, he and his staff were killed with several hundred of the local militia. -HHS 85/75:2814-15, SGZ 30:844-45.

Cai Feng 蔡諷; Nan. A man of good local family, Cai Feng was the father of Cai Mao, who was born about 150, and also of the Lady Cai, wife of Liu Biao. -HHSJJ 74/64B:2650 Hui Dong quoting *Xiangyang qijiu zhuan*.

Cai Gong 蔡弓 [Ziqian 子騫]; Guangan. Cai Gong and his friend Xin Xian studied the *Classic of Poetry* under Lu Gong at Luoyang. Cai Gong was later Administrator of Lujiang. -HYGZ 10B:146.

Cai Gu 蔡谷; Chenliu. A cousin of Cai Yong, he was with him at Chang'an under Dong Zhuo in the early 190s. Cai Yong was uneasy, and thought of going to the east, but Cai Gu persuaded him that he was too well-known to effect such an escape. -HHS 60/50B:2006.

Cai Hao 采皓 served as General on the Liao. -FSTY 5f:128.

Cai Hong 蔡宏 (d.27); Nan. An officer of the warlord Qin Feng, he joined him to defend the line of the Han River against the attacks of Cen Peng and the forces of Han. In the autumn of 27, however, Cen Peng forced the crossing by a trick, then moved against Qin Feng's base at Liqiu. Qin Feng and Cai Hong attempted a surprise attack by night, but Cen Peng was ready for them. As Cai Hong's men ran away, he was taken and

killed. -HHS 17/7:657-58.

Cai Jiao 蔡較. An Academician at the Imperial University in 180, Cai Jiao was a member of a board of enquiry under the Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan which considered rival methods for calculating eclipses of the moon. -HHS 92/2:3041-42.

Cai Lang 蔡朗 [Zhongming 仲明] (96-153). Learned in the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu, Cai Lang became Tutor to Liu Ju the king of Langye. -Cai 3:6.

Cai Leng 蔡陵 [Bozhi 伯直]; Chenliu. Eldest son of Cai Xi and father of Cai Yong, Cai Leng was a man of local family who was respected for his fine character. Accounts vary as to whether he ever held office, but there is a reference to an Inspector of Xu province with that name. -HHS 60/50B:1979.

Cai Lun 蔡倫 [Jingzhong 敬仲] (d.121); Guiyang. A eunuch, Cai Lun entered the harem apartments towards the end of the reign of Emperor Ming and about 80 he became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates under Emperor Zhang. In 82, on the orders of the Empress Dou, he took charge of the interrogation of the Honoured Ladies Song, mother and aunt of the former Heir Liu Qing; they killed themselves.

When Emperor He came to the throne in 88 under the regency of the Dou family, Cai Lun was appointed a Regular Attendant and then also head of the Palace Workshop. From 97 he was responsible for the design of ceremonial swords and other items; the workmanship was of the finest quality and became a model for later times.

In 105 Cai Lun announced to the throne his development of a process to make paper [紙 *zhi*]. There are examples of paper made from vegetable fibres which can be dated to Former Han and the first century of Later Han, and it appears most probable that Cai Lun's contribution was to make use of new materials, notably tree-bark and hemp-ends, together with rags and fishing-nets: these produced finer quality paper, enabled large-scale production, and could replace the traditional wood, bamboo and silk as material to write on. Silk had sometimes been referred to as *zhi*, but paper now became known as "the *zhi* of Marquis Cai 蔡侯紙." Cai Lun was later recognised as a god, and for many years the stone mortar he was said to have used for crushing fibres could be seen by his former home in present-day Hunan.

Cai Lun and Emperor He's old ally Zheng Zhong

held continuing influence at the court of the Dowager Deng. It is said that Cai Lun was honest, cautious and a good judge of policy. He was seriously concerned with scholarship, and from about 110 he had overall charge of the collation and re-editing of the classics and other philosophical texts held in the library of the Eastern Pavilion. In 114 Cai Lun was granted a small fief, and after the death of Zheng Zhong he became Coachman to the Dowager, probably acting as head of her household.

When the Lady Deng died in 121, Emperor An took personal control of the government. He had long borne in mind how, forty years earlier, Cai Lun had imprisoned his grandmother the Honoured Lady Song and her sister, put them to the question and drove them to their deaths at the behest of the Empress Dou. He sent orders that Cai Lun should report to the Ministry of Justice. Ashamed to be treated so disgracefully, Cai Lun bathed and dressed in formal garb, then took poison. -HHS 78/68:2513-14*; Needham 85:40-41, 107, Bn 76:29.

Cai Mao 蔡茂 [Zili 子禮] (24 BC-47 AD); Henei. Noted for his scholarship, at the end of Former Han Cai Mao held positions at the Imperial University and at the court, but he refused to serve under Wang Mang. When Wang Mang was destroyed he took refuge in the northwest with the warlord Dou Rong but, although he was a personal friend, Cai Mao again would not accept any appointment from him.

In 36 Cai Mao accompanied Dou Rong to the court of Emperor Guangwu. There he became a Consultant and was later sent out as Administrator of Guanghan. In that territory he had some trouble with clients of the Yin clan of the empress, but kept them under control and maintained a strong government.

In the early 40s the slave and lover of the Princess Liu Huang, sister of the emperor, murdered a man. He was seized and executed by the Prefect of Luoyang, Dong Xuan. At the Lady's urging, Guangwu attempted to reprimand Dong Xuan, but he stood his ground. Cai Mao wrote to the emperor in praise of Dong Xuan and urged the ruler to keep his relatives under control. Guangwu formally accepted the injunction, but continued to indulge his family.

In 44 Cai Mao was appointed Excellency over the Masses, the first such appointee not to be granted a marquissate. On the other hand, while his immediate predecessors, Han Xin, Ouyang Xi and Dai She, had

been dismissed and died, Cai Mao held his position until his death three years later. Emperor Guangwu provided his funerary items and paid generously for the ceremony. -HHS 16/6:907-08*; QHX:17, Bn 79:63, 140-141.

Cai Mao 蔡瑁 [Degui 德珪]; Nan. Son of Cai Feng and a man of good local family, when he was young Cai Mao was a friend of Cao Cao.

When Liu Biao came to Jing province in 190 Cai Mao assisted him to take control. His sister married Liu Biao, and they supported his younger son Liu Zong for the succession against the elder Liu Qi. As Liu Biao was dying, Cai Mao prevented Liu Qi from visiting him. -SGZ 6:211-14.

Cai Mou 蔡茂 see Cai Mao 蔡茂.

Cai Shaogong 蔡少公; Nanyang. As Liu Bosheng and his younger brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, were staying with their brother-in-law Deng Chen at Wan city about 20, Cai Shaogong joined them at dinner. Interested in divination, he mentioned the prophecy that "Liu Xiu is to become the Son of Heaven 劉秀當天子." Someone observed that this must refer to the well-known senior minister at Wang Mang's court; formerly named Liu Xin 歆, he had changed his personal name to Xiu 秀 in 6 BC, perhaps intending to match the prophecy. The young Liu Xiu asked jokingly whether it might not refer to himself.

Years later Deng Chen reminded Guangwu of the incident; the emperor roared with laughter. -HHS 15/5: 582-84; Bn 59:240 and QHX *sub* Liu Xin/Xiu.

Cai Shun 蔡順 [Junzhong 君中]; Runan. Cai Shun's father died when he was young, and he cared devotedly for his mother. He was so sensitive to her needs that on one occasion, when an unexpected visitor came as he was out gathering firewood, she bit her finger and he came back immediately to find out what was wrong; the phrase 嚙指棄薪 became proverbial.

About 70, the old lady died aged ninety, but before she was buried a fire broke out in the village. As the flames approached Cai Shun cast himself upon the coffin and prayed, and the fire duly spared his house.

The Administrator Han Chong heard of his remarkable record and appointed Cai Shun to his staff. The Lady Cai had always been afraid of thunder, and whenever there was a thunderstorm Cai Shun would go out to her tomb to reassure her spirit. Eventually Han Chong ordered a carriage to be made ready for him each time.

Later the Administrator Bao Zhong recommended Cai Shun as Filial and Incorrupt, but he could not bear to be parted from his mother's tomb. He stayed at home and died at the age of eighty. -HHS 39/29:1312.

Cai Song 蔡嵩. Intendant of Henan in 90, Cai Song was reported by the Excellency Yuan An for his failure to keep control of the retainers of the powerful Dou family of the regent Dowager. -HHS 45/35:1519-20.

Cai Xi 蔡邕 [Shuye 叔業]; Chenliu. In the time of Emperor Shun, Cai Xi was a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies at the capital. He was graded First Class and became a magistrate in Runan. Father of Cai Ling and grandfather of Cai Yong, he died at the age of seventy-nine. -HHS 60/50B:1980.

Cai Xuan 蔡玄 [Shuling 叔陵]; Runan. Well learned in the Confucian classics, Cai Xuan taught thousands of students. He refused several invitations to office, but in the time of Emperor Shun he was brought to the court by special edict and appointed a Consultant. He lectured on the text criticism of the classics, very much to the emperor's taste, and he was made a Palace Attendant.

Cai Xuan later became Administrator of Hongnong; he died in that office. -HHS 79/69B:2588*.

Cai Yan 蔡琰, the Lady [Wenji 文姬 or Zhaoji 昭姬]; Chenliu. Daughter of Cai Yong, the Lady was well-read, eloquent, and skilled at music. She was first married to Wei Zhongdao, but they had no children, and after he died she returned to her family home. About 194, during the troubles at the end of Han, the Lady fell into the hands of the Xiongnu. Taken into the harem of the Worthy King of the Left, one of the leaders of an exiled group which maintained itself in Hedong [see *sub* Huchuquan], she was kept there for twelve years and bore two sons.

Cao Cao, who had admired Cai Yong and had been a close friend, was sad that he had left no descendants. About 206 he paid a ransom for the Lady's return, then married her to Dong Si, a commandant in charge of agricultural colonies. Some time later Dong Si was found guilty of a crime and sentenced to death, but the Lady went to Cao Cao in the simplest clothing, and appealed to him in open court. The order for execution had already gone out, but Cao Cao sent hastily to rescind it, and because it was cold he gave her headgear, stockings and shoes.

He then asked Cai Yan about her memory of her father's library, and she told him that, though Cai Yong

had left her more than four thousand scrolls, after the turmoil and destruction she could now recite the contents of only some four hundred items. Cao Cao proposed to send a team of scribes to take her dictation, but the Lady Cai insisted on doing the transcription herself. He provided her with paper and brushes and she wrote out the works and sent them to him; all were faultless.

[When he died at Chang'an in 192 Cai Yong entrusted the bulk of his library to his student Wang Can, who presumably took much of the collection with him when he went for refuge in the south. That material would have returned to the north after Cao Cao took over Jing province in the following year. See MBeck 90:46, and *sub* Wang Can. The Lady Cai's contribution was most likely an additional reconstruction, but since the original scrolls had evidently been lost, unless there were duplicates in Wang Can's collection or elsewhere the alleged perfection of her work would relate rather to her calligraphy than to any possibility of checking.]

The Lady also composed poems on her misfortunes in the time of troubles, and two which are attributed to her are preserved in her biography in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. *Beifen shi* 悲忿詩 "Poem of Lament and Indignation" was a precursor for later writers on this theme. -HHS 84/74:2800-03*; Ch'ü 72: 320.

Cai Yan 蔡琰; Nanyang. Younger brother of Cai Boqi, he was nominated for office by Boqi's friend Wu Shigong the Administrator of Nanyang. -FSTY 4:31.

Cai Yan 蔡衍 [Mengxi 孟喜] (d.168); Runan. Having acquired excellent knowledge of the classics when he was young, Cai Yan established a local school and influenced his neighbours by his courtesy and fine conduct. Whenever there was a dispute, the participants would call upon him, and all were content with his adjudication.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, during the middle 150s Cai Yan became Inspector of Ji province. The senior eunuch Ju Yuan wanted his younger brother Ju Hong to receive provincial nomination as Abundant Talent, but Cai Yan refused, and punished the man who had brought the letter. Again, he reported that Cao Ding the Chancellor of Hejian, a brother of the eunuch Cao Teng, had taken bribes. Cao Teng had the General-in-Chief Liang Ji send a letter on Cao Ding's behalf, but Cai Yan paid no attention, and Cao Ding

was sentenced to convict service.

Cai Yan was brought to the capital as a Consultant, and then became Prefect of Insignia and Credentials. Recognising his fine qualities, Liang Ji sought to meet him, but Cai Yan pleaded illness and refused to call upon him. During Emperor Huan's personal government in the mid-160s, Cai Yan joined the Consultant Liu Yu to support Cheng Jin the Administrator of Nanyang, who had been arrested for killing the eunuch associate Zhang Fan and others during a time of amnesty. Their argument was outspoken and both men were dismissed; Cheng Jin himself was later executed.

Cai Yan retired to seclusion at his home, but he was numbered among the worthy men in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University. In 168, as the regency for the new Emperor Ling was dominated by Dou Wu and Chen Fan, Cai Yan was recalled as a Consultant but died about this time. -HHS 67/57:2208-09* & 2187.

Cai Yang 蔡揚/陽 (d.200). A general of Cao Cao, in 200 Cai Yang was sent to attack Liu Bei and Gong Du in Runan, but he was defeated and killed. -SGZ 1:22, Shu 2:876.

Cai Yi 蔡遺. As Administrator of Jiangxia for Sun Quan, Cai Yi had early shown contempt for Lü Meng, at that time a good military man but poor and uncultured. Lü Meng later rose to high command, and when Gu Shao the Administrator of Yuzhang died about 218 he recommended Cai Yi take his place. Sun Quan was surprised at such tolerance and generosity, but did as he suggested. -SGZ Wu 9:1280.

Cai Yong 蔡邕 personal name sometimes written as 雍: see *sub* Gu Yong [Bojie 伯喈] (132-192); Chenliu. One of the most brilliant scholars of Han, Cai Yong was born into a substantial local family, though his father Leng had only private reputation. After the death of Cai Leng, Cai Yong lived for a time with his uncle Cai Zhi and his cousins. The family was noted for not having divided its property for three generations, and Cai Yong himself became known for the care he gave his mother the Lady Yuan for the three years of her last illness, and for his arrangement of her tomb.

Cai Yong then studied composition, mathematics, astronomy/astrology, pitch-pipes and music under Hu Guang. A fine calligrapher, he wrote *Zhuan shi* 篆勢, an essay on aspects of the traditional Seal Script.

In the early 160s Cai Yong was recommended to Emperor Huan by Xu Huang, Zuo Guan and other

senior eunuchs for his skill with drums and the zither [see also *HQ* 2:1b]. He was called to the capital, but on the road he pretended illness and returned home to study in seclusion. He composed the mystical *Shi hui* 釋誨 "Instruction Explained" in dialogue form to justify himself.

In the early 170s Cai Yong served as a clerk in the offices of the Excellency Qiao Xuan, who greatly admired him. After brief appointment as a county magistrate, he returned to the capital as a Consultant, working on editing and collating texts in the library of the Eastern Pavilion. In 172, with encouragement from Hu Guang, now Grand Tutor, he recorded the proceedings of the ceremony of Ascending the Imperial Tombs; the text survives in his *Duduan* [XC 8:13a-b, *HHS* 94/4:3103-04; MBeck 90:74]. He was also in regular demand for eulogies, memorial inscriptions and other laudatory texts. Several of those which survive were composed for his patron Hu Guang and members of his family, but he is said to have remarked that Guo Tai was the only person for whom he could write a flattering piece without embarrassment.

In 175 Cai Yong memorialised against a proposal to amend the calendar in accordance with the apocrypha. His attack was so strong that the emperor was obliged to intervene to protect him from charges of Disrespect.

At this time, moreover, the eunuch Li Xun memorialised that the texts of the Confucian classics in the imperial library of the Orchid Terrace were being altered by Academicians of the University to support and fit their own theories. In response, Cai Yong, Tangxi Dian, Yang Biao, Ma Midi, Zhang Xun, Han Yue and Shan Yang proposed that five classics, *Analects*, *Changes*, *Ritual*, *History*, and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary, be edited and engraved upon stone. Emperor Ling approved, and Cai Yong and Ma Midi appear to have had particular responsibility for the *Ritual*. Cai Yong himself wrote the agreed texts on the stones in cinnabar for the engravers to carve, though his contribution must have ended when he left the capital in 178. The Stone Classics were completed in 183, and determined the canon for future generations of scholars.

Probably in 177, Cai Yong was also commissioned to work on a further instalment of the dynastic history "Record of Han" 漢記, now retitled *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 from the Eastern Pavilion 東觀, where the

library and workrooms were located. Other colleagues in the project were Ma Midi, Yang Biao, Han Yue and Lu Zhi; their work included annals for emperors An and Shun, for the infants Chong and Zhi and for Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. Noted for his attention to textual accuracy, Cai Yong was a recognised expert on ceremonial and portents, and it appears that he worked also on a series of treatises; the first section of his Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar 律曆意 *Lüli yi* was taken by Sima Biao for his *Xu Han shu*. [The treatises were known as *yi* 意 at this time instead of *zhi* 志, to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Huan.]

For some time Cai Yong also played a role in politics at court. He memorialised unsuccessfully against the *San-hu* 三互 regulations, which forbade men to hold office in any province to which they were connected by marriage, on the grounds that it made the recruitment of good officials more difficult. In the autumn of 177, moreover, he presented a memorial of seven sections, criticising eunuch pretensions and urging the need to restore ceremonial. The emperor did pay attention to the second topic: that winter he attended in person at the ceremony to Welcome the Ethers at the Northern Suburban Altar [Bodde 75:192] and also Served the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat. Such imperial participation in these rituals was evidently no longer regular.

Later that year Cai Yong argued against the plan of the military commander Xia Yu, associate of the eunuch Wang Fu, to attack the Xianbi beyond the northern frontier. His advice was rejected, but the expedition indeed proved disastrous, and Cai Yong later sent in a note on his concern that the important provinces You and Ji had been left without Inspectors since the failed campaign.

In the autumn of 178 Cai Yong, Yang Ci and other scholar-officials were asked for advice on a recent series of disconcerting portents, including an earthquake and a dark mysterious snake. In another long and firm memorial, Cai Yong presented more criticisms of eunuch pretensions and also attacked the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, personal project of Emperor Ling. The document was sealed and supposedly for the emperor's eyes only, but the eunuchs learnt of it.

Cai Yong's uncle, Cai Zhi, had quarrelled with the

eunuch associate Yang Qiu, and Cai Yong quarrelled with the Minister Herald Liu He, while the Intendant of Henan Yang Zhi, who was connected to the Cai by marriage, had been dismissed on grounds of faction. [Cai Yong's daughter had married Yang Dao, son of the official Yang Xu of Taishan, and it appears that there was a further connection of the Yang clan to Cai Zhi.] The eunuch Cheng Huang, father-in-law of Yang Qiu, now arranged an accusation that Cai Yong and Cai Zhi made improper requests for private favour from Liu He and that, when these were unsuccessful, they sought to injure him. Cai Yong and Cai Zhi were investigated by the Imperial Secretariat, and despite an eloquent defence and denials from Cai Yong they were imprisoned and sentenced to death for Disrespect. In fact, it seems probable that there was a loose association of officials opposed to the party led by Cheng Huang, and the accusations represented a counter-attack: see *sub* Yang Zhi and Humu Ban.

The eunuch Lü Qiang now spoke for the two men, and Emperor Ling remitted the penalty to exile in the far north. After nine months Cai Yong appealed to the throne that he might finish his work on the classics and the dynastic history, and he expressed concern that the manuscripts of the ten Treatises he was working on were at risk from non-Chinese raiding. There was in any case an amnesty at this time, so his banishment was ended.

At a farewell banquet, however, Cai Yong insulted Wang Zhi the Administrator of Wuyuan, brother of the eunuch Wang Fu, and he was once more under threat. With the aid of his Yang kinsmen by marriage he fled from the capital and took refuge in Wu and Kuaiji commanderies. He stayed in the southeast for twelve years, though he evidently had contact with the capital for he composed a funerary inscription for the Lady Ma, widow of the Excellency Yuan Tang, who died in 187.

As Dong Zhuo took power in 189 he summoned Cai Yong to Luoyang, enforcing his demand with threats against his family. Within a few days Cai Yong had been appointed to the Censorate and the Secretariat, and then became a Palace Attendant. As the court went to Chang'an in the following year, Cai Yong was named a General of the Household and enfeoffed as a district marquis, and he played a leading role in revising rituals for the new government. Among other changes he persuaded Dong Zhuo to withdraw

the honorific temple names of all sovereigns of Later Han since Emperor He, arguing that their virtues were inadequate; regardless of the merits of the case he appeared as an arrogant collaborator of the arbitrary, usurping regime. He did, however, dissuade the dictator from some exaggerated titles and regalia.

Dong Zhuo admired Cai Yong as a scholar and as a musician, an ornament to his court, and he would have him perform on the zither whenever there was a banquet. On the other hand, Cai Yong was concerned about Dong Zhuo's fractious temper, and worried that he seldom took his advice. It is said that he considered leaving for his home in the east, but was persuaded that he was too well known to escape.

As soon as Dong Zhuo was killed in 192, the new head of government, Wang Yun, accused Cai Yong of sympathy for the fallen tyrant and ordered his execution. Cai Yong begged to be allowed to complete his work on the history of Han, but Wang Yun had long been envious of Cai Yong's abilities, and he now claimed that if Emperor Wu of Former Han had had the sense to kill Sima Qian instead of merely castrating him, the historian would never have been able to transmit his slanders to future generations. Officials and scholars throughout the empire were appalled at such brutality: Ma Midi foretold the swift destruction of Wang Yun's family, and Zheng Xuan deplored the loss to the dynasty. It is said that Wang Yun did change his mind, but the reprieve came too late.

After his tragic death, pictures of Cai Yong were set up in his honour, and commemorative eulogies were composed throughout his home country of Chenliu and the province of Yan.

Cai Yong's major work appears to have been the ten Treatises, which he compiled from official archives and from materials passed to him by his former teacher Hu Guang. [To avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Huan, these treatises were known as *yi* 意 instead of the more common *zhi* 志.] Much of their text was lost in the turmoil at Chang'an in the 190s, but Cai Yong bequeathed the bulk of his library of ten thousand scrolls to his protégé Wang Can [but see also *sub* his daughter the Lady Cai Yan], and his scholarship was transmitted to Sima Biao, compiler of *Xu Han shu*, whose treatises form part of the standard *Hou Han shu*. He also collaborated with the mathematician and astronomer Liu Hong, whose *Qianxiang* 乾象 [Celestial Appearances] calendar was adopted in 223

by Sun Quan, ruler of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu.

Though his contribution was interrupted by politics, Cai Yong played a major role in editing the Stone Classics and in the compilation of *Dongguan Hanji*, while he left a quantity of other scholarly and literary material, including *Dudian* 獨斷 "Solitary Decisions[?]" on ceremonial, *Cai Yong bencao* 蔡邕本草, a work of pharmacology, and *Nü xun* 女訓, an essay of advice for women. Several items survive. -HHS 60/50B*, XC 3:10b-11a, 8:13a-b, ZF:7b-8a; Mather 76:577-578, MBeck 90:41-44, 105-108, Bn 76:69-70, deC 89:481-483, Texts:467 [Loewe] and 471-472 [Bielenstein/Loewe], Needham 86:259.

Cai Zan 蔡瓚; Nanyang. Son of Cai Boqi, although very young he was nominated for office by his father's friend Wu Shigong the Administrator of Nanyang and became a magistrate in Jiangxia. The Secretariat reported this as a wrongful appointment, and Wu Shigong was demoted.

At this time, in 144 the general Feng Gun was embarking on campaign against rebels in Jing province. Cai Boqi was a former colleague, and he persuaded Feng Gun to give Cai Zan appointment in his army. Cai Zan did well, he was appointed as a magistrate in Chen, and he later became Chancellor of Xiapi. -FSTY 4:31 [the text is not entirely complete or clear].

Cai Zhan 蔡湛 [Zide 子德]; Henei. As a county magistrate in Changshan, in 181 Cai Zhan was honoured with a stele. A few months later he was transferred to be Inspector of Bing province. -LS 5:1a-3a.

Cai Zhao 蔡昭 [Shuming 叔明]; Henan. A former magistrate in Hedong, Cai Zhao had a tomb in his home country. -SJZ 31:10a, LS 27:6b.

Cai Zhen 蔡軫; Chenliu. Local commandery officers in the late 160s, Cai Zhen and others mourned the death of their Administrator-elect Hu Shuo. It seems likely that Cai Zhen was a kinsman of Cai Yong. -Cai 5:5.

Cai Zhi 蔡質 [Ziwen 子文]; Chenliu. Younger brother of Cai Ling, he cared for his nephew Cai Yong after the death of his parents, and was himself a scholar of ceremonial and ritual. He attended and recorded the ceremony of appointment for the Empress Song in 171, was a member of the Imperial Secretariat and then Chancellor of Xiapi,

In 178 Cai Zhi was Minister of the Guards. At this time Cai Yong offended the emperor and the eunuchs

with his criticisms, while Cai Zhi had an old quarrel with the Court Architect Yang Qiu, son-in-law of the senior eunuch Zheng Huang. Cheng Huang laid charges of factionalism against Cai Zhi and Cai Yong, and both uncle and nephew were sentenced to exile in the north, where Yang Qiu attempted to have them killed.

Cai Zhi is not heard of after this time, but he was probably permitted to return to his home when Cai Yong was amnestied in the following year. He left at least one work on procedure, *Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* 漢官典職儀式選用 "Administrative Observances of the Han Official System Selected for Use." *Han yi* 漢儀 "Han Ceremonial" and *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 "Ancient Han Ceremonial," also ascribed to Cai Zhi, may be extracts or separate works. -HHS 60/50B: 2001-03, 95/5:3121; MBeck 90:85-87, Bn 80:3.

Cai Zhong 蔡仲; Wuling. A would-be tomb robber, Cai Zhong was unwillingly responsible for rescuing the Lady Li E from her grave. -HHS 107/17:3348.

Cang Ci 倉慈 [Xiaoren 孝仁]; Jiujiang. About 200 Cao Cao's Inspector of Yang province, Liu Fu, began to establish agricultural colonies to guard the frontier against Wu. Cang Ci, who had been a local officer, was appointed Commandant in charge.

About 225 Cang Ci became Prefect of Chang'an and about 230 he was sent out as Administrator of Dunhuang. His excellent government there did much to restore Chinese influence in central Asia.

Cang Ci is named by Chen Shou as one of the creditable Administrators of the state of Wei, though Pei Songzhi takes the occasion to remark how few such men there were. -SGZ 16:512-13*.

Cao 曹, Empress of Emperor Xian: see the Lady Cao Jie.

Cao 曹, the Lady I (116-170); Jiying. Wife of Ma Jiang, who died in 153, after her death a stele was erected in honour of her husband and of her own exemplary conduct as his widow. -LS 8:11b-13a.

Cao 曹, the Lady II; Pei. Daughter of Cao Cao by the Lady Liu X, she became Princess of Qinghe 清河. Married to Xiahou Mao, she objected to his adulteries and about 230 she almost had him executed for treason. -SGZ 9:268-69.

Cao 曹, the Lady III; Pei. Daughter of Cao Cao, she was appointed Princess of Anyang and married Xun Yun. -SGZ 10:316.

Cao 曹, the Lady IV; Pei. Daughter of Cao Cao by

the Lady Du, she became Princess of Gaocheng 高城. -SGZJJ 20:1a-b.

Cao 曹, the Lady V; Pei. Daughter of Cao Cao by the Lady Yin, she was appointed as a Princess and married her half-brother He Yan. -SGZ 9:292.

Cao 曹, the Lady VI; Pei. Daughter of a younger brother of Cao Cao, she was married to Sun Kuang in 198 and became the mother of Sun Tai. -SGZ Wu 1:1104, Wu 6:1213.

Cao 曹, the Lady VII; Pei. Daughter of a younger brother of Cao Cao, probably Cao Yu, she married Xiahou Heng. -SGZ 9:272.

Cao 曹, the Lady VIII; Pei. Daughter of Cao Pi and his consort the Lady Zhen, she was appointed as a Princess. -SGZ 5:160.

Cao 曹 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Ji Yin [or possibly of Shanyang] in the early 140s, he recommended Wu Ban of Shanyang as Filial and Incorrupt. -Wu 89:24-25.

Cao 曹 [personal name unknown]; Pei. A younger brother of Cao Cao, who evidently died young, he was later granted posthumous title as Lamented Marquis of Haiyang 海陽哀侯. His daughter married Xiahou Heng, son of Xiahou Yuan and a grandson of Cao Cao. -SGZ 9:272 and see also *sub* Cao Yu.

Cao Ang 曹昂 [Zixiu 子脩] (d.197); Pei. Cao Ang was the eldest son of Cao Cao, born about 177 to his senior concubine the Lady Liu X. After his mother died he was brought up by Cao Cao's chief wife the Lady Ding.

At the age of about twenty Cao Ang accompanied his father on campaign against Zhang Xiu. The army was defeated in a surprise attack, Cao Cao's horse was hit and he himself was wounded. Cao Ang gave him his own mount and Cao Cao was able to escape, but Cao Ang was killed. [For similar equine sacrifices, see also *sub* Cao Hong and *sub* Lou Yi; the incident appears as something of a cliché.]

In 221 Cao Ang received a posthumous fief and his half-nephew Cao Wan was appointed to maintain his lineage -SGZ 1:14, 20:579*.

Cao Anmin 曹安民 (d.197); Pei. A nephew of Cao Cao, he was killed fighting Zhang Xiu. -SGZ 1:14.

Cao Bao 曹褒 [Shutong 叔通] (d.102); Lu. Son of Cao Chong, from his earliest youth Cao Bao maintained his father's tradition of scholarship in *Ritual* according to the New Text school of Qing Pu of Former Han, and he was expert on ceremonial. Like his father, Cao Bao

was concerned that the restored Han dynasty had failed to establish a full set of court procedures. He looked back to Shusun Tong 叔孫通, who had constructed a system for the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han [QH:482-483], and he studied day and night to inform himself of precedents.

Recommended Filial and Incorrupt, Cao Bao became a magistrate in Chenliu, where he governed the people by ritual and reformed their customs. When some bandits who had troubled the region were captured in his territory, the Administrator Ma Yan ordered their execution, but Cao Bao told his men that this would be a crime against Heaven, so they were not killed. Ma Yan reported that Cao Bao was a man of weak will, and had him dismissed. Cao Bao then became Officer of Merit in his home commandery of Lu, and he later went to the capital as an Academician, presumably, like his father before him, representing the study of ritual according to Qing Pu.

Emperor Zhang, who had shown his concern for scholarship and philosophy by his sponsorship of the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79, was interested in new rituals for the court. In 85, in an edict citing a number of apocryphal books, he raised the matter with his officials. Cao Bao responded with enthusiasm, but the Minister of Ceremonies Chao Kan argued that it was too great a task for one person. The emperor recognised the difficulties he would face in getting a consensus among officials, but in the following year he tried again, and once more Cao Bao responded with a proposal for comprehensive reform, remarking to his students on the great opportunity that was offered. As a Palace Attendant, he accompanied the emperor on his tour to the south, and when the court returned, Emperor Zhang raised the question with the scholar Ban Gu.

A short time earlier Ban Gu had presented twelve surviving chapters of Shusun Tong's compilation from the beginning of Former Han. He agreed that there should be some review and an agreed re-compilation, but he could only suggest another conference: Emperor Zhang remarked, with evident justice, that such a gathering would spend its time quarrelling, and nothing would be determined.

Seeking to break the stalemate, at the beginning of 87 Emperor Zhang formally commissioned Cao Bao to prepare a set of rules based upon the remnant text of Shusun Tong and other materials from the

classics, histories and suitable works in the imperial collection. Cao Bao had evidently been working on the project long before the formal request, for at the end of that year he presented *Xin li* 新禮 "New Rituals" in 150 *pian*, dealing with everything from capping to marriage, and covering all levels of society from the ruler to the common people. The very scale of the production, however, proved self-defeating, for Emperor Zhang recognised that such a comprehensive program would meet great opposition. Although he accepted the document, he did not present it to his ministers for discussion.

Emperor Zhang died a few months later, and Cao Bao presented his youthful successor Emperor He with two sections of his work on ritual. In 91, as Emperor Ho took the cap of manhood at the age of twelve *sui*, Cao Bao's compilation provided the program for the ceremony. Though Cao Bao was a scholar of the New Text, the timing of the imperial coming of age fitted the requirements of the Old Text tradition: New Text theories would have delayed the ceremony until the ruler was twenty *sui*. Indeed the timing was important, for it entitled the young ruler to govern for himself, and he took advantage of the opportunity to destroy the great Dou family of the Dowager. The ritual itself, however, had proved unduly complex, with four different caps prescribed, to be donned in order, and the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu later joined Zhang Min of the Imperial Secretariat in complaining that Cao Bao had confused the procedures laid down by the sages. They even urged his execution. Though the emperor did not accept this, Cao Bao's system was largely abandoned. His method of capping was not used by Emperor He's immediate successor An, though it may have been restored for Emperor Shun and it is preserved in the Treatise compiled by Sima Biao; different arrangements were made for Emperors Huan, Ling and Xian.

In 92 Cao Bao was appointed a colonel in the Northern Army. He found over a hundred unburied coffins stored in the encampment, and when he enquired he was told that many of them dated from the time of Emperor Guangwu, the remains of men who could not be identified or for whom no relatives had been found to carry out proper interment. Cao Bao bought an area of open ground, arranged the burial of the unclaimed bodies, and held sacrifices for them.

He was later transferred to be Colonel of the City

Gates and then Court Architect. When there was an outbreak of plague in the city he went on a personal tour of inspection and distributed medicine and food to those afflicted.

In 95 Cao Bao was sent out as Administrator of Henei. The commandery had experienced a dry spring, and the price of grain was extremely high. As soon as Cao Bao arrived he reduced his staff and dismissed any officers who had behaved wrongly. Several falls of good rain followed, the autumn harvest was excellent, the people had enough to eat, and those who had left for other territories were able to return.

Cao Bao was later dismissed on a charge of sending in a false report of an unfavourable omen. He soon regained office, however, and became a Palace Attendant, dying in that post in 102.

Cao Bao had vast knowledge of the affairs and precedents of the past, and he was a doyen of the Confucian school, with over a thousand students. Besides "New Rituals", he left many essays and notes of text criticism, and an edition of the *Ritual* in forty-nine sections; this may have represented the formal compilation of the classic *Li ji* 禮記. Though the school of Qing Pu later ceased to have an Academician at the University, its tradition was maintained for several generations through Cao Bao's influence. -HHS 35/25:1201-06*, XC 1:13b; MBeck 90:87-88, 266-267, Loewe 86C:296, Bn 79:189, Loewe, *Texts*:295 [Boltz].

Cao Bao 曹褒 (d.166); Pei. An elder brother of the palace eunuch Cao Teng, Cao Bao became Administrator of Yingchuan. A tomb stele was erected for him by his home in Qiao 譙. -SGZ 9:274; SJZ 23:6a-b. His style was Boxing, Zhongxing or Shuxing *qq.v.*, and *cf. sub* Cao Ding.

Cao Bao 曹豹 (d.196); Danyang? An officer of Tao Qian, in 194 Cao Bao and Liu Bei were defeated by Cao Cao.

In 196, as Chancellor of Xiapi, Cao Bao was stationed with Zhang Fei in garrison at Xiapi city against Yuan Shu. Zhang Fei killed Cao Bao, possibly because he planned to change sides. Rioting broke out, Zhang Fei was driven away, and the families of Liu Bei and his men fell into the hands of Yuan Shu's ally Lü Bu. -SGZ 1:11, 7:223, Shu 2:873-74.

Cao Bao 曹豹 see Cao Lin 曹林 or Cao Gan 曹幹.

Cao Biao 曹彪 [Zhuhu 朱虎] (195-251); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Sun, in 216 Cao Biao was made

a marquis. Under Cao Pi he became a duke in 221 and a king in 222. In 232 Cao Rui transferred him to the fief of Chu.

In 249 there was an unsuccessful coup against the government of Cao Fang 曹芳 dominated by the Sima family, and Cao Biao was the candidate of the conspirators. In 251 he was ordered to commit suicide.

In 223, when Cao Biao held the fief of Boma in Dong commandery, he came to court with the other princes. At that time his half-brother Cao Zhang died. Cao Zhang's full brother Cao Zhi, at that time King of Zhencheng in neighbouring Jiying, was fond of Cao Biao and wished to return to his fief in his company. Such association, however, was forbidden and, in protest, Cao Zhi wrote a poem dedicated to Biao, 曾白馬王彪, which later became celebrated. -SGZ 20:586-87*.

Cao Bin 曹彬; Pei. Younger brother of Cao Zhen, he was granted a share of his fief by Cao Pi. -SGZ 9:282.

Cao [Boxing] 曹伯興; Pei. Eldest son of Cao Jie 節, he was the eldest brother of Cao Teng. -SGZ 1:1.

Cao Buxing 曹不興. Cao Buxing was so good a painter that his pictures seemed alive. He was an ornament to the court of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 18:1425-26.

Cao Cao 曹操 alternative personal name Jili 吉利 [Mengde 孟德; childhood name Aman 阿瞞?] (155-220); Pei: posthumously titled Emperor Wu of Wei 魏武帝. Born in Qiao 譙 county, Cao Cao was a son of Cao Song by his wife the Lady Ding, and was thus an adoptive grandson of the eunuch Cao Teng. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a gentleman cadet at court.

A student of the *Art of War*, Cao Cao was fond of hawking and hunting with dogs. Notorious as a young thug about town, he was nonetheless sponsored by the minister Qiao Xuan, and he was also received by the celebrated judge of character Xu Shao, who prophesied that he would be "a good servant in time of peace, a dangerous chieftain in time of trouble;" opinions differ whether this was intended as a compliment.

In the late 170s Cao Cao became a Commandant of Luoyang, responsible for police in the capital county. He made a name for himself by strict application of the law, even against men of great family, and particularly for killing an uncle of the favoured eunuch Jian Shi who was out after curfew. He was transferred to be a magistrate in Dong commandery, but in 178, as the

Empress Song was dismissed and her male relatives executed, it happened that Song Qi a brother of the Empress Song, had married one of Cao Cao's cousins; in revenge for Jian Shi's misfortune, the eunuchs implicated Cao Cao and had him dismissed.

Because of his ability as a scholar, and no doubt also through the influence of his father, who held high office at court, Cao Cao returned to office as a Consultant. A submission in favour of the late reformers Dou Wu and Chen Fan was predictably ill-received, but in 182, when there was a general request for comments after a series of unfavourable portents, Cao Cao presented another memorial on the weakness and corruption of the government. This was noted, but the quality of the regime continued to decline. Cao Cao realised the exercise was pointless and wrote no more.

Despite his record of opposition to eunuchs, confused moreover by his family background, Cao Cao was evidently pragmatic on the subject. He is said to have remarked that there was certainly a role for eunuchs at court and in the harem, but they should not be given such favour and power: a simple process of impeachment and execution for a few individuals would eliminate the problem.

INTO YAN PROVINCE 184-195

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, Cao Cao was sent to Yingchuan as a Commandant of Cavalry. He took part in operations against the main force of rebels and was then appointed Chancellor of Ji'nan. Many county officials were subservient to imperial relatives by marriage, but he had several of them dismissed, and he also eliminated a number of local cults and unorthodox religious practices. He was increasingly concerned, however, that his actions in office had gained him enemies at court who might threaten his family; he pleaded ill health and left office. He was later re-appointed as a Consultant, and in 188 he was named as a colonel of the Western Garden, the private corps of Emperor Ling.

When Dong Zhuo seized power at Luoyang in 189, he wanted to have Cao Cao as one of his counsellors, but Cao Cao fled: a number of exaggerated tales are told of his ruthlessness on this journey of escape [SGZ 1:5; *Romance* chapter 4]. Arriving in Chenliu, he sold family property to raise a following and joined the alliance under Yuan Shao, who gave him acting appointment as a general. In 190, irritated by his comrades' lack of action, he advanced into Henan

but was heavily defeated at Rongyang. Wounded in the fighting, he was rescued by his cousin Cao Hong. He raised more men from Yang province, and though he was nearly killed in a mutiny, he did obtain some reinforcements. It is said also that about this time he joined with kinsmen of Humu Ban, an envoy of Dong Zhuo who had been killed by Wang Kuang, to kill Wang Kuang in his turn.

In 191 Cao Cao achieved some success against the bandit chieftain Bo Rao in Dong commandery, and Yuan Shao named him Administrator to replace the ineffectual Wang Hong. Cao Cao freed the territory of bandits and in 192, after the death of Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province, he was invited by Bao Xun and other officers to become Governor and deal with the Yellow Turbans invading from Qing province. Though he suffered a number of serious set-backs, by the end of the year he had persuaded the rebels to submit; he may have gained their accession through negotiation rather than by military success, but these Qingzhou Troops 青州兵, numbered at thirty thousand, were a substantial addition to his forces.

Cao Cao was at this time allied to Yuan Shao against his cousin Yuan Shu, and early in 193 he drove Yuan Shu away to the Huai and took a strong position south of the Yellow River. In the autumn, however, his father Cao Song was killed by troops of Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province. Cao Cao made a brutal attack upon Xu, and renewed the offensive in the following year: it is uncertain whether his ferocious campaigns were inspired by a desire for conquest, by the need to demonstrate that no-one could attack his family with impunity, or because he was truly mournful and angry; or perhaps all three.

Certainly the enterprise was counter-productive, for in the summer of 194 his one-time friend Zhang Miao turned against him and invited Lü Bu to take over Yan province. Cao Cao returned quickly, but almost all his territory was lost: only three counties in Dong commandery were held by loyalists under the guidance of Xun Yu and Cheng Yu, and the people of Xu province were certainly not prepared to welcome or support him. There was famine, Cao Cao suffered several defeats and almost despaired, but he managed to regroup his men and he received some reinforcements from Yuan Shao. After eighteen months struggle he eventually regained the province, and by the end of 195 Zhang Miao and his family had been destroyed.

Lü Bu took refuge in Xu province, where he engaged Yuan Shu and Liu Bei in a three-sided struggle for control south of the Huai.

CONTROL OF THE EMPEROR 196-200

Now with title as Governor of Yan province, Cao Cao set his headquarters at Xu city in Yingchuan, present-day Xuchang in Henan, and established military agricultural colonies to settle refugees and provide supplies for his army. As Emperor Xian came from Chang'an to the east Cao Cao used the good offices of Dong Zhao to contact Yang Feng and other leaders of the imperial escort, and in the autumn of 196 he went himself to Luoyang. He was enfeoffed as a marquis and given office as Director of Retainers with the Staff of Authority and control of the Imperial Secretariat. He over-awed or drove away the other chieftains, and within a very few days the court was transferred to Xu city. From that time on Cao Cao held control of the emperor and his puppet government, and after some awkward negotiations with his nominal superior Yuan Shao he took title as Excellency of Works.

Early in 197 Cao Cao moved west against Liu Biao in Jing province, but was defeated by a sudden attack from Zhang Xiu in Nanyang. Though he was wounded, however, he rallied his men and made a successful counter-attack. In the autumn he attacked Yuan Shu again, drove him across the Huai, then returned against Zhang Xiu. This time he had more success, but after some months he learned of a potential raid against Xu city by Yuan Shao's forces and withdrew once more.

In the autumn of 198 Lü Bu turned again on Liu Bei, who fled to Cao Cao for help. Cao Cao attacked Lü Bu, besieged him at Xiapi, and captured the city in the winter. Killing Lü Bu, he acquired general control of Xu province, and after the death of Yuan Shu in the summer of 199 he had no major opponent in the region of the Huai.

By this time, Yuan Shao in the north had destroyed his rival Gongsun Zan and was preparing to move against Xu city. Both sides sought allies, but Cao Cao was able to neutralise Yuan Shao's potential supporters, while his enemy Zhang Xiu left Liu Biao's service to join him. On the other hand, Liu Bei had become involved in a plot to support the emperor, and when Cao Cao sent him on detachment to the southeast he joined Yuan Shao's cause, allied himself with local bandits, and made a diversion in Runan. With a lightning attack, Cao Cao drove him away.

In the spring of 200 Yuan Shao crossed the Yellow River and then gradually brought his army against Cao Cao's position by Guandu, along a ridge above the Bian River, part of the Vast Canal complex between Zhengzhou and Kaifeng in present-day Henan. Cao Cao was heavily outnumbered and in desperate straits, but he held his ground from autumn until winter. Advised by the defector Xu You, he then led a raiding party behind Yuan Shao's lines, defeated his general Chunyu Qiong and destroyed his major supply train. At this blow Yuan Shao's army disintegrated; he abandoned his position and Cao Cao pursued him to the Yellow River.

In the mean time Liu Bei had been sent back by Yuan Shao to cause trouble in Runan, and he allied himself with the bandit Gong Du. Following the defeat of Yuan Shao, however, Cao Cao drove him away to take refuge with Liu Biao in Jing province, while a secondary force regained control of Xu province and the region of the Huai. At the beginning of 202 Cao Cao paid a commemorative visit to his home country of Qiao in Pei, where he gave orders for a new canal and offered sacrifice to his former patron Qiao Xuan.

CONQUEST OF THE NORTH 202-207

In the summer of that year Yuan Shao died in Ji province, leaving his youngest son Shang as his heir despite the claims of his eldest, Yuan Tan. In the autumn Cao Cao attacked across the river, and by early summer 203 he had driven the Yuan back to their capital at Ye city in Wei commandery, present-day Linzhang in Henan. He then withdrew, and issued a series of civil orders encouraging teaching and the recruitment of good officers.

With the pressure relieved, the Yuan brothers quarrelled, and Yuan Shang laid siege to Yuan Tan. Yuan Tan asked help from Cao Cao, and at the beginning of 204 Cao Cao attacked Ye. In the summer he defeated a relief force and captured the city. Yuan Shang fled north to the third brother, Yuan Xi, in Yu province, and Cao Cao now broke with Yuan Tan: he defeated and killed him with his family in the spring of 205. Yuan Xi and Yuan Shang were faced with mutiny among their own troops, and they fled to refuge with the Wuhuan people beyond the frontier.

Over the next two years, from his new base at Ye city, Cao Cao brought Ji and southern Bing province under control, extending his authority from present-day southern Shanxi to the north of modern Beijing,

pleasing the people by relief from taxes, and rewarding his supporters with enfeoffment. He also prepared canal-works for an attack on the Wuhuan, and in the summer of 207 he moved against them. Blocked by flooding on the coastal route to the northeast, he took his army in oblique approach outside the frontier into the valley of the Daling River in present-day Liaoning. In the battle of White Wolf Mountain [白狼山 Bolang/Bailang Shan] Cao Cao defeated a confederate force and killed the Wuhuan war-leader Tadun. The Yuan brothers fled to Gongsun Kang in Liaodong, who killed them and sent their heads to Cao Cao.

SOUTH AND WEST 208-212

Triumphant in the north, in 208 Cao Cao took title as Imperial Chancellor, sole head of the civil government, and turned his military attention against Liu Biao in Jing province on the middle Yangzi. In the autumn, before the campaign had begun, Liu Biao died. Like Yuan Shao, he left his inheritance to his younger son Zong, and the elder, Liu Qi, was predictably resentful. As Cao Cao approached, Liu Zong was persuaded to surrender and Liu Bei, who had taken refuge in Jing province, fled south. Cao Cao chased and heavily defeated him at the Chang Slope by present-day Dangyang in Hubei. Liu Bei's officer Guan Yu held the Han River fleet, but Cao Cao drove south to seize the naval base and arsenal at Jiangling city on the Yangzi, by present-day Jingzhou in Hubei, then moved eastwards downstream to face Liu Bei and Liu Qi by present-day Wuhan.

At this point Sun Quan, warlord of the lower Yangzi, sent forces under his general Zhou Yu to support the defenders. In the battle of the Red Cliffs, on the Yangzi south of Wuhan, Cao Cao's fleet was destroyed by fire-ships and he was forced to retreat. The extent of the disaster may have been exaggerated, and it is said that there was sickness in the camp which made the withdrawal necessary. It is possible that Cao Cao was seeking only to test the opposition rather than commit himself to a major thrust, but this proved to be the closest he ever came to command of the Yangzi, conquest of the south, and restoration of a unified empire.

Leaving a line of defences on the Yangzi and the Han, in 209 Cao Cao turned to cross the Huai against Sun Quan, making a demonstration of his naval capacity and confirming the frontier about Hefei in present-day Anhui with military colonies. Returning

to Ye, he made some administrative arrangements and began to enhance the city with buildings, notably the Copper Bird Terrace. At this time he issued an autobiographical *apologia* for his career and also announced his policy of firm government by all men of ability, regardless of their private morality.

In 211 Cao Cao made preliminary moves against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong commandery on the upper Han River, but by doing so he disturbed the petty warlords of the Wei valley. Taking up their challenge, he advanced to the west and once more showed his mastery of the oblique approach. Faced with major defences at the Tong Pass, by the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River, he left a small blocking force to deceive the enemy and took a detachment northwards to establish a bridgehead on the Puban Crossing over the southern run of the Yellow River between present-day Shenxi and Shanxi. He then took his main army across and marched south with the River at his flank to face and destroy the enemy at Huayin, south of the Wei.

Leaving Xiahou Yuan and other commanders to mop up in the northwest, in 212 Cao Cao returned to Ye, then moved to attack Sun Quan across the Huai. Though he reached the bank of the Yangzi, however, Cao Cao's men could not break the enemy defences, and Sun Quan was confirmed in his control of the southeast.

PROBLEMS WITH THE HAN 213-219

Returning to Ye in 213, Cao Cao was enfeoffed as Duke of Wei, received the Nine Distinctions, and placed three of his daughters into the imperial harem. He established a court parallel to that of imperial Han and a princely ancestral temple, while in the following year he was given special insignia and rank above the kings. He also had the Empress Fu arrested on a charge of treason; she died soon afterwards, and in 215 Cao Cao's middle daughter became empress.

In that year Cao Cao attacked Zhang Lu, crossing the Qin Ling ranges from the Wei valley to the upper Han. After a short battle at the Yangping Pass, Cao Cao occupied Hanzhong, and in the winter Zhang Lu came to surrender. Returning to Ye in 216, Cao Cao received title as King of Wei 魏王, ploughed the Sacred Field and established ministers.

Southeast across the Huai, Cao Cao attacked Sun Quan again in the latter part of 214, and another expedition in 217 reached his defensive beach-head at

Ruxu on the northern shore of the Yangzi. There was sickness in the camp and the main army was obliged to withdraw, but Cao Cao left a strong set of garrisons, and this static threat compelled Sun Quan to make formal acknowledgement of his suzerainty and accept a renewed marriage alliance. The "surrender" had no practical consequences, but as Cao Cao returned north he was granted insignia hitherto reserved for the emperor.

Though it does not appear to have inflicted as much military damage as one might have expected, the sickness in Cao Cao's army on the Yangzi in 217 evidently extended across the whole of China, and it certainly cut a swathe through the court. Among the many that died at this time were the scholars and officials Wang Can, Chen Lin, Liu Zhen, Xu Gan, Ying Chang and Sima Lang, brother of Sima Yi the future founder of the Jin dynasty.

In 218 Cao Cao returned west to attack Liu Bei, now in Yi province, but in the spring of 219, before he had taken command, his general Xiahou Yuan was defeated at Dingjun Mountain in Hanzhong. Cao Cao attempted to restore the position, but the territory was lost and Liu Bei expanded his power east down the Han. In the autumn, still more seriously, Liu Bei's commander in Jing province, Guan Yu, moving north from the Yangzi, destroyed the forces of Cao Cao's general Yu Jin in Nanyang and laid siege to Cao Ren in Fan city, present-day Xiangfan in Henan, threatening to break into the heart of Cao Cao's territory. Guan Yu, however, was checked at Fan, and in the winter Sun Quan sent his general Lü Meng to attack up the Yangzi into Jing province and take him from behind. Guan Yu's position collapsed, he himself was killed, and Liu Bei was driven back into Yi province.

PARTIAL EMPIRE

Cao Cao had stationed himself south of Luoyang for the emergency. At the beginning of the New Year he returned to that city, where he died soon afterwards, on 15 March 220. When his son Cao Pi took the imperial title at the end of the year, Cao Cao was posthumously honoured as Emperor Wu of the new Wei dynasty.

A man of many and great talents, Cao Cao was a fine poet in the traditional style, he compiled a commentary to the *Art of War* of Sunzi 孫子[武]兵法 and he was, as one might expect, a keen and skilled player of "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese Go]. As a military commander, he had a flair for surprise and

the indirect approach and, most importantly, he was able to hold the loyalty of his men even in times of stress and difficulty. He could be both generous and ruthless, he was always extremely conscious of his own dignity, and he seldom forgave an insult.

Cao Cao's reputation has suffered from his record, as the man who took power from the last emperor of Han but failed to restore the unified empire: on the other hand, given the destruction of civil war, and the expansion of colonised territory south of the Yangzi, this was beyond anyone's ability. From his warlord base, Cao Cao restored a measure of administrative and economic order in a chaotic situation. His dynastic state lasted another forty-five years, and was better founded and more successful than many of those which came after.

In the last years of his life, Cao Cao gave pensions and appointments to a number of magicians and adepts such as Hao Mengjie, Gan Shi and Zuo Ce, and he may have been interested in the possibilities of longevity which they claimed to have achieved by their arts. Cao Cao's son Cao Zhi, however, claimed that the patronage was intended merely to keep these men under control and to restrict their capacity for stirring up trouble among credulous people; he and his family gave them no credence.

In this regard, we may note the well-known technique of developing vital force by coupling with a number of women and failing to ejaculate. Cao Cao fulfilled the first part of the practice but not the second: he had a great many women and when he died at the age of sixty-five he had sired at least twenty-five sons and six daughters. See further below. -SGZ 1*; Leban 71, deC 90, deC 90A, deC 96, Mather 76:579.

Cao Cao 曹操, wives and concubines. Cao Cao had two formal wives, at least thirteen concubines and a number of other liaisons. The Lady Ding 丁 III is described by *Wei lue*, quoted at SGZ 5:156-57 PC, as his first formal wife 嫡, though the Lady Liu 劉 X was evidently close in rank and favour. After the Lady Liu died about 180, the Lady Ding fostered her son Cao Ang. When he was killed in 197, however, she mourned him so deeply that Cao Cao sent her away. He later attempted a reconciliation, but it proved of no avail and he eventually dismissed her from the chief position.

The Lady Bian 卞 succeeded the Lady Ding as chief wife 繼室, and in 217 her eldest son Cao Pi was

named as Cao Cao's Heir.

SGZ 5, and particularly SGZ 20, record the names of several of Cao Cao's women. They are described by a number of different terms, as "Lady" or "Senior Concubine" 夫人, "Brilliant Companion" 昭儀, "Concubine" 妾 and "Junior Concubine" 姬, but gradations in rank within the harem do not appear to have been fully formalised. A summary list appears below, and further details may be found under individual entries.

The Lady Huan 環, Senior Concubine 夫人;
The Lady Du 杜, Senior Concubine 夫人;
The Lady Qin 秦, Senior Concubine 夫人;
The Lady Yin 尹, Senior Concubine 夫人;
The Lady Wang 王 IV, Brilliant Companion 昭儀;
The Lady Chen 陳, Concubine 妾;
The Lady Sun 孫 X, Junior Concubine 姬;
The Lady Li 李 V, Junior Concubine 姬;
The Lady Zhou 周 IV, Junior Concubine 姬;
The Lady Liu 劉 XI, Junior Concubine 姬;
The Lady Song 宋 V, Junior Concubine 姬;
The Lady Zhao 趙 III, Junior Concubine 姬.

It is also recorded that in 197 Cao Cao took the widow of Zhang Ji into his harem, an action which caused Zhang Ji's kinsman and successor to turn against him and inflict a severe defeat: SGZ 8:262.

Cao Cheng 曹成 [Zigu 子穀?]; Youfufeng. Though *Sanfu jue* and its commentary say that Cao Cheng had the style Zigu, the modern scholar Shen Qinhan suggests that Gu may have been an alternative personal name: HHSJJ 84/74:3071, cf., however, Swann 32:85 & 91.

Son of Cao Shou and the Lady Ban Zhao, Cao Cheng was born some time in the 70s. His father died when he was young, probably in the 80s, and he evidently lived with his mother and other members of the family at the capital. He served in the offices of the Excellencies, and received nomination as Filial and Incorrupt.

In 95 Cao Cheng was appointed as a county magistrate in Chenliu, and he later became Chancellor of Qi. The date of his appointment to Chenliu is given in his mother's rhapsody *Dongzheng fu* 東征賦 "Rhapsody on an Eastward Journey;" the present text has the year as the seventh of Yuanchu 元初, equivalent to 113, but the Qing scholar Ruan Yuan demonstrates that the reign-period should be read as 永元 Yongyuan: Swann 32:113-139 and Knechtges

40 Cao Cheng

87:172.

On account of his mother's close connection to the Empress and then Dowager Deng, some time after the commencement of her regency in 106 Cao Cheng received special enfeoffment as a secondary marquis. As an Attendant Counsellor in 124, Cao Cheng joined the group led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators achieved no success, but their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125 they were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* 任 right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. -HHS 84/74:2784-87, 15/5:591-93; Swann 32.

Cao Cheng 曹成, wife of: see the Lady Ding 丁 I.

Cao Chi 曹熾 (139-177); Pei. Eldest son of Cao Bao 褒 and a nephew of Cao Teng, Cao Chi was a Palace Attendant and Colonel of the Chang River Regiment.

In 220 Cao Pi granted Cao Chi posthumous fief as a marquis in honour of the achievements of his son Cao Ren. -SGZ 9:274 & 276, SJZ 23:6b.

Cao Chong 曹充; Lu. A student of *Ritual* according to the New Text school of Qing Pu of Former Han, Cao Chong was appointed Academician for that discipline by Emperor Guangwu. He was an adviser for the Feng and Shan sacrifices in 56, and was commissioned to make recommendations on the construction of the Altars of Heaven and of Earth, the Five Suburban Altars and the Three Enclosures: the Bright Hall, the Hall of the Circular Moat and the Spiritual Terrace. He was also consulted on the forms of the ceremonies to be held in these buildings, including Serving the Aged and the Great Archery.

In 60 Cao Chong sent a memorial to Emperor Ming arguing that the time had come for the restored Han dynasty to review proper ceremonial and establish its own distinctive code. Questioned by the emperor, he cited apocryphal works, urging particular reform of the imperial music to encourage good conduct, and noting that virtuous harmony expressed in music was called *yu* 予, while an apocryphal work identified this style as particularly suitable to Han. Emperor Ming duly changed the title of the imperial officer of music to the Yu Musician at Court 太予樂, and ordered suitable compositions to be collected and prepared. Cao Chong was promoted to Palace Attendant, but it is doubtful whether the reforms amounted to much more than the change of name.

Cao Chong enhanced the Qing school of *Ritual* with substantial commentaries, and his scholarly tradition was followed by his son Cao Bao. -HHS 35/25:1201, 79/69B:2576, XHS 3:9a-b; Bn 79:173-189, MBeck 90:87.

Cao Chong 曹崇 see Cao Zong 曹宗.

Cao Chong 曹冲 [Cangshu 倉舒] (196-208); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Huan, Cao Chong early showed remarkable intelligence: at the age of five he explained how to weigh an elephant, a gift from Sun Quan, by measuring the displacement of water. Cao Cao loved him, and when Cao Chong died he mourned him bitterly. He had his companion Zhou Buyi killed; he arranged for Cao Chong's posthumous marriage to a dead girl of the Zhen 甄 family; and he had Cao Cong, son of Cao Chong's brother Cao Ju 據, adopted to maintain his lineage.

In 231 Cao Chong was given posthumous title as a king. -SGZ 20:580-81*.

Cao Chun 曹純 [Zihe 子和] (168-210); Pei. Son of Cao Chi and younger twin of Cao Ren, Cao Chun was wealthy by inheritance but was moderate in conduct and a patron of scholars. Having held junior rank at the Han court, he joined Cao Cao in 193, first as an adviser then as commander of elite cavalry.

Cao Chun took a leading role in the defeat of Yuan Tan in 205, and in 207 he accompanied the northern campaign which defeated the Wuhuan at White Wolf Mountain. He was rewarded with enfeoffment.

In Jing province in 208 Cao Chun joined the pursuit of Liu Bei and took part in the victory at the Chang Slope in Nan commandery, capturing Liu Bei's baggage and two of his daughters. He took over many of his troops and advanced to seize Jiangling. After the defeat at the Red Cliffs he returned north with Cao Cao and in 209 he accompanied the main army for the attack against Sun Quan across the Huai.

Cao Chun died in the following year. When Cao Pi took the throne in 220 he awarded him a posthumous title. -SGZ 9:276-77.

Cao Cong 曹琮; Pei. Son of Cao Ju 據, he was adopted to maintain the descent of his late uncle, Cao Cao's son Chong. In 217 he was made a marquis, and Cao Pi made him a duke in 222. -SGZ 20.

Cao Dagu 曹大家 "Aunt Cao" see the Lady Ban Zhao 班昭.

Cao Daofei 曹桃斐 or Daoji, the Lady; Dunhuang. Daughters of the magistrate Cao Quan, the Lady and

her sisters prepared and distributed medicine and healing salves in their father's county in Youfufeng. - *JSCB* 18:2b; Ebrey 80:342.

Cao De 曹德 (d.193); Pei. Son of Cao Song, about 189 he accompanied his father to Xu province. In 193 they travelled to join Cao Cao, but were killed by troops of Tao Qian. -*SGZ* 1:11, *HHS* 48/38:1610:78/68:2519, *ZZTJ* 60:1945. Cao De's personal name is also understood, mistakenly, as Ji 疾 or Deqiu 德秋: deC 96:119.

Cao Deqiu 曹德秋 see *sub* Cao De 曹德.

Cao Ding 曹鼎 I; Pei. Son of Cao Jie 節, he was a brother of the eunuch Cao Teng. *HHS* 67/57 describes Cao Ding as a younger brother of Cao Teng, but *SGZ* 1:1, says Cao Jie had four sons, of whom Cao Teng was the youngest; *HHS* is presumably mistaken. *SGZ* 1 lists the three elder brothers by their styles, but does not give their personal names, so it is not possible to identify Cao Ding in that list. See *sub* Cao [Boxing], Cao [Zhongxing] and Cao [Shuxing], also below.

During the 150s Cao Ding was Chancellor of Hejian. Cai Yan the Inspector of Ji province reported that he had taken large bribes, and though Cao Teng had the General-in-Chief Liang Ji write on Cao Ding's behalf, Cai Yan pressed the case. Cao Ding was sentenced to convict service. Despite this set-back, it is possible this Cao Ding became Director of the Imperial Secretariat during the reign of Emperor Ling. -*HHS* 67/57:2209 and see immediately below.

Cao Ding 曹鼎 II; Pei. Uncle of Cao Hong, he became head of the Imperial Secretariat under Han. It was through the *ren* 任 privilege of Cao Ding as a senior official that Cao Hong received his commission into the imperial civil service. -*SGZ* 9:278.

The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 95/5:3121 quotes a description by Cai Zhi of the enthronement of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling in 171. One of the participants in the ceremony was the Deputy Director of the Secretariat, who is cited only by his personal name of Ding. In *HHSJJ* 95/5:3528 Hui Dong suggests that this refers to Cao Ding.

The two men named Cao Ding, here and above, may be the same. While Cao Ding I was a brother of the eunuch Cao Teng, and thus a great-uncle of Cao Hong, Cao Ding II is described as an uncle of Cao Hong, and thus a brother of Cao Song, who was adopted by Cao Teng and became the father of Cao Cao. The generations are thus different, but it is

possible Cao Hong obtained his commission through the right of his great-uncle, and *SGZ* has described the relationship wrongly. If, on the other hand, these are different people, they were closely related through adoption and it was normally wrong for a man to hold the same personal name as a senior relative in his lineage. As commentators to *SGZJJ* 1:5a observe, it is a complex question.

Cao E 曹娥, the Lady (d.143); Kuaiji. Daughter of Cao Xu, Cao E was fourteen years old when her shaman father drowned at the time of the mid-summer festival. The body was not found, but Cao E wept for him by the bank of the river without ceasing for seventeen days. Then she threw her clothing onto the stream and prayed that it might follow him. The clothing was taken by the current until it reached a particular place, where it sank. At that point Cao E jumped into the water and also died.

In 151 the county magistrate Du Shang set up a monumental stele in honour of her filial piety, and the biography of Cao E appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳.

Bodde discusses the death of Cao E as an aspect of ritual drowning, linking it to the tradition of the legendary heroes Qu Yuan 屈原 and Wu Zixu 伍子胥. Cao E and her memorial were evidently developments on that line. -*HHS* 84/74:2794-95*, *SJZ* 40:20b; Bodde 75:310-315, Mather 76:579.

Cao Fan 曹範; Pei. Third son of Cao Ren, he was enfeoffed under Wei. -*SGZ* 9:276.

Cao Feng 曹鳳 [Zhongli 仲理]; Dunhuang. Son of Cao Shu, Cao Feng was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became Assistant Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye and then a county magistrate in Youfufeng.

Following the defeat of the Qiang leader Mitang in 101, Cao Feng proposed that military colonies should be set up in the Yu Valleys, on the upper Yellow River by present-day Guide in Qinghai, which had been a close sanctuary for troublemakers. This was approved and Cao Feng was sent as Commandant of the Western Region of Jincheng. The enterprise was initially successful, but the colonies were abandoned after the great rebellion of the Qiang in 107.

Cao Feng became a successful and influential Administrator of Beidi. He was the grandfather of the later magistrate Cao Quan. -*HHS* 87/77:2885, *SJZ* 2:14b-15b, 3:1b, *JSCB* 18:1b [the Cao Quan stele];

42 Cao Fengsheng

Ebrey 80:340.

Cao Fengsheng 曹豐生, the Lady; Youfufeng. Sister of Cao Shou and thus sister-in-law of the Lady Ban Zhao, she too was a woman of talent. It is said that when the Lady Ban published her *Precepts for Women* the Lady Cao wrote to her with a number of difficult questions. [The Qing scholar Shen Qinhan argues that the essays in the *Precepts* did not lend themselves to critical analysis; he believes the *HHS* story is a confused reflection of the Lady Ban's debate with her nephew Zhou Jizhen *q.v.*] -*HHS* 84/74:2792 & *JJ* at 3076.

Cao Fu 曹馥; Pei. Eldest son of Cao Hong, he succeeded to his fief. -*SGZ* 9:276.

Cao Gan 曹幹 or Cao Lang 良 [childhood name Jibao 季豹?] (d.261); Pei. Cao Gan was the son of Cao Cao by the Lady Chen. His mother died when he was three *sui*, and Cao Cao arranged for him to be fostered by his concubine the Lady Wang. In 215 he was made a marquis.

The Lady Wang had influence in the selection of Cao Pi as his Heir in 217, and when Cao Cao was extremely ill she persuaded him to commend Cao Gan to Cao Pi, who committed himself to a special relationship.

Cao Gan was made a duke in 221 and a king in 222. -*SGZ* 20:585-86*.

Cao Gao 曹嵩; Dunhuang. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Zhao Zi, Cao Gao became a county magistrate in Yingchuan. Some time later Zhao Zi passed near by on his way to another post, and in a noted display of fealty Cao Gao abandoned his office to pay his respects. -*HHS* 39/29:1314.

Cao Gong 曹貢; Youfufeng. Son of a daughter of Ma Yu, Inspector of Yang province under Wang Mang who had died in 23, in 27 Cao Gong became magistrate of a county in Chu. He invited Ma Yu's ten-year-old son Yan and his younger brother Dun to join him, but after they had been there a year Ma Yu's brother Ma Yuan took the two boys away to the west. -*DGHJ* 12:5a.

Cao Gu 曹穀 see Cao Cheng 曹成.

Cao Gun 曹衮 (d.235); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Du, in 216 Cao Gun was enfeoffed as a marquis. Under Cao Pi he became a duke in 221 and a king in 222. He was noted for his scholarship and his quiet conduct. -*SGZ* 20:583-84*.

Cao Hong 曹洪 [Zilian 子廉] (d.232); Pei. Nephew of Cao Song and Cao Ding, Cao Hong was commissioned

as an imperial official through the *ren* 任 privilege of his [great-?]uncle Cao Ding II *q.v.*, and became a county magistrate in Jiangxia. When his cousin Cao Cao gathered men for the alliance against Dong Zhuo, Cao Hong went to join him. In the defeat at Rongyang in 190 Cao Cao lost his horse and was almost captured, but Cao Hong gave up his own mount and brought him to safety [*cf.* also *sub* Can Ang and Lou Yi]. He then gathered several thousand men for Cao Cao in Yang province.

In 194 Cao Hong played a leading role in driving back the forces of Lü Bu and Zhang Miao and regaining Yan province. In the late 190s he held successful command against Liu Biao, was enfeoffed and made a general. At Guandu in 200 Cao Hong held the base camp with Xun You against the last attacks by Yuan Shao, and he was at the siege of Ye city in 204.

In 213, with title as Protector of the Army, responsible for military discipline, Cao Hong was among the officers who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. In 217 and 218 he held command in Hanzhong and drove back an attack by Liu Bei.

When Cao Pi became ruler he promoted Cao Hong and raised his fief, and Cao Hong was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating his assumption of the imperial title. On the other hand, though Cao Hong was extremely wealthy, his followers were ill-disciplined and he was personally mean. On one occasion he refused Cao Pi's request for a loan, and as a result Cao Pi later had him arrested and threatened to execute him. Persuaded to spare him by intervention of his mother the Lady Bian and his Empress Guo, he contented himself by stripping Cao Hong of his rank and titles. When Cao Rui became emperor he restored Cao Hong's position and added to his honours. -*SGZ* 9:277-78*, *LS* 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Cao Hong 曹宏. Described as a man of poor quality, in the early 190s Cao Hong became a favourite of Tao Qian. The government of Xu province deteriorated under his influence. -*SGZ* 8:248.

Cao Hua 曹華, the Lady; Pei. Daughter of Cao Cao, in 213 she and two elder sisters were placed in the harem of Emperor Xian, and in 214 they became Honoured Ladies. In 215 her sister Cao Jie was made empress. -*HHS* 10B:455.

Cao Hui 曹徽 (d.242); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Song V, Cao Hui was appointed to maintain the descent of his uncle Cao Yu and was made a marquis

in 217. When Cao Cao died in 220, Cao Hui failed to show appropriate grief, but went hunting and horse-racing until his Chancellor Gaotang Long brought him firmly to order.

Cao Hui was made a duke by Cao Pi in 221 and a king in 222. -SGZ 20:589*.

Cao Ji 曹疾 *i.e.* Cao De 曹德. -HHS 78/68:2519; deC 96:119.

Cao Ji 曹棘; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Liu XI, Cao Ji died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:579 & 588.

Cao Jie 曹節, the Lady (197-260); Pei. Second daughter of Cao Cao, in 213 she and two sisters were placed in the harem of Emperor Xian. In 214 they were made Honoured Ladies and in 215, after the death of the Empress Fu, Cao Jie took her place.

In 220, the empress protested at her brother Cao Pi's forcing the abdication of her husband. At first she refused to hand over her seal, but then wept and threw it down and laid a curse upon it.

The Lady died in 260 and received posthumous title as Empress Mu 穆. -HHS 10B:455, XHS 1:19a-20a, SGZ 4:147; Goodman 98:69. [One passage in XHS 1 says that it was the Lady's elder sister Cao Xian who became empress, but this is an error. And HHS 10B has the wrong date for the Lady's death.]

On the implications of the Lady's personal name Jie for that of her adoptive great-great-grandfather Cao Jie 節 or Cao Meng 萌, see *sub voce*.

Cao Jie 曹節 or Cao Meng 萌 [Yuanwei 元偉]; Pei. A peasant, said to have been respected for his generosity and honesty, he had his fourth son Cao Teng taken as a eunuch into the imperial harem. -SGZ 1:1 PC quoting XHS 5:11b

The personal name Jie is given by SGZ 1 PC, but one version of the parallel text in XHS 5 has it as Meng. Since the personal name of the Empress Cao of Emperor Xian, who was an adoptive great-great-granddaughter of this man, was also Jie, Meng may be correct.

Cao Jie 曹節 [Hanfeng 漢豐] (d.181); Nanyang. Originally from a senior official family in Wei, Cao Jie became a eunuch. In the time of Emperor Shun he entered the imperial household as a cavalry guardsman, but was then made an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. As a close associate of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, Cao Jie was a friend of his son and successor Liang Ji, and under Emperor Huan he became a

Regular Attendant and held a sinecure position as a Commandant of the Equipage. Despite his connection with the Liang family, he suffered no disadvantage when they were destroyed in 159.

Following the death of Emperor Ling and the accession of the Dowager Dou as regent in 168, Cao Jie led the cortège which brought Emperor Ling to the capital, and he was enfeoffed as a district marquis. In the autumn, as Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to kill the eunuchs, Cao Jie played a leading role in their destruction and then became Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, holding the Dowager Dou under house arrest. With great influence in the government, in 169 he persuaded the young emperor to approve the proscription and persecution of Li Ying and other men accused of Faction.

Later that year Cao Jie was taken very ill. He was granted special commission as General of Chariots and Cavalry, in the same fashion as Shan Chao and Tang Heng under Emperor Huan, but he then recovered and returned the insignia. He was granted additional precedence as Specially Advanced and received a ministerial salary.

When the Empress Song was appointed in 171, Cao Jie became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of her residence. When the Dowager Dou died in 172, Cao Jie and Wang Fu argued that she should be buried only as a concubine, but they were defeated in debate at court by Chen Qiu and Li Xian. Soon afterwards anonymous writing appeared on a palace gate accusing the eunuchs of arranging the lady's death. The Director of Retainers Liu Meng was ordered to find the culprits but failed to do so. His replacement Duan Jiong arranged a purge of students at the Imperial University, and Cao Jie had him impeach Liu Meng.

At this time, moreover, Cao Jie joined Wang Fu in accusing Liu Kui the King of Bohai, brother of the late Emperor Huan, of plotting rebellion. Liu Kui was executed, Wang Fu and eleven others were rewarded with enfeoffment, and Cao Jie's own fief was increased: he now received revenue from 7,600 households.

In 178, Cai Yong sent a sealed letter to the emperor criticising the eunuchs. Cao Jie spied its contents, and Cai Yong was sent into exile. In the following year, the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu had Wang Fu and others arrested and killed. Fearing for himself, Cao Jie persuaded the emperor to transfer Yang Qiu to a ministry, and when a plan was made to reinstate him as

Director, Cao Jie impeached those involved. Yang Qiu, Chen Qiu and others were arrested and killed.

About 189 Cao Jie was granted control of the Imperial Secretariat. He had relatives and clients throughout the government, and many of them acted oppressively. When the Empress He was appointed in 181, Cao Jie continued as Grand Prolonger of Autumn in charge of her household. He died later that year, received posthumous title as General of Chariots and Cavalry, and an adoptive son succeeded to his marquisate. -HHS 78/68:2524-27*; Ch'ü 72:491-493.

Cao Jie 曹楷; Pei. Second son of Cao Ren, he was enfeoffed under Wei. -SGZ 9:276.

Cao Jili 曹吉利 see Cao Cao 曹操. -SGZ 1:1.

Cao Jing 曹敬 or Jingji 敬姬, the Lady; Jianwei. At the age of seventeen the Lady was married to Zhou Ji. He died young, but left a son, Zhou Yuanyu. When the mourning period was ended, the Lady's parents wanted her to marry a certain Sun Bin, and as her mother was ill they called her home. Realising their intentions, however, the Lady threw herself into a river. She was pulled out, and though she did not breathe for twenty-four hours she then revived. She went to live with her late husband's younger brother and brought up Zhou Yuanyu, who became a celebrated scholar.

The Lady died at the age of ninety. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Cao Jing 曹竟 [Ziqi/ji 子期] (d.25); Shanyang. A man of family, Cao Jing was a noted Confucianist. At the end of Former Han he left office and went into retirement because he would not serve the usurping dynasty of Wang Mang. In 23 Cao Jing was named Grand Excellency over the Masses in the new government of the Gengshi Emperor at Luoyang, and in the rearrangement of offices in the following year he became Imperial Chancellor of the Left. As the Red Eyebrows entered Chang'an in the winter of 25, Cao Jing was invited to surrender, but he fought them hand to hand and was killed. -HS 72:3096; Bn 59:37, Bn 56:100.

Cao Jing 曹京; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Li, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:588.

Cao Ju 曹據; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Huan, in 211 Cao Ju was made a marquis. Under Cao Pi he became a duke in 221 and a king in 222. When Cao Fang 芳 was deposed by Sima Shi 司馬師 in 254, Cao Ju was briefly proposed as the puppet to succeed him.

-SGZ 20:581-82*, 4:130.

Cao Ju 曹矩; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Yin, Cao Ju died young and without heirs. In 217 he was granted a posthumous fief and his half-nephew Cao Min was appointed to maintain his lineage. -SGZ 20:585*.

Cao Jun 曹俊. An assistant major under Ban Yong, in 126 he was sent to assist King Jiatenu of Further Jushi repel an attack from the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu. He defeated the enemy and drove them away. -HHS 47/37:1590.

Cao Jun 曹峻 [Zi'an 子安] (d.259); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Qin, in 216 Cao Jun was made a marquis. Under Cao Pi he became a duke in 221 and a king in 222. -SGZ 20:579 & 585*.

Cao Jun 曹均 (d.219); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Zhou IV, Cao Jun was appointed to maintain the descent of his uncle Cao Bin. He was made a marquis in 217, but died two years later. -SGZ 20:588.

Cao Jun 曹均, wife of: see the Lady Zhang 張 VI.

Cao Kang 曹抗 (d.237); Pei. Son of Cao Jun 均 and presumably of the Lady Zhang, he succeeded to his father's fief in 219 and was made a duke in 222. -SGZ 20:588.

Cao Kuan 曹寬 see Cao Quan 曹全.

Cao Lang 曹良 i.e. Cao Gan 曹幹. -SGZ 20:586.

Cao Lian 曹廉 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Cao Lian joined the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Cao Lian joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered that grain should be granted to the families of the heroic band. -HYGZ 2:16, 10C:169.

Cao Lin 曹林 or Cao Bao 豹?; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Du, in 211 he was made a marquis. Cao Pi made him a duke in 221 and a king in 222. -SGZ 20:582*, 1:34.

Cao Luan 曹鸞 (187-176). In 176 Cao Luan, aged ninety, was Administrator of Yongchang in the far southwest. He sent in a memorial praising the proscribed men of Faction, ascribing recent unfavourable omens to their continued punishment, and urging the emperor to be more lenient to them.

Emperor Ling, furious, ordered the Inspector of Yi

province to send Cao Luan north in a cage cart and had the Director of Retainers imprison him at Huaili in Youfufeng. Cao Luan died there, either flogged to death or by public execution.

There was local sympathy, but after Cao Luan's fatal intervention the proscription was extended to yet more distant relatives of the men of Faction. -*HHS* 67/57:2189, *HHJ* 24:283; deC 89:135.

Cao Ma 曹麻. Administrator of Nanyang, Cao Ma was reported by Yang Huai/Zhun for allowing his relatives to abuse their position. He was sent to prison. -*HYZ* 10B:155.

Cao Mao 曹茂; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Zhao III, in 217 Cao Mao was made a marquis. Cao Cao was not fond of him, and under Cao Pi he was only made a duke in 222. Cao Rui made him a king in 227. -*SGZ* 20:589-90*.

Cao Meng 曹萌 see Cao Jie 曹節 of Pei, father of Cao Teng.

Cao Min 曹敏; Dunhuang. Early in the first century Cao Min was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and became Chief Clerk in Wuwei. He was later a county magistrate in Ba commandery and then Commandant of Juyan. He is recorded in the stele inscription which honours his descendant Cao Quan. -*JSCB* 18:1b; Ebrey 80:340.

Cao Min 曹敏; Pei. Son of Cao Jun 均, in 217 Cao Min was made a marquis to maintain the descent of Cao Ju 矩. In 224 Cao Pi enfeoffed him as a king. -*SGZ* 20:585.

Cao Mou 曹茂 see Cao Mao 曹茂.

Cao Ning 曹寧; Guanghai. A magistrate in Nanyang, Cao Ning married the Lady Chen Shunqian, but died a few years later. -*HYZ* 10C:172.

Cao Peng 曹琫; Dunhuang. Son of Cao Feng, Cao Peng had a good local reputation, but he never held office and died comparatively young. He is recorded in the stele inscription which honours his son Cao Quan. -*JSCB* 18:1b; Ebrey 80:340.

Cao Pi 曹丕 or Cao Pei [Zihuan 子桓] (187-226); Pei [Emperor Wen of Wei 魏文帝 (*reg.* 220-226)]. Eldest son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian, in 206 and 211 Cao Pi was left in formal charge at Ye city while Cao Cao was on campaign, and in 211 he was named General of the Household for All Purposes and associate to his father as Imperial Chancellor. Though it appeared for a time that Cao Cao was considering the claims of his younger brother Zhi, in 217 Cao Pi was proclaimed

Heir of Wei.

When Cao Cao died at Luoyang in March of 220, Cao Pi was at Ye city. Amid the general mourning there was possibility of confusion, notably from the interest that Cao Cao's second son Zhang showed in the royal insignia, and from a potential revival of the claim of Cao Zhi. On the advice of Chen Jiao, therefore, Cao Pi was enthroned as King on that same day, not even waiting for the edict from the puppet Emperor Xian of Han. After the entombment of his father a few weeks later, Cao Pi sent his brothers away to their fiefs, and he reduced Cao Zhi in rank.

In the following months Cao Pi confirmed his authority, notably with a combined tour of inspection and display of strength to the family's home country in the southeast. He received formal submission from Sun Quan of Wu and the surrender of Liu Bei's commander Mang Da, while a rebellion in the distant northwest was put down by Su Ze and Zhang Gong. In December that year, after a complex debate and publication of documents to justify the move, Cao Pi forced the abdication of Emperor Xian and took the imperial title for himself. In accordance with the theory which claimed that Han, which had ruled through the power of Fire and its colour red, should give way to Earth and the colour yellow, Cao Pi took the reign title Huangchu 黃初 "Yellow Beginning."

Cao Pi died on 29 June 226. Seeking to ensure the stability of the new state, he had kept his kinsmen from power and moved their fiefs frequently, but he could never match the reputation and authority of his father and his early death, before he was forty, weakened the dynasty.

Though over-shadowed in the field by his brother Zhi, Cao Pi was a poet and writer of quality, and his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" in the compilation *Dian lun* 典論 is a notable early work of criticism. As a ruler, he sought to enhance the prestige of the new state by grand construction works and by patronage of scholarship, notably through the commission of the massive *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings," a compendium of all previous writings on the classics in more than a thousand chapters. The first convenor of the project was Wang Xiang, succeeded by Wei Dan, and other scholars involved included Xun Wei, Liu Shao, Huan Fan and Miao Xi. -*SGZ* 2*; Leban 78, Goodman 98, Mather 76:579.

Cao Pi 曹丕, wife of: see the Lady Zhen 甄.

Cao Poshi 曹破石; Nanyang. Younger brother of the eunuch Cao Jie, Cao Poshi was a colonel in the Northern Army at Luoyang. Cruel and corrupt, when he was attracted by the wife of one of his subordinate officers, he demanded her from her husband. The man dared not refuse, but the woman killed herself. -*HHS* 78/68:2525, *XC* 5:8a; Ch'ü 72:493.

Cao Qian 曹謙. In 179 the Banshun people of Ba commandery rebelled, and for several years they resisted all attempts to restore order. In 182 the Reporting Officer Cheng Bao from Hanzhong told Emperor Ling that the trouble had been caused by bad local government, and that it could be settled if an honest and competent official was sent to the territory. Cao Qian was appointed Administrator, an amnesty was issued to the rebels, and the rebellion was indeed ended. -*HHS* 8:347, 86/76:2843.

Cao Quan 曹全 [Jingyuan 景完]; Dunhuang. In 185 a stele was erected in honour of Cao Quan by the leaders of Heyang county in Zuopingyi. The stele is preserved in the Beilin 碑林 "Forest of Stele" at Xi'an and the inscription has been translated by Chavannes 07:206-207 and by Ebrey 80:340-344.

According to that text, Cao Quan, son of Cao Peng and a grandson of Cao Feng, served as a senior local officer in the commandery and in Liang province. In 169 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a gentleman cadet and was then appointed a major in the Western Regions. In 170 he joined the attack against King Hede of Shule [Kashgar], who had seized the throne by killing his father, and achieved great success.

According to *HHS* 88/78:2927, however, in 170 the major Cao Kuan 寬 commanded part of an allied force which was sent by Meng Tuo the Inspector of Liang province to restore authority in Shule after the prince Hede had killed the king and usurped the throne. The Chinese army was not successful. As Chavannes observes, the name of Cao Kuan is miswritten for that of Cao Quan, possibly through corruption of the characters of his style.

The stele, however, describes the campaign against Shule as a triumph for Cao Quan, and this fits badly with other records. Despite the opinions of several scholars, including Chavannes, I suspect the stele is wrong, reflecting rather a lack of detailed information about events so far away in time and space from the compilers of the text, coupled with anxiety to praise

the local hero.

Cao Quan later became a magistrate in Youfufeng, but left on account of his mother's death. In 176 he was implicated in the general Proscription, which was extended in that year to include very distant relations. The trigger for the extension was a mistaken appeal for relaxation by Cao Luan, Administrator of Yongchang; it is possible that Cao Quan was a kinsman of Cao Luan, or at least was considered to be so [deC 89:135, 491, Ebrey 80:342, and [see above *sub voce*].

Cao Quan remained in retirement until 184. He was again nominated Filial and Incorrupt in 183, and as the Proscription was ended in the following year, he was called to the capital. He was again a county magistrate in Jiuquan, but soon afterwards sympathisers with the Yellow Turban rebels made a rising in Heyang. Cao Quan was transferred there and destroyed the troublemakers.

Thereafter we are told how Cao Quan consulted with leaders of the community and took part in charitable and other good works. Among other items, he opened a gate in the walls so that the sacred Mount Hua became visible, and as a result of this geomancy scholars received their due respect and gentlemen were encouraged to obtain official positions.

A little over a year after his appointment, a group of current and serving local officers, together with members of the gentry, almost sixty altogether, joined in subscription to honour Cao Quan's achievements. The stele was set up in the winter of 185. -*HHS* 88/78:2927, *JSCB* 18:1a-16b, Nagata 94:246-48; Chavannes 07:206-207; Ebrey 80:339-342.

Cao Ren 曹仁 [Zixiao 子孝] (168-223); Pei. Son of Cao Chi, of wealthy family and a skilled horse-archer, he raised a troop in his home region and later joined his cousin Cao Cao. He served with distinction against Yuan Shu, held command of the major cavalry force in Xu province in 193, and had consistent success also against Lü Bu. He was given title as Administrator of Guangyang, but continued with the main army, and when Cao Cao was defeated by Zhang Xiu in 197 Cao Ren led the charge which rescued him and reversed the battle.

During the campaign against Yuan Shao in 200, Cao Ren defeated a diversionary attack of Liu Bei from the south, and another by Han Xun in the west, and he joined Shi Huan in the first attack against Yuan Shao's supplies.

Cao Ren took part in the conquest of the north and was rewarded with enfeoffment. He accompanied the army into Jing province in 208, and after the defeat at the Red Cliffs he was left to hold Jiangling on the Yangzi against Sun Quan's forces under Zhou Yu. He was forced to abandon the city in the following year, but then set defence positions along the Han.

In 211 Cao Ren had a holding command in the northwest until Cao Cao arrived, and he then joined the campaign which led to victory at Huayin. He commanded troops against rebels in the northeast, then returned to garrison Fan city on the Han River in Jing province by present-day Xiangfan. In 213 Cao Ren was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei.

Early in 219 Cao Ren recaptured the city of Wan in Nanyang which had been seized by mutineers, but in the summer of that year he was faced by the invasion of Guan Yu. Though floods destroyed the support army of Yu Jin, and the walls of the city were threatened by the water and by Guan Yu's ship-borne attacks, Cao Ren maintained a tight defence for over three months until Guan Yu was defeated by Xu Huang and then taken from behind by Lü Meng in Sun Quan's service.

After Cao Cao's death in 220 Cao Pi raised Cao Ren in fief and appointed him General of Chariots and Cavalry in charge of the whole southern front of Yi, Jing and Yang provinces. He was later named a chief general and then Grand Marshal. Early in 223, as part of the general offensive against Wu he attacked the Ruxu fortress on the lower Yangzi. The operation was not successful, and Cao Ren died in the summer of that year. -SGZ 9:274-76*.

Cao Ru 曹儒 [Junlin 俊林]; Pei. A younger cousin of Xiahou Shang, he served under Cao Zhang on the northern frontier in 218. He later held command on the southern front against Wu and became a minister under Wei. -SGZ 15:477.

Cao Rui 曹叡 [Yuanzhong 元仲] (c.206-239); Pei [Emperor Ming of Wei 魏明帝 (reg. 226-239)]. Son of Cao Pi by the Lady Zhen, he was a favourite of Cao Cao, who regularly allowed him to attend court functions and granted him a marquisate. Though his mother was forced to commit suicide in 221, he was still recognised as the eldest son of the Heir, and he was adopted by the Empress Guo. In 226, at the age of about twenty, he succeeded Cao Pi as emperor of Wei.

Like his father, Cao Rui was a notable poet. He sought to enhance the prestige of the state with buildings and display, but he was criticised for extravagance, and for paying too little attention to serious matters of state.

Cao Rui died on 22 January 239, leaving no sons. He was succeeded by his adoptive heir Cao Fang 芳, but the dynasty was now vulnerable to the ambitions of Sima Yi and his family. -SGZ 3*; Mather 76:578.

Cao Shao 曹紹 (d.191); Nanyang. A nephew of the eunuch Cao Jie, in 169 Cao Shao was Administrator of Dong commandery.

The junior official Xie Bi from that commandery had presented a memorial criticising the eunuch regime and urging the restoration of Li Ying and other reformists. His comments were not well received and he was sent out to a low-ranking post, but resigned and returned to his home. Cao Shao found a reason to have Xie Bi arrested, and had him die in prison under torture.

In 191 the Director of Retainers Zhao Qian had Cao Shao executed in vengeance for Xie Bi. -HHS 57/47:1860; deC 89:106.

Cao Shao 曹紹; Pei. A cousin of Cao Cao, Cao Shao became a gentleman cadet at court but died young. Cao Cao was evidently fond of him, for he had one of his own sons, Cao Zizheng, transferred to maintain Cao Shao's lineage. -SGZ 20:588.

Cao [Shishu] 曹世叔 see Cao Shou 曹壽.

Cao Shou 曹壽 [Shishu 世叔]; Youfufeng. About 70 Cao Shou married the Lady Ban Zhao, sister of Ban Gu, who was later celebrated for her scholarship and historical writing. It is said that he died at an early age, probably during the 80s, but the Lady is sometimes referred to by her husband's surname. -HHS 84/74:2784-87.

Cao Shou 曹壽. During the 150s and 160s Cao Shou worked with other scholars in the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 on the third instalment of the official history of Later Han, later entitled *Dongguan Hanji* but at that time known simply as "Record of Han" 漢紀. The compilation included annals, tables of kings, marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, with biographies of empresses and other individuals, including the eunuchs Cai Lun and Sun Cheng. -*Shi tong* 12:342; Bn 54:11, MBeck 90:216, *Texts*:471 [Bielenstein/Loewe].

Cao Shu 曹述; Dunhuang. Son of Cao Min, Cao Shu

was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became an Internuncio. He was then Chief Clerk in Jincheng, a county magistrate in Zuopingyi and Commandant of the Western Region of Shu commandery. He is recorded in the stele inscription which honours his great-grandson Cao Quan. -*JSCB* 18:1b; Ebrey 80:340.

Cao Shuo 曹朔. A literary figure of the latter part of the first century, he compiled *Han song* 漢頌 "Hymns of Han" in four *pian*. -*HHS* 80/70A:2617.

Cao Shuo 曹鑠; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by his first wife the Lady Liu X, and younger brother of Cao Ang. Cao Shuo had two sons but died young. In 229 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a king. -*SGZ* 20:579*.

Cao [Shuxing] 曹叔興; Pei. Third son of Cao Jie of Pei, he was an elder brother of Cao Teng. -*SGZ* 1:1.

Cao Song 曹嵩 [Jugao 巨高] (d.193); Pei. A member of the Xiahou clan, he was adopted by the eunuch Cao Teng. He inherited his fief in 150, and held office as Director of Retainers, Minister of Finance and Minister Herald.

In 187 Cao Song paid 100,000,000 cash to become Grand Commandant, but left office in the next year. He took refuge from the civil war in Xu province, but in 193, as he travelled with a great baggage train to join his son Cao Cao, he was killed by soldiers of the Governor Tao Qian. After his grandson Cao Pi proclaimed himself emperor of Wei in 220, he awarded Cao Song posthumous imperial honours. -*SGZ* 1:2 & 11, *HHS* 78/68:2519.

Cao Song was buried at his home county of Qiao 譙, by the tomb of his adoptive father: *SJZ* 23:6a. A major tomb of the family was excavated in the 1970s, and the results are published and discussed in *WW* 1978/8:32-50.

Cao Song 曹嵩, wife of: see the Lady Ding 丁 II.

Cao Tai 曹泰; Pei. Eldest son of Cao Ren, he succeeded to his fief and was later a general of Wei. -*SGZ* 9:276.

Cao Teng 曹騰 [Jixing 季興]; Pei. Youngest son of Cao Jie 節. Cao Teng was castrated as a child and placed in the imperial harem. In 120 the regent Dowager Deng chose him to attend the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, and they became personal friends. It does not appear that Cao Teng played any role in the coup led by Sun Cheng which brought Liu Bao to the throne in 125, but he became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates and then a Regular Attendant.

In 146, as Liang Ji planned to place Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, upon the throne, he was opposed by

Li Gu and other senior ministers in open court. Cao Teng urged him to defy the critics; the majority backed down and Cao Teng was enfeoffed for his role in the accession. He was liable to be sent from the palace to reside at his fief in his home country of Pei, but he then received supplementary title as Specially Advanced, permitting him to stay at the capital. He became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of the household of the Empress Liang Nüying, and served also as Coachman of the Changle Palace of the Dowager Liang Na.

Cao Teng died in the late 150s and was buried at his home county of Qiao; a stele was erected at his tomb in 160. He was noted for his political wisdom, for his generosity and for the quality of his protégés, men such as Bian Shao, Zhang Wen, Zhang Huan and Chong Gao. Some favourable comments in the history may be due to the later authority of Cao Teng's nominal descendants, for his adopted son Cao Song became an Excellency, and he was the father of the warlord Cao Cao. -*HHS* 78/68:2519*, *XHS* 5:11b-12a, *SGZ* 1:1-2, *SJZ* 23:6a, *LS* 15:3a-4b, 20:14b; Bn 81:575-576.

Cao Teng 曹騰. Administrator of Yingchuan, Cao Teng was reported by Yang Huai/Zhun for allowing his relatives to abuse their position. He was sent to prison. -*HYGZ* 10B:155. This man cannot be the senior eunuch described above.

Cao Wan 曹琬; Pei. Son of Cao Jun, in 221 Cao Wan was made a marquis to maintain the descent of Cao Ang; he later received title as a king. -*SGZ* 20:579.

Cao Xi 曹喜 [Zhongze 仲則]; Youfufeng. An officer of the imperial library in the late first century, Cao Xi was celebrated for his calligraphy in the traditional Seal Script 篆書 attributed to Li Si 李斯, ancient minister of Qin 秦. -*JS* 36:1063, Hou Kang:2116.

Cao Xian 曹憲, the Lady; Pei. Eldest daughter of Cao Cao, in 213 she and two sisters were placed in the harem of Emperor Xian, and in 214 they became Honoured Ladies. In 215 her sister Cao Jie was made empress. -*HHS* 10B:455. [*XHS* 1:19b says that it was Cao Xian who became empress, but this is not correct, and the statement is contradicted by a fragment of *XHS* immediately following.]

Cao Xing 曹性; Henei? A follower of Hao Meng, officer of Lü Bu, in 196 he joined a mutiny against Lü Bu in Xiapi, but when the attack was defeated, Cao Xing turned on Hao Meng and killed him, being wounded in the process. Interrogated, he said that the plot had been instigated by Yuan Shu. He was

pardoned and given command of Hao Meng's troops. -SGZ 7:224.

Cao Xiong 曹熊; Pei. Fourth son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian, he died young. In 221 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke and in 229 he was named as a king. -SGZ 19:577.

Cao Xiu 曹休 [Wenlie 文烈] (d.228); Pei. Cao Xiu was a junior cousin of Cao Cao. His father died when he was young, about 190, and he went with his mother for refuge to Wu commandery, where his grandfather had been Administrator. He then went to join Cao Cao, who received him warmly and made him a companion of his son Cao Pi. Cao Xiu became a commander of elite cavalry and in 218 he was adviser to Cao Hong in Hanzhong.

As Cao Pi took the imperial title, Cao Xiu was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele, and he held senior command against Wu. When Cao Pi died in 226 Cao Zhen was one of four regents appointed to supervise the government of Cao Rui, but two years later he led his men into an ambush in Lujiang. He died soon afterwards. -SGZ 9:279-80*, LS 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Cao Xu 曹邈; Shanyang. Son of the Excellency Cao Jing, in 23 Cao Xu became a member of the Secretariat under the Gengshi Emperor. The new emperor had it in mind to send Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, on commission north of the Yellow River, but many of his followers opposed the idea. Urged by Feng Yi, Liu Xiu made contact with Cao Xu, and he and his father helped secure the decision. -HHS 17/7:640; Bn 59:37.

Cao Xu 曹吁 (d.143); Kuaiji. An excellent musician and singer, Cao Xu was also a shaman. On the fifth day of the fifth month of 143, the time of the mid-summer festival, he greeted the God of the Billows 波神 of the local river and drowned. His filial daughter Cao E q.v. followed his example. -HHS 84/74:2794-95; Bodde 75:310-315.

Cao Xuan 曹玄; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Qin, he was made a marquis in 211, but died young. -SGZ 20:579 & 584-85*.

Cao Xun 曹訓. Cao Xun was a nephew of Ma Yuan, who commented to him on one occasion about the risk Wang Pan was running by his ostentatious display of wealth and influence. -HHS 24/14:851.

Cao Yan 曹演; Pei. Son of Cao Chun, he succeeded to his fief in 210. He later held military command under Wei. During the 240s his fief was raised in rank. -SGZ

9:277.

Cao Yi 操彖; Dong. It is said that during the mid-150s Cao Yi and Rong Bao were master craftsmen building a funerary temple for Xiang Tuo and his wife. -Nagata 94:118 [this text is of doubtful provenance].

Cao Yi 曹壹; Pei. Son of Cao Lin, in 221 he was adopted and enfeoffed to maintain the descent of Cao Xuan and his elder brother Cao Zan. In 223 he became a duke. -SGZ 20:585.

Cao Yin 曹胤; Pei. Son of Cao Bao and nephew of Cao Teng, he became an Internuncio. A stele was erected by his tomb in Qiao in 177. -SJZ 23:6b.

Cao Yin 曹寅. Administrator of Wuling in 190, Cao Yin quarrelled with the Inspector Wang Rui, who gathered troops to attack him. Cao Yin sent forged instructions to Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha who was bringing an army north to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo, listing crimes by Wang Rui and ordering his execution. As Sun Jian moved against Wang Rui, Wang Rui killed himself. -SGZ Wu 1:1097.

Cao Yu 曹瑜; Pei. Possibly a brother of Cao Song, Cao Yu was General of the Rear and a marquis under Han. -SGZ 9:278.

Cao Yu 曹玉; Pei. A younger brother of Cao Cao, he died young. He received posthumous title as Lamented Marquis of Langling 朗陵哀侯, and Cao Cao's son Hui was appointed to maintain his lineage.

SGZ 20:589 refers to an unnamed brother of Cao Cao, entitled Lamented Marquis of Haiyang 海陽哀侯, whose daughter married Xiaohou Heng, son of Xiahou Yuan and a grandson of Cao Cao. There is, however, no mention of this man in SGZ 20, nor of anyone appointed to maintain his lineage, while the only county named Haiyang was in Liaoxi, a long way from the Cao family interests. It is possible, however, that this unnamed brother was in fact Cao Yu, with different titles ascribed to him at different times. See SGZJJ 9.9b.

Cao Yu 曹宇 [Pengzu 彭祖]; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Huan, in 211 Cao Yu was made a marquis, and in 215 he was married to a daughter of the surrendered theocratic warlord Zhang Lu.

Cao Yu was made a duke by Cao Pi in 221 and a king in 222. He was a friend to Cao Rui, future Emperor Ming, who admired him and often called him to audience. As the emperor was on his deathbed in 238 he wanted to appoint Cao Yu as one of the regents for his successor Cao Fang, but Cao Yu declined.

In 260 Cao Yu's son Huan 奂 became the puppet last ruler of Wei under the control of the Sima family. He was deposed by Sima Yan 司馬炎 in the winter at the end of 265. -SGZ 20:582*.

Cao Zan 曹贊; Pei. Son of Cao Lin, in 215 Cao Zan was adopted and enfeoffed to maintain the descent of Cao Xuan, but died soon afterwards. -SGZ 20:584.

Cao Zeng 曹曾 original personal name Ping 平 [Boshan 伯山]; Ji Yin or Lu. Cao Zeng changed his personal name from Ping to Zeng in honour of Confucius' disciple Zeng Can 曾參. He studied the *Classic of History* under Ouyang Xi, then maintained his master's teachings and had three thousand students of his own. He held office as a Counsellor Remonstrant.

A man of vastly wealthy family, Cao Zen not only provided impoverished students with food, but also gathered a great library of works from earliest antiquity, editing and copying where necessary, and constructing a building of stone to house the books and restrict danger from fire in troubled times. The collection was later transferred to the imperial library, while his students established a shrine in his honour. -HHS 79/69A:2556.

Cao Zhan 曹湛. A descendant of Cao Shen/Can 參, the great minister at the beginning of Former Han, in 77 Cao Zhan was enfeoffed by Emperor Zhang in recognition of his ancestor's service to the dynasty.

Cao Zhan died about 90, leaving no heirs to maintain the lineage, and in 91 the regency government of Emperor He ordered the Minister Herald to find another successor. -HHS 4:172, 26/16:917.

Cao Zhang 曹彰 [Ziwen 子文] (d.223); Pei. Second son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian, Cao Zhang married a daughter of Sun Ben in 198, and in 216 he was made a marquis.

Skilled at arms, in 218 Cao Zhang held command in the north against the Wuhuan, gaining a major victory, and in 219 he was left in charge at Chang'an as Cao Cao returned east to face Guan Yu.

When Cao Cao died in 220, there was a short period of uncertainty when Cao Zhang might have claimed the throne, but Cao Pi duly succeeded their father and Cao Zhang and his brothers were sent away to their fiefs. In 221 Cao Zhang was made a duke, and in 222 he was named a king. He died in the following year, while attending court at the capital. [See also *sub* Cao Biao.] -SGZ 19:555-56*; Mather 76:578.

Cao Zhang 曹彰, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 VI.

Cao Zhen 曹震; Pei. Son of Cao Hong, he was given a share of his father's fief by Cao Cao. -SGZ 9:278.

Cao Zhen 曹真 [Zidan 子丹] (d.231); Pei. Son of Qin Shao and a kinsman of the Cao family, he was adopted into the lineage by Cao Cao and brought up with his children, notably his eldest son Cao Pi. A brave huntsman, Cao Zhen commanded elite cavalry and was enfeoffed for his success against bandits in Zhao. He served under Cao Hong in Hanzhong in 217 and 218, and briefly commanded the army against Liu Bei after Xiahou Yuan's defeat in 219.

As Cao Pi took the imperial title, Cao Zhen was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. An Area Commander in the northwest under both Cao Pi and Cao Rui, he fought also in Jing province. When Cao Pi died in 226 Cao Zhen was one of four regents appointed to supervise the government of his son and successor Cao Rui.

In 239 Cao Zhen's son Shuang 爽 controlled the regency government for Cao Rui's adopted successor Cao Fang 芳; in 249 he was destroyed by Sima Yi. -SGZ 9:280-82*, LS 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Cao Zheng 曹整 (d.218); Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Li, in 203 Cao Zheng was married to a daughter of Yuan Tan, but in the following year the agreement was broken and the girl was sent back.

In 217 Cao Zheng was made a marquis to maintain the descent of Cao Shao, but he died in the following year. -SGZ 1:24-26, 20:588.

Cao Zhi 曹祉; Ji Yin. Son of Cao Zen, he maintained his father's teachings of the *Classic of History* according to the Ouyang interpretation.

In 123 Cao Zhi was Intendant of Henan when the Internuncio Dan Song urged that the calendar be altered to fit with the teachings of the apocrypha. Amidst wide-spread debate Zhang Heng and Zhou Xing argued that the changes would add errors and the apocryphal writings were not worth serious attention, while Cao Zhi and forty others argued that the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system was acceptable and also accorded with the apocrypha. The majority, led by the Grand Commandant Liu Kai, supported change, but the Director of the Imperial Secretariat Chen Zhong opposed it, and the *Sifen* calendar was maintained. -HHS 79/69A:2556, 92/2:3034.

Cao Zhi 曹植 [Zijian 子建] (192-232); Pei. Third son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian, Cao Zhi is regarded as one of the greatest poets of China. In 211 he was enfeoffed

as a marquis, and the following year he impressed his father with his *Dengtai fu* 登臺賦 "Rhapsody on Climbing the Terrace," celebrating the building of the Copper Bird Terrace at Ye city. In 214 Cao Zhi was left in formal charge at Ye while Cao Cao was on campaign in the south. There was some possibility that he, rather than his elder brother Pi, might be chosen as successor, but Cao Pi was named Heir in 217, while Cao Zhi lost favour by his extravagant conduct and frequent drunkenness.

When Cao Pi took power in 220, Cao Zhi and all his brothers were sent to their fiefs and kept under tight control. In 222 Cao Zhi was named King of Zhencheng 鄆城 and, like those of his other brothers, his fief was later transferred several times. Though he presented several memorials asking for some responsible position, he never received one. Some of his poems and rhapsodies are plaints in this vein, but the strength of his writing is the intensity of his description and his sense of emotion. He received posthumous title as "Thoughtful" King of Chen 陳思王. -SGZ 19:557-77*; Cutter 85, Mather 76:578.

Cao Zhi 曹植, wife of: see the Lady Cui 崔 of Qinghe.

Cao Zhong 曹眾 [Boshi 伯師]; Youfufeng. Noted for literary and scholarly ability in the latter part of the first century, Cao Zhong refused all official appointments and died of old age at home.

Cao Zhong left four *pian* of eulogies, essays and letters. He is mentioned by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -HHS 80/70A:2617 & JJ at 2870 Hui Dong.

Cao [Zhongxing] 曹仲興; Pei. Second son of Cao Jie 曹節, he was an elder brother of Cao Teng. -SGZ 1:1.

Cao [Zicheng] 曹子乘; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Li V, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:588*.

Cao [Ziji] 曹子棘; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Liu, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:588*.

Cao [Zijing] 曹子京; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Li V, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:588*.

Cao [Ziqin] 曹子勤; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Sun X, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:588*.

Cao [Zishang] 曹子上; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Sun, he died young. In 231 he was posthumously

enfeoffed as a duke. -SGZ 20:586*.

Cao [Zisheng] 曹子乘 see Cao Zicheng 曹子乘.

Cao [Ziyuan] 曹子元; Taiyuan. A fellow-countryman of Guo Tai, he was sponsored by him and became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Cao [Zizheng] 曹子整; Pei. Son of Cao Cao by the Lady Li V, Cao Zizheng was transferred to maintain the lineage of his father's cousin Cao Shao. He was made a county marquis in 217, but died two years later, leaving no children.

In 221 Cao Zizheng was posthumously honoured as a duke, and Cao Fan 範, son of Cao Ju 據, was named as his successor. -SGZ 20:588*.

Cao Zong 曹宗 or Cao Chong 崇. In 119 Cao Song was Administrator of Dunhuang. Following the Chinese withdrawal from the Western Regions and the great rebellion of the Qiang, the Northern Xiongnu had gained considerable influence among the states of central Asia and they and their allies raided the west of Liang province.

Seeking to establish a counter-presence, Cao Zong's officer Suo Ban was sent to set up a military colony at Yiwu near present-day Hami. The kings of Nearer Jushi in Turfan and of Shanshan about Lop Nor paid their respects, but a few months later King Junjiu of Further Jushi and his Xiongnu allies destroyed Suo Ban and forced the ruler of Nearer Jushi into exile. King Youhuan of Shanshan asked Cao Song for help, and Cao Song asked permission for an expeditionary force.

There was general opposition at court to any further involvement in the far west, so the enterprise was not approved. -HHS 47/37:1587, 88/78:2911.

Cao Zong 曹琮 see Cao Cong 曹琮.

Cao Zun 曹遵; Pei. A kinsman of Cao Zhen 真, a member of the future imperial family of Wei, Cao Zun served Cao Cao but died early. About 230, at Cao Zhen's urging, a fief was granted to his son. -SGZ 9:282.

Caotou 造頭; Qiang. Chief of the Dazangyi Qiang, who lived outside the frontier of Shu commandery, in 94 Caotou led more than fifty thousand of his people to pay allegiance to the government of Emperor He. He was granted title as Lord of a City 邑君長 and was awarded a seal and ribbon. -HHS 87/77:2898.

Cen Fu 岑福; Nanyang. Son of Cen Xi, he succeeded to his fief and likewise became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 17/7:664.

Cen Hong 岑宏 see Ling Hong 冷宏. -HHJ 16:196.

Cen Huai 岑淮; Nanyang. Younger son of Cen Peng, in recognition of his father's achievements he was awarded a county marquissate in Pei in 37, additional to that held by his brother Cen Zun. -HHS 17/7:663.

Cen Kang 岑伉; Nanyang. Son of Cen Zun, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 17/7:663.

Cen Ke 岑軻; Nanyang. XTS 72B:2668 says that Cen Ke, son of Cen Liangbo, served as Administrator of Kuaiji and of Poyang under Sun Quan.

Cen [Liangbo] 岑亮伯; Nanyang. XTS 72B:2668 says that Cen Liangbo was a son of Cen Zhi, and shared his exile in the south. He was the father of Cen Ke.

Cen Peng 岑彭 [Junran 君然] (d.35); Nanyang. Member of a leading family, about 20 AD Cen Peng became brevet magistrate of his native county, Jiyang. As the Han rebellion broke out in 22, Liu Bosheng attacked Jiyang on his way to Wan, capital of the commandery. Cen Peng was unable to hold his position and fled with his household to Wan. The Administrator Zhen Fu 甄阜, angry at Cen Peng for abandoning his post, took his mother and wife hostage and ordered him to redeem himself against the rebels. Cen Peng accompanied the army with his retainers, took part in the defeat of the rebels at Xiao-Chang'an, and distinguished himself in the fighting.

Early in the following year, as Liu Bosheng gained reinforcements and resumed the advance, Zhen Fu was defeated and killed near Jiyang. Wounded in the action, Cen Peng escaped to Wan and joined Zhen Fu's Assistant Yan Shuo 嚴說 [or Zhuang You 莊尤 II? *q.v.*] in defending the city. They held out for five months, but in the summer they were compelled to surrender for lack of food. The victorious commanders wanted to execute Yan Shuo and Cen Peng, but Liu Bosheng urged that they should be rewarded in order to encourage further defections. So the Gengshi Emperor named Cen Peng Marquis Who Turns to Virtue 歸德侯; nothing further is heard of Yan Shuo.

Cen Peng joined Liu Bosheng's command, but when Liu Bosheng was killed soon afterwards he became a colonel under the Grand Marshal Zhu Wei, who had been responsible for impeaching Liu Bosheng. Accompanying Zhu Wei into Yang province, he distinguished himself in the defeat and death of Wang Mang's Governor Li Shen/Sheng 李琴/聖 [QHX:227].

Zhu Wei had Cen Peng appointed Commandant

of Huaiyang. The commandery was not fully settled, and the Gengshi court sent the chieftain Zhang Ang to confirm control. Zhang Ang's subordinate general Yao Wei rebelled and drove him to flight, but Cen Peng defeated Yao Wei and restored the situation.

Cen Peng was rewarded with appointment as Administrator of Yingchuan, but the renegade imperial clansman Liu Mao dominated the commandery and Cen Peng could not take up his position. With a few hundred men he set his formal headquarters in Henei, where the Administrator Han Xin was a man from his home county.

In the autumn of 24 Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came into Henei. Han Xin wanted to resist, but Cen Peng and others persuaded him to surrender. Uncertain of Han Xin's loyalty, Liu Xiu was going to execute him, but Cen Peng obtained an audience, swore personal allegiance, then argued that as a man of gentry status Han Xin could be useful and would give credit to the new regime. So Liu Xiu let him live.

Accepted by Liu Xiu without difficulty Cen Peng was named a general. He became a most reliable servant, and his former career gave him credibility with other officers of the Gengshi regime: besides Han Xin, he also persuaded the Gengshi general Lü Zhi to surrender. Soon afterwards Liu Xiu sent his general Wu Han to occupy Ye city in Wei and kill the Gengshi commander Xie Gong. Claiming that Xie Gong's ill-disciplined soldiers had plundered people and stirred up resentment, he authorised Cen Peng to police the troops and the civil population.

Cen Peng accompanied Liu Xiu on his further campaigns to the north, and when Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he was named Minister of Justice, promoted to be an acting chief general and confirmed in his title as Marquis Who Turns to Virtue, the honour first granted by the Gengshi regime.

Cen Peng then joined Feng Yi and other troops engaged in the siege of Luoyang, and when the garrison commander Zhu Wei attempted a sortie Cen Peng caught him unawares in a fog and defeated him. By winter, after the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the capture of Chang'an by the Red Eyebrows, the defenders were in a hopeless position, but Zhu Wei was fearful of the vengeance Guangwu might take for his role in the death of his brother Liu Bosheng. As a former subordinate, Cen Peng was sent to negotiate. He held a friendly conversation, acknowledged his

concerns, and secured a firm promise of pardon. On his return he showed good faith by entering the city under Zhu Wei's control. Suitably impressed, Zhu Wei surrendered and was indeed well treated.

In 26 Cen Peng was in the south, where former officers of the Gengshi regime, local defensive groups, and the southern warlord Qin Feng contended for power. Cen Peng captured a series of cities and towns in Nanyang and neighbouring Yingchuan, eliminating pockets of local resistance, and by autumn, with two other imperial armies in the field led by Jia Fu and Wu Han, it appeared Nanyang would soon be settled. A local insurgency by Dong Xin, however, was compounded by the revolt of Deng Feng, former subordinate of Wu Han, who defeated his former master. Wu Han was recalled, and Cen Peng, now a chief general, took over. He had a considerable army, but Dong Xin and Deng Feng led good quality troops. They joined to defeat him, then set siege to Wan, capital of the commandery.

After several months without success, in the summer of 27 Guangwu himself came to Nanyang. Cen Peng trapped one of Dong Xin's commanders and heavily defeated him, and as the imperial army approached Dong Xin surrendered. Deng Feng fled south, but Cen Peng pursued him with a large force, supported by Guangwu's troops. Deng Feng was forced to surrender, and though Guangwu was prepared to spare him on account of his earlier loyal service, Cen Peng and his colleague Geng Yan urged his execution and secured it.

As the emperor returned to the north, Cen Peng was sent with thirty thousand men to attack Qin Feng. The imperial forces swiftly eliminated the enemy positions in Nanyang, but they were held for some months by Qin Feng's defences on the Han River. In the autumn Guangwu sent a message to reprimand Cen Peng for the delay, and Cen Peng let some prisoners escape, bearing a false report that he planned a crossing to the west. Qin Feng led his main force away to meet the threat, but Cen Peng then crossed directly. He defeated Qin Feng's secondary force and killed its commander Zhang Yang, then advanced through the wilderness, cutting corduroy roads, towards Qin Feng's capital at Liquiu. Hastening back to the relief, Qin Feng attacked Cen Peng's fortified camp by night. Cen Peng, however, was prepared for the assault, and Qin Feng was defeated and took refuge in Liquiu.

Rewarded for this success with a county fief, Cen Feng mopped up the enemy outposts and returned to the siege with the aid of Qin Feng's former officer Zhao Jing, who brought his troops to the imperial cause. Early in 28 Cen Peng also received the surrender of Xin Chen, brother-in-law of the Yangzi warlord Tian Rong. Though Tian Rong had also been ready to submit, he now felt betrayed by Xin Chen and changed his mind. He attempted to aid Qin Feng, but after some months fighting was forced back to the south.

As the siege of Liquiu continued with heavy casualties, Guangwu granted fiefs to over a hundred of Cen Peng's men as reward for their efforts. By the spring of 29 Qin Feng's garrison contained barely a thousand men, and their supplies were exhausted. Leaving Zhu You in charge of the siege, Cen Peng moved south against Tian Rong. He defeated him near Jiangling, capital of Nan commandery at present-day Shashi in Hubei, then followed him west up the Yangzi. Abandoning his wife and children and accompanied by a few dozen horsemen, Tian Rong fled to Gongsun Shu. In his pursuit, Cen Peng passed through the Gorges, but the region did not produce enough to maintain his troops, transport was difficult, and his force was too small for a full attack on Gongsun Shu.

Leaving the general Feng Jun to hold the pass, therefore, backed by a series of camps along the river, Cen Peng returned to Jiangling, centre of communications on the middle Yangzi. From here he obtained the submission of local non-Chinese tribes and granted titles to their chiefs and elders. He also wrote to Deng Rang, an old friend who had been appointed Governor of Jiaozhi province by the Gengshi Emperor, inviting him to accept Guangwu, and he sent letters to the administrators in the south of Jing province. Deng Rang, whose wife was a sister of the Lady Yin, Guangwu's concubine and future empress, readily accepted, and his example swayed the others. At the same time, moreover, Cen Peng sent his officer Qu Chong with a formal call to arms and, as warning to the recalcitrant, the officer Zang Gong seized a number of cities in Jiangxia. The local officials duly sent tribute to Han, many sent hostages or troops, and all were enfeoffed. The imperial government thus obtained full access to the resources of the south.

In the spring of 30 there was an attack from the west by Tian Rong, now in Gongsun Shu's service, but the defences generally held and the enterprise amounted

to little more than a raid. In the winter Cen Peng was recalled to the capital for consultations, received rewards and honours for his family, then returned to Jiangling.

For the time being, major military activity was in the northwest against the warlord Wei Ao, and in 32 Cen Peng accompanied the imperial army and joined the siege of Wei Ao in Xi city. Though Guangwu was soon afterwards obliged to lead the main army back to deal with rebellion in the east, he left Cen Peng with He Yan and Geng Yan to attend to the siege, and was confident enough to leave orders for an attack south against Gongsun Shu once Wei Ao had been eliminated. Cen Peng channelled streams in an attempt to flood Xi city, but before the water had reached its height Wei Ao's general Wang Yuan returned with reinforcements from Gongsun Shu, broke the siege and rescued Wei Ao. The imperial forces were now short of food and supplies and were compelled to withdraw; Cen Peng commanded the rearguard to hold off pursuit.

After the death of Wei Ao early in 33, Cen Peng returned to the south. A major attack from Gongsun Shu, again led by Tian Rong, broke through the Yangzi Gorges, drove in the Han defences and established a position near Yidao, seventy kilometres upstream from Jiangling, but they remained thereafter on the defensive, relying upon fortresses, palisades, and a floating bridge with towers across the river. Though Cen Peng gained no success with small-scale attacks, he continued to prepare for a major offensive, training the army, constructing warships and gathering sailors from the river lands of the south, and in the spring of 35 he brought a force numbered at sixty thousand men against the enemy. The Grand Marshal Wu Han had objected that the naval contingent was a waste of resources, but Cen Peng argued for its value and wrote to the emperor. In reply, Guangwu observed that while Wu Han was excellent in land warfare, he had no understanding of water-borne operations, and he gave Cen Peng supreme command of the campaign.

In the first assault, volunteers from Cen Peng's troops broke through the palisades and burnt the floating bridge, and as the ships advanced with a strong wind the enemy was heavily defeated. Several of Gongsun Shu's senior officers were killed and only Tian Rong escaped through the Gorges to the west.

Cen Peng was now named Governor of Yi province, to be Acting Administrator over each commandery

that he might conquer. Leaving Wu Han to maintain supplies and reinforcements, he led the generals Zang Gong and Liu Xin to force their way through the passes to Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, where Tian Rong had taken refuge. We are told the people welcomed the invaders with food and wine, but Cen Peng had sympathy for them, having suffered so long under a government alien to Han, and refused to accept their offerings.

Tian Rong's position in Jiangzhou was strong and he was well supplied, so Cen Peng left Feng Jun to maintain a siege and led the main army and fleet past the city, up the Jialing Jiang into the Fu River. They gained initial success and captured great quantities of rice from enemy stores, but were then faced by defences in depth under Yan Cen, Wang Yuan, Lu Wei and Gongsun Hui. Cen Peng's army, moreover, now included a body of former soldiers of Gongsun Shu who had surrendered and changed allegiance: he was uncertain of their full support and reluctant to commit them against their former comrades.

Leaving Zang Gong to face Yan Cen, therefore, Cen Peng returned to the Yangzi, passed Jiangzhou once more, then moved upstream to the junction of the Min River [known at that time as the Du or Chengdu River 都/成江] and turned north. Defeating a garrison under Hou Dan, he advanced by forced marches to Wuyang, forty kilometres south of Chengdu, then sent a raid of light horsemen to seize Guangdu, just five kilometres from Gongsun Shu's capital. His advance had by-passed Gongsun Shu's defences on the Fu River, and his success brought the surrender of the chieftain Ren Gui in Yuexi commandery to the south. About the same time, moreover, Zang Gong defeated Yan Cen, destroyed the enemy positions on the Fu, and began to move against Mianzhu, north of Chengdu. Though he was not yet willing to surrender, the whirlwind campaign had left Gongsun Shu in desperate straits, and Cen Peng's success persuaded the non-Chinese leader Ren Gui of Yuexi to send tribute to Han.

At this point, however, one of Gongsun Shu's followers, pretending to come as a runaway slave, gained access to Cen Peng and killed him. It is said that his headquarters had been set at a place called Pengwang 彭亡 "Peng dies", originally named for the death of the legendary and long-lived Peng Zu 彭祖. Uneasy at the omen, Cen Peng planned to leave, but he was killed that same evening. [In rationalist

fashion, Bielenstein, discounts the story, arguing that the village obtained its name after the event, and the legend developed to fit it: Bn 54:49.]

With the death of their commander, the Han main army was obliged to withdraw down the Min River, but Zang Gong's advance from the line of the Fu was not affected, and within a few weeks Wu Han had brought a new force of invaders up the Yangzi and renewed the offensive along the Min.

Cen Peng was awarded a posthumous title, his family were granted the tribute which had been presented by Ren Gui, and in 37 his younger son Huai was also enfeoffed. Even the people of Shu remembered him with favour, and set up a shrine for his worship at Wuyang. Later, recognising Cen Peng as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 17/7:653-62*, 22/12:789-91, XC 1:3a; Bn 54:118, Bn 59:35, 105, 151-158, 184-193, 212, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:80-81.

Cen Qi 岑纪/起; Nanyang. Son of Cen Kang, he succeeded to the family marquisate. In 116 he was found guilty of some fault and lost his fief, but it was restored by Emperor An in 121. Under Emperor Shun Cen Qi was Colonel of the City Gates in 133 and later became Minister of the Household. -HHS 17/7:663, 60/50A:1971.

Cen Xi 岑熙; Nanyang. Son of Cen Qi, Cen Xi succeeded to the family fief. He married the Princess Liu Shinan, younger sister of Emperor An, became a Palace Attendant and then a General of the Household. Admired at court for his ability, he became Administrator of Wei [or perhaps Dong] commandery, where the people sang the praises of his government by moral example with limited action 無為. -HHS 10B:457, 17/7:663, 55/45:1804, HQ 2:7a.

Cen Xiang 岑像 see Cen Yu 岑豫.

Cen Yu 岑豫 or Cen Xiang 像; Nanyang. A descendant of Cen Peng, Cen Yu was Administrator of Nan commandery about 150. He maintained a greedy and oppressive government and was punished by execution. -HHS 67/57:2212, XTS 72B:2668.

Cen Zhi 岑晔 [Gongxiao 公孝]; Nanyang. Son of Cen Yu/Xiang, Cen Zhi was well read in the classics. When he was young he went to call upon his fellow-countryman Zong Ci, who had just been granted special nomination to office. Zong Ci was initially

reluctant to see him on account of his father's disgrace, but after several days Cen Zhi did obtain an audience and Zong Ci was so impressed that he took him with him to Luoyang. Cen Zhi attended the University there, and his abilities gained him the friendship of such luminaries as Guo Tai and Zhu Mu, while Li Ying and Wang Chang spoke of him as one of the hopes of the empire.

Returning to his home country, Cen Zhi maintained his ambitions, and when the new Administrator Cheng Jin took up office he already knew his reputation. He immediately invited him to be his Officer of Merit, and trusted him completely, accepting all his recommendations to reform the government. A popular ditty described how:

The Administrator of Nanyang is Cen Gongxiao,
Cheng Jin of Hongnong has only to sit and sing.

In 165 Cen Zhi and his colleague the Officer for Criminals 賊曹 Zhang Mu persuaded Cheng Jin to arrest Zhang Fan, a wealthy merchant who supplied the imperial harem at Luoyang but was said to have acted arrogantly and unlawfully. Though an amnesty was current, Cheng Jin killed Zhang Fan and over two hundred of his kinsman, clients and retainers without any reference to the throne. Cheng Jin was arrested and died in prison, while Cen Zhi and Zhang Mu fled to the east. They themselves then benefited from an amnesty and were able to return home. [The moralist Jia Biao did not approve of Cen Zhi's aggressive conduct.]

Cen Zhi later received nominations from his province and his commandery, and also invitations to clerical office at the capital, but he declined them all. When Li Ying and his fellows were killed in the Second Faction Incident of 169, Cen Zhi fled again, this time to the hill country of Jiangxia. He later travelled to Wu commandery, and died in the south.

Cen Zhi was admired by gentry officials and numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by reformists and students of the University, so Fan Ye included his biography in the HHS chapter on the Proscribed Party. In fact, his record is not impressive: his advice brought the death of his master Cheng Jin while he himself escaped; and he played no direct role in the struggle against eunuch power at the capital; he was a symbolic rather than an actual hero. -HHS 67/57:2212-13* & 2187, XC 4:8b, XTS 72B:2668; deC 89:70, 110.

Cen Zun 岑尊. In 25 Cen Zun was captain at a gate of

Luoyang city when the carriage of Liu Liang, King of Zhao and uncle of Emperor Guangwu, was blocked by that of the General of the Household Zhang Han. Liu Liang abused Cen Zun, ordered him to kowtow before his chariot and then escort him forward. The king's inappropriate conduct was reported, but the emperor took no action. -HHS 19/9:1020. It is possible this is the same person as Cen Zun 岑遵 below, though it is not certain Guangwu could have ignored such an insult to the son of one of his best generals.

Cen Zun 岑遵; Nanyang. Son of Cen Peng, Cen Zun succeeded to his marquissate in Nanyang; the fief was later transferred to a county in Yingchuan. During the reign of Emperor Ming Cen Zun was a colonel in the Northern Army. -HHS 17/7:663.

Chai Yu 柴玉. A well-known bell-maker of the early third century, Chai Yu was commissioned by Cao Cao's chief of music to prepare a set of tuned bells. When they were done, Du Kui claimed that they were not a matched set, and demanded they be melted down and cast again. Chai Yi objected that Du Kui was being arbitrary, and the quarrel was brought to Cao Cao, who had the bells sounded. He found that Du Kui was correct, and Chai Yu and his family were sent away to be horse-herders. -SGZ 29:806.

Chang [or Zhang] 長 (d.85); Xiongnu. Son of the former Southern Shanyu Shi and grandson of the founding Shanyu Bi, he succeeded his cousin Su in 63, taking the title Huxie shizhuhou di 胡邪驢僮尸逐侯鞬 Shanyu. At this time the Northern Xiongnu were comparatively strong and sent a number of raids against the frontiers, but even as the imperial authorities were concerned about this the Shanyu sought to re-open trade and sent envoys to seek peace. Emperor Ming approved the overtures and sent an embassy in return.

In the summer of 65, however, groups of the Southern Xiongnu became suspicious of Chinese intentions and sent messengers of their own to the north. The envoy Zheng Zhong caught one of these men, and he urged that a military post be set on the frontier to keep the two groups of Xiongnu apart. The General of the Household Wu Tang was swiftly appointed as Acting General on the Liao, with his base in Wuyuan, and the Commandant of Cavalry Qin Peng was sent to establish a camp at Meiji in Xihe, capital of the Southern Shanyu, to keep watch on his activities. That autumn a force of two thousand Northern cavalry scouted the frontier of Shuofang and attempted to cross

the Yellow River by horse-skin boats to make contact with the southerners. Seeing the Han were prepared for them, they drew back.

The Northern Xiongnu also resumed raids on the border commanderies of the Gansu corridor, burning villages and government posts; the situation became so serious that the gates of the cities were kept closed even during daytime.

In 73, therefore, a great expedition was mounted against the north. The Shanyu Chang sent his Worthy King of the Left Xin to accompany the main column led by Zhai Tong and Wu Tang, which moved out from Shuofang to Zhuoye Mountain, in the Gurvan Sayhan Uul range in the south of Outer Mongolia. Xin, however, angry with Zhai Tong for some reason, gave him false directions: the Han armies failed to make a rendezvous and the enemy easily avoided them.

In 76 a group of Northern Xiongnu re-occupied Zhuoye Mountain. The Shanyu Chang heard of this and sent light horsemen, who combined with Chinese commandery militia and Wuhuan auxiliaries to attack the new settlers. They killed several hundred, and three or four thousand surrendered.

In this year there was a plague of locusts in the territory of the Southern Xiongnu, and the imperial court sent grain to relieve the famine. Thereafter, through the late 70s and in 84, there were dry spells and droughts. The misfortunes no doubt extended across the steppe, while the southerners maintained intermittent raiding against the north. Perhaps also as a consequence of internal quarrels, in 83 the chieftain Jiliusi led his 38,000 people, with twenty thousand horses and over a hundred thousand cattle and sheep, to surrender at the Wuyuan frontier.

In 84 the court at Luoyang accepted a request from the Northern Shanyu for permission to trade along the frontier, and a formal agreement was made. The Shanyu Chang, however, sent frequent raiding parties to intercept and plunder the traders.

In 85 another group of northern chieftains, led by Cheli and Zhuobing, brought a further 73,000 people to surrender. It was clear that the northern regime was in great difficulty: besides dry seasons and harassment from the southerners, they also suffered attacks from the Dingling people of the far north and, most seriously, from the turbulent Xianbi to their east. At the same time, their position among the oasis states of the Western Regions became increasingly tenuous.

The long-lived Shanyu Chang died at this time, and the final assaults against the north took place during the reigns of his successors Xuan and Tuntuhe. -HHS 89/79:2948-50; deC 84:251-264.

Chang Ba 昌霸 *i.e.* Chang Xi 昌猗. -SGZ Shu 2:875.

Chang [Boxian] 常伯先; Henei. Father of Chang Lin, his personal name is not known. -SGZ 23:658.

Chang Chong 常冲. About 68 Chang Chong was Minister of Finance. Together with his outspoken colleagues Sun Kan and Zhou Ze, he received a special reward from Emperor Ming. -HHS 79/69B:2578.

Chang Feng 常豐. In 89 Chang Feng was sent out as a Commissioner in Plain Clothes 微服使者 to gather popular songs and assess the customs and feelings of the people. [*Cf.* Special Commissioners clad in Embroidered Garments 繡衣直指, who had held high censorial powers under Former Han: Bn 80:9-10.] Chang Feng and a colleague came to the residence of Li He in Hanzhong, who told them he had learnt of their mission from the stars. Three years later, when Chang Feng became Administrator of Hanzhong, he appointed Li He to his staff.

When the General-in-Chief Dou Xian took a wife, local offices sent congratulatory gifts. Li He objected that the Dou clan were unworthy and dangerous, but Chang Feng insisted the present must be sent, though he did agree to put Li He in charge of its delivery. Li He went very slowly, and before he reached Luoyang Dou Xian had been destroyed. As Emperor He dismissed all officials who had any dealings with the fallen leader, Chang Feng was one of the few to escape disgrace. In gratitude, he nominated Li He as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHS 82/72A:2717-18 [Chang Feng's name is given by HHSJJ at 2987 Hui Dong quoting a Secondary Biography of Li He].

Chang Gao 常高; Shu. Son of Chang Yuan, Chang Gao became a county magistrate. -HYGZ 11:186.

Chang Gui 長貴 see Ren Gui 任貴.

Chang Hong 常閔; Shu. Son of Chang Yuan, Chang Hong was Administrator of Hanzhong and of Guanghan. -HYGZ 11:186.

Chang Ji 紀常, the Lady; Shu. Daughter of Chang Qia, the Lady was married to the Excellency Zhao Qian [described as Zhao Hou "the marquis Zhao" but see HYGZ/JBT 552-53]. Zhao Qian died in 192, and her father was killed in 195. People admired her fine bearing in such circumstances. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Chang Liang 常良; Shu. A county magistrate, Chang

Liang was the father of the devoted widow Chang Yuan. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Chang Lin 常林 [Bohuai 伯槐]; Henei. Chang Lin's family was poor, but when he was aged seven an associate of his father came to call. Referring to Chang Lin's father by his style, Boxian, he asked if he was in, and then expressed surprise that Chang Lin did not bow. Chang Lin replied, however, that it was inappropriate for anyone to refer to a father by his style to his son, and he did not deserve the courtesy of a bow. He was admired for his sense of pride. [A similar anecdote is told of Sima Lang at the age of nine.]

Despite the family's humble circumstances, Chang Lin was a keen scholar. He carried a copy of the classics with him as he worked in the fields, and when his wife came out with his food, he would greet her with full courtesy.

Early in 190, as the self-appointed Administrator Wang Kuang raised troops for the alliance against Dong Zhuo, he sent officers into the various counties to check on any of the local officials or people who might have committed some offence; they were to be forced to redeem themselves by the surrender of their property, and any slow who were to respond would bring destruction upon their family. The officers reported an uncle of Chang Lin for beating one of his retainers, Wang Kuang ordered his arrest, and the whole clan was frightened. Chang Lin, however, went to Humu Biao, a fellow-countryman of Wang Kuang and a kinsman by marriage. He argued that a show of leniency would encourage good will among the people and strengthen his cause. Humu Biao accordingly wrote to Wang Kuang, and Wang Kuang indeed pardoned Chang Lin's uncle.

Chang Lin now left the territory and went into the hills of Shangdang, where he established a farm. When there was drought and a plague of locusts, Chang Lin was the only person able to obtain a harvest, but he divided his produce with his neighbours.

It appears that by this time Chang Lin was recognised as a leader of his clan and had gathered a number of followers. In 191 he led his people to help Chen Yan, a former Administrator of Henei, who was under attack from the fighting man Zhang Yang. The force he brought with him was evidently of some value, while Chang Lin himself acted as adviser to Chen Yan. They defied Zhang Yang's troops over a two months siege, and the assailants eventually withdrew, leaving

the defence intact.

About 200 Gao Gan, Inspector of Bing province in the service of Yuan Shao, recommended Chang Lin as a Commandant of Cavalry. He would not accept the appointment, but in 206 the new appointee Liang Xi recommended Chang Lin and other leading men to Cao Cao, and they all became county magistrates. Chang Lin was first stationed in Julu, where he governed most effectively, and he was later Administrator of Boling and then Inspector of You province.

In 211 Cao Pi was appointed Gentleman of the Household and associate to his father as Imperial Chancellor, and Chang Lin came to the capital as his Officer of Merit. That same year, when Cao Pi was left in formal charge at Ye city while Cao Cao was on campaign in the west, there was a rebellion in the northeast led by Tian Yin and Su Bo of Hejian. Cao Pi wanted to attack them in person, but Chang Lin persuaded him that they posed no long-term threat and that it would be unwise to strip the capital of a substantial force when the main army was away. Cao Pi therefore sent a lesser force under Jia Xin, and the rebels were swiftly crushed.

Soon afterwards Chang Lin was sent out as Administrator of Pingyuan, and he then became Commandant of the eastern division of Cao Cao's enlarged fief of Wei. Returning to the capital, he joined Cao Cao's staff as Imperial Chancellor, and in 213 he was appointed to the newly-established Secretariat of Wei.

As Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, Chang Lin was enfeoffed, and as Minister Steward he was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele when Cao Pi took the imperial title. Raised in fief, he continued to hold high office under Cao Rui, and was always treated with respect by Sima Yi. When he died at the age of eighty-three he was granted posthumous honours and buried with the rites of an Excellency. -*SGZ* 23:658-60*, *LS* 19:4a; Goodman 98: 197.

Chang Michang 常靡常, the Lady; Shu. Daughter of Chang Zhongshan, the Lady was married to Yin Zhongsun. An epidemic devastated the household, and only the eighteen-year-old Lady Chang survived. Pregnant at the time, she carried out the funeral rites and then reared her son to maintain her late husband's lineage. -*HYGZ* 10A:140.

Chang Nu 萇奴. In 196 Chang Nu was a general of Yuan Shu. As Emperor Xian returned to the east early

that year, Cao Cao sent his cousin Cao Hong to meet him. Dong Cheng, one of the leaders of the escort, resisted this approach, and Chang Nu joined him against Cao Hong. -*SGZ* 1:13.

Chang Qia 常洽 see Chang Xia 常洽.

Chang Shao 常少. Minister of Ceremonies under the claimant imperial regime of Gongsun Shu, he joined his colleague Zhang Long, Minister of the Household, in urging their master to acknowledge Emperor Guangwu of Han. As Gongsun Shu insisted upon his claim, the two men are said to have died of grief – surely a euphemism for enforced suicide. None of Gongsun Shu's officials dared raise the question again.

The dating of this is uncertain. *HYGZ* says that the discussion took place in 35, after Guangwu had begun his final campaign and sent a letter calling on Gongsun Shu to surrender. The text, however, is corrupt, and the incident probably took place in 30, when it appears that Lai Xi and Ma Yuan came on an embassy. See *HYGZJBTZ*:335.

After the destruction of Gongsun Shu at the end of 36, Guangwu gave Chang Shao and Zhang Long posthumous recognition as ministers of his own court, and arranged their re-entombment with appropriate honours. -*HHS* 13/3:542-44, *HYGZ* 5:68-69.

Chang Wu 昌務. Leader of a group of bandits, in the early 190s he attacked Pengcheng and drove the king, Liu He, into Dong commandery. Chang Wu was later eliminated and Liu He was able to return. -*HHS* 50/40:1672.

Chang Xi 昌豨 (d.206). Leader of a group of bandits based on Mount Tai, he supported Lü Bu against Cao Cao but surrendered when Lü Bu was destroyed. In 199 he allied with Liu Bei but was defeated, and in 201 he surrendered again to Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan in Donghai.

In 206 Chang Xi rebelled once more, and this time he was attacked by Cao Cao's general Yu Jin. After a short siege he surrendered. Chang Xi had old acquaintance with Yu Jin, and Yu Jin's officers proposed he be sent to Cao Cao. Yu Jin, however, pointed out Cao Cao's rule: no pardon for an enemy who surrenders only after he has been surrounded. Despite their past connection, therefore, he killed Chang Xi. -*SGZ* 17:523.

Chang Xia 常洽 [Maoni 茂尼] (d.195); Shu. Inspector of Jing province in the 180s, Chang Xia was then Intendant of Jingzhao, and in 195 he was a Palace

Attendant to Emperor Xian in the power of Li Jue at Chang'an.

As the emperor began his escape to the east, Chang Xia took part in his escort as a colonel in the Northern Army. He was killed in the fighting on the road. -SGZ 6:184, *HYGZ* 10A:135.

Chang Yi 常翊 [Mengyuan 孟元] of Shu was an Imperial Clerk. -*HYGZ* 12:213.

Chang Yuan 常元, the Lady; Shu. Daughter of Chang Liang, the Lady married Bian Bin of Guanghan. When he died young the couple had no children, but the Lady cared for his kin. Her parents wanted her to marry again, but the Lady took a knife, dedicated it to her chastity, and stabbed herself. -*HYGZ* 10A:140.

Chang Yuan 常員/原; Shu. In the late second century, Chang Yuan served as Administrator of Zangke and of Yongchang. -*HYGZ* 4:60[員], 11:186 [原]: the personal names are written differently, but they surely refer to the same man.

Chang [Zhongshan] 常仲山 of Shu was the father of the Lady Chang Michang. -*HYGZ* 10A:140. This man's surname may have been Mi 靡: see *sub* the Lady Mi Chang.

Chang'an, Lady of 長安君 see the Lady Xuan 宣, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan.

Chao Hanjiang 晁漢薑/疆 [Chanbo 產伯]; Hanzhong. A staff officer to the Administrator Wang Sheng in 148, Chao Hanjiang was a joint sponsor of a stele celebrating the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges and honouring his master's fellow-countryman Yang Huan, who had urged its repair. -*LS* 4:5a.

Chao Kan 巢堪 [Zilang 次朗]; Taishan. In 85 Chao Kan was Minister of Ceremonies when Emperor Zhang raised the possibility of developing new rituals. The Academician Cao Bao was very keen, but Chao Kan argued that it was too great a task for one person, and the emperor was compelled to recognise the difficulty he would face in obtaining consensus among officials.

In 98 Chao Kan was promoted Excellency of Works. He left office in 102. -*HHS* 35/25:1202, 4:185-90.

Che Cheng 車成 [Ziwei 子威]; Liang. During the troubles at the beginning of Later Han, Che Cheng's brother Endu was captured by Red Eyebrows, who intended to eat him. Che Cheng went to offer himself as replacement, but the bandits had pity and let them go. -*HHS* 39/29:1300, *XC* 2:4b. [*Cf. sub* Ni Meng and Zhao Xiao.]

Che Endu 車恩都 see *sub* Che Cheng 車成. -*XC* 2:4b.

Che Yu 車嫗; Kuaiji. As an elderly man in the early first century, Che Yu was well treated by Chen Ao. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1325.

Che Zhang 車章; Liang. Che Zhang became Officer of Merit in his native county. The magistrate Huang Gong suffered a false accusation, but Che Zhang was convinced of his innocence. When he was required to prepare the documentation, he cut off the fingers of his left hand and refused to speak. He died in prison [but the text may be corrupt]. -*XC* 7:13a [and *cf.* Xiang Song].

Che Zhou 車胄 (d.199). Inspector of Xu province for Cao Cao, Che Zhou was killed by Liu Bei. -*SGZ* 1:18, 14:428, *SGZ* Shu 2:875.

Cheli 車利; Xiongnu. A chieftain of the Northern Xiongnu, in 85 he came to the frontiers with his colleague Zhuobing and other leaders, bringing a total of 73,000 people to surrender. -*HHS* 89/79:2950.

Che'niu 車紐; Xiongnu. Chieftain of the Goulong 句龍 clan of the Southern Xiongnu, based in Yunzhong and Dingxiang, in the early summer of 140 he and his colleague Wusi rose in rebellion. Moving west into Xihe, they gained the support of Yiti, Worthy King of the Right, then led eight thousand men in raids across the north of the Ordos. The General of the Liao Ma Xu brought an army of twenty thousand men, including Qiang, Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries, but though the rebels were forced back they continued to plunder the countryside. Under pressure from the official Chen Gui, moreover, the Southern Shanyu Xiuli committed suicide, together with his brother and heir the Worthy King of the Left.

The traditional lineage of the Shanyu was thus left in limbo, and in the autumn Che'niu claimed the vacant title, though Wusi was evidently dominant in their partnership. Avoiding direct combat, Ma Xu sought to persuade individual rebels to surrender, and the Worthy King Yiti did return to his allegiance. This was of small consequence, for supporters of Wusi and Che'niu were now numbered in the tens of thousands, and they had links with the Qiang and the Wuhuan. They defeated the local troops of Shang commandery and raided south into the Wei valley, while their influence extended from Bing southwest into Liang province, east into You, and even across the Taihang ranges to the North China plain. The

imperial government was obliged to withdraw the administration of Xihe and Shang commanderies to the south, and combine Shuofang into Wuyuan, where a remnant civilian regime was guarded by the garrison under Ma Xu.

In the winter at the end of 140 the Emissary Zhang Dan, aided by militia from You province and Wuhuan auxiliaries, defeated the rebels in Yanmen. They killed three thousand of the enemy, captured many more alive, and seized vast quantities of cattle and sheep and military equipment. Wusi escaped but Che'niu surrendered. He is not heard of again. -HHS 89/79:2960-62.

Chen 陳, the Lady I; Wei. Brought as a singing girl to the court of Liu Hong, King of Le'an, she received his favours and in 138 she bore him a son, Liu Zuan. In 145 Liu Zuan was chosen as emperor, and Liu Hong's fief was changed to the larger territory of Beihai. The Lady's son, the young Emperor Zhi, died in 146 and Liu Hong died in 147; the Lady Chen received only the empty style of Great Lady 大家.

In 175, as the result of a petition to Emperor Ling urging acknowledgement of her status as the mother of an emperor, together with that of the Lady Yu, the mother of Emperor Chong, the Lady was recognised as consort 妃 to Liu Hong. -HHS 10B:441.

Chen 陳, the Lady II. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Gan/Lang, but died when he was aged three *sui*. -SGZ 20:586.

Chen 陳, the Lady III bore a daughter to Sun Jian. -SGZ Wu 16:1399; deC 90:86.

Chen 陳, the Lady IV. Wife of Wei Ji, she became the mother of Wei Quan 瓘, Excellency under the Jin dynasty. -JS 36:1055.

Chen 陳 [personal name unknown]; Shu. As a magistrate in Jianwei about 130, he governed well and received particular praise for his improvements to the road network. -LX 4:4b-6b.

Chen 陳 [personal name unknown]; Runan. As Chancellor of Lu, he set up a stele in honour of Kong Bao *q.v.* -Nagata 94:272.

Chen 陳 [personal name unknown]. As Chancellor of Lu, he set up a stele to a local deity. -SJZ 25:4b.

Chen Ao 陳囂 [Zigong 子公]; Kuaiji. When he was a boy Chen Ao went fishing in the river outside his town. He caught a fish, but it was stolen. Hiding in bushes, Chen Ao saw the robber hide the fish. He then retrieved it, and went to give it to the thief. The

man was embarrassed and refused, and he never stole again.

One night Chen Ao's neighbour Ji Bo moved their dividing fence to encroach on some of his land. Chen Bo saw him, but quietly moved the fence another ten feet in his property. Ji Bo was so ashamed that he restored the correct line, then added a further twelve feet to Chen Ao's holding. When the Administrator heard of this, he named their village a model of honourable conduct.

At the age of seventy Chen Ao was a Palace Counsellor. When he attended court the emperor received him with the courtesy due to a teacher, allowing him to use a stick, not to hasten, and not to announce his name [similar privileges had been awarded to the great minister Xiao He of Former Han, and see deC 96:434]. Because of ill health he asked to retire, but he died while still a Counsellor.

During the early 190s Yu Fan discussed the local worthies of Kuaiji with the Administrator Wang Lang. He praised Chen Ao for his ability to reform people by example, and mentioned also his fine treatment of the elderly Che Yu. -XC 7:2b-3a, SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Chen Ba 陳巴 miswritten for Chen Si 陳巳 of Hanzhong. -HYGZ 12:233.

Chen Bao 陳褒. A member of the Imperial Secretariat, in 102 Chen Bao was commissioned by Emperor He to investigate a charge of witchcraft which had been laid against his Empress Yin. With the senior eunuch Zhang Shen, he interrogated the Empress and her grandmother the Lady Deng Zhu in the harem Prison of the Lateral Courts. They obtained confessions; the Empress was deposed, and while she and some kinsmen died, others were exiled. -HHS 10A:417. This is probably the same man as immediately below.

Chen Bao 陳褒 [Boren 伯仁 or Zhongren 仲仁]; Lujiang. From Minister of the Guards in the winter of 120 Chen Bao was appointed Excellency of Works. He was dismissed in 122 following portents of an earthquake, widespread rain and storms, though Chen Zhong of the Imperial Secretariat complained that such procedure weakened the essential authority of the Excellencies, heads of the imperial service. -HHS 5:231-35, 46/36:1565. This is probably the same man as immediately above.

Chen Bao 陳寶. According to Latter Biographies of Worthy Women 列女後傳, cited by Hui Dong in HHSJJ 84/74:3080, the Yellow Turban bandit Chen

Bao attempted to rape and then killed the Lady Lü Rong *q. v.*

Chen Bao 陳寶 or Chen Shi 實 [Shengxian 盛先]; Ba. Grandson of Chen Cheng and great-grandson of Chen Shan, Chen Bao maintained the family tradition of strict conduct and honesty. During the 190s he was Headquarters Officer to Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province, and was celebrated throughout the west. - *HHS* 51/41:1686, *HYGZ* 10B:147, 12:218.

Chen Bao 陳寶. After Sun Ce had established himself in Danyang in 196 he sent his officer Chen Bao to bring his mother, the Lady Wu, and his brothers from Yuan Shu's territory north of the Yangzi. - *SGZ* Wu 1: 1104-05.

Chen Bin 陳斌; Runan. In the course of an investigation about 140 Chen Bin was examined by the county officer Wang Ziyou, and died under torture. He was later avenged by his nephew Chen Gongsi. - *FSTY* 3f:107-08.

Chen Bing 陳秉. A eunuch Regular Attendant in 126, Chen Bing was among those who were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu, primarily for involvement in the failed attempt of the Yan clan to keep Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, from the throne in the previous year. He and his fellows were eventually dismissed. - *HHS* 58/48:1870.

Chen [Bojing] 陳伯敬; Runan. In the time of Emperor Huan, Chen Bojing was known as a man of extreme caution: always walking and sitting correctly; never eating the flesh of any animal he had set eyes upon; and avoiding inauspicious days and omens when he travelled. When he was old, however, he aided his son-in-law to escape arrest on some charge, and the Administrator Shao Kui killed him. People of that time became doubtful whether such strict observance of superstition was any use. - *HHS* 46/36:1546.

Chen [Bosi] 陳伯思; Guanghan. Chen Bosi was interested in techniques for acquiring immortality, but was dissuaded by his aunt, the Lady Chen Huiqian. - *HYGZ* 10C:172.

Chen Ce 陳策; Lujiang. A hills bandit about 200, he was defeated by Cao Cao's forces with advice from Liu Ye. - *SGZ* 14:444.

Chen Cha 陳察; Yingchuan. *XTS* 71B:2334 says that Chen Cha was a son of Chen Heng.

Chen Chang 陳常 [Junyuan 君淵]. A filial son who cared for his mother, Chen Chang would work in the fields during the day and study at night. - *XC* 7:11a.

Chen Chao 陳超 (d.191). An Assistant Officer of Yi province based in Jianwei, in 191 Chen Chao raised troops to join the insurrection of the Administrator Ren Qi against the Governor Liu Yan, who was establishing a personal regime. Their forces were defeated, and both Ren Qi and Chen Chao were killed. - *SGZ* Shu 1:867.

Chen Chen 陳諶 [Jifang 季方]; Yingchuan. Son of Chen Shi and younger brother of Chen Ji, Chen Chen was noted like them for fine qualities. Known as the Three Lords 三君, they were admired for the many times they were invited to office. [*XTS* 71B:2334 mentions four other sons of Chen Shi, brothers of Chen Ji and Chen Chen: Kui, Xia, Xiu and Guang.]

Chen Chen eventually became a clerk in the offices of the Excellency of Works, but he died comparatively young, probably before his father. After Chen Shi's death in 187 the Inspector of Yu province had portraits of Chen Shi, Chen Ji and Chen Chen sent throughout his territory as an inspiration to public morality.

Shishuo xinyu has a number of anecdotes concerning Chen Chen. - *HHS* 62/52:2069; Mather 76: 503.

Chen Cheng 陳澄; Ba. Son of Chen Shan, he was celebrated for his honesty. On account of his father's reputation among the Qiang people of the region, Chen Cheng was appointed Administrator of Hanzhong. - *HHS* 51/41:1686, *HYGZ* 2:16 & 12:218.

Chen Chi 陳熾; Runan. A client of Yang Tong, Chancellor of Pei, when his patron died in 168 Chen Chi arranged for a stele to be erected at the family tomb-site in honour of Yang Tong's grandfather, the Excellency Yang Zhen, and his notable descendants. - *LS* 12:3b.

Chen Chong 陳寵 [Zhaogong 昭公] (d.106); Pei. Son of Chen Gong, Chen Chong followed the family tradition of learning in the law. When he was young he was a local officer in both the commandery and the province, and about 75 he was appointed to the office of the Excellency Bao Yu.

At that time clerks in the offices were concerned primarily with their own interests and paid small attention to matters of government. Chen Chong, however, frequently offered advice on current affairs and Bao Yu, impressed with his ability, appointed him to the bureau responsible for litigation. His decisions were well received and he then compiled seven chapters of *Cisong bi* 辭訟比 "Precedents for [Civil]

Cases," so that judges could make decisions in parallel matters without having to refer to higher authority. His work was presented by Bao Yu, endorsed as an official model, and vastly decreased the backlog of cases.

After a number of intermediate posts, Chen Chong joined the Imperial Secretariat about 76. He urged the new Emperor Zhang to simplify and relax the harsh regulations inherited from the past, and wide-ranging reforms were put in place. In 84, moreover, it was ordered that capital punishments should be applied only in the first month of winter, not during the whole season. When a drought occurred, some officials claimed this was because the new measure was unduly restricting the force of *yin*, responsible both for death and for dampness. They urged that executions should be carried out through the three winter months, but Chen Chong argued that there had been droughts before, even when all the winter was utilised [Hulsewé 55:106]. The reform was maintained, and the emperor presented Chen Chong with an inscribed sword.

Chen Chong was a strict man, concerned with his duties as an official, and was respected for the manner in which he exercised them without fear or favour. When the Empress's brother Dou Xian recommended Zhang Lin for appointment to the Secretariat, Emperor Zhang asked Chen Chong's opinion; he replied that although Zhang Lin was a clever man, he was also greedy and corrupt. Dou Xian was furious, and Zhang Lin did enter the Secretariat, but he was later punished for bribery.

After Emperor Zhang died in 88, Dou Xian dominated the regency government. He planned revenge on Chen Chong but Bao De, son of Chen Chong's former patron Bao Yu, interceded on his behalf with Dou Xian's brother Xiang, and Chen Chong was able to leave the capital as Administrator of Taishan.

Chen Chong was later sent as Administrator to Guanghan, where there were powerful families, local officials who were greedy and corrupt, and a great number of legal disputes. With the aid of his trusted local officers Wang Huan and Xin Xian, Chen Chong restored order and the disputes vanished. He also ended a noisy haunting in the south of the city by giving proper burial to the bones of those who had been killed in earlier troubled times.

When Dou Xian returned from his victory over the Northern Xiongnu in 92, all officials were instructed to send congratulations and gifts. Chen Chong and his

colleagues Zhang Zhen and Ying Shun refused to take part in this flattery, and as Dou Xian was destroyed by Emperor He soon afterwards, the three recusants were rewarded: Chen Chong became Minister of Finance.

Appointed Minister of Justice in 94, he recommended on a number of difficult cases, humanely but in accord with regulations, and the emperor accepted all his proposals. Chen Chong then proposed a full reform and codification of the law, to bring the number of offences back to those recorded in the *Classic of History*. Before this could be considered, however, it was found that an officer of the Imperial Prison at the ministry had made improper contact with a prisoner. Chen Chong was formally responsible. Spared punishment by a special edict, he was transferred to the Secretariat and later appointed Minister Herald.

Chen Chong was respected for his classical learning and fine conduct, for revising and clarifying procedures and for distinguished service in many senior offices. In 104 he became Excellency of Works; he died in that office two years later. -HHS 46/36:1547-55*, XC 2: 11a-b, HQ 1:21a-b.

Chen Chong 陳充 [Guangshi 廣世]; Nanyang. A gentleman cadet, in 156 Chen Chong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Chen Chu 陳楚; Pei. A modest man, Chen Chu was a Consultant under Emperor Guangwu. -XC 7:8b-9a.

Chen Cong 陳從 see Chencong 陳從.

Chen Cong 陳琮; Xiapi. Younger son of Chen Qiu, during the 190s Chen Cong was Administrator of Ruyin 汝陰, a new commandery established by Cao Cao from the county of that name in Runan. -HHS 56/46:1835.

Chen Da 陳達 (d.125). A eunuch Prefect of the Palace Gardens in the time of Emperor An, Chen Da became a close associate of the Empress Yan and her family. He obtained great influence at court and was promoted Regular Attendant.

When the Little Emperor Liu Yi died late in 125, Chen Da sought to assist the concealment of his death until a new selection could be made among other cadets of the imperial clan. At this time, however, the eunuch Sun Cheng led a coup to restore Liu Bao to the succession. As their first move, the conspirators attacked and killed Chen Da, Jiang Jing and other members of the rival party. -HHS 78/68:2514-15.

Chen Dan 陳耽 [Hangong 漢公] (d.185); Donghai. In

174 Chen Dan was raised from Minister of Ceremonies to be Grand Commandant, but left that office two years later and was again Minister of Ceremonies. At the end of 177 he became Excellency of Works, but again left office five months later.

In the winter of 181 Chen Dan was promoted a third time from Minister of Ceremonies, to be Excellency over the Masses. Soon afterwards an edict was issued that common songs and rhymes among the people should be checked in order to discover which officials were being criticised for abusing their trust. Chen Dan attempted to make an honest report, but his colleagues Xu Yu and Zhang Ji, influenced by the palace eunuchs, took bribes to protect their relatives, and instead made accusations against twenty-six worthy officials from distant and frontier commanderies. When these men came to the capital to protest, Chen Dan and the Consultant Cao Cao supported their claims, and Emperor Ling appointed all the appellants as Consultants.

A few weeks later Chen Dan again left office. Though he was admired for loyalty and honesty, his career demonstrates the frequency of change at the highest level of the bureaucracy, and its consequent weakness against the eunuchs. In 185, moreover, Chen Dan was slandered by the eunuchs. He was sent to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, which was under their control, and was tortured until he died. -*HHS* 57/47:1851.

Chen Dao 陳導; Guangling. Intendant of Henan about 175, Chen Dao joined in the erection of a stele at the temple of the ancient and worthy hermits Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 at Shouyang Mountain. -*SJZ* 5:3a.

Chen Dao 陳到 [Shuzhi 叔至]; Runan. Chen Dao joined Liu Bei when he was in Yu province during the mid-190s, and followed him thereafter. Noted for loyalty and courage, in the time of Liu Shan the Second Sovereign Chen Dao became Area Commander on the Yangzi Gorges, with rank as a general and enfeoffment as a marquis. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1084.

Chen De 陳德 [Bo? 伯?]. In 171 a stele was set up in honour of this former official. It survives now only in a fragmentary transcription. -*LHJSJ* 16:19b-22a.

Chen Deng 陳登 [Yuanlong 元龍]; Xiapi. Son of Chen Gui, Chen Deng was also a substantial scholar, with a high standard of morality and ability as a leader both in civil and military affairs. He became a magistrate in Guangling and in the early 190s Tao Qian appointed

him Colonel in Charge of Agriculture with general authority over farming colonies in Xu province. As Tao Qian died in 194 he made a death-bed wish that Liu Bei should succeed him as Governor, and Chen Deng was one of those who urged Liu Bei to accept.

After Liu Bei was defeated in 196, Chen Deng became a member of the provincial administration under Lü Bu, but in 197 he persuaded Lü Bu to send him as an envoy to the puppet court of Han at Xu city. There he agreed plans with Cao Cao to deal with Lü Bu, then went back and established himself as Administrator of Guangling. Chen Deng and his father Chen Gui concealed their true intentions, but when Cao Cao attacked Lü Bu in 198 Chen Deng brought troops to join him.

For his role in the destruction of Lü Bu, Chen Deng was given title as a general while still Administrator in Guangling. He put down piracy there, and was then engaged in a long campaign of intrigue and warfare against Sun Ce and then Sun Quan south of the Yangzi. He was eventually obliged to move north into Xiapi and abandon his positions along the Yangzi.

Some time after 200 Chen Deng was taken ill with severe stomach cramps. The celebrated doctor Hua Tuo gave him medicine and he vomited up several large worms. Hua Tuo warned him that the condition would recur and he would need similar treatment. This proved to be the case, but at that time Chen Deng was unable to consult Hua Tuo or any other good physician, and so he died. He was at that time aged thirty-nine *sui*.

In memory of Chen Deng's achievements, Cao Pi appointed his descendant Chen Su a gentleman cadet. -*SGZ* 7:229-31*, 29:801, Wu 1:1111, *HHS* 82/72B:2738, *XC* 3:8a; Ngo 76:120, DeWoskin 83:144.

Chen Diao 陳調 see Chen Tiao 陳調.

Chen Du 陳篤; Nanyang. Son of Chen Zhuanzhu, he succeeded to the family fief in Jiangxia. -*HHS* 18/8:691.

Chen Du 陳度 [Miaogao 妙高] (d.185); Chen. Two years after Chen Du's death, a stele was set up in his memory. The text of the inscription survives only in fragments. -*LS* 25:25a-b, *LX* 19:8b-9b.

Chen Duan 陳端 (d.184); Runan. In 184 Chen Duan was Registrar to the Administrator Zhao Qian. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out the commandery militia was defeated. Chen Duan and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though

they were all killed he was able to escape. An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527.

Chen Duan 陳端 [Zizheng 子正]; Guangling. During the late 190s Chen Duan and his fellow-countrymen Zhang Hong and Qin Song were advisers to Sun Ce. Chen Duan died about 200. -SGZ Wu 1:1104, Wu 8: 1247.

Chen Dun 陳敦; Donghai. In 169 Chen Dun was nominated as Knowing the Way. He came to court, responded to questions, and was appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 57/47:1858.

Chen Dun 陳敦 of Hanzhong; see Cheng Dun 程敦.

Chen Fan 陳蕃 [Zhongju 仲舉] (d.168); Runan. Chen Fan was born during the 90s. His father was a county magistrate and his grandfather became Administrator of Hedong, but the personal names of both men are unknown. At the age of fifteen Chen Fan was staying with his grandfather in Hedong when his father's friend Xue Qin came to visit. He observed that the courtyard of the residence was littered and overgrown, but Chen Fan replied that when a gentleman serves the government, his responsibility is to keep the whole empire clean and he has no time to care for his own house. Xue Qin recognised Chen Fan's fine ambitions and was deeply impressed.

Joining the commandery staff of Runan in the early 120s, Chen Fan served as a model to others and was later appointed Officer of Merit. In the early 130s he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet at the capital, but left when his mother died.

Chen Fan was later persuaded to take appointment as Attendant Officer to Zhou Jing the Inspector of Yu province, but then resigned because of disagreements. Though he was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies at the capital and was nominated Sincere and Upright, he refused in each case.

About 146, however, Chen Fan accepted a recommendation from the Grand Commandant Li Gu. He was appointed a Consultant, and then became Administrator of Le'an. The rigorous official Li Ying was Inspector of Qing province, and many heads of commanderies left office rather than face investigation, but Chen Fan remained with a clear conscience and a clear record. At the same time, he made a point of inviting the celebrated local gentleman

Zhou Qiu. Other administrators had done so before, without success, but Zhou Qiu called upon Chen Fan and they spoke to one another on intimate terms. On the other hand, Chen Fan demonstrated his ability to discern false pretences, notably by his rejection of the allegedly filial Zhao Xuan, who had bred five children while claiming to maintain twenty years' mourning for his parents.

Some time later the General-in-Chief Liang Ji sent a letter to Chen Fan with some request, but the messenger sought an audience under false pretences; Chen Fan was furious and had him flogged to death. He was demoted to be a magistrate in Henei, but soon afterwards transferred to the Imperial Secretariat in Luoyang.

About this time there was trouble from bandits in the hill country of Lingling and Guiyang. The senior officials recommended they be attacked, and also that a special recruitment of nominees for office be called from commandery and provincial officials. Chen Fan argued that military force was inappropriate against the common people, who should be regarded as the children of the emperor, while there were sufficient cadets and clerical officers at the capital to fill any necessary positions: the truly important matter was to check those in office and those who were appointed, to ensure they were of suitable quality. His arguments were against government policy at the time, and about 156 he was sent out to be Administrator of Yuzhang.

As soon as he arrived in his territory, even before entering his office, Chen Fan went to pay his respects to the local worthy Xu Zhi, invited him to become his Officer of Merit, and kept a special couch for him. Otherwise, however, considering the commandery only semi-civilised, he kept aloof and received few guests. The people were in awe of his high standards, and when he left office his farewell escort ventured with him only to the gates of the commandery city.

After the fall of Liang Ji in 159, Chen Fan returned to the capital and was appointed Director of the Imperial Secretariat under the personal government of Emperor Huan. He recommended Xu Zhi and four other scholars-recluse, Jiang Gong, Yuan Hong, Wei Zhu and Li Tan, but none would accept the imperial summons. Chen Fan then became Minister Herald, but was dismissed and sent back to his home country when he sought to defend the presumptuous magistrate Li Yun.

In the following year Chen Fan returned to the capital as a Consultant, and a few days later he was named Minister of the Household. He sent in a memorial protesting the great numbers of women in the imperial harem and against the numerous enfeoffments granted to relatives of the Empress Deng, particularly that of the emperor's personal friend Deng Wanshi. Some of the surplus women were sent away, while Deng Wanshi received a lesser fief than was originally intended.

In 163 Chen Fan repeated his strictures against the ruler's extravagance, this time criticising his hunting parties and the *corvée* labour required to support them. The memorial was rejected. At the same time, as minister in charge of the gentlemen at court, Chen Fan worked with his subordinate the General of the Household Huang Wan to review those nominated as cadets, and without concern for wealth or influence. Their policy offended the eunuchs and the imperial relatives by marriage of the Deng clan, and both men were dismissed. [*FSTY* 7:56 records two incidents when Chen Fan was harassed or treated discourteously by local officials.]

In 165, following the fall of the Empress Deng and the disgrace of a number of Emperor Huan's eunuch associates, Chen Fan again returned to office. He first became Deputy Director of the Secretariat, then a Palace Counsellor, and in the autumn he was appointed Grand Commandant, highest position of the bureaucracy. It is said that he sought to cede the honour to Hu Guang, Wang Chang or Li Ying, the last of whom was currently a convict, but the emperor insisted that he take the post.

It is probable that Chen Fan's elevation reflected the ruler's weakened political position and the pressure he was under from the reform party of gentry officials, and Chen Fan argued strongly that the well-born Lady Dou should be appointed as consort rather than the emperor's own favourite concubine Tian. The Lady Dou was duly made empress that winter, her father Dou Wu received honours and status at court, and about the same time Li Ying, long-time enemy of the eunuchs, became Director of Retainers and began a purge of the former favourites. As the reform party gathered strength, the students of the University and junior officers at the capital praised Chen Fan in the same terms as Li Ying and Wang Chang, and he held highest grading, with Dou Wu and the retiring official

Liu Shu, in the lists of popular heroes.

For his part, Chen Fan gave firm support to the fierce Chancellor of Donghai, Huang Fu, and the Administrator of Shanyang Zhai Zhao, who had been sentenced to convict service for their attacks on eunuchs and their followers. First in association with the Excellency Liu Mao, and then with a memorial of his own, he argued that though the men might have acted strictly outside the law, their fine intentions justified any excesses. The emperor rejected this, and the eunuchs for their part recognised Chen Fan as their enemy: they frequently had his recommendations rejected and had him reprimanded on several occasions. Though some of his clerical staff were punished, however, Chen Fan was too well known and popular for a direct attack.

When the First Faction Incident broke out in 166 Chen Fan attempted to halt the investigation of Li Ying and his associates, arguing that they were some of the most loyal men in the empire. Determined in his anger, however, Emperor Huan insisted the men be arrested, and when Chen Fan continued his protest he was dismissed on charges of having brought unworthy men to office. Dou Wu, father of the empress, praised him as one of the finest officials of the empire, but Chen Fan remained out of office until the death of Emperor Huan at the end of 167.

At the beginning of the following year, as the Empress Dou, now Dowager, took power as regent and Dou Wu became General-in-Chief, Chen Fan was appointed Grand Tutor to the young Emperor Ling and shared control of the Secretariat with Dou Wu and the Excellency Hu Guang; in practice he and Dou Wu controlled the government. On the other hand, while Dou Wu and his relatives, with Cao Jie and other eunuchs, took fiefs for themselves as reward for establishing the emperor, Chen Fan refused all such offers, on the grounds that his virtue and achievements were insufficient.

The new regime was greeted with joy and hope by the reform party, and the men formerly accused of Faction, including Li Ying, Du Mi, Yin Xun and Liu Yu, were brought back to office. Over the months which followed, however, the eunuchs regained their influence within the palace, and the Dowager began to accept their advice against that of her father and Chen Fan. A number of proposals were rejected, and the reformers became increasingly impatient. By the summer Chen Fan had persuaded Dou Wu to use the

portent of an eclipse to seek the expulsion of all senior eunuchs, and when the Dowager refused Guan Ba and Su Kang were individually arrested and put to death. In autumn, a movement of the planet Venus inspired Liu Yu to warn of further danger, and the reformers returned to the attack. Several more eunuchs were arrested, and Chen Fan and Dou Wu agreed upon a general purge of Cao Jie and his fellows.

On the night of 25 October, however, the eunuchs struck first. Killing their immediate opponents, they persuaded the young emperor there was a threat to his throne, and they forced the Secretariat to draw up orders for the arrest of Dou Wu and his supporters. Dou Wu withdrew to the camp of the Northern Army, where he was later faced down and killed by troops loyal to the eunuchs. Chen Fan, more directly, led eighty of his clerks against the Northern Palace. They fought their way as far as the entrance to the Secretariat, but there faced a troop of guards led by the eunuch Wang Fu. After a brief struggle the eighty-year-old minister was overpowered and killed.

As the eunuchs took control of the government, members of Chen Fan's family and household were exiled to the far south, and other kinsmen, clients, students and those who had served under him were dismissed and proscribed from office. Chen Fan's body was collected and buried by Zhu Zhen, who also saved his son Chen Yi at the cost of his own life. -*HHS* 66/56:2159-71*, *XC* 4:2b-5a; , Mather 76:504, deC 89:18-102.

Chen Feng 陳奉. Administrator of Wuling in 163, Chen Feng defeated a raid by the local non-Chinese people. -*HHS* 7:312, 86/76:2834.

Chen Feng 陳鳳. An officer of Liu Bei stationed by the Yangzi Gorges in Jing province, Chen Feng was attacked and captured by Lu Xun's forces in 219. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1345.

Chen Fu 陳副. About 24 Chen Fu was Registrar to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner to the north. When a boy of Liu Xiu's household offended the law, the disciplinary officer Zhai Zun investigated and executed him. Liu Xiu was furious, and had Zhai Zun arrested, but Chen Fu persuaded him that strict attention to the law was valuable to the new regime, and so Zhai Zun was pardoned and appointed as an inspector in the army.

At the beginning of 26 Chen Fu, now a Commandant of Cavalry, was sent with the general Deng Long

to summon Liu Yang, the discontented King of Zhending. Liu Yang barred his gates against them, but the imperial commissioner Geng Chun enticed Liu Yang and his kinsmen to a meeting and had them arrested and killed. -*HHS* 20/10:738, 21/11:763-64; Bn 59:122-123.

Chen Fu 陳浮; Nanyang. Son of Chen Jun, at the death of his father in 47 Chen Fu succeeded to his marquise in Pingyuan. In 54 the county was incorporated into the fief of Liu Kang, King of Ji'nan, and Chen Fu's fief was transferred to Jiangxia. -*HHS* 18/8:691.

Chen Gang 陳綱 [Zhongqing 仲卿]; Hanzhong. A man of family, Chen Gang studied in Nanyang, but returned home for his mother's funeral. When his colleague Zhang Zong was killed by a certain Liu Yuan, however, he left the mourning to return to Nanyang and avenge him. He then presented himself to the authorities, but there was an amnesty soon afterwards and he was released.

Chen Gang was promptly recommended as Abundant Talent by all the Excellencies at Luoyang. Appointed Administrator of Hongnong, he settled a family quarrel as soon as he arrived, and no further cases were brought to his court. After nine years in that office he died, and the imperial government granted 400,000 cash to his family. -*HYGZ* 10C:167.

Chen Gong 陳躬; Pei. Son of Chen Qin 欽, Chen Gong was a grandson of Chen Xian 咸, who was expert in the law of Former Han: *QHX*:30, 37. After the restoration of the dynasty Chen Gong became an officer in the Ministry of Justice, but died soon afterwards. -*HHS* 46/36:1548.

Chen Gong 陳恭; Jiangxia. During the 180s Chen Gong and his fellow-countryman Li Tong were leaders of fighting men operating in the area between the Yangzi and Runan commandery. A certain Zhou Zhi, who controlled another group, was seen as a rival, and Li Tong, despite Chen Gong's concerns, killed him. Chen Gong and Li Tong then killed Zhou Zhi's subordinate commanders and shared his followers between themselves.

Chen Gong was later killed by his brother-in-law Chen He, who took over his command, but Li Tong then attacked Chen He, killed him in turn, and combined his troops with his own. -*SGZ* 18:534-35.

Chen Gong 陳宮 [Gongtai 公臺] (d.198); Dong. In 192 Chen Gong was an officer under Cao Cao when Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province was killed by

Yellow Turbans. Himself a native of the province, he persuaded the local leaders to invite Cao Cao to become Governor.

In 194, ambitious and unsure of his favour, Chen Gong joined a plot against Cao Cao while he was engaged with Tao Qian in Xu province, inviting Lü Bu to take over Chen Gong became adviser to Lü Bu, but Lü Bu paid him small attention, and by the following year Cao Cao had retaken the province.

In 198 Cao Cao captured Lü Bu and Chen Gong at Xiapi. Cao Cao had been fond of Chen Gong: he killed him for his disloyalty, but looked after his family. - *SGZ* 1:9-10, 7:221-29, *HHS* 75/65:2446-52.

Chen Gongsì 陳公思; Runan. About 140 Chen Gongsì was a senior clerk in the commandery. Another clerk, Wang Ziyou, had formerly been a county official and in the course of an investigation he tortured and killed Chen Gongsì's uncle Chen Bin. As Chen Bin had no sons, Chen Gongsì felt obliged to avenge him, and he killed Wang Ziyou at a dinner. He then went to give himself up at the commandery offices, but the Administrator Hu Guang admired his sense of honour and allowed him to escape. - *FSTY* 3f:107-08.

Chen Guang 陳光. A Palace Attendant in 124, Chen Guang joined the group led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital to protest the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators achieved no success, but their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125, Chen Guang and his colleagues were rewarded with high office and were granted the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. - *HHS* 15/5:591-93.

Chen Guang 陳光; Yingchuan. One of six sons of Chen Shi, Chen Guang was a brother of Chen Ji and Chen Chen. - *XTS* 71B:2334.

Chen Gui 陳龜. In the time of Emperor An, Chen Gui was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. - *XC* 2:15a.

Chen Gui 陳龜 [Shuzhen 叔珍]; Shangdang. Several generations of Chen Gui's family served on the northern frontier, celebrated for their archery and horsemanship and for their bravery. Chen Gui himself was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and about 135 the General-in-Chief Liang Shang recruited him to his staff. He later became Administrator of Wuyuan.

When the Xiongnu chieftains Wusi and Che'niu rebelled in 140, the court sent a reprimand to the Shanyu Xiuli for failing to maintain order among his

people. The elderly Shanyu had no involvement with the rebellion, but his writ was of small moment to his nominal subjects. Xiuli duly paid a visit of apology to the Emissary Liang Bing, but Liang Bing left office soon afterwards and Chen Gui succeeded him.

Chen Gui took a stronger line, bullying the Shanyu. He presumably wanted to have the Xiongnu leadership play a more active role against the rebels, but Xiuli was humiliated and squeezed between the demands of the Chinese and his own weakness and lack of authority. Under such pressure the Shanyu committed suicide, together with his younger brother, the Worthy King of the Left, who would have inherited the throne; the traditional leadership of the Xiongnu thus fell into limbo. Chen Gui also attempted to have the Shanyu's close family and kinsmen move to the south, but this made the Xiongnu even more uncertain and encouraged the general unrest. Chen Gui was dismissed and sent to prison.

Returning to office later, Chen Gui became Intendant of Jingzhao. He used firm measures to restrain the powerful local families which had been oppressing poorer people, and he also had his officers care for the sick.

In 158 there was trouble along the frontier with the Southern Xiongnu, the Xianbi and the Wuhuan, and in the winter Chen Gui was sent back to the north as General on the Liao. In contrast to his former stance against the Shanyu Xiuli, he now presented an eloquent memorial in defence of the non-Chinese people. He observed that the land of the north was poor and barren, and there had been several years of flood and insect plagues. Besides this, the imperial administrators, emissaries and protectors who dealt with the non-Chinese were either insensitive or actively corrupt. He urged a purge of these officials, and greater leniency for the people.

His proposals were accepted, several men were dismissed, and the court authorised Chen Gui to grant a year's relief of taxation and labour service. As he carried out this program his authority was respected throughout the north, and he reduced official expenses to save billions of cash each year. We may observe that the military regime of the General on the Liao was now responsible for much of the administration on the frontier, including taxation and labour service, which were usually civilian concerns.

Despite, or perhaps because of Liang Shang's

former patronage of Chen Gui, his son Liang Ji had an old quarrel with him. Accusing him of having harmed the dignity of the state by his leniency, taking credit for other's achievements, and giving the Xiongnu no cause to respect him, he had Chen Gui recalled.

Chen Gui asked permission to retire from official life on the grounds of age, but he was appointed instead to the Imperial Secretariat. From that position he sent in an account of Liang Ji's wrongdoing and called for him to be executed. Emperor Huan was in no position to take action at that time, and Chen Gui knew Liang Ji would take revenge. He refused food for seven days and starved to death. We are told that all the non-Chinese and common people of the frontier and the Western Regions mourned him and offered sacrifice to his tomb. -*HHS* 51/41:1692-94*, 89/79:2960; deC 84:307-308, 89:4-7.

Chen Gui 陳規; Guanghan. Nephew of the Lady Chen Shunqian, Chen Gui wrote a commemorative work on her long life as a devoted widow. -*HYGZ* 10C:172.

Chen Gui 陳珪 [Hanyu 漢瑜]; Xiapi. A nephew of Chen Qiu and a cousin of Chen Yu, in the time of Emperor Ling Chen Gui was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Beihai. He left that post, but was nominated again as Abundant Talent, and became Chancellor of Jibei and then of Pei.

Chen Gui was an old acquaintance of Yuan Shu, and when Yuan Shu claimed the imperial title in 197 he took one of his sons as hostage and summoned him to join his court. Chen Gui refused. He also persuaded Lü Bu in Yan province to reject a marriage alliance, and had him attack Yuan Shu.

Chen Gui was similarly concerned about Lü Bu, and had his son Chen Deng make a secret agreement against him with Cao Cao. By the time Cao Cao came to the final attack in 198 Chen Gui had left active politics, but Chen Deng followed his plans. -*HHS* 56/46:1835, *XC* 3:8a, *SGZ* 7:229-30.

Chen He 陳郃. Brother-in-law of the fighting man Chen Gong, who operated in the region of Runan during the 180s, Chen He killed him and took over his command. Li Tong, an old associate of Chen Gong, attacked Chen He, killed him in turn, and combined his troops with his own. -*SGZ* 18:535.

Chen Heng 陳恆 (*fl.* 20?); Yingchuan. *XTS* 71B:2334 traces the descent of Chen Heng from Chen Zhen 軫, minister of the ancient state of Qin. Chen Heng is

described as a great-great-grandfather of Chen Shi, but no member of the lineage distinguished himself until the middle of the second century.

Chen Hong 陳弘/宏; Ba. Administrator of Shanggu, in 154 Chen Hong supported the report of Dan Wang the Administrator of Ba commandery, his homeland, on the difficulty of maintaining control over long distances, recommending that the commandery should be divided into smaller units. The court did not agree. -*HYGZ* 1:6.

Chen Huai 陳淮 see Cheng Huai 程淮.

Chen Huiqian 陳惠謙, the Lady; Guanghan. Younger sister of Chen Shunqian, the Lady married Zhang Liangze. When he was Administrator of Youfufeng there was a proposal to increase the regulations, but the Lady argued that it was more important to extend education and morality than to complicate the laws.

The Lady also dissuaded her nephew Chen Bosi from his interest in techniques for acquiring immortality, and her uncle Chen Ya praised her wisdom. -*HYGZ* 10C:172.]

Chen Huang 陳晃; Pei. Reporting Officer of his commandery in 175, Chen Huang joined the gentleman cadet Feng Guang in a proposal to alter the base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") of the current official calendar in order to accord with the apocrypha. Their arguments were forcefully opposed by the great scholar Cai Yong. -*HHS* 92/2:3037-42.

Chen Ji 陳紀 [Shanming 山名]. A celebrated judge of men, Chen Ji became Director of Retainers. -*HYGZ* 10B:144.

Chen Ji 陳箕; Runan. A local officer of Chen kingdom in 159, he arranged the erection of stele in praise of Chancellor Wang. -*LS* 20:12a-b.

Chen Ji 陳紀 [Yuanfang 元方]; Yingchuan. Son of Chen Shi and similarly celebrated for his virtues, Chen Ji was barred from office during the Great Proscription. He used the time to compile the *Chenzi* 陳子, a work which is now lost. It is said that he was among those who approved the extended mourning of the time, which involved men who were often only most marginally connected to the bereaved [*FSTY* 3:22].

When the Proscription ended in 184 Chen Ji received several invitations to the offices at the capital but refused all of them, and when his father died in 187 he collapsed, vomited blood and showed utmost physical distress. The Inspector of the province honoured this

conduct and had Chen Ji's portrait, together with that of his father Shi and his younger brother Chen, sent throughout his territory as an inspiration to public morality. [*Shishuo xinyu*, however, has a story in which the judge of character Guo Tai rejects Chen Ji's show of mourning when he found him wearing an embroidered cloth: Mather 76:276.]

In 188 Chen Ji was invited again, with a special summons and an official carriage sent by the General-in-Chief He Jin. He became a General of the Household, Palace Attendant at Luoyang and then Chancellor of Pingyuan. In 190 as he came to report to the regime under Dong Zhuo, he angered him by questioning the move of the capital to Chang'an; he was too distinguished for Dong Zhuo to harm. There was some talk of making him an Excellency, but Chen Ji foresaw the coming troubles and would not take the office.

Chen Ji returned to Pingyuan, but in 190 the Inspector Jiao He died, Yellow Turban rebels occupied much of the province, and the warlords Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan began to contest the territory. Unwilling to risk his people's lives in such a conflict, Chen Ji resigned his office and took refuge in Xu province. He was followed by many of the people, and he and his son Chen Qun later joined Lü Bu.

HHS 62/52 says that Chen Ji received an imperial letter naming him Minister Coachman. His memorial stele does not mention this, but says that he persuaded Lü Bu to break his alliance with Yuan Shu in 197, and as a reward the court named him Director of the Secretariat. *HHS* 62/52 agrees about that office, but makes no mention of his involvement with the failed alliance, while the biography of Lü Bu in *SGZ* 7:224, ascribes the advice to Chen Gui. The confusion cannot be resolved. Again, *HHS* 62/52 and Xie Cheng say that Yuan Shao offered to cede his title as Grand Commandant to Chen Ji, presumably in 196, but Chen Ji refused; this seems unlikely, for Chen Ji was at that time still with Lü Bu.

When Cao Cao destroyed Lü Bu in 198, he appointed both Chen Ji and Chen Qun to office. Chen Ji became Minister Herald at the Han court under Cao Cao, but died in the following year.

During his short time with Cao Cao, Chen Ji put forward a proposal to restore mutilating punishments in place of flogging. In the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han, mutilation had been commuted to

strokes of the bastinado, but though the change had been intended well, those who suffered such beatings very often died; simple execution was in practice kinder. Chen Ji's arguments were not accepted. -*HHS* 62/52:2067-68* & *JJ* at 2247-48 Shen Qinhan quoting the stele inscription by Handan Chun *q.v.* preserved in *Gujin yuan* 古今苑 [this more contemporary source is preferable to the biography in *HHS*], *XC* 3:12b-13a, *SGZ* 22:634, *JS* 30:921; Mather 76:503, deC 96:458. *Shishuo xinyu* has several anecdotes describing Chen Ji's intelligence.

Chen Ji 陳基 see Cheng Ji 程基.

Chen Ji 陳奇 see Chen Qi 陳奇.

Chen Jian 陳簡 see Chen Lan 陳蘭. -*HHS* 75/65:2443; deC 96:250.

Chen Jianqing 陳堅卿; Cangwu. Son of Chen Yuan 元, Chen Jianqing was a noted scholar, presumably following his father's interests in the Old Text school of *Zuo zhuan*. -*HHS* 36/26:1235.

Chen Jiao 陳矯 (*fl.* 25) see Chen Qiao 陳矯.

Chen Jiao 陳矯 [Jibi 季弼] (d.237); Guangling. About 190 Chen Jiao fled the troubles in his native commandery and took refuge in Xiapi. He received invitations to office from both Yuan Shu and Sun Ce, but returned to Guangling and became Officer of Merit to the Administrator Chen Deng.

Having been on several missions to Cao Cao at Xu city, Chen Jiao was appointed to the offices of the Excellencies some time after 200. He became a county magistrate in Pei, served on the staff of Cao Ren in Jing province, and was later head of Pengcheng commandery in the southeast, then of the newly-established Leling 樂陵 near the mouth of the Yellow River.

In 213 Chen Jiao was named Commandant of the Western Region of Wei commandery, enlarged to serve as Cao Cao's ducal fief. Promoted to Administrator, he simplified the laws and applied them more humanely. On one occasion a man was arrested for sacrificing an ox as an offering on behalf of his sick father. He was liable to execution for such extravagance, but Chen Jiao noted that his fault was caused by filial piety, and let him go.

Joining Cao Cao's personal staff, Chen Jiao accompanied him on campaign against Liu Bei in Hanzhong in 219, then entered the Imperial Secretariat. When Cao Cao died at Luoyang in 220 Chen Jiao aided the succession of Cao Pi, then took part in the

process which led to the abdication of Han in favour of Wei. He was enfeoffed and became Director of the Secretariat, serving Cao Pi and Cao Rui, under which latter he achieved great influence. He died in office as Excellency over the Masses. -SGZ 22:642-44*; Mather 76:504.

SGZ 22:644 PC quotes the *Weishi chunqiu* by Sun Sheng of the fourth century saying that Chen Jiao was born into the Liu surname, but was adopted out. He later married a woman of his birth-clan. His fellow-countryman Xu Xuan disapproved of this on moral grounds, and Chen Jiao was threatened with prosecution. Cao Cao, however, issued an ordinance to pardon all such cases which antedated the year 200.

Chen Jie 陳戒 miswritten for Chen Shi 陳式. -Fang 52:300.

Chen Jin 陳禁 [Ziya 子雅]. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat, Chen Jin was treated with tolerance and favour by the emperor. -XC 7:9a.

Chen Jin 陳覲 see Cheng Jin 程覲.

Chen Jing 陳景 (d.148); Chen. In 148 Chen Jing styled himself the son of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝子 [a variant edition has 皇帝子 "son of an emperor," but this appears less likely]. Chen Jing and his colleague Guan Bo set up a rebel government, but they were swiftly destroyed. -HHS 7:293.

Chen Jiu 陳就 (d.208). An officer under Huang Zu, Chen Jiu commanded a squadron of his fleet on the Yangzi. During the final assault by Sun Quan's forces, Chen Jiu was sent out on a sortie, but he was defeated and killed by Lü Meng. -SGZ Wu 9:1273.

Chen Jun 陳俊 [Zizhao 子昭] (d.47); Nanyang. Chen Jun studied for a time at Chang'an when he was young, then held local office in his home commandery. As the Han rebellion broke out against Wang Mang, Chen Jun joined up and was appointed Chief Clerk to Liu Jia, a general of the Gengshi Emperor.

In 24 Liu Jia sent Chen Jun with a letter of recommendation to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at that time commissioner in the north, and Liu Xiu took him onto his staff. He joined the campaigns against the Bronze Horse bandits north of the Yellow River and the Red Eyebrows in Dong commandery, and he was appointed a lieutenant-general commanding an elite unit of crossbowmen. In one engagement with the Wuxiao bandits in Bohai, Chen Jun dismounted to fight hand-to-hand. None could stand against him, he led the pursuit for ten kilometres and came back with

the enemy chieftain's head. Liu Xiu watched from afar and remarked with admiration, "If all my officers were like that, I would have no problems!"

The Wuxiao retreated north into Yuyang, but plundered as they went. Chen Jun suggested light horsemen be sent to overtake them, to warn of their approach and encourage the local people to prepare defences. Liu Xiu approved the plan and gave command of this advance guard to Chen Jun. As a result, the bandits found that the people were either ready to defend themselves or had gone into hiding, leaving nothing for them to take. They scattered and were defeated in detail.

Chen Jun was promoted to full general, and when Liu Xiu took the throne in 25 he enfeoffed him as a marquis. Soon afterwards Chen Jun accompanied Jing Dan and Geng Yan to seize the Ao Granary in Henan. Defeating the local warlord Liu Mao, they forced his surrender, then dealt with his renegade troops. So the way was opened to Luoyang and Chang'an.

At the beginning of 26 Chen Jun was sent against bandits in Chenliu. He restored order in four counties there, and settled three more in Dong commandery. His fief was changed to a county in Zhongshan and in the autumn, on the recommendation of the Grand Marshal Wu Han, he was sent to suppress the Jinmen and Boma bandits in the hills of Henei.

In 28 Chen Jun was sent southeast to deal with another group of rebels on the upper Huai River in the south of Runan, and he then marched north and east across the Ru and Ying Rivers into Taishan. Though the account in his biography is summary, the campaign extended five hundred kilometres diagonally across the southern plain, and represented a major accession of territory to imperial control.

At this time the leading men of Taishan were active supporters of the Shandong warlord Zhang Bu. Wu Han persuaded Emperor Guangwu that Chen Jun was the one man who could bring them to accept his rule. Chen Jun was therefore appointed Administrator, acting as a chief general, and was ordered to assist Geng Yan in operations against Zhang Bu. As Chen Jun moved north to join the main army, Zhang Bu sent troops against him, but he defeated them and drove them away. He forced the surrender of all the county cities in the commandery, and took the seals of ninety officials appointed by Zhang Bu.

Chen Jun then brought his men north to join Geng

Yan in Ji'nan, and he accompanied the campaigns which defeated Zhang Bu in 29. During the critical battle at Linzi, he urged delay until Guangwu arrived with the imperial army; his cautious advice was rejected and Geng Yan gained a complete victory.

Early in 30 Chen Jun was named Administrator of Langye, still with status as a general. He had a great reputation across eastern China, and as he entered his new territory the local bandits and insurgents melted away. The warlord Dong Xian, driven from his base in Donghai by the attacks of Wu Han, came into Langye and took the southern city of Ganyu by surprise, but Chen Jun swiftly recaptured the place. Dong Xian fled into the marshlands and was killed by an officer of Wu Han, while Chen Jun advanced into Donghai and dealt with the bandit Sun Yang, evidently an associate of Dong Xian.

In 32 the former warlord Zhang Bu escaped from Luoyang and sought to re-establish himself in the east, but Chen Jun attacked and killed him. Admiring his achievements, Guangwu sent an imperial letter granting Chen Jun authority over all military operations in the eastern provinces of Qing and Xu. As both were now largely settled, his chief concern was to avoid conflict with commandery and county authorities, while arranging for care of the weak and recommending men who had shown good quality. The local people sang his praises, but Chen Jun sought a more active life, and wrote several times to the emperor asking for command against Gongsun Shu in the west. Guangwu replied that the work in the east was of great importance, for the territory was only recently settled and needed a period of stability.

In 37 Chen Jun's fief was increased and he was made Marquis of Zhu'a county in Pingyuan, scene of one of the early battles against Zhang Bu. In the following year he was granted the title Servant at Court, permitting him to reside at the capital, and it would appear that he retired to Luoyang some time before his death in 47. Recognising Chen Jun as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 18/8:689-91*, 12/2:497, 22/12:789-91; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:82.

Chen Kan 陳堪. A local officer of his commandery, when the Administrator was summonsed to the Ministry of Justice at the capital on account of some

fault, Chen Kan mutilated and poisoned himself. -XC 7:6b.

Chen Kang 陳康. In 24 Chen Kang was Administrator of Wei for the Gengshi Emperor in 24. When Xie Gong went to attack the Youlai bandits in Henei he left Chen Kang and the general Liu Qing in charge at Ye city. Though they were supposed to be allies, Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, ordered Wu Han and Cen Peng to take Ye. Wu Han sent an envoy who persuaded Chen Kang to change sides. Chen Kang arrested Liu Qing and seized Xie Gong's family, then opened the gates to Wu Han. As Xie Gong came unsuspecting into the city, Wu Han killed him. -HHS 18/8:677-78.

Chen Kui 陳夔; Yingchuan. One of six sons of Chen Shi, Chen Kui was a brother of Chen Ji and Chen Chen. -XTS 71B:2334.

Chen Lan 陳蘭 or Chen Jian 簡 (d.209); Lujiang. Officers of Yuan Shu, in 199 Chen Lan and his colleague Lei Pu were in the hills of Lujiang, east of present-day Anhui. As his state collapsed, Yuan Shu came to them for refuge, but they drove him away.

In the following year Chen Lan, Lei Xu [probably Lei Pu again] and Mei Cheng were plundering between the Yangzi and the Huai, but Cao Cao sent Liu Fu as Inspector, and he arranged a measure of control and agreement.

Chen Lan and Mei Cheng continued to operate in Lujiang, and after Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 they established a loose alliance with Sun Quan, south of the Yangzi. In that year, as Cao Cao brought his main army across the Huai against Sun Quan, he sent detachments under Zhang Liao and Yu Jin to attack them. Mei Cheng made a false surrender to Yu Jin; as Yu Jin withdrew he joined Chen Lan and their combined force took refuge in the hills. Zhang Liao pursued them into the wilderness, attacked their camp, and killed both leaders. -HHS 75/65:2443 [as Chen Jian 陳簡], SGZ 6:209, 15:463, 17:518.

Chen [Liangfu] 陳梁甫. At the end of the second century Chen Liangfu was a celebrated calligrapher. -SGZ Wu 18:1425.

Chen Lin 陳臨 [Ziran 子然 or Zhishu 稚叔?]; Yingchuan? *Guangzhou xianxian zhuan*, quoted by Miyakawa 60:28, records how Chen Lin, Administrator of Cangwu, rejected the barbarous customs of the southern people amongst whom he lived.

The same text, quoted by Miyakawa 60:32, also tells how the posthumous son of a murdered man took

revenge on the killer of his father. Though he was arrested and sentenced to death, the Administrator Chen Lin realised that he had no children. Concerned to emphasise filial piety, he allowed the man's wife to visit him in prison until she became pregnant. She bore him a son, and a popular ditty celebrated Chen Lin's ability to have a dead man maintain his lineage. This second story is also related by *XC* 6:8b and cited in *SGZJJ* 13:2a.

SGZJJ 13 suggests that this Chen Lin may be the same man as Chen Zhishu 稚叔 of Yingchuan, who is described as an Administrator of Cangwu and was compared to Zhong Hao and Xun Shu, exemplary teachers and influential models of good conduct about 160. *XC* 6, on the other hand, does not identify the native commandery of the worthy Administrator, but gives his style as Ziran 子然. It is not possible to determine which is correct.

Chen Lin 陳琳 [Kongzhang 孔璋] (d.217); Guangling. Recognised as a local scholar and a former student of Cai Yong, Chen Lin became a staff officer to the General-in-Chief He Jin. In 189 he warned He Jin against calling Dong Zhuo and other fighting men to the capital to help against the eunuchs.

Chen Lin later took refuge with Yuan Shao in Ji province, and in 195 Yuan Shao had him write to Zang Hong, as a fellow-countryman of literary talent, in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade him back to allegiance. During the Guandu campaign of 200, Chen Lin composed the proclamation to justify Yuan Shao's attack, and he wrote pamphlets abusing Cao Cao and his family in most extreme terms.

In 204 Chen Lin took part in a fruitless embassy from Yuan Shang to seek terms from Cao Cao.

When Cao Cao took over Ji province in 205, he taxed Chen Lin with his former propaganda, but because he admired his ability, he accepted his apology and appointed him and Ruan Yu as his confidential secretaries, preparing letters and orders.

Chen Lin became a member of the circle of scholars and writers about the young Cao Pi and Cao Zhi, and besides essays and poetry he was responsible for much of the written record of the early history of the state of Wei. He died during the epidemic which afflicted the court in 217. In his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" Cao Pi praised Chen Lin as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -*SGZ* 21:599-602*, 6:197-99.

Chen Mao 陳茂 (d.23). Senior officials of Wang

Mang, in the spring of 22 Chen Mao and Zhuang You achieved success against the bandit Troops from the Lower Yangzi. Early in 23 they were sent against the Han rebels in Nanyang, but were heavily defeated by Liu Bosheng. In the summer the two men were with the army of Wang Yi; as it was destroyed at the battle of Kunyang, they fled to refuge with Liu Wang in Runan.

In the autumn of 23, after the fall of Wang Mang, Liu Wang took the imperial title in rivalry to the Gengshi Emperor. He named Zhuang You as his Grand Marshal and Chen Mao as Imperial Chancellor. In the winter less than two months later, Liu Wang and his party were attacked and killed by the Gengshi Emperor's general Liu Xin. -*HHS* 11/1:469-70; Bn 54:112, 75-77, Bn 59:29-35; Dubs 55:430-468, *QHX*:34.

Chen Mao 陳茂; Nanyang. Guo Liang, uncle of Emperor Guangwu's first empress, died without sons before the Lady Guo had been appointed. Chen Mao, who had married one of Guo Liang's daughters, was enfeoffed in compliment to his late father-in-law. -*HHS* 10A:403.

Chen Mao 陳茂; Runan. The fragmentary biography of this man in *XC* 6:13a-b is slightly confused by his association with Zhou Chang 周敞, who is said to have lived in Former Han: Chen Mao is said to have served as Attendant Officer when Zhou Chang was Inspector of Yu province and then accompanied him in the same capacity to Jiaozhi.

Chen Mao is said to have had ability in magical arts, and when Zhou Chang planned to visit the island of Hainan he warned him of the dangers. Zhou Chang nonetheless embarked, and when a storm blew up Chen Mao drew his sword and abused the spirit of the sea. The winds died down and the crossing was completed.

Chen Mao 陳茂 [Junyin 君因]; Runan. Having served in Cangwu, presumably as a magistrate, Chen Mao became Inspector of Jing province about 70. As he came on tour to Nanyang he pleaded the case of Wei Xiu, a former client and family friend who was accused of a capital crime. The Administrator Guan Xun released Wei Xiu, but Wei Xiu was later found guilty of another offence and was executed. The local gentry criticised Chen Mao's mistaken intervention. -*FSTY* 4:29 [the text is not entirely complete or clear].

Though they came from the same commandery, this is probably not the same man as in the entry above.

Chen Mao 陳髦; Ba. A well-known scholar, about 120 Chen Mao was recommended by the Administrator Wang Tang. He later rose to high position. -HYGZ 1: 9.

Chen Mao 陳茂; Nanyang. Member of a powerful local family in the late second century, Chen Mao slandered the father, Han Chun, and the elder brother of his neighbour Han Ji and almost had them put to death. Han Ji pretended to pay no attention, but he secretly gathered assassins to deal with Chen Mao, then presented his head as a sacrifice to Han Chun's tomb. -SGZ 24:677.

Chen Mou 陳茂 see Chen Mao 陳茂 [five entries].

Chen Mu 陳牧 (d.25); Nanyang. In 22 the bandit Troops from Xinshi in Jiangxia, led by Wang Kuang and others, crossed into the south of Nanyang. In response, the commoners Chen Mu and Liao Zhan led their own insurrection, styling themselves the Troops from Pinglin, and joined forces with the newcomers. In the autumn of that year, further to the north, Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, raised a rebellion against Wang Mang, and he sent his kinsman Liu Jia to propose an alliance. This was agreed, and Liu Bosheng gained substantial reinforcements. As Bielenstein observes, however, the commoners whose support he was compelled to seek would later be responsible for his loss of the leadership of the movement which he had begun.

The combined force moved against Wan city, capital of Nanyang, but the rebels were heavily defeated at Xiao-Chang'an, south of the city, by a commandery army under Wang Mang's officers Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci. Chen Mu and his colleagues threatened to leave the losing cause, but Liu Bosheng recruited another bandit group, the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, led by Wang Chang, Cheng Dan and Zhang Ang, and the balance against Wang Mang's local forces was restored. In the winter at the beginning of 23 the rebels again fought the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, and on this occasion they achieved decisive victory and killed both enemy commanders. A few weeks later they defeated another army under Zhuang You and Chen Mao, then advanced to besiege Wan.

At this time, the spring of 23, the leaders of the Troops arranged a coup to depose Liu Bosheng as leader of the rebellion and to proclaim Liu Xuan as [the Gengshi] Emperor. Chen Mu was named Excellency of Works although, as Bielenstein observes, he had no

qualifications for such a high administrative position; the title was granted as reward for his support and to maintain his prestige. In 24 the Gengshi Emperor named Chen Mu as king of a county in Nanyang. As Bielenstein points out, the pattern of enfeoffments at this time reflected a setback for the former bandit chieftains as against their rivals of the Nanyang gentry; within a few months Chen Mu had been dismissed from his position as Excellency.

As the Red Eyebrows advanced towards the capital in the first half of 25, Chen Mu, Wang Kuang and others were sent to hold the line in Hongnong and Hedong. At this same time Deng Yu, general of Liu Xiu, entered Hedong and laid siege to its capital Anyi. Chen Mu and others were sent against him, but were heavily defeated and fled back to Chang'an; Deng Yu took over the whole commandery.

Chen Mu was then stationed east of the capital with Wang Kuang and Cheng Dan to face the Red Eyebrows, but then Zhang Ang and other leaders rebelled in Chang'an and the Gengshi Emperor abandoned the city. Suspecting their loyalty, he summoned Chen Mu and Cheng Dan, and executed them. -HHS 11/1:468-74; Bn 54:106-116, Bn 59.97-99.

Chen Mu 陳睦/穆 (d.75). In 75, after Dou Gu had obtained the surrender of the kingdoms of Jushi near Turfan, the government of Later Han restored the office of Protector-General of the Western Regions. Chen Mu, the first incumbent, set his headquarters in Yanqi [Karashar], while his subordinate Wu and Ji Colonels Guan Chong and Geng Gong camped further east in Nearer Jushi by Turfan and in Further Jushi north of the Bogda range. Soon afterwards, however, the Northern Xiongnu returned to Further Jushi, defeated Geng Gong and killed King Ande. The people of Yanqi and Qiuzi [Kuqa] then attacked Chen Mu's headquarters, killed him, and also slaughtered two thousand soldiers and officials. -HHS 2:123, 19/9:721, 88/78:2928, HHJ 10:128.

Chen Mu 陳牧 (d.197). A senior officer under Chen Yu, claimant Administrator of Wu commandery, Chen Mu was killed by Sun Ce's officer Lü Fan. -SGZ Wu 10:1310.

Chen [Pingzi] 陳平子; Changsha. A student at Luoyang, Chen Pingzi became a close friend of Fan Shi. When he contracted a fatal illness he wrote to Fan Shi and told his wife to entrust his body to him, for he was known to be a man who would care for the dead.

Fan Shi indeed carried out ceremonies for his friend and escorted his family back to their home country; he left before anyone could thank him. -*HHS* 81/71:2678, *XC* 5:14a-b.

Chen Pu 陳僕; Danyang. Chen Pu and Zu Shan were chieftains of non-Chinese people in the Huang Shan range of southern Danyang. They and their Chinese allies were conquered by He Qi in 208. -*SGZ* Wu 15: 1378.

Chen Qi 陳齊; Yingchuan. Son of Chen Yuan 願, Chen Qi was father of Chen Yuan 源 and grandfather to Chen Shi. -*XTS* 71B:2334.

Chen Qi 陳奇. Minister of Finance in 158, Chen Qi recommended Zhao Zi for office. -*HHS* 39/29:1313.

Chen Qia 陳洽 see Chen Xia 陳洽.

Chen Qian 陳謙 [Borang 伯讓]; Kuaiji. As Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, about the middle of the second century, Chen Qian was held in great respect for the manner in which he upheld the law and was consulted on all appointments. On one occasion he was asked whether his fellow-countryman Xuan Feng could become an Excellency, but observed that anyone ambitious for such a responsible post was in fact unworthy of it. -*XC* 7:12a-b.

Chen Qiao 陳僑 or Chen Jiao 矯. Holding title as White Tiger Duke 白虎公 from the Gengshi Emperor, in 24 Chen Qiao was posted with other generals to guard Luoyang under the command of Zhu Wei. At the end of 25 he was forced to surrender by Guangwu's general Jia Fu. -*HHS* 17/7:642, 666.

Chen Qin 陳勤 (d.206). On the eve of an attack against the settlement of Mo in eastern Jiangxia, Chen Qin attended a banquet with his colleague Ling Tong. Becoming drunk and abusive, he insulted Ling Tong and his late father Ling Cao, and eventually provoked Ling Tong into attacking him. Chen Qin died of his wounds. -*SGZ* 10:1296.

Chen Qing 陳清; Yingchuan. *XTS* 71B:2334 says that Chen Qing was a son of Chen Heng.

Chen Qiu 陳球 [Bozhen 伯真] (118-179); Xiapi. Son of Chen Wei and a man of good family, when Chen Qiu was young he studied Confucianism, and he was also an expert on law. About 132 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. Reforms introduced by Zuo Xiong required that candidates should be at least forty years old, but Chen Qiu's abilities evidently allowed him exemption, and he became a gentleman cadet at the capital. He served in the Office for Insig-

na and Credentials and in the Imperial Secretariat, held charge of one of the imperial tomb parks, and was then captain of a gate at the capital.

When Chen Qiu became a magistrate in Wei, the Administrator solicited bribes, and as Chen Qiu refused he sought to dismiss him. The Investigator argued, however, that Chen Qiu's was the best-governed county in the commandery, and his dismissal would raise awkward questions. No action was taken, but Chen Qiu resigned on account of the death of his mother.

Chen Qiu returned to appointment in the offices of the Excellencies, graded First Class and joined the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk. Because of his knowledge of law he became Director in the Ministry of Justice, chief assistant to the Minister.

About 163 Chen Qiu was sent as Administrator of Lingling to deal with banditry and mutiny in the south of Jing province. In 165 his capital was attacked by the rebels Hu Lan and Zhu Gai. Since the city was built in marshland and protected only by a palisade, many argued that the place should be abandoned, but Chen Qiu called every man and boy to maintain the defence. He used great trees to construct ballista, shooting feathered spears over a thousand metres, and when the enemy tried to flood him out he turned the water against them. Relieved at last by the Inspector Du Shang, he then joined the campaign to destroy the insurrection. Chen Qiu was rewarded with half a million cash and one of his sons was appointed as a gentleman cadet.

Chen Qiu became Administrator of Wei commandery and then Court Architect, responsible for the construction of Emperor Huan's many pleasure-parks and hunting grounds. He was later Administrator of Nanyang, but was slandered and impeached, was briefly imprisoned and then freed by an amnesty. He retired to his home. [A stele claims that he left office because his father was ill, and has no mention of his disgrace.]

Some six months later Chen Qiu was called to be Minister of Justice. When the Dowager Dou died in 172, the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu sought to have her buried with the rites only of a concubine, but Chen Qiu spoke eloquently and courageously against them, and Emperor Ling accepted his arguments. Chen Qiu was later Minister of the Guards and in 177 he became Excellency of Works. He left office on account

of the portent of an earthquake, but held a series of ministerial positions, and in autumn 178 he became Grand Commandant. A few months later he was again dismissed, this time for an eclipse of the sun.

In 179 Chen Qiu became Steward at the Yongle Palace, head of the household of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of the Emperor Ling. He sought to have Yang Qiu made Director of Retainers, so he might deal with the eunuchs as harshly as he had done before, but the plan was revealed by Yang Qiu's secondary wife, a daughter of the eunuch Cheng Huang, and all those involved died in prison.

Despite his disgrace, some forty of Chen Qiu's former officers and students, including Guan Ning and Hua Xin, erected three stele at his tomb in Xiapi. -HHS 56/46:1831-34*, XC 3:7b-8a, ZF:7a-b, LS 10:1a-8a, SJZ 25:21a; deC 89:60-61, 124-126, 162-163.

Chen Qun 陳羣 [Changwen 長文] (d.236); Yingchuan. Son of Chen Ji, Chen Qun came of notable family and was an associate of Kong Rong. He served Liu Bei, who nominated him as Abundant Talent and offered him a county magistracy. Chen Qun, however, went to join his father with Lü Bu and, after Lü Bu was destroyed by Cao Cao, they took office with him.

As a clerk for personnel Chen Qun recommended Chen Qiao and Dai Gan, and he warned Cao Cao against Wang Mo and Zhou Kui. He served as magistrate in two counties, but left office when his father died. Returning later to office, he joined the Imperial Censorate and was then a member of Cao Cao's military staff. In 213 he was made Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate for the new ducal state of Wei. In that office he argued unsuccessfully for the adoption of his father Chen Ji's suggestion that the ancient mutilating punishments should be restored in place of flogging, on the grounds that they were actually less fatal and cruel.

Chen Qun was himself humane and generous, and in 219 he intervened with Cao Cao to spare the life of Liu Yi, whose younger brother had been involved in the plot of Wei Feng. Liu Yi offered thanks, but Chen Qun replied that he was concerned only to advise Cao Cao on appropriate punishment; there was no emotion involved.

Chen Qun later became a Palace Attendant, again responsible for personnel. In 219 he and Huan Jie urged Cao Cao to take the imperial title, and when Cao Pi came to the throne Chen Qun took part in the

process which saw the abdication of Han in favour of Wei. Cao Pi trusted and admired him, granted him honours and enfeoffment, and had him accompany him on campaign with title as a general and authority over government.

Chen Qun played a major role in establishing the system of nine grades for official rank and recruitment [九品 *jiupin*] and the appointment of Impartial and Just officials [中正 *zhongzheng*] to supervise local nominations. He also joined debate on the new calendar, was an expert in the rituals of seals, and was later given charge of the codification of the laws.

Following the death of Cao Pi in 226 Chen Qun became a member of the council of regency for Cao Rui, and he was Excellency of Works with control of the Imperial Secretariat. His memorials to the throne were published, and were admired for their good sense and foresight. -SGZ 22:633-37*, JS 17:498-99; Fang 52:507, Holzman 57, Mather 76:503, deC 96:456-461.

Chen Rong 陳容 (d.195); Guangling. A follower of Yuan Shao, Chen Rong admired Zang Hong, who came from the same city. When Zang Hong was named Administrator of Dong commandery in 194 Chen Rong became his Assistant. As Zang Hong rebelled against Yuan Shao in the following year, he sent Chen Rong back.

Yuan Shao then captured Zang Hong and sentenced him to death. Though he had no close relationship to Zang Hong, Chen Rong spoke fervently of his loyalty and accused Yuan Shao of dishonourable conduct. He too was executed, and Yuan Shao was criticised for his cruelty: "How could he kill two such heroes in one day?" -HHS 58/48:1892, SGZ 7:236-37; deC 96:181-182.

Chen Rong 陳融; Chen. A refugee scholar, Chen Rong crossed the Yangzi and joined the entourage of Lu Mao, who treated him well. Chen Rong later served as Administrator of Yuzhang for Wu, and he compiled *Yaoyan* 要言 "Precepts" in Legalist style. -SGZ Wu 12: 1336-37.

Chen Shan 陳禪 [Jishan 紀山] (d.126); Ba. In the time of Emperor An Chen Shan became Officer of Merit in his commandery, and was admired for the manner in which he brought forward worthy men and rejected those of poor quality. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but joined the provincial office rather than taking appointment at the capital.

When the Inspector was accused of taking bribes, Chen Shan was investigated as a potential witness. In fact, he had given presents only on occasion of mourning, and though he suffered bastinado and torture he kept to his story. The matter was eventually closed for lack of evidence, but Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager, heard of the case, admired Chen Shan's conduct, and nominated him as Abundant Talent.

Chen Shan was sent to be Administrator of Hanzhong. The non-Chinese people were causing trouble, but we are told that they heard of his reputation and came at once to offer their submission. He was later transferred to Zuopingyi, then came to Luoyang as a Counsellor Remonstrant.

In 120 an embassy from the state of Shan, beyond the frontiers of the southwest, arrived at the imperial court. The group included musicians, conjurers, jugglers and people who could swallow fire. They performed at the assembly for the New Year's Day of 121, but as everyone was enjoying the spectacle Chen Shan stood up and gave a Confucianist denunciation of the desecration of court ritual by such a heathenish display. A few days later Chen Zhong of the Imperial Secretariat sent in a memorial with counter-arguments, and urged that Chen Shan be sent to prison for his inappropriate conduct. Many had admired his principled stand, and Chen Shan was not arrested, but he was sent out to a low-ranking command on the north-eastern frontier of Xuantu, and orders were given that his family would suffer if he failed to take up the post. Chen Shan duly departed.

It is said that the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu soon afterwards entered Liaodong, and Chen Shan was promptly appointed Administrator of the commandery. Awed by his reputation, the Xiongnu withdrew several hundred *li*. Chen Shan then sent messengers offering peace, and the Shanyu presented tribute and went away. As Sima Guang observes in his *Kaoyi* commentary to *ZZTJ* 50:1608, however, the Xiongnu were by this time a considerable distance to the west, and it is unlikely that they had any means to be involved in Liaodong. It is nonetheless possible that Chen Shan did become Administrator of Liaodong, and he may have dealt with some group of Wuhuan or Xianbi in the manner described.

Following the death of the regent Dowager Deng and the disgrace of her kinsmen in 121, Chen Shan

was dismissed on account of his association with the family, but in 125 he was appointed chief of staff to the General of Chariots and Cavalry Yan Xian, brother of the new regent Dowager. The Yan group had earlier persuaded Emperor An to depose his son Liu Bao as Heir, and after the emperor's death they placed their own candidate, the child Liu Yi, upon the throne. Liu Yi, however, was sickly, and Cui Yuan, an officer under Yan Xian, was concerned that his succession was in any case tainted by the wrongful deposition of Liu Bao. He wanted Yan Xian to take the lead in restoring Liu Bao to the succession, but Yan Xian was continually drunk and Cui Yuan could not get to see him. He approached Chen Shan with the same argument, Chen Shan accepted the idea, but though he made some preparations, he was reluctant to move, and before anything more happened Liu Yi died and the palace eunuchs, led by Sun Cheng, destroyed the Yan and brought Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, to the throne.

Chen Shan did not suffer for his association with the defeated faction. He became a Consultant and led a group at court calling for firm treatment of the Dowager Yan, on the grounds that by urging Liu Bao's deposition as Heir she had failed to treat her nominal son in suitably maternal fashion. Intervention by the Excellency Li He brought a more humane policy, but the Lady Yan died soon afterwards.

Chen Shan was then transferred to be Director of Retainers, but died in that office soon afterwards. -*HHS* 51/41:1684-86*, 52/42:1723, *XC* 2:14b-15a, *HYGZ* 2:16, 12:218.

Chen Shang 陳尙; Yingchuan. *XTS* 71B:2334 says that Chen Shang was a son of Chen Heng.

Chen Shao 陳紹 (d.181). Administrator of Cangwu in Jiaozhi province in the late 170s, Chen Shao joined the insurgents led by Liang Long. In 181 the new Inspector Zhu Jun arrived on the border with troops. He killed Chen Shao to show his authority and inspired a great many surrenders among the rebels. -*HHJ* 28:334.

Chen Sheng 陳省; Shu. In 115, responding to a call from the general Yin Jiu, Chen Sheng joined Luo Heng to assassinate Lü Shudu, leader of rebel Qiang who had come to attack Yi province. Both men were enfeoffed and rewarded with money. -*HHS* 87/77:2889.

Chen [Shengsun] 陳盛孫; Pei. Formerly a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies, when the local magistrate Wang VII was transferred to Guanghan Dependent State, Chen Shengsun took a lead in setting up a stele

to honour his good government. -*SJZ* 24:7b-8a.

Chen Sheng 陳省; Hanzhong. Chen Sheng was the husband of the Lady Yang Ligui. -*HYGZ* 10C:171.

Chen Sheng 陳生 see Chen Zuo 陳坐. -*SGZ* 6:212.

Chen Shi 陳寔 [Zhonggong 仲弓/躬] (104-187); Yingchuan. Son of Chen Yuan 源, of ancient but currently undistinguished lineage, Chen Shi was a leader amongst his fellows even as a child. He was always anxious to study, and spent time in the wilderness as a disciple of Fan Ying, expert on the *Book of Changes*. He became a petty officer in the county *yamen* and then an assistant village headman. The magistrate Deng Shao admired him and had him attend the University at Luoyang, where he became a close friend of Guo Tai and Chen Fan.

Returning home, Chen Shi maintained a private school with several hundred students, but when he was called up again for local office, he went to live in the hills. On one occasion a robber broke into his house and hid among the roof-beams. Chen Shi realised that he was there, and speaking indirectly to his companions in the room below he persuaded the robber to give himself up. He then presented him with silk to encourage his future good conduct.

At another time there was a murder, and suspicion fell on Chen Shi. The county officer Yang arrested and tortured him, but found no evidence and was obliged to let him go. Chen Shi later became a commandery Investigator, but when he came on visitation to his home county he treated Yang most favourably; all who heard of the affair were impressed.

About 160 Chen Shi commanded the guard at one of the gates of the commandery office, but was then appointed Officer of Merit on the recommendation of Zhong Hao. The Administrator Gao Lun was asked by the palace eunuch Hou Lan to appoint one of his protégés, and Gao Lun named him a Literary Scholar. Chen Shi knew that the nominee was a man of poor quality and urged Gao Lun to appoint another, more worthy candidate. Defying the eunuch's influence, Gao Lun accepted this advice, and the tone of government was improved throughout the commandery. Gao Lun was later appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, where he praised Chen Shi and so established his reputation.

In 161 the Excellency of Works Huang Qiong nominated Chen Shi as Qualified to Deal with Complex Affairs. He became a county magistrate in Hedong, but because he disapproved of the commandery govern-

ment and his protests had no effect, he left that office. [Another version says that he resigned on account of family mourning; this may also be true.]

Chen Shi later joined the offices of the Excellencies, and was then a magistrate in Pei. People came from neighbouring counties to receive his excellent government, but he again left his post because the Chancellor of the state was dishonest in the collection of tax.

When the First Faction Incident broke out in 166, Chen Shi was implicated, but while others sought to escape he went deliberately to present himself at the prison. He was released under amnesty, and in 169 was appointed to the offices of the General-in-Chief Dou Wu.

At this time the father of the court eunuch Zhang Rang died. The funeral was held in his home country of Yingchuan, but of all of the leading gentry only Chen Shi was prepared to attend. Zhang Rang bitterly resented the snub, but he was grateful to Chen Shi. In the Proscription which followed the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan Zhang Rang protected Chen Shi and, through him, many other gentlemen.

Living in retirement, Chen Shi maintained his local influence, and people came regularly for him to adjudicate their disputes. None disputed his judgements, and so great was his authority that it was said "It is better to be punished by the law than have Master Chen despise you."

Chen Shi was admired throughout the empire, and Excellencies such as Yang Ci and Chen Dan expressed regret that they could not yield place to him. *Shishuo xinyu* contains several anecdotes describing his wise and honourable conduct, and when he and his sons went to visit Xun Shu and his family the court astronomers found signs of their passage in the stars. Following the end of Proscription in 184 Chen Shi was again invited to office, but he refused on the grounds that he was out of touch with current affairs.

Chen Shi died in 187 at the age of eighty-four. His funeral was attended by a host of people, with representatives from the highest officials, and he received posthumous title as "Gentleman of Civil Qualities" 文範先生, similar to that of his contemporary Fan Dan. A stele and an altar were established in his honour and portraits of him and of his two sons Ji and Chen were sent throughout the province to encourage good conduct.

As Vervorn observes, Chen Shi was probably not unwilling to be kept from office during the period of Proscription but, unlike many hermit scholars and critics, he had been prepared to concern himself with the problems of the day. The historian Fan Ye observes that the balance Chen Shi maintained between commitment to public affairs and withdrawal from office should have served as a model for all gentleman of the time. -HHS 62/52:2065-67*, XC 3:12b, HQ 2:2a, Cai 2:2, LS 18:2b-3a; deC 89:79, 204, Vervorn 90:158-159, 173, Bn 81:574-576, Mather 76:5-6, 28, 81-82, 504.

HHS 82/72B:2748 says that when Shangcheng Gong *q.v.* went off into the heavens Chen Shi and his friend Han Shao were witnesses to his elevation. The parallel text in the fourth century *Baopu zi*, cited by Hui Dong in HHSJJ at 3024, has the style of Chen Shi as Yuanfang 元方, not Zhonggong, and also ascribes a variant style to Han Shao: it is likely the two distinguished witnesses are cited to give credit to the extraordinary story, and the difference in the styles is a marginal matter.

Chen Shi 陳氏; personal name also, wrongly, as Jie 戒. An officer of Liu Bei, in 218 Chen Shi was engaged in the campaign for Hanzhong.

In 222 Chen Shi commanded a fleet in Liu Bei's ill-fated attack down the Yangzi against Sun Quan, and in 229 he was sent by Zhuhe Liang and captured Wudu commandery. -SGZ 17:529, Shu 2:890, Shu 5:924; deC 96:521, Fang 52:291.

Chen Shi 陳實 see Chen Bao 陳寶.

Chen Shou 陳授 also as Chen Yuan 援 (d.158). In 158 the Court Astronomer Chen Shou was persuaded by the eunuch Xu Huang to present a warning that an eclipse of the sun and other portents boded ill for the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Liang Ji had Chen Shou arrested and tortured, and he died in prison, but in the following year Liang Ji was indeed overthrown by Emperor Huan, aided by Xu Huang and other eunuchs. -HHS 34/24:1185; deC 89:4.

Chen Shunqian 陳順謙, the Lady; Guanghan. Elder sister of Chen Huiqian, the Lady married Cao Ning. Left a widow at the age of nineteen, she devoted herself to caring for the children. When she died at the age of eighty her nephew Chen Gui composed a eulogy. -HYGZ 10C:172.

Chen Si 陳巳 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Chen Si joined the staff of the Administrator

Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Chen Si joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-takers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. -HYGZ 2:16, 10C:169.

Chen Si 陳巳. Marquis of a village in Ba commandery, about 150 Chen Si was attacked by bandits. -HYGZ 1:6.

Chen Si 陳思; Pei. In the *jiaobu* of HHSJJ 46/36:1685, Liu Congchen quotes JS 30 as mentioning Chen Si, a son of Chen Chong and elder brother of Chen Zhong 忠, who also served in the Imperial Secretariat. The Beijing punctuated edition of 1974 at 920, however, does not contain this reference, which appears to be dittography.

Chen Su 陳肅; Xiapi. A descendant of Chen Gui, about 220 Chen Su was made a cadet gentleman by Cao Pi in memory of his ancestor's achievements. -SGZ 7:231.

Chen Sui 陳遂; Yingchuan. XTS 71B:2334 says that Chen Sui was a son of Chen Yuan 源 and younger brother to Chen Shi.

Chen Sui 陳遂. A eunuch, as a Palace Internuncio in the 180s Chen Sui was a member of the cortège sent by Emperor Ling to honour the funeral of the Excellency Yang Ci. -Cai 3:2.

Chen [Suibo] 陳綏伯; Nanyang. In the time of Emperor Chen Suibo was a colleague of Deng Biao in local office. With three other young men, all of whom were talented and ambitious and had the character *bo* in their styles, they were known as "the five elder brothers" 五伯. -DGHJ 18:2a.

Chen Tang 陳湯 see Chentang 陳湯

Chen Tao 陳桃; Kuaiji. In a memorial to Sun Quan about 230, Yu Fan told how Chen Tao, an officer of his home commandery of Kuaiji, had dreamt he saw Yu Fan meeting with sages and immortals. -SGZ Wu 12:1322.

Chen Tiao 陳調. In 180 Chen Tiao was a gentleman cadet. He was recognised as an expert on astronomy, and was appointed to a board of enquiry under the Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan which was to adjudicate on rival methods for calculating eclipses of the moon. -HHS 92/2:3041-42.

Chen Tiao 陳調 [Yuanhua 元化] (d.190); Hanzhong. A grandson of Chen Gang, Chen Tiao was a local strongman and a student of military arts. The Administrator Su Gu appointed him to his personal guard, and when he was attacked by Zhang Xiu in 190 he sent Chen Tiao to seek aid. Before Chen Tiao returned, however, Su Gu was dead.

Seeking to avenge his master, Chen Tiao gathered a hundred clients and retainers to attack Zhang Xiu. He was successful in the first engagement, but as he pressed towards the enemy camp he was wounded and died. -HYGZ 2:17, 10C:170. There is a similar story concerning Zhao Song.

Chen Tun 陳屯; Xiapi. A man of distinguished family, Chen Tun had a fine reputation. He was a grandfather of Chen Qiu. -HHS 56/46:1831, XC 3:7b.

Chen Wei 陳煒/騁. A friend of Li Ying, in 162 Chen Wei was a Palace Counsellor. He was bested in repartee by the young Kong Rong. -HHS 70/60:2261; Mather 76:26.

Chen Wei 陳齋; Xiapi. Son of Chen Tun, Chen Wei became Administrator of Guanghan. He was the father of Chen Qiu. -HHS 56/46:1831.

Chen Wei 陳衛. In 192, under orders from Lü Bu at Chang'an, Chen Wei and others disguised themselves as guards to assassinate Dong Zhuo. -HHS 72/62:2332.

Chen Wei 陳禕 see Chen Yi 陳禕 [all entries].

Chen Wen 陳溫 also as Chen Wei/Yi 禕/偉 [Yuandi 元帝] (d.193); Runan. An old friend of Cao Hong, as Inspector of Yang province in 190 Chen Wen helped him raise troops in Lujiang and Danyang. In 193 Chen Wen died, perhaps of illness, or perhaps by agency of Yuan Shu. -SGZ 1:8, 6:208, 9:277, Wu 11:1310, HHS 75/65:2439.

Chen [Wenzhi] 陳文知 see Cheng Zhi 程祇 and *sub* the Lady Li Mujiang.

Chen Wu 陳武 [Zilie 子烈] (d.215); Lujiang. Seven feet seven inches tall [178 cm], at the age of eighteen Chen Wu went to join Sun Ce when he was with Yuan Shu in 194. He accompanied him on his campaigns south of the Yangzi in the mid-190s, was appointed a senior major, and when Lujiang was conquered in 199 he was given command of a special force of shock troops from that territory. When Sun Quan took over in 200 he gave Chen Wu authority over five colonels. He later became a lieutenant-general, but was killed in the disastrous assault on Hefei in 215.

A generous man, Chen Wu attracted many clients,

and Sun Quan was very fond of him. He attended his funeral in person, and *Jiangbiao zhuan* says that he had Chen Wu's favourite concubine, together with two hundred families of his retainers, buried alive with his body. Pei Songzhi quotes Sun Sheng of the fourth century, who is predictably scathing, but one must wonder if the story is true. -SGZ Wu 10:1289*.

Chen Xi 陳禧; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Chen Xi joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Chen Xia 陳洽; Yingchuan. One of six sons of Chen Shi, Chen Xia was a brother of Chen Ji and Chen Chen. -XTS 71B:2334.

Chen Xian 陳先 see Chen Guang 陳光.

Chen Xiang 陳翔 [Zilin 子麟 or Zhonglin 仲麟]; Runan. Grandson of Chen Zhen, Chen Xiang was well-known when he was young and had many friends. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he was then recommended First Class and was appointed to the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk. [It is said that Chen Xiang's nomination as First Class was made by the Grand Commandant Zhou Jing, but this does not fit with the impeachment of Liang Ji described below: Liang Ji was destroyed in 159, but Zhou Jing became an Excellency only in 163 and was Grand Commandant only in 166.]

At court assembly for a New Year, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji presumed upon his position to ignore proper procedure. Chen Xiang reported him, and asked for his arrest on the capital charge of Disrespect. Nothing, of course, came of this initiative, but people admired Chen Xiang's temerity. He was sent out to the frontier as Administrator of Dingxiang, but later returned to the capital as a Consultant.

About 160 Chen Xiang became Inspector of Yang province. With no concern for rank or power, he reported Wang Yong the Administrator of Yuzhang for subservience to the eunuchs and Xu Can the Administrator of Wu commandery for greed and corruption; both men were sent to prison. Since Xu Can was a brother of the eunuch favourite Xu Huang, Chen Xiang's reputation grew, and he was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University.

After another term as a Consultant, Chen Xiang became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate. At the time of the First Faction Incident he was imprisoned for his alleged connection to the reformists, but was found not guilty and released. He retired from office and died at home about 170. -*HHS* 67/57:2213* & 2187, *XC* 4:8b, *SGZ* 6:211.

Chen Xin 陳訢. As Administrator of Yuyang in 34, Chen Xin was in the vanguard of Wu Han's unsuccessful attack against Lu Fang's general Jia Lan in Dai commandery.

In 45 Chen Xin was appointed Chief Clerk in Command of Troops in Anding and sent with three thousand horsemen to attack the rebel non-Chinese in the central hills. Their leader Boma Shaobo, Little Lord on a Piebald Horse, surrendered, and was shifted with his followers to the south of the Wei River.

As Commandant of a garrison camp in Youfufeng in 58, Chen Xin led a contingent of the great army under Ma Wu which defeated the Qiang leader Dianyu on the upper Yellow River. -*HHS* 22/12:737, 12/2:508, 22/12:786; Bn 67:108, 115, deC 84:79.

Chen Xin 陳歆. In 94 Chen Xin was Prefect of Luoyang. There was a serious drought, and in the autumn the Excellency Zhang Fen urged a review of those held in jail. In accordance with theories of *Yin* and *Yang*, such prison relief was a common practice at time of drought. The emperor duly visited the Luoyang Prison and all cases were reviewed. Those who had been wrongfully held were released, and Chen Xin was arrested. Three days of heavy rain followed. -*HHS* 35/25:1199; Bn 76:51.

Chen Xing 陳興 see Cheng Xing 程興.

Chen Xiu 陳修 (d.26). Administrator of Pei for the pretender Liu Yong, Chen Xiu was killed by Guangwu's general He Yan. -*HHS* 18/8:686-87.

Chen Xiu 陳休; Yingchuan. One of six sons of Chen Shi, Chen Xiu was a brother of Chen Ji and Chen Chen. -*XTS* 71B:2334.

Chen Xiu 陳武 (d.229); Lujiang. Son of Chen Wu, Chen Xiu was a man of similar quality. When Chen Wu was killed in 215 Sun Quan gave Chen Xiu command of five hundred men and rank as a senior major. Many recruits were unruly, or actually deserted, but Chen Xiu gained his men's confidence, maintained discipline and did not lose a man. Sun Quan was impressed and promoted him colonel.

When Sun Quan took the royal title in 221 he

reviewed the achievements of his followers. He granted Chen Xiu a village marquisate and gave him command of a force of shock troops. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1289.

Chen Xuan 陳宣 [Zixing 子興]; Pei. A courageous man, learned in the New Text Lu interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, Chen Xuan refused service under Wang Mang, but when Emperor Guangwu of Later Han took the throne in 25, he went to court and became a Counsellor Remonstrant.

In 34 there was flooding on the Luo River which threatened Luoyang. It was proposed to build levees to protect the city, but Chen Xuan argued that the sacral nature of the new capital, and the presence of the emperor, sufficed to preserve it from harm. [He cited the example of Wang Zun 王尊, worthy Administrator of Dong commandery during Former Han: *QHX*:567.] The waters receded, and Guangwu was suitably impressed.

On another occasion Chen Xuan protested when the imperial carriage was driven at a dangerous pace. The emperor accepted his remonstrance.

Chen Xuan was later appointed Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River. He died in that office. -*XC* 6:14a-b.

Chen Ya 陳雅 [Botai 伯臺]; Guanghan. As a Counsellor Remonstrant, Chen Ya presented a memorial on the power of the eunuchs and warning of the consequences. Emperor Ling did not approve, but sent Chen Ya out as Administrator of Ba commandery.

Chen Ya died at the age of seventy-five, warning his son of the trouble to come and asking for a hidden tomb in the mountains. -*HYGZ* 10C:168.

Chen Yan 陳弇 [Shuming 叔明 or Zhongming 仲明]; Chenliu. Having studied the Ouyang teachings of the *Classic of History* under Ding Hong, Chen Yan taught students of his own. Some time a county magistrate in Pei, he was known for the simplicity of his life, particularly for ploughing his own fields, where he was constantly accompanied by a small yellow bird. -*HHS* 79/69A:2556, *YSS*:21a.

Chen Yan 陳延; Shangdang. A man of old official family, Chen Yan served at one time as Administrator of Henei.

In 191 Chen Yan's house was attacked by the fighting man Zhang Yang, greedy for his women and his goods. Chang Lin, a former resident of Henei, brought retainers to support him, and they withstood a two months siege. -*SGZ* 23:659.

Chen Ye 陳晔. A county magistrate in Nan commandery, Chen Ye ran a gentle government, particularly encouraging the cultivation of silk. -*XC* 8:2a.

Chen Ye 陳業; Kuaiji. In the early 190s, Chen Ye was celebrated in his community for his high moral conduct, but when the refugee scholar Huan Ye went to call upon him, he refused to see him.

Huan Ye later left for the far south, but before he did so he wrote an open letter to Chen Ye, denouncing his lack of courtesy, and posted it on a pillar of a popular pavilion. -*SJZ* 40:15b.

On the other hand, in a discussion with the Administrator Puyang Xing 濮陽興 in 258, the officer Zhu Yu 朱育 cited Chen Ye as one of the worthies of the commandery. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1326.

Chen Yi 陳義; Runan. A migrant into the south of Nan commandery in the early 20s, he was probably, as Bielenstein suggests, a refugee from the troubles which followed the flooding of the Yellow River. As rebellion broke out against the government of Wang Mang in 23, Chen Yi and his associate Tian Rong took control of territory along the Yangzi, gave themselves titles as generals and kings and made alliance with Qin Feng, immediately to the north. Chen Yi is not heard of again, but Tian Rong maintained his position for several years. -*HHS* 17/7:658-59; Bn 59:28.

Chen Yi 陳揖; Nanyang. Chen Yi was a friend of Zhu Hui, who cared for his family after his death. -*HHS* 43/33:1459.

Chen Yi 陳已 see Chen Ba 陳巴. -*HYGZ* 10C:169.

Chen Yi 陳已 (d.154). A village marquis in Ba commandery, Chen Yi was killed in the course of a rebellion. -*HYGZ* 1:6.

Chen Yi 陳逸 [Ziyou 子游]; Runan. Son of Chen Fan, after his father was killed in 168 Chen Yi was hidden in Ganling by Zhu Zhen. At the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 he was amnestied with other members of the Proscribed Party and became Chancellor of Lu. In 188 he was party to the plot of Wang Fen to kidnap Emperor Ling, but his involvement was evidently not discovered. -*HHS* 66/56:2171, *SGZ* 1:4.

Chen Yi 陳懿 (d.184). In 184 Chen Yi was Administrator of Jincheng when an army of rebels and mutineers led by Beigong Boyu laid siege to his capital at Yuanya, present-day Lanzhou. They seized a number of hostages, and when Chen Yi tried to negotiate their release he was killed in the enemy camp. The city fell to the rebels. -*HHS* 72/62:2320-21, 58/48:1880; *deC*

84:147.

Chen Yi 陳禕 *i.e.* Chen Wen 陳溫 (d.193). -*SGZ* Shu 8:963, *SGZ* Wu 11:1310.

Chen Yi 陳禕. In 219 Chen Yi was Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, residence of the Lady Bian, wife of Cao Cao and mother of the Lady Cao Jie, Empress of Emperor Xian. He joined the conspiracy of Wei Feng for a coup at Ye city, but then became frightened and revealed the plot. -*SGZ* 1:52.

Chen Yin 陳寅/寅. When Chen Yin was Administrator of Danyang in 169 the non-Chinese people of the hills rebelled and laid siege to his headquarters. He defeated them.

In 172 Chen Yin joined the Inspector Zang Min on campaign against the religious rebels led by Xu Chang of Kuaiji. They achieved final victory in 174. -*HHS* 8:330, 334-36, 58/48:1884, 102/12:3258.

Chen You 陳友; Nanyang. The posthumous son of Chen Yi, Chen You was cared for by his father's friend Zhu Hui. Some time in the 70s Zhu Hui recommended Chen You for local appointment ahead of his own son Zhu Pian. -*HHS* 43/33:1459.

Chen Yu 陳豫 see Cheng Yu 程豫.

Chen Yu 陳予. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Chen Yu took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county fief in Changsha.

After Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Chen Yu and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and they were allowed to return to the capital. Chen Yu died a few years later. -*HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Chen Yu 陳瑀 [Gongwei 公瑋]; Xiapi. Son of Chen Qiu, Chen Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and joined the offices of the Excellencies in Luoyang. In 189 he became a Consultant.

In 193 Chen Yu was named Inspector of Yang province by Yuan Shu, but when Yuan Shu was defeated by Cao Cao soon afterwards the local people used Chen Yu as a figure-head to rebel against him. Yuan Shu drove Chen Yu back to his home country.

Chen Yu later made contact with Cao Cao, and in 197 he was named Administrator of Wu, nominally to assist the southern warlord Sun Ce against Yuan Shu. In fact, Wu commandery was controlled by Sun Ce, and Chen Yu's real mission was to subvert that

territory. Sun Ce accordingly sent Lü Fan to attack Chen Yu's base on the coast in Guangling. Chen Yu fled, and he took a minor military post under Yuan Shao. -HHS 56/46:1835, XC 3:8a, SGZ 6:208, SGZ Wu 1:1107, 11:1310; deC 90:176-179.

Chen Yuan 陳元 [Changsun 長孫 or Xiangsun 襄孫]; Cangwu. Chen Yuan's father Qin 欽, a celebrated scholar of *Chunqiu* and the Old Text school of *Zuo zhuan*, had been tutor to Wang Mang and a general under his regime, but was later obliged to commit suicide: QHX:37.

Chen Yuan received his father's teaching from the time he was young, and he was recognised as a leading scholar of *Zuo zhuan* and the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, both in the Old Text tradition. Through the *ren* right of his father, he became a gentleman cadet at Wang Mang's court.

Chen Yuan later joined the court of Emperor Guangwu, where in 27 the Director of the Secretariat Han Xin proposed that Academicians be appointed for the study of *Zuo zhuan* and the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. In debate at the New Year court of 28 the Academician Fan Sheng led the case for the New Text, arguing orally and in a subsequent memorial that Old Text studies should be rejected. Chen Yuan, at that time a clerical officer under the Excellency of Works Song Hong, presented a memorial in reply, and the emperor eventually approved a chair for *Zuo zhuan*. Though Chen Yuan was considered the best candidate for the position, his involvement in the debate meant that the emperor gave the post to Li Feng.

When Song Hong was disgraced for his involvement in a false accusation about 30, Chen Yuan presented a letter in his support.

Some time in the early 30s it was proposed that the Excellencies, highest officials of the bureaucracy, should be subject to inspection by the Director of Retainers, head of the capital province. The question was presented to the Excellencies themselves and there was a debate at court. Chen Yuan argued that the ruler should emulate the legendary sovereigns of the past and the model of Former Han, regarding his ministers as teachers, and that he should reject the style of the ancient hegemony, allegedly followed by Wang Mang, who had sought to exercise inappropriate control, demonstrated distrust and made personal errors of judgement. His arguments presumably reflected the opinion of the gathering, and Guangwu accepted

them.

When Li Tong left office, Chen Yuan transferred to the office of the Excellency over the Masses Ouyang Xi. He continued to take part in debates, and made proposals for rituals at the imperial temples. Guangwu did not adopt them, but when Ouyang Xi was disgraced and died in 40, Chen Yuan joined a petition on his behalf, and Guangwu awarded him posthumous honours.

Soon afterwards Chen Yuan left office on grounds of ill health. He died of old age at home.

Though Chen Yuan's efforts on behalf of the Old Text tradition gained small success at the time, the line of disciples that followed him and his colleague Zheng Xing, including Zheng Zhong, Ma Yuan, Zheng Xuan and Xun Shuang, meant that by the end of the dynasty the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes* flourished at the expense of the teachings based upon Jing Fang. -HHS 36/26:1229-34*, 79/69A:2554; Tjian 49:150-151, Bn 79:54, 56, 190-193.

Chen Yuan 陳願; Yingchuan. XTS 71B:2334 says that Chen Yuan was a son of Chen Heng and the father of Chen Qi.

Chen Yuan 陳源; Yingchuan. XTS 71B:2334 says that Chen Yuan was a son of Chen Qi and the father of Chen Shi.

Chen Yuan 陳元 also as Yang Yuan 羊元; Chenliu. Chen Yuan was an unfilial son until his mother complained of him to the village headman Qiu Lan. Qiu Lan upbraided him and had him read a chapter of the *Book of Filial Piety*, and Chen Yuan was quite reformed. -XC 5:5a.

Chen Yuan 陳援 see Chen Shou 陳授.

Chen Zhan 陳湛 [Xiaobo 小伯 or Zibo 子伯]; Shu. Having been a popular magistrate of several counties, Chen Zhan became Headquarters Officer of Yi province. When the Administrator of Guanghan sent his son with a courtesy gift for the Inspector, Chen Zhan warned him not to accept. There was later an investigation about any private relationship between the two officials, but both men were cleared. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Chen Zhen 陳珍; Runan. As Chancellor of Dongping in 120, Chen Zhen commended the king Liu Chang for his display of filial piety at the death of his mother, and Liu Chang received an increment to his pension. Chen Zhen was later Director of Retainers at Luoyang. -HHS 42/32:1442, 67/57:2213.

Chen Zhen 陳震 [Xiaoqi 孝起]; Nanyang. When Liu Bei took title as Governor of Jing province in 208, Chen Zhen became an Assistant Officer with supervisory powers over various commanderies. He accompanied Liu Bei to the west in 211, and after the take-over of Yi province he was Commandant of a Dependent State and then an Administrator.

Admired by Zhuge Liang, Chen Zhen entered the Secretariat of Shu-Han in 225, and later became its Director. When Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 Chen Zhen was named a minister and sent on embassy to Wu, where he negotiated the nominal division of the north between the two empires. -SGZ Shu 9.984-85*.

Chen Zheng 陳正 [Shufang 叔方]; Lu. During the time of Emperor Guangwu, Chen Zheng was Court Provisioner. A Gentleman at the Yellow Gates had an old quarrel with Chen Zheng, and when he was presenting the emperor with a dish he put a hair in it. Guangwu was furious and was going to have Chen Zheng killed, but in a parody of confession Chen Zheng pointed out that the hair had evidently survived the whole cooking process for the meal, and no-one in the kitchen had seen it before. So blame was turned against the Gentleman who had presented the dish, and he was arrested. -XC 6:9a-b.

Chen Zhi 陳祗 see Cheng Zhi 程祗. [Note that there was also a man named Chen Zhi who held great influence in Shu-Han from 245: SGZ Shu 9.987.]

Chen [Zhishu] 陳稚叔 (fl. 160); Yingchuan. Administrator of Cangwu, Chen Zhishu was admired by many gentlemen of the time in the same way as Zhong Hao and Xun Shu, who were considered exemplary teachers and influential models of good conduct. -SGZ 13:392. This may be the same person as Chen Lin 臨 q.v.

Chen Zhong 陳眾; Lujiang. After the defeat and death of Li Xian in 30, his follower Chunyu Lin led a bandit group in the western hills of Lujiang. The Governor Ouyang Xi attacked them with his troops, but without success, and Guangwu then planned to send an imperial army. Chen Chong, however, then an Assistant Officer of Yang province, went to Chunyu Lin in a carriage drawn by white horses, and persuaded him to surrender. Admiring his courage, and glad to be free from the threat of war, the local people established a shrine to "White-Horse Chen the Assistant Officer 白馬陳從事." -HHS 12/2:501, XC 8:3a-b.

Chen Zhong 陳重 [Jinggong 景公]; Yuzhang. Chen

Zhong was a close friend of Lei Yi, and the two young men studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text Lu interpretation and the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the tradition of Yan Anle. The Administrator Zhang Yun nominated Chen Zhong as Filial and Incorrupt, but Chen Zhong urged the claims of Lei Yi. Zhang Yun insisted on his initial choice, but in the following year he recommended Lei Yi; both men became gentleman cadets. They were described as being bound closer together than glue to varnish, or two wings of the same bird. [Xie Cheng says that the contested nomination was that of Abundant Talent, awarded by the provincial Inspector.]

In his probationary position, Chen Zhong showed his generosity and modesty by settling the debts of one of his colleagues, then denying he had done it and refusing all thanks. On another occasion, falsely accused of stealing a house-mate's trousers, he bought a pair to replace them; the trousers were later returned by the man who had taken them.

Chen Zhong and Lei Yi entered the Imperial Secretariat, and in 117 they sought to persuade their colleague Zhang Jun not to report against the officers Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng. Zhang Jun was adamant, but Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng then implicated him in a major scandal. When Lei Yi took the blame for another officer's crime and was dismissed, Chen Zhong also resigned his appointment on grounds of ill health.

Chen Zhong returned to office through nomination by his native Yang province as Abundant Talent, and he became a magistrate in Runan. His government was excellent and Ji province reported its Exceptional Quality. He was to be appointed Administrator of Kuaiji, but resigned when his elder sister died.

Returning to the imperial service as a clerk to the Excellency over the Masses, Chen Zhong joined the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk, and died in that office. [His later nominations and appointments are recounted slightly differently in the biography of his friend and colleague Lei Yi.] -HHS 81/71:2686-87*, 45/35:1524, XC 6:1b-2a.

Chen Zhong 陳忠 [Boshi 伯始] (d.125); Pei. Son of Chen Chong, Chen Zhong entered the offices of the Excellency over the Masses about 110, and was later Director in the Ministry of Justice, chief assistant to the Minister. He gained a reputation for knowledge of the law, but was denied advancement because his father had opposed the award of posthumous honours

to Deng Xun, father of the regent Dowager Deng.

About 120, on the recommendation of the Excellency Liu Kai, Chen Zhong was transferred to the legal section of the Imperial Secretariat, where he revived Chen Chong's plans and presented a list of reforms for more lenient punishments. His recommendations included abolition of the penalty of castration, consideration for those who committed crimes while insane [Hulsewé 55:301], and some easing of the proscription from office for three generations of officials convicted of corruption. All were approved.

When Emperor An took personal rule after the death of the Dowager, Chen Zhong encouraged him to sponsor scholarship, and the *Shuowen jiezi* dictionary of Xu Shen was presented to the throne through his good offices. Chen Zhong was likewise concerned at the standards of the bureaucracy, constantly urging the emperor to seek good men. He nominated worthy men in retirement such as Feng Liang and Zhou Xie, but though special carriages were sent to invite them to court, not all proved successful. Chen Zhong had earlier supported the policy that senior officials should be entitled to three years' leave for mourning, providing examples of Confucian virtue to their subordinates; when the matter was raised again he argued unsuccessfully for its retention.

Soon afterwards Chen Zhong involved himself in debate about the right to wear caps with two bridges 梁, loops from front to back. When Liu Bao was named Heir in 120, members of his suite wore such caps and, despite objections to such a breach of tradition, Chen Zhong spoke in favour of the change and his views were approved by the emperor. He also supported extension of the privilege to all officers about the rank of 600 *shi* [MBeck 90:259 and see *sub* Ren Fang, Zhi Kan and Meng Bu].

More practically, Chen Zhong warned that although banditry had greatly increased since the turmoil of the Qiang rebellion, local officials were too lazy, incompetent or corrupt to deal with the problem or even to report it; this had potential to cause enormous trouble for the dynasty, and there was urgent need to tighten control. At the same time, though he was concerned at the favour the emperor showed the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Li Run, and at the enfeoffment of his former wet-nurse Wang Sheng, Chen Zhong was reluctant to protest. He wrote an essay to ridicule the unworthy favourites, but it was very long and he never

finished it.

In 122 Chen Zhong persuaded Emperor An not to authorise an attack on the hostile Gaogouli of the northeast while they were mourning the death of their King Gong. The court sent condolences instead, and in the following year Gong's successor Suicheng offered his submission.

About this time Chen Zhong was promoted Deputy Director of the Secretariat. The emperor had allowed the Lady Wang Yong, daughter of Wang Sheng, to carry out ceremonial duties on his behalf, and she insisted on comparable honours. Chen Zhong wrote to protest, and in he warned the ruler against the manner in which he relied upon the Secretariat rather than upon the Excellencies. Such inappropriate delegation threatened the hierarchy and even the stability of government, in the same way as Former Han had been weakened by excessive use of personal favourites; he urged the emperor to attend to affairs in person, but his advice was not taken. When the Excellency Chen Bao was dismissed on account of an earthquake, widespread rain and storms, Chen Zhong complained that such a direct response to portents weakened the necessary authority of the heads of the imperial service.

In 123 the Internuncio Dan Song urged that the calendar should be changed to accord with the apocrypha, and there was wide debate. Zhang Heng and Zhou Xing argued that the apocrypha were not worth attention; a majority led by the Grand Commandant Liu Kai wanted to bring back the *Taichu* 太初 system of Former Han which had been abandoned forty years earlier; while Cao Zhi and others argued for the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system. Chen Zhong also opposed change, and the *Sifen* calendar was retained.

In general, Chen Zhong supported and agreed with senior ministers, he frequently deputised for one or another if they were ill, and in 123 or 124 he became Director of the Secretariat. During debate on policy for the west in 123, he urged the need for a presence beyond the frontier to prevent the expansion of Xiongnu influence and the isolation of the north-western commanderies. As a result Ban Yong was sent to the Western Regions.

When Emperor An dismissed his son Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, as Heir in 124 there was a great demonstration outside the palace, led by Lai Li and Dai Feng. Chen Zhong did not support the protesters, and indeed proposed their impeachment.

Soon afterwards Chen Zhong was made Director of Retainers. He established control over the eunuchs and the imperial relatives and favourites, but in the following year these enemies arranged for him to be sent from the capital as Administrator of Jiangxia. He was recalled once more as Director of the Secretariat, but took ill and died.

After Chen Zhong's death and the accession of Liu Bao, the Director of Retainers Yu Xu reported his attack on Lai Li and Dai Feng; his reputation suffered severely. -HHS 46/36:1555-65*, 92/2:3034-35, 85/75:2814-15; Loewe 86C:300, 305, Ch'en 86:786.

Chen Zhong 陳忠 [Xiaoxian 孝先]; Yingchuan. Son of Chen Chen, he refused local office, but was later Inspector of Qing province for Wei. -XTS 71B:2334, SGZJJ 22:5a; Mather 76:504.

Chen Zhu 陳助, the Lady; Ba. Married to Yang Fenggui of Jianwei, after his early death the Lady devoted herself to bringing up his children. Her brothers wanted her to marry again, but she cut her own throat and nearly died; she was then allowed to continue in her widowhood. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Chen Zhuanzhu 陳專諸; Nanyang. Son of Chen Fu, he succeeded to the family fief in Jiangxia. -HHS 18/8:691.

Chen Zi 陳卬; Yingchuan. XTS 70B:2334 says that Chen Zi was a son of Chen Yuan 源 and younger brother to Chen Shi.

Chen [Zihui] 陳子迴; Guangling. A man of letters in the late first century, Chen Zihui was praised by Wang Chong. -Lun heng 37; Forke 07:469.

Chen [Ziwei] 陳子威; Wuling. Chen Ziwei grew up without knowing his mother, presumably because she died in childbirth. As he was travelling to Luoyang to study at the Imperial University, he met an old woman by the roadside, who told him that her married name was Chen and her maiden name Li 李. This was the same as Chen Ziwei's mother, and the age also matched hers, so Chen Ziwei brought the old lady back to his house and treated her as if she had been his mother.

Chen Ziwei became Administrator of Jiujiang. -FSTY 3:21; Ying Shao categorises his conduct as Inappropriate 愆禮.

Chen Zong 陳縱 see Chencong 陳從.

Chen Zong 陳宗. Formerly a magistrate in Liang, in 72 Chen Zong was among the group of historians commissioned by Emperor Ming to compile annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu, *Shizu benji* 世祖本

紀; this work, initially known as "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Hanji*. As Bielenstein observes at 79:21, the project was politically sensitive and the committee delicately balanced: it was chaired by Ban Gu, a member of the Dou faction which had been instrumental in the disgrace of Ma Yuan in 49, but Ma Yuan's daughter was now empress, and Ma Yan and Meng Ji represented that interest. Chen Zong and his colleague Du Fu were probably neutral. -HHS 40/30A:1334; Bn 54:10.

Chen Zun 陳遵 [Menggong 孟公] (d.24); Jingzhao. A man of leading local family, celebrated for his arrogant and wild behaviour, he became Administrator of Henan under Wang Mang, and despite habitual drunkenness and sexual scandals held office also in Jiujiang and Henei.

Chen Zun later became Grand Marshal and Protector of the Army to the Gengshi Emperor, and in 24 he accompanied Liu Li on embassy to the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu to present a new seal. In accordance with precedent from the end of Former Han, the rank proposed was below that of the kings of Han, but the Shanyu now claimed that he had given assistance against Wang Mang and should be respected as the senior of the two rulers. In the debate which followed Chen Zun maintained the dignity of Han while winning the admiration of the alien chieftain, but as the embassy was returning through Shuofang the rule of the Gengshi Emperor collapsed. Chen Zun was attacked and killed by bandits while he was drunk. -HS 92:3709-14*, HHS 27/17:931, HS 94B:3829; Bn 67:103.

Chen Zun 陳遵. Chancellor of Langye about 180, Chen Zun invited Zhao Yu to take office in his government, but Zhao Yu refused. -SGZ 8, 349. Though his rank is higher than that of the man in the entry below, they may be the same person.

Chen Zun 陳遵. An Imperial Clerk in the 180s, Chen Zun was a member of the cortège sent by Emperor Ling to honour the funeral of the Excellency Yang Ci. -Cai 3:2.

Chen Zuo 陳坐 or Chen Sheng 生; Jiangxia. In 190 the new Inspector of Jing province, Liu Biao, advised by Kuai Yue, invited a number of local leaders to a banquet, but then killed them and took over their followers. Chen Zuo and Zhang Hu, two bandit chieftains from Jiangxia, escaped the massacre and took refuge in Xiangyang city. Kuai Yue and Pang Ji

persuaded them to surrender. -HHS 74/64B:2420.

Chencong 陳從 or Chenzong 陳縱; non-Chinese. A tribesman of the hill county west of Wuling, in 76 Chencong rebelled and raided his neighbours. He was defeated that winter by local non-Chinese fighting for the commandery, and he and his men surrendered. -HHS 86/76:2832.

Cheng 程, the Lady: see Cheng Huang II, adopted daughter,

Cheng 成 of Shule [Kashgar] (d.73). King of Shule, in 73 Cheng was attacked and killed by King Jian of Qiuzi [Kuqa], who placed his officer Douthi upon the throne. -HHS 88/78:2926, 47/37:1574.

Cheng 乘 [surname unknown]. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in 171, he took part in the enthronement of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. -HHS 95/5:3121.

Cheng 盛 [surname] see Sheng 盛 *passim*.

Cheng 盛 [personal name unknown] see Sheng 盛.

Cheng A 程阿. A Palace Counsellor, Cheng A was an associate of the senior palace eunuch Wang Fu. About 178 he joined Wang Fu in a report that the Empress Song had been involved in magical practices. Emperor Ling believed the accusation and the empress was dismissed. -HHS 10B:448.

Cheng Bao 程包/苞 [Yuandao 元道]; Hanzhong. In 182 Cheng Bao was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer. At that time the Banshun people of Yi province had been in rebellion for some years, and there were proposals for a major expedition against them. Emperor Ling asked the Reporting Officers from the various commanderies of the province for their opinions.

Cheng Bao replied that the Banshun had given loyal service to Han, and had been strong allies against the rebel Qiang and the tribesmen of Wuling and of Yizhou commandery. They had lately suffered bad treatment from local officers, but all that was required was an honest and competent official, and they would be settled.

The emperor accordingly named Cao Qian as Administrator and proclaimed an amnesty, and the Banshun people were indeed peaceful once more. -HHS 86/76:2843, HYGZ 10C:169; deC 89:172-173.

HYGZ dates this incident to 179, but HHS Annals and other sources note that the rebellion began in 179 and Cao Qian was appointed in 182.

Cheng Bing 程秉 [Deshu 德樞]; Runan. A former student of Zheng Xuan, known for his mastery of the

classics, during the civil war at the end of Han Cheng Bing took refuge in Jiao province and became a senior assistant to the local warlord Shi Xie.

He was later invited by Sun Quan and became Senior Tutor to his Heir, Sun Deng. He died in that office, leaving scholarly works on the *Book of Changes*, on *History* and on the *Analects*, amounting to more than 30,000 words. -SGZ Wu 8:1248*.

Cheng Dan 成丹 (d.25); Nanyang. Moving south as a refugee into Jiangxia, Cheng Dan joined the bandit force led by Wang Feng and Wang Kuang and became a secondary leader. In 22, as the group divided under the impact of disease and privation, Cheng Dan accompanied Wang Chang and Zhang Ang to go as a separate party west into Nan commandery. They were known as the Troops from the Lower Yangzi. The name may reflect only that they came from the region of Jiangxia, downstream from Nan commandery, but it may also indicate the presence of a number of refugees who had come to the lands of the middle Yangzi after disastrous flooding of the Yellow River over more than ten years: those driven south from the plain would have migrated gradually across the Huai and then upstream along the Yangzi south of the Dabie Shan. See Bn 54:152 and *sub* Wang Kuang and Fan Chong.

Wang Mang's government sent Zhuang You and Chen Mao with an army against them. Cheng Dan and his fellows were defeated, but they regrouped, resumed their career of plunder, and soon regained sufficient strength to defeat the local levies of Jing province. They then moved north into Nanyang and, following negotiations conducted by Wang Chang, joined the Han rebels led by Liu Bosheng. With such reinforcements, Liu Bosheng destroyed the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, followed by that of Zhuang You and Chen Mao, who had also come north into Nanyang.

In the spring of 23 the leaders of the Troops arranged a coup to depose Liu Bosheng as leader of the rebellion and to name Liu Xuan as [the Gengshi] Emperor. Cheng Dan was given title as a chief general, and in 24 he was named king of a county in Chenliu; Bielenstein observes that the pattern of enfeoffments at that time reflected a setback for the former bandit chieftains against their rivals of the Nanyang gentry.

In the first half of 25, as the Red Eyebrows advanced towards the capital, Cheng Dan, Wang Kuang and others were sent to hold the line in Hongnong and

Hedong. At this same time Deng Yu, general of Liu Xiu, entered Hedong and laid siege to its capital Anyi. Cheng Dan and others were sent against him, but were heavily defeated and fled back to Chang'an; Deng Yu took over the whole commandery.

Cheng Dan was then stationed east of the capital with Wang Kuang and Chen Mu to face the Red Eyebrows, but then Zhang Ang and other leaders rebelled in Chang'an and the Gengshi Emperor abandoned the city. Suspecting their loyalty, he summoned Cheng Dan and Chen Mu, and executed them.

Another account says that Cheng Dan survived longer: he joined the Red Eyebrows as they entered Chang'an, and was killed with Wang Kuang and others after they surrendered to Liu Xiu's officer Zong Guang. -HHS 11/1:467-74, 16/6:600-01; Bn 54:134-136, Bn 59:97-102.

Cheng Dang 成當. An officer of Sun Quan, about 210 Cheng Dang was stationed on the frontier of Jing and Yang provinces. He died about this time, and Sun Quan proposed to transfer his troops to Lü Meng, who was stationed close by. Lü Meng objected, arguing that Cheng Dang had given good service to the state, and his troop should pass to his male heir, even though he was still young. Sun Quan eventually accepted the argument, and Lü Meng sent an officer to guide the young successor in managing this human inheritance. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Cheng Die 承蠡; Langye. Son of Cheng Gong, Cheng Die became Administrator of Jiyin. -HHS 27/17:945.

Cheng Dun 程敦; Hanzhong. Cheng Dun was the second son of Cheng Zhi by his first marriage. After their father's death he and his three full brothers abused their stepmother the Lady Li Mujiang. Eventually, however, impressed by her generous conduct, they presented themselves at the local prison to expiate their lack of filial respect.

Cheng Dun and his brothers later had official careers. -HYGZ 10C:171, HHS 84/74:2793 [some editions of HHS have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Fan 承汎. An officer of Gongsun Shu, in 33 he was named Administrator of Nan commandery and went with Tian Rong and Ren Man to attack down the Yangzi. They broke through the Gorges and gained a position in Nan commandery, but made no move to expand their holdings; their position was rather a

protective salient than a springboard for a further offensive.

In the summer of 35 the Han general Cen Peng broke the river defences and destroyed Gongsun Shu's army. Cheng Fan was taken prisoner. -HHS 13/3:541, 17/7:661; Bn 59:187-189.

Cheng Feng 成封. Minister Steward in 79, Cheng Feng took part in the imperial conference on Confucianism called by Emperor Zhang in the White Tiger Hall. -HHS 37/27:1264.

Cheng Gao 程高; Guanghan? About the middle of the first century AD Cheng Gao sought to become a disciple of the Old Man of the Fu River, who was skilled in acupuncture 針. He was eventually accepted, and passed on his knowledge to Guo Yu. Like his master, Cheng Gao lived as a recluse. -HHS 82/72B:2735; Ngo 76:116-117, DeWoskin 83:75.

Cheng Gong 承宮 [Shaozi 少子] (d.76); Langye. Orphaned when he was young, Cheng Gong worked as a swine-herd, but was fascinated by the teachings of Xu Zisheng on *Chunqiu*. He became a servant to Xu Zisheng's students and gained a mastery of the classic.

During the civil war at the beginning of Later Han, Cheng Gong fled first to Hanzhong in the west, then returned to the region of Mount Tai. He colonised new fields to cultivate millet, but when local people claimed the harvest, he left it to them. Becoming well-known for this, and also for his scholarship, he was invited to office at the capital, but initially refused.

Emperor Ming sent a special carriage to receive him, and through the good offices of his friend, Fan Shu, Cheng Gong accepted the call. He was appointed an Academician at the Imperial University and was then a General of the Household, celebrated for his excellent and principled advice. His fame even reached the Xiongnu, and an envoy of the Northern Shanyu was sent to see him; Cheng Gong considered that he did not look sufficiently distinguished, and he insisted the emperor present the minister Wei Ying in his stead.

In 74 Cheng Gong was made a senior Palace Attendant. When he died two years later, Emperor Zhang intended to allocate tomb-land to support his family. They asked instead that he be buried in his home country, and he granted them 30,000 cash. -HHS 27/17:944-45*, XC 1:6b, XHS 3:1a-b.

Cheng Gongfu 成公浮 see Chenggong Fu 成公浮.

88 Cheng Gongying

Cheng Gongying 成公英 see Chenggong Ying 成公英.

Cheng Heng 程横; Youfufeng. An officer under the county magistrate Cao Quan, Cheng Heng distributed medicine and clothing to the poor. -*JSCB* 18:2a; Ebrey 80:342.

Cheng Hong 程肱; Jianwei. Cheng Hong was the uncle of the widowed Lady Cheng Zhenjue *q.v.*

Cheng Huai 程淮; Hanzhong. The elder son of Cheng Zhi by his second marriage to the Lady Li Mujiang, Cheng Huai and his brothers later had official careers. -*HYGZ* 10C:171. *HHS* 84/74:2793 [some editions of *HHS* have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Huan 程奂/渙. Officers under Han Fu in Ji province in 191, Cheng Huan and Zhao Fu defied Yuan Shao with their troops and urged Han Fu not to yield to him. -*HHS* 74/64A:2378.

Cheng Huang 程璜 I. A eunuch Regular Attendant in 126, Cheng Huang was among those impeached by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu, primarily for involvement in the failed attempt of the Yan clan to keep Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, from the throne in the previous year. He and his fellows were eventually dismissed. -*HHS* 58/48:1870.

It appears that there were been two eunuchs of the same name at court some fifty years apart: *cf.* Cheng Huang II below.

Cheng Huang 程璜 II. A eunuch Regular Attendant, Cheng Huang's adopted daughter became a secondary wife of Yang Qiu. Yang Qiu was an enemy of Cai Zhi, uncle of Cai Yong, and in 178 Cheng Huang circulated an anonymous leaflet asserting that the two men had sought private favours. The Imperial Secretariat investigated, and Cai Zhi and Cai Yong barely escaped death.

In 179, as Yang Qiu was hoping to regain his position as Director of Retainers, his wife revealed his plans to her father. Cao Jie and other eunuchs compelled Cheng Huang to inform them, and they had Yang Qiu and his associates arrested and killed. -*HHS* 56/46:1834.

It appears there were been two eunuchs of the same name at court some fifty years apart: *cf.* Cheng Huang I above.

Cheng Huang 程璜 II, adopted daughter of. The Lady was a secondary wife 小妻 to the stern official Yang Qiu and, through her father, she had access to and influence in the palace. In 178 Cai Yong criticised her

conduct and warned that she could bring ruin to the state, but Cheng Huang then arranged for his exile.

In 179 the Excellency Chen Qiu and others wanted Yang Qiu reappointed as Director of Retainers, so he might continue his purge of the palace eunuchs. The Lady Cheng revealed their plans to her father, and all those involved were arrested and killed.

About 180 a Lady Cheng was described as a close associate to Emperor Ling. Huang Gang of Yingchuan relied upon her influence in seeking an area of public wilderness to create a private park. Despite such pressure, the Administrator Chong Fu accepted the advice of his staff officer Liu Yi and refused the proposal.

In 185 the minister Cui Lie paid a fine to the emperor's private treasury in order to be appointed as an Excellency. At the inauguration Emperor Ling remarked to his attendants that they might have got a better price, but Lady Cheng replied that it was remarkable a man of such distinction was prepared to pay anything at all, and it was only through her persuasion that they had obtained anything.

The Lady referred to in each of these incidents was probably the same woman. -*HHS* 60/50B:1999, 56/46:1834, 81/71:2695, 52/42:1731.

Cheng Ji 程基 [Zhiye 雉業]; Hanzhong. The younger son of Cheng Zhi by his second marriage to the Lady Li Mujiang, Cheng Ji rose to be Administrator of Nan commandery. -*HYGZ* 10C:171, *HHS* 84/74:2793 [some editions of *HHS* have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Ji 程畿 [Jiran 季然 or Jimo 季默] (d.222); Ba. In 200 Cheng Ji was a magistrate in his home commandery in Yi province. The Administrator Pang Xi was concerned that the warlord Governor Liu Zhang might have doubts about his loyalty. He sent Cheng Ji's son Qi/Yu to him, with orders for Cheng Ji to raise auxiliary troops from the local non-Chinese people. Cheng Ji refused, insisting that despite all provocation they must remain resolutely loyal to Liu Zhang and give him no cause for suspicion; if Pang Xi had any plans for rebellion, he would not follow him. Pang Xi argued with Cheng Ji and threatened to kill Cheng Qi, but Cheng Ji replied that even if he made his son into soup, like the legendary general Yue Yang 樂羊 he would drink the mixture and not change his policy. So Pang Xi was compelled to make terms with Liu Zhang.

When Liu Zhang heard of Cheng Ji's stand, he appointed him Administrator of Jiangyang, established from the southern part of Jianwei. Later, as Liu Bei took over the province from Liu Zhang, Cheng Ji changed allegiance and joined his staff.

In 222 Cheng Ji went with Liu Bei to attack Sun Quan on the middle Yangzi. Liu Bei's troops were heavily defeated and forced to retreat, but Cheng Ji and his squadron maintained the rear against great odds. He was killed in battle. -SGZ Shu 15:1089-90, *HYGZ* 5:71, 12:220; deC 96:305-306.

Cheng Jian 程堅; Nanyang. Gentleman of the Palace to Liu Qian, King of Zhao, Cheng Jian was known for his moral worth. In 118 Liu Qian was disgraced for unseemly conduct: a county was taken from his fief and Cheng Jian was appointed as his Tutor. He took the king in hand, and Liu Qian gave up his bad ways. Cheng Jian reported to the court on this reformed conduct, and the territory which had been taken was restored.

Cheng Jian later became Administrator of Nan commandery, and a stele was erected for him at the temple of the legendary Qu Yuan 屈原. -HHS 14/4:559, *SJZ* 38:15a.

Cheng Jin 程覲; Hanzhong. Cheng Jin was the third son of Cheng Zhi by his first marriage. After their father's death he and his three full brothers abused their stepmother the Lady Li Mujiang. Eventually, however, impressed by her generous conduct, they presented themselves at the local prison to expiate their lack of filial respect.

Cheng Jin and his brothers later had official careers. -*HYGZ* 10C:171, *HHS* 84/74:2793 [some editions of *HHS* have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Jin 成璠 [Youping 幼平] (d.166); Hongnong. Well known as a virtuous scholar, Cheng Jin was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet.

In the middle 160s he was appointed Administrator of Nanyang. The commandery had long-established and powerful local families and many connections of the eunuchs at the imperial court, who joined in alliance and acted as bandits. Determined to bring order with a firm hand, as soon as he took up office Cheng Jin invited the well-known local reformer Cen Zhi to become his Officer of Merit, gave him complete trust and accepted all his recommendations. A popular song described Cen Zhi as the real administrator

of Nanyang, while Cheng Jin "needs only to sit and sing."

In 165 Cen Zhi and his colleague, the Officer for Criminals 賊曹 Zhang Mu, reported against Zhang Fan, a wealthy merchant who supplied the imperial harem at Luoyang and who was alleged to have used his influence at court to act unlawfully. Cheng Jin had Zhang Fan arrested, and although an amnesty was current at the time, he had him beaten to death with a bastinado and killed more than two hundred of his kinsmen, clients and retainers. Only when they were dead did he report the matter to the throne.

The leading eunuch Hou Lan arranged for Zhang Fan's widow to present a formal complaint to Emperor Huan. Cheng Jin was arrested, while Cen Zhi and Zhang Mu fled away to the east. The case of Cheng Jin was associated with that of Liu Zhi, Administrator of Taiyuan, whose officer Wang Yun had killed a eunuch official, also under amnesty, and with those of Zhai Chao in Shanyang, who had attacked Hou Lan's property, and Huang Fu in Runan, who had taken ferocious action against the eunuch relative Xu Xuan. There was great interest among the reform party at the capital, and the Excellencies Chen Fan and Liu Mao presented arguments in their favour. The emperor was angry, the two men were criticised by other officials. Liu Mao made no further approach, but Chen Fan returned to the question, and in an eloquent presentation he argued that Cheng Jin's disregard of the amnesty should be ignored in the light of his devotion to the public interest. At this time too, the scholar Xiang Kai came to court and submitted memorials on the conduct of government, citing as number of portents and giving particular attention to the fate of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi.

Despite these appeals, Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi were executed – sources differ whether they suffered in public or died in prison. The whole affair, with Chen Fan's argument that the letter of the law was irrelevant to men of good will, and the intense interest among the students of the University, the junior officers of the bureaucracy and gentry officials who sought reform, played a critical role in damaging the relationship between the imperial court and the administration which should serve it. -*HHS* 66/56:2163-65, 67/57:2186 & 2212, 102/12:3258, *XC* 4:3b-4a & 8b; deC 89:70-77, 373 ff., deC 75:8-9:76.

Cheng Jiu 成就. Inspector of Liang province in the

90 Cheng Jue

early 160s, Cheng Jiu employed Dong Zhuo as an Attendant Officer. -SGZ 6:172.

Cheng Jue 程玦, the Lady: see Cheng Zhenjue 程貞玦.

Cheng Li 程立 see *sub* Cheng Yu 昱.

Cheng Lian 成廉. A cavalry commander under Lü Bu, Cheng Lian was captured by Cao Cao in 198. -SGZ 1:16.

Cheng Lü 程慮 or Cheng Xian 憲. When Deng Yu was given command in the west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he appointed Cheng Lü to his staff. -HHS 16/6:601.

Cheng Ping 程秉 [Deshu 德樞]; Runan. Formerly a student of the great scholar Zheng Xuan, during the 190s Cheng Ping went to the far south to take refuge from the troubles, where he studied philosophy and morality with Liu Xi and read widely in the Confucian classics.

Called up by Shi Xie, Cheng Ping became his Chief Clerk, but he was then summoned by Sun Quan and appointed Senior Tutor to his Heir, Sun Deng. He was later a minister of the kingdom of Wu, and died in the late 220s.

Cheng Ping compiled studies of the *Book of Changes*, the *Classic of History* and the *Analects*, a total of more than thirty thousand characters. -SGZ Wu 8:1248-49.

Cheng Pu 程普 [Demou 德謀]; Youbeiping. A good-looking man, quick-witted and skilful at planning, Cheng Pu was a local officer in his commandery and his province. He served under Sun Jian against the Yellow Turbans in 184 and then against Dong Zhuo in 190. He regularly distinguished himself in battle, and was several times wounded.

Sun Jian was killed in 192, but Cheng Pu joined Sun Ce in his operations south of the Yangzi from 195, and he rose to command two thousand soldiers and fifty horsemen. As Sun Ce attacked Kuaiji in 196, he named Cheng Pu Commandant of Wu commandery, with headquarters at Qiantang, present-day Hangzhou. He was later transferred to be Commandant of Danyang, with his base on the Yangzi south of present-day Nanjing, and he attacked and settled various groups of refugees and non-Chinese in the hill country to the south. On one occasion he rescued Sun Ce when he was surrounded by enemy soldiers of Zu Lang. He was promoted and given title as Administrator of Lingling, though that territory was not yet under the control of

the Sun, and in 199 he accompanied the main army for the attacks on Liu Xun in Lujiang and on Huang Zu by the mouth of the Han.

When Sun Ce died in the following year, Cheng Pu and Zhang Zhao were among the leading supporters of the new chieftain Sun Quan, and Cheng Pu led an army through the Sun territory to ensure its loyalty. In 203 he took part in the settlement of Yuzhang, and in 208 he and Zhou Yu held joint command in the campaign against Cao Cao which brought victory at the Red Cliffs and the conquest of the middle Yangzi. [Years later, however, Lü Meng cited this experience as an argument against such shared authority: see *sub* Sun Jiao.]

Senior military commander of Wu, Cheng Pu was made Administrator of Jiangxia with title as a general and four cities to provide supplies. He moved to Nan commandery when Zhou Yu died in 210, but returned to Jiangxia after that territory was transferred to Liu Bei. He died soon afterwards; according to one story he became ill after burning the bodies of several hundred enemies, and died a few months later.

When Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229, he enfeoffed Cheng Pu's son Zi 咨 in memory of his father's service. -SGZ Wu 10:1283-84*.

Cheng Qi 程祈 or Cheng Yu 郁 [Gonghong 公弘]; Ba. Son of Cheng Ji, a county magistrate in his home commandery, Cheng Qi was on the staff of the Administrator Pang Xi.

About 200 Pang Xi sent Cheng Qi with orders for his father to raise auxiliary troops from the local non-Chinese people. Cheng Ji, rightly concerned that Pang Xi was considering rebellion against their overlord the Governor Liu Zhang, did not obey. Pang Xi threatened to kill Cheng Qi, but Cheng Ji defied him, claiming that his sense of duty was more important than his son's life. Pang Xi was eventually obliged to make terms with Liu Zhang.

Cheng Qi became a celebrated gentleman of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 15:1089, *HYGZ* 5:71; deC 96:305-306.

Cheng Qiu 程球 (d.187). Local officer to Geng Bi, Inspector of Liang province, Cheng Qiu was hated for his greed and corruption. In 187, as Geng Bi led troops against the rebels of Liang province, the men mutinied and killed them both. -HHS 58/48:1877; deC 84:152-153.

Cheng Tuo 程他 or Cheng Ta; Dong. About 210 Cheng

Tuo was murdered by Guo Zhen, who was having an affair with his wife. -SGZ 27:741.

Cheng Tuo 程他, wife of. About 210 the Lady had an affair with her cousin Guo Zhen, who then killed her husband. The pair were arrested and questioned by the commandery officer Feng Liang, but they withstood the flogging intended to force the truth from them. Feng Liang came to believe that he had made a false accusation, but the county magistrate Hu Zhi noted the sexual relationship between the two, examined the affair in more detail, and found out the truth. -SGZ 27:741.

Cheng Wei 程未; Chenliu. At the age of fourteen Cheng Wei became known for his filial conduct, and particularly for his almost hysterical response to the death of his father's brother. In a letter of recommendation to the Administrator of the commandery, probably written in the 170s, Cai Yong describes a personal interview with the boy, who appeared ravaged by sorrow, and his own examination of various attendants, who confirmed Cheng Wei's evident grief. Such excessive conduct was regarded as a reason for recommendation as Filial and Incorrupt. -Cai 8:2.

Cheng Wu 程烏 or Cheng Yan 焉. An officer under Gongsun Shu, in 28 Cheng Wu was sent to assist the warlords Lü Wei, Zhang Han and Jiang Zhen in the Wei valley. Guangwu's general Feng Yi defeated the allies at Chencang, then pursued Cheng Wu to the Han River and defeated him again.

After the destruction of Gongsun Shu in 36, Cheng Wu and some other officers were noted for their ability by Emperor Guangwu and were given appointments in his regime. -HHS 17/7:648, 13/3:537, 544.

Cheng Xian 程憲 see Cheng Lü 程慮.

Cheng Xin 程信 [Boyi 伯義] (d.114); Hanzhong. Officer of Merit in the commandery, in 110 Cheng Xin was left in charge at the capital as the Administrator Zheng Qin went to attack the Qiang. Zheng Qin was killed in battle, and Cheng Xin collected his body and escorted it to his home in Hejian. He then had twenty-five of Zheng Qin's former officials and students join an oath to avenge him, and each raised a troop of volunteers.

The new Administrator Deng Cheng maintained Cheng Xin on his staff, and when the Qiang came again four years later, Cheng Xin and his comrades fought them. They heavily defeated the enemy, but

Cheng Xin died of his wounds.

Cheng Xin's heroism was reported to the throne, and in 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to his family. -HHS 87/77:2889, HYGZ 10C:169.

HYGZ gives the date of Cheng Xin's campaign and death as 115, but HHS has 114, which fits better with the pattern of events.

Cheng Xing 程興; Hanzhong. Cheng Xing was the eldest son of Cheng Zhi by his first marriage. After their father's death he and his three full brothers abused their stepmother the Lady Li Mujiang. Eventually, however, impressed by her generous conduct, they presented themselves at the local prison to expiate their lack of filial respect.

Cheng Xing and his brothers later had official careers. -HYGZ 10C. 171, HHS 84/74:2793 [some editions of HHS have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Xiu 程休. A senior official in Zuopingyi about 212, he was killed by the bandit Zhao Qinglong. -SGZ 16:511.

Cheng Xu 程徐 or Mu Xu 穆徐. During the 160s Cheng Xu was Administrator of Changsha. As he went on tour during the spring, orders were sent for the roads to be prepared, but the magistrate Zhou Gui did not have the work done, for he believed it was more important that the people should work in the fields. Cheng Xu sent an Investigator, and Zhou Gui promptly abandoned his office. Now embarrassed, Cheng Xu apologised and asked Zhou Gui to return, but Zhou Gui refused to serve under a man who cared more for his horses' hooves than for his people. -HQ 2:7b.

Cheng Xu 程緒 (d.193); Dai. In 193, as Liu Yu was preparing to attack Gongsun Zan, his officer Cheng Xu argued against it. Liu Yu killed him. -HHS 73/63:2356.

Cheng Xun 程恂. When Sui Yu, general in the service of Lu Fang, turned against him in 36, Emperor Guangwu sent Cheng Xun as an envoy to bring him and his brother Sui Xing to the capital for appointment and enfeoffment. -HHS 12/2:507.

Cheng Yan 程焉 see Cheng Wu 程烏.

Cheng Yan 程嚴 (d.121). In the autumn of 121 the Xianbi chieftain Qizhijian raided Yunzhong. The Administrator Cheng Yan led local levies to oppose him, but was defeated and killed. -HHS 5:233, 19/9:719, 90/80:2987; deC 84:300.

Cheng Yang 程陽 [Xiaosui 孝遂]; Yuzhang. A county

commandant in Danyang, in 181 Cheng Yang was a leading sponsor of a stele in honour of the magistrate Pan Qian, his senior officer. -*LS* 5:4a.

Cheng Yi 成宜 (d.211). One of the north-western leaders opposed to Cao Cao, Cheng Yi was killed at the battle of Huayin. -*SGZ* 1:34-35, *SGZ Shu* 6:946.

Cheng Yin 程寅; Youfufeng. A gentleman scholar, in the mid-180s Cheng Yin received official appointment. -*JSCB* 18:3a; Ebrey 80:342-343.

Cheng Yin 程銀; Hedong. A bandit leader from the mid-190s, in 211 Cheng Yin was one of the north-western allies defeated by Cao Cao at the battle of Huayin. He fled to Zhang Lu, but when Cao Cao took over Hanzhong Cheng Yin surrendered and was granted a nominal office. -*SGZ* 8:266, *SGZ Shu* 6:946.

Cheng Yishi 成翊世 [Jiming 季明]; Pingyuan. A keen and skilled scholar when he was young, Cheng Yishi became a local officer in the commandery. From that position he sent a letter to the capital objecting to the fact that, although Emperor An had taken the cap of manhood in 109 and was formally of age, the Dowager Deng still controlled the government. The Dowager had him punished, but when Emperor An took power after the death of the Lady Deng in 121, Cheng Yishi was called to the capital and appointed to the Imperial Secretariat.

In 124 the eunuch Fan Feng and the emperor's wet-nurse, the Lady Wang Sheng, spoke against the Heir Liu Bao and obtained his dismissal. Cheng Yishi wrote several times to defend Liu Bao and to accuse Fan Feng and Wang Sheng. Emperor An paid no attention, and Cheng Yishi was arrested. He was threatened with execution, but the emperor ordered that he only be expelled from office and sent back to his home country.

After Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, was brought to the throne by a coup in 125, the Excellency Zhang Hao reported Cheng Yishi's endeavours. Cheng Yishi was appointed a Consultant, but he did not regard his efforts as worthy of such reward: he resigned his office and likewise refused invitations to join the clerical offices at the capital.

The Deputy Director of the Secretariat Yu Xu admired Cheng Yishi's attitude and believed he should be involved in government. He arranged his recall as a Consultant, and about 130 the succeeding Deputy Guo Qian and the Director Zuo Xiong nominated Cheng Yishi for the Secretariat itself. Widely respected for his

honest and direct advice, Cheng Yishi later took Zuo Xiong's place as Director. -*HHS* 57/47:1840.

Cheng Yu 程豫; Hanzhong. Cheng Yu was the fourth son of Cheng Zhi by his first marriage. After their father's death he and his brothers abused their stepmother the Lady Li Mujiang. Eventually, however, impressed by her generous conduct, they presented themselves at the local prison to expiate their lack of filial respect.

Cheng Yu and his brothers later had official careers. -*HYGZ* 10C:171 *HHS* 84/74:2793 [some editions of *HHS* have the family surname as Chen 陳].

Cheng Yu 程昱 or Cheng Li 立 [Zhongde 仲德] (142-221); Dong. As the Yellow Turban rising broke out in 184, Wang Du, assistant magistrate of Cheng Yu's home county Dong'a, joined the rebels. As the magistrate led the people into the hills, Cheng Yu sent men to spy and learnt that Wang Du, unable to hold the empty city, had set up camp outside. The refugees were afraid to return, but Cheng Yu and the local leader Xue Fang tricked them into believing that the enemy were not in the city but in the hills behind them. So the people returned to the city, and when Wang Fu attacked they rallied and defeated him.

About 190 the Inspector Liu Dai invited Cheng Yu to join his staff. He would not accept, but he did advise Liu Dai to ally with Yuan Shao rather than with Gongsun Zan. When Liu Dai was killed and Cao Cao took over in 192, Cheng Yu accepted appointment as a county magistrate in Dongping.

As Cao Cao attacked Xu province in 194, Cheng Yu remained behind, and he helped Xun Yu defend the position in Yan province against Lü Bu and the rebel Chen Gong. Lü Bu held the family of Jin Yun, magistrate of Fan, as hostages, but Cheng Yu persuaded Jin Yun to hold his position, and he himself blocked Chen Gong's advance and guarded his own home city of Dong'a. When Cao Cao returned he was suitably grateful and he appointed Cheng Yu Chancellor of Dongping. Cao Cao later became discouraged and considered taking refuge with Yuan Shao, but Cheng Yu stiffened his resolve to remain independent. He became one of Cao Cao's most trusted advisers.

As Emperor Xian was brought to Xu city in 196, Cheng Yu was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat. Yan province was still disturbed, however, so he was sent there as Administrator of Jiyin and Area Commander for the region. Eight foot three inches tall

[190 cm] and well bearded, he was rigid and could be abrupt. He distrusted Liu Bei, urged Cao Cao to kill him when he came to surrender in 196, and opposed letting him go to Xu province in 199.

When Yuan Shao attacked south in 200, Cheng Yu held appointment as a general and commanded a small garrison in Dong commandery. Cao Cao offered reinforcements, but Cheng Yu refused, saying that a larger force would attract attention and it was safer not to be noticed. Admiring his courage, Cao Cao agreed, and indeed Cheng Yu was not attacked.

Cheng Yu later recruited men from refugee groups of the hills and marshes to join the attack on Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang. He was placed in charge of the water transport with Li Dian, and they defeated Yuan Shang's officer Gao Fan when he attempted to block the supply route.

After the defeat of the Yuan in 204 Cheng Yu was rewarded with enfeoffment, and he went into semi-retirement. He served as adviser to Cao Pi at Ye city when Cao Cao went on campaign to the northwest in 211, and he persuaded Cao Pi not to kill defeated rebels without first referring the question to his father.

In 217 Cheng Yu was one of the senior officials who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and in 217 he became Commandant of Guards for the royal state of Wei; he was dismissed after he quarrelled over precedence with the Commandant of the Capital Xing Zhen.

When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 Cheng Yu was restored to office and raised in fief, and his name appears as sponsor on a stele which commemorated Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. He died at the age of eighty, and Cao Pi mourned him with high posthumous honours. -SGZ 14:425-29*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:196.

Wei lue, quoted in SGZ 14:427, tells how Cheng Yu's original personal name was Li 立. As a child he had a dream that he climbed Mount Tai and grasped the sun. During the struggle to hold Yan province against Lü Bu in 194, he mentioned this dream to Xun Yu, who then told Cao Cao. Cao Cao remarked that this was a sign of his loyalty, and he added the character 日 "sun" to his personal name, so that Li 立 became Yu 昱.

Cheng Yu 程郁 see Cheng Qi 程祁: HYGZ 5:71.

Cheng Zeng 程曾 [Xiugong 秀升]; Yuzhang. Having studied at Chang'an for over ten years, Cheng Zeng

became an expert in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan interpretation. He returned to his home country and became a teacher, with several hundred students at a time; one of them was Gu Feng of Kuaiji. Cheng Zeng wrote over a hundred *pian* on problems in the classics, and he also compiled a detailed commentary to *Mencius*.

In 78 Cheng Zeng was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Guangling. He died in that office. -HHS 79/69B:2581*.

Cheng Zheng 程徵; Jianwei. In 203 Cheng Zheng and his fellow-countryman Shi Qian persuaded the Governor Liu Zhang to divide Jianwei and set up the new commandery of Jiangyang. -HYGZ 3:40.

Cheng Zhenjue 程貞玦, the Lady [Qiongyu 瓊玉]; Jianwei. The Lady's original personal name was simply Jue. At the age of nineteen she was married to Zhang Wei, but he died a few months later. Though the couple had no children, the Lady cared day and night for her late husband's nephew Zhang Yue and other dependents.

The Investigator Wang Zhong wanted to marry the Lady, her uncle Cheng Hong approved on her behalf, and the Administrator Li Yan sent an officer with wedding gifts. The Lady, however, threw herself into a river, and although she was rescued the marriage plans were abandoned.

Later Administrators praised the Lady's loyalty, and the character *zhen* 貞 "chaste" was officially added to her personal name. -HYGZ 10B: 160.

Cheng Zhi 程祗 [Wenju 文矩]; Hanzhong. A widower with four sons, Cheng Zhi took the Lady Li Mujiang as his second wife and had two sons by her. He became a county magistrate in Nanyang but died in that office. -HYGZ 10C:171, HHS 84/74:2793. [Some editions of HHS have his name as Chen Wenzhi 陳文知, presumably from confusion with his style.]

Cheng Zhi 程祗, wife of: see the Lady Li Mujiang 李穆姜.

Cheng Zun 成存; Guanghan. In 203 Liu Zhang established the region of Jiangyang, in the southern part of Jianwei, as a separate commandery, and appointed Cheng Zun, who had been Commandant there, as the new Administrator. -HYGZ 3:40.

Chengda 成大 of Shule [Kashgar]. In 84 King Zhong of Shule turned against Han, but his minister Chengda did not support him. The Chinese agent Ban Chao put down the dissidents, deposed King Zhong, and placed

on the throne. -HHS 47/37:1579.

Chenggong Fu 成公浮. Administrator of Kuaiji, Chenggong Fu was accused of embezzlement by the Inspector Ouyang Can. Through the loyal defence of his officer Dai Jiu, he was eventually cleared and allowed to retire. -HHS 81/71:2691.

Chenggong Ying 成公英; Jincheng. In the late 180s Chenggong Ying became a personal follower of the Liang province rebel Han Sui [or Han Yue]. After the north-western warlords were defeated by Cao Cao in 211, Han Sui's men scattered and Chenggong Ying was the only one to accompany him back to his base.

Han Sui's officer Yan Xing later turned against him in support of Cao Cao, and in 214 Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan drove Han Sui from his positions in Hanyang. Han Sui thought of fleeing south into Shu, but Chenggong Ying persuaded him to seek aid from the Qiang and other non-Chinese, and with these allies Han Sui defeated Yan Xing and held his ground in Jincheng.

When Han Sui died in 215, Chenggong Ying surrendered to Cao Cao; he was well received and was granted a military post and a marquisate. As he accompanied Cao Cao on a hunt, three deer crossed their path, and Cao Cao told Chenggong Ying to shoot them. He killed them with just three shots and Cao Cao clapped his hands, but then asked whether Chenggong Ying could serve him so loyally as he had Han Sui. Chenggong Ying got down from his horse, knelt before Cao Cao and wept as he explained that he could make no such promise, for he would never have joined Cao Cao if Han Sui were still alive. Admiring his honesty, Cao Cao continued to treat him with affection and respect.

In 220 Chenggong Ying was sent by Cao Pi to assist Su Ze and Zhang Ji take control over the newly-restored Liang 涼 province, which controlled the route to central Asia. He died of illness on that campaign. -SGZ 15:475.

Chengguo 成國 of Jumi [present-day Yutian]. In 129 King Fangjian of Yutian [Khotan] attacked Jumi and killed its king Xing. In 132 King Chenpan of Shule [Kashgar] was commissioned by Han to retake Jumi, and Chengguo, a member of the royal house, was placed on the throne.

In 151 the Chinese Chief Clerk for the Western Regions Zhao Ping was taken ill and died at Yutian. Chengguo asserted that he had been poisoned, and

as King Jian of Yutian was being questioned by Zhao Ping's successor Wang Jing, one of Chengguo's officers, Qinmu, assassinated him.

In 175 Jian's son Anguo launched another attack on Jumi, devastated the state and killed the king. This unfortunate ruler was probably not Chengguo, but a successor. -HHS 88/78:2915, 2916.

Cheniu 車紐 see Che'niu 車紐.

Chenliu, Old Man of 陳留老父 see Old Man of Chenliu.

Chenpan 臣槃/磐/盤 of Shule [Kashgar]. Maternal uncle of King Anguo of Shule, on account of some wrongdoing about 115 Chenpan was sent into exile. He travelled to the Great Yuezhi in present-day northern Afghanistan, and was treated with great favour.

When Anguo died without sons his mother served as regent. She planned to have Yifu, a nephew of Chenpan, succeed to power, but when Chenpan arrived with an escort of Yuezhi he was promptly acclaimed as ruler. As the state of Suoju [Yarkand] turned from Yutian [Khotan] to ally itself with Shule, Shule became a leading state of the west in opposition to Qiuzi and Yutian.

In 127 Chenpan sent a tribute mission to Han and was given title as Grand Chief Commandant 大都尉, with nominal authority over the Western Regions; this was the same title as had been awarded to King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] a hundred years earlier. In 130 he sent a hostage son, and in 133 he presented lions and zebus.

In 132 the Administrator of Dunhuang Xu You ordered Chenpan to attack Yutian, and compel King Fangqian to restore the independence of Jumi [present-day Yutian]. The mission was carried out with energy.

In 168 the king of Shule was assassinated by Hede, described by HHS 88/78 as his uncle, and by the stele of Cao Quan [a less reliable source] as his son. Though the victim is described as Grand Chief Commandant, his name is not given. Since Chenpan was probably born before 100 he could not have had an active uncle seventy years later, and the title had evidently been transferred to some unfortunate successor. -HHS 88/78:2915, 2927.

Chentang 陳湯; non-Chinese. Tribesmen of the hill county in the west of Wuling, in 116 Chentang and his colleague Yangsun took over an indigenous rebellion which had begun the year before. Styling themselves generals and adopting red caps as a uniform, they

destroyed government offices and plundered the people. The provincial authorities called up auxiliaries from tribes which had stayed loyal, and the trouble was put down. -HHS 86/76:2833.

Chenxun 臣勳 of Shule [Kashgar]. Nephew of King Chenpan by an elder brother, when a tribute mission was sent to Han in 127 Chenpan was named Grand Chief Commandant and Chenxun was given title as a major. -HHS 88/78:2927.

Chenzong 陳縱 see Chencong 陳從.

Chi 郝 [surname] see Hao 郝 *passim*.

Chi Jian 郗儉 see Que Jian 卻儉.

Chi Lü 郗慮 [Hongyu 鴻豫]; Shanyang. When he was young Chi Lü was a student of Zheng Xuan, and in the late 190s Chi Lü joined the Han court at Xu city under Cao Cao. Recommended by Xun Yu, he became a Palace Attendant and Minister of the Household. Kong Rong and he disliked one another, and Chi Lü presented a memorial which brought Kong Rong's dismissal. In 208 he had Lu Cui offer a further set of accusations, and Kong Rong was killed. Later that year Chi Lü became Imperial Counsellor, second only to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor in the formal structure of Han; he probably owed his position rather to compliance than to ability.

In 213 Chi Lü formally presented Cao Cao with his insignia as Duke of Wei and with the Nine Distinctions, and in 214 he purged the Fu family of the Empress Fu, arresting her in the presence of the emperor. He left office or died about 215. -HHS 70/60:2274, 10B:454.

Chi Meng 郗萌. A scholar of portents, Chi Meng composed works on omens in *Chunqiu* and under Qin, and Liu Zhao cites a number of his interpretations in commentary to the Treatise of Astronomy by Sima Biao. Hou Kang and Yao Zhenzong suggest that he was a man of the Later Han period. -Hou Kang:2119, Yao Zhenzong:2345 and (e.g.) HHS 110/10:3222.

Chi Qiong 池瓊 was a county magistrate in Henan. -FSTY 5f:122.

Chi Yi 郗揖 see Que Yi 卻揖; on other forms of the surname see *sub* Que Jian.

Chi'er 赤兒. In 192 Chi'er was the trusted leader of a group of non-Chinese bodyguards to Niu Fu, nephew of Dong Zhuo, who commanded an army in Hongnong. Following the assassination of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an, there was a mutiny in the camp and Niu Fu was frightened. Gathering his treasure, he offered to reward Chi'er and his fellows if they would escort

him north across the Yellow River. Instead, however, they took all the goods, killed Niu Fu and sent his head to the new government at Chang'an. -HHS 72/62:2332-33, SGZ 6:181.

The characters before the name of Chi'er appear variously as *zhihu* 支胡 [HHS 72/62], *hu*, *puhu* 支胡 or even *youhu* 友胡 [SGZ 6], while modern punctuation and indexes are likewise uncertain. *Hu* alone can be a surname, but I believe the characters simply describe Chi'er as some form of non-Chinese.

Chong, Emperor 冲帝 (*reg.* 144-145) see Liu Bing 劉炳.

Chong 种 [surname unknown]. Younger brother to a secondary wife 小婦 of Ma Chao, Chong stayed in the region of Chang'an when Ma Chao went to the west. As Ma Chao turned against Cao Cao about 210, Chong took refuge in Hanzhong, and a few years later, as Ma Chao was driven south from Liang province, Chong went to call upon him. Ma Chao beat his breast and wept that all his family had been lost, save only the two of them. -SGZ Shu 6:946.

In SGZJJ Shu 6:12a, Zhao Yijing suggests that Chong was a brother of the Lady Dong V, who was a concubine 庶婦 of Ma Chao at this time [SGZ Shu 6:948], but the relationship may well have been through an earlier connection.

Chong Dai 种岱 [Gongzu 公祖]; Henan. Son of the Excellency Chong Gao, Chong Dai received many recommendations to office, but refused all of them. He was eventually sent an invitation and an official carriage, but died at that time. Li Xie, who had received a similar invitation and became a Consultant, argued that Chong Dai should be recognised as a former official; this was not approved. -HHS 56/46:1829*.

Chong Fu 种拂 [Yingbo 穎伯] (d.192); Henan. Son of the Excellency Chong Gao, Chong Fu became an Attendant Officer under the Director of Retainers and was later magistrate of Wan, chief city of Nanyang commandery. He established good government by moral pressure on his juniors to attend to their duties and take less time for their pleasures.

About 180 Chong Fu became Administrator of Yingchuan and invited the wealthy recluse Liu Yi to become his Officer of Merit. Because Chong Fu was the son of a worthy senior official, Liu Yi accepted.

During Chong Fu's term in Yingchuan a certain Huang Gang sought an area of public wilderness to create a private park. He had support from the Lady

Cheng, a close associate to Emperor Ling, but Chong Fu refused to give permission.

In 190 Chong Fu was promoted from Household Counsellor to Excellency of Works in the regime controlled by Dong Zhuo, but he left that office on account of an earthquake in the following year. He became Minister of Ceremonies.

In 192, after the assassination of Dong Zhuo, his former officers Li Jue and others attacked Chang'an. Bitterly angry that "By our failures as servants of the state, we have brought naked swords against the palace," Chong Fu fought them and died. -*HHS* 56/46: 1829-30*.

Chong Gao 种嵩 (d.115) see Zhong Guang 仲光.

Chong Gao 种嵩 [Jingbo 景伯] (103-163); Henan. Chong Gao's father, a county magistrate in Jiyin, was wealthy, but when he died Chong Gao distributed his property to the poor people of his clan and neighbourhood.

Chong Gao first held appointment in the county office of his native Luoyang, and was then recommended to the Intendant of Henan, Tian Xin, by his nephew Wang Shen. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he served in the offices of the Excellencies, was graded First Class, and about 142 he became an officer of the Imperial Censorate.

At this time eight special commissioners, including Du Qiao and Zhou Ju, had been sent on a tour of inspection, but through the influence of Liang Ji and the eunuchs little had been done to follow up their reports. Pressing the matter, Chong Gao secured the impeachment of Liu Xuan the Administrator of Shu commandery and some others, and he also persuaded Emperor Shun to review the appointments of eunuch relatives and favourites who held provincial office and had performed badly. This program, however, had little effect, and even Liu Xuan was later promoted to ministerial office.

In 144 Chong Gao was given charge of the household of the one-year-old Heir Liu Bing. When the eunuch Gao Fan came to collect the infant, Chong Gao faced him with a drawn sword and demanded his authority. Eventually an imperial authorisation for the move arrived, but Chong Gao was admired for his firm action.

Later that year Chong Gao became Inspector of Yi province, where he attended to the non-Chinese people of the hill country and restored their allegiance

to Han. On one occasion, the Administrator of Shu commandery sent a bribe to the leading eunuch Cao Teng, carried in the baggage of the annual Reporting Officer. Chong Gao seized it and asked that Cao Teng be punished. The court held there was no evidence Cao Teng had solicited the gift, so no action was taken. For his part, Cao Teng admired Chong Gao's honesty and became his patron.

Chong Gao's relationship with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji was more unsettling. When Liu Junshi, Administrator of Yongchang, had a snake cast from local gold for Liang Ji, Chong Gao intercepted the gift and reported it, so that it had to be placed in the official treasury. Then the religious leader Fu Zhi made a rising in Ba commandery in 147; Chong Gao and the Administrator Ying Cheng attacked the rebels but were heavily defeated. Liang Ji impeached them, and they were liable to execution, but both men were defended by the Grand Commandant Li Gu, and the regent Dowager Liang sentenced them only to dismissal.

Later that year, however, on the recommendation of Zhu Mu, Chong Gao was invited to join Liang Ji's staff, and when there was trouble with the Qiang he was made Inspector of Liang province. He was so popular that a petition was presented for him to stay an extra year, and when he became Administrator of Hanyang non-Chinese people migrated there for refuge.

Chong Gao was then Emissary to the court of the Southern Xiongnu, and he later transferred to Liaodong, where his reputation for benevolence settled the unruly Wuhuan. Some fault, however, was found, and he was dismissed and returned to the capital.

In 154 the Director of Retainers gave Chong Gao special recommendation as Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright. He was appointed a Consultant, then transferred to be Administrator of Nan commandery. He returned to a post in the Imperial Secretariat, but in 159 he was sent north as General Who Crosses the Liao to deal with raiding by the Xiongnu in Bing and Liang provinces. Emphasising negotiation before any attack, he arranged the release of non-Chinese held hostage by the local authorities. From the Ordos to the northwest, the non-Chinese submitted, and it is said the borders were so peaceful that watch-towers could be abandoned and beacon fires were unused.

Returning to Luoyang as Minister of Finance, Chong Gao became Excellency over the Masses in 161. He sponsored worthy officials such as Qiao Xuan

and Huangfu Gui, while he always acknowledged the favour he had received from the eunuch Cao Teng.

Chong Gao died after three years in office. He was mourned by the people of the frontier, and each time the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu visited the Han court he offered sacrifice at his tomb. -HHS 56/46:1826-29*, XC 3:7b, XHS 4:6b-7a.

Chong Guang 种光 see Zhong Guang 仲光.

Chong He 冲和. Probably a man of Later Han, Chong He became an Academician. -FSTY 5f:124.

Chong Ji 种辑 (d.200). A Palace Attendant at Chang'an in 192, Chong Ji joined Xun You and others in a conspiracy against Dong Zhuo. The plan was found out, but Dong Zhuo was killed soon afterwards.

As an associate of Dong Cheng and Yang Ding in 195, Chong Ji accompanied the court on the escape to the east and was enfeoffed for his good work. Later a colonel at Xu city, in 199 he joined Dong Cheng's conspiracy against Cao Cao. The plot was discovered a few months later, and Chong Ji and his family were destroyed.

Chong Jing 种兢. About 90 Chong Jing was Prefect of Luoyang. One day when he was travelling, a slave of Ban Gu obstructed his cortège. The man was drunk, and as Chong Jing's attendants sought to clear the way he swore at them. Since Ban Gu was connected to the Dou family of the regent Dowager, Chong Jing was afraid to take any action at that time.

When Emperor He destroyed the Dou family in 92, Ban Gu was dismissed from office. Chong Jing then had him arrested, and Ban Gu died in prison. -HHS 40/30B:1386.

Chong Shao 种劭 [Shenfu 申甫] (d.194); Henan. Chong Shao was a son of Chong Fu. As Dong Zhuo was advancing towards Luoyang on the request of He Jin in 189, Chong Shao was sent with orders for him to keep out of the capital district. Dong Zhuo continued his advance, and sent men to threaten Chong Shao, but Chong Shao overawed them and repeated his demand. Dong Zhuo then withdrew his troops.

When Dong Zhou seized power in 189, he named Chong Shao a Palace Attendant, but he came to resent his opposition. He demoted him to be a Consultant, and in 192 he intended to send him out as Inspector of Liang and Yi provinces. Then Dong Zhuo was assassinated, and Chong Shao's father was killed fighting Li Jue and his followers. Leaving office, Chong Shao later refused ministerial appointments,

though he did become a Counsellor Remonstrant.

As the western warlord Ma Teng quarrelled with Li Jue and his fellows in 194, Chong Shao planned to take advantage of the confusion to overthrow Li Jue's power at Chang'an. The conspiracy was discovered and the plotters fled west to Huaili in Youfufeng. Li Jue's troops drove Ma Teng away, then stormed the city and killed Chong Shao and his associates. -HHS 56/46:1830*.

Chong Wei 崇隗; Langye. Intendant of Henan in 135, Chong Wei was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -S/JZ 16:14b.

Chong Yu 种昱; Shu. As a young man Chong Yu studied under Yan Jihou, and when Yan Jihou was appointed Commandant of a frontier territory in Shu commandery Chong Yu wanted to join him. The road was blocked by non-Chinese rebels, and Chong Yu was forced to make several detours. He was almost killed, but eventually reached his master, and was widely admired for his dedication. -HYGZ 10A:137, HYGZJBZ:537.

Chou 仇 [surname] see Qiu 仇 *passim*.

Chu 鄙 [personal name unknown]. A stele erected in 63 records the contribution of this man, Administrator of Hanyang, to the reconstruction of the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. The project, over a hundred kilometres, included five large bridges, 623 trestles and sixty-four ancillary buildings such as post-and-relay-stations. -Needham 71:21-22, Ebrey 86:613-614.

Chu 觸 [surname unknown] see Jiao Chu 焦觸. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Chu [Dabo] 儲大柏. In the autumn of 25 the new Emperor Guangwu sent the Counsellor Remonstrant Chu Dabo to Shangdang and Taiyuan to call the Gengshi commanders there to surrender. Tian Yi the Administrator of Shangdang accepted the summons, but Bao Yong and Feng Yan in Taiyuan did not. They kept Zhu Dabo prisoner, but when messengers from Chang'an confirmed that the Gengshi Emperor was dead they released him and went to surrender. -HHS 29/19:1018.

Chu Feng 褚鳳; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Chu Feng was a senior member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169

the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Chu Gong 褚貢 (d.184). Administrator of Nanyang, Chu Gong was defeated and killed in the initial rising of the Yellow Turbans. -*HHS* 71/61:2309.

Chu Gong 褚恭 see Gongxu Gong 公緒恭.

Chu Rong 儲融. When Zhao Xi was appointed as a magistrate in Jing province in 27, the Commandant of Cavalry Chu Rong was ordered to provide him an escort. Zhao Xi, however, rejected the troops and travelled to his new territory alone. -*DGHJ* 13:7b.

Chu [Taibo] 儲太伯 see Zhu [Dabo] 儲大伯.

Chu Xi 褚禧 [Shuqi 叔齊]; Chenliu. Chu Xi was widely known for his intelligence. -*XC* 8:8b.

Chu Xi 鄒熙 or Xu Xi or Qiu Xi. He became Administrator of Donghai. -*FSTY* 6f:141.

Chu Yan 褚燕 see Zhang Yan 張燕.

Chunyu Chong 淳于崇; Beihai: see *sub* Chunyu Gong.

Chunyu Deng 淳于登 (d.179). A eunuch Regular Attendant, Chunyu Deng was an associate of Wang Fu. In 179 he and others of their party were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu. They were tortured and died in prison. -*HHS* 77/67:2499-2500.

Chunyu Gong 淳于恭 [Mengsun 孟孫] (d.80); Beihai. Born at the end of Former Han, Chunyu Gong was an expert in *Lao zi* and a firm follower of passivism. He constantly sought to prevent people quarrelling or fighting, and if robbers came to steal his crops he would help them, or hide so as not to embarrass them.

During a time of famine at the end of the reign of Wang Mang, Chunyu Gong's brother Chong was taken by bandits. They intended to eat him, but Chunyu Gong asked to take his place, and the bandits were so impressed that they let both men go. In similar disregard for his life, Chunyu Gong worked in the fields even at the height of civil war, remarking that his life or death should not concern anyone else.

He was invited to office by the commandery and provincial governments, was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and recruited to the offices at the capital, but he always refused and would retire into the wilderness when the summonses became too importunate. Eventually he took refuge in exile in Langye, and remained there more than twenty years.

In 76 Emperor Zhang issued an edict praising Chunyu Gong's conduct, and ordered the local authorities to award him twenty bales of silk. He sent a carriage for him, appointed him a Consultant, and a few days later promoted him Palace Attendant. Chunyu Gong delighted the ruler with his moral advice, and was honoured and favoured.

Despite his quietist approach, when Emperor Zhang called the conference on Confucianism at the White Tiger Hall in 79, Chunyu Gong played a leading role. Questions were presented to the panel of scholars by Wei Ying, and Chunyu Gong prepared the summary of their opinions which was presented to the emperor for final decision.

When Chunyu Gong was taken ill in 80 the emperor sent frequent messengers to enquire after him, and when he died he was honoured with a special edict and an inscribed stele. -*HHS* 3:138-39, 39/29:1301*; Tjan 49:16, 161, Vervorn 90:148-149, 285-286.

Chunyu Gui 淳于夔 see Chunyu Qiong 淳于瓊.

Chunyu Hong 淳于洪 see Chunyu Gong 淳于恭.

Chunyu Jia 淳于嘉; Ji'nan. In 191 Chunyu Jia was promoted from Household Counsellor to be Excellency of Works under the regime of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an, and in the following year he became Excellency over the Masses. He attended Emperor Xian at his capping ceremony in 194, but left office at the end of that year. -*HHS* 9:371-77.

Chunyu Lin 淳于臨; Lujiang. After the defeat and death of Li Xian in 30, his follower Chunyu Lin led a group of his comrades into the western hills where they caused trouble and killed a county magistrate. Ouyang Xi, Governor of Yang province, could not defeat them, but the junior official Chen Chong persuaded them to surrender. -*HHS* 12/2:501.

Chunyu Qiong 淳于瓊 [Zhongjian 仲簡] (d.200). In 188 Chunyu Qiong was a colonel in the Western Garden corps established by Emperor Ling. He later joined Yuan Shao, and in 195 he persuaded him not to take Emperor Xian under his protection.

In 199, contradicting Ju Shou, Chunyu Qiong urged a direct attack on Cao Cao. He was given command of one of the three divisions of the army, and in 200 he led the main convoy bringing supplies to Yuan Shao's forces at Guandu. He was attacked by Cao Cao's raiding party, was captured and, like many of his men, had his nose taken off. Cao Cao thought of sparing his life, but the renegade Xu You persuaded him to kill

him. -HHS 8:358, SGZ 1:19-22, 6:195-99.

Chunyu Shi 淳于式. Administrator of Kuaiji in Sun Quan's service about 217, he criticised Lu Xun for harshness during his campaigns of settlement in the southeast. Lu Xun on the other hand praised Chunyu Shi. Sun Quan asked about it, and Lu Xun explained that although he disagreed with Chunyu Shi he respected his concern for the people. -SGZ Wu 13:1344.

Chunyu Xiao 淳于孝; Beihai. Son of Chunyu Gong, after the death of his father in 80 Chunyu Xiao was made a member of the Suite of the Heir, a low ranking probationary office for commissioned appointment. -HHS 39/29:1301.

Chunyu Yi 淳于翼; Kuaiji. A distinguished scholar, Chunyu Yi was a magistrate of the markets at Luoyang. Early in the reign of Emperor Huan, when a large snake appeared in a hall of the Northern Palace Chunyu Yi observed that since snakes have scales, this was a sign that there would be armed conflict and a great minister would be killed. He left the capital and returned home to live in seclusion. [His forecast presumably related to the death of Liang Ji in 159, though this took place more than ten years later.]

In 151, though initially reluctant to receive him, Chunyu Yi became friends with the local magistrate Du Shang. -HHS 107/17:3344, HHJ 22:257.

Chuteruo shizhujiu Shanyu 屠特若尸逐就單于 see Tuteruo shizhujiu Shanyu 屠特若尸逐就單于.

Ci Chong 茨充 [Zihe 子河 or 子何]; Nanyang. When Ci Chong was a young candidate on his way to the capital, a colleague's horse died. Having arrived at the post-house, he left his own carriage and went back with his horse to pull his friend's. He became known for this generosity.

In the early 50s Ci Chong succeeded Wei Sa as Administrator of Guiyang. He continued his program of civilisation and settlement, encouraging schools and increasing the prosperity of the people with farming and weaving. He also taught the people to grow hemp and make sandals, as a means to provide themselves with civilised footwear instead of going barefoot. He is classed as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66: 2458-60; Miyakawa 60:31, 34, deC 90:11, 28.

Congqian 從錢 [Follow Money]. Sobriquet of a robber-bandit in Donglai, put down by He Kui and Zhang Liao about 200. -SGZ 12:379.

Cuan Xi 爨習; Yizhou? A man of family, Cuan Xi

became a county magistrate in Yizhou. He was reported for some fault, and should have been dismissed, but because of his local influence the Administrator Dong He took no action. Cuan Xi later became a military commander. -SGZ Shu 13:1045-46.

Cui 崔, the Lady (d.218); Qinghe. A niece of Cui Yan, she married Cao Cao's son Cao Zhi. In 218 she was wearing an embroidered gown, in defiance of the sumptuary laws, when Cao Cao saw her from a tower. He sent her home to kill herself. -SGZ 12:369.

Cui Ban 崔盤; Anping. Son of Cui Yin 駟, Cui Ban was the father of Cui Lie. -XTS 72C:2773.

Cui Bao 崔豹 *i.e.* Cui Jun 崔鈞. -SGZ 1:54.

Cui Chang 崔長 or Cui Zhang; Lecheng/Boling. Son of Cui Yin 駟, he was killed about 100. His younger brother Cui Yuan avenged him. -HHS 52/42:1722; Ebrey 78:36-40.

Cui Fan 崔蕃 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Gu 崔固 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Han 崔邯 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Hao 崔皓; Boling. XTS 72C:2778 says that Cui Hao was the son of Cui Shi. See also *sub* Cui Zhi 質.

Cui Hu 崔虎 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Ji 崔濟 [Yuanxian 元先]; Pingyuan. XTS 72C:2736 says that Cui Ji was a son of Cui Quan, and that he became a Counsellor Remonstrant.

Cui Jin 崔金 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Jiu 崔湫 [Daochu 道初]; Pingyuan. XTS 72C:2736 says that Cui Jiu was a son of Cui Ji.

Cui Ju 崔據. Director of Retainers in 119, Cui Ju was among those who argued against a forward policy in central Asia. -HHS 47/37:1588.

Cui Juye 崔巨業. A general under Yuan Shao, in 192 Cui Juye was sent to invade Zhuo commandery. He had no success, and Gongsun Zan defeated him heavily as he withdrew. -HHS 73/63:2363.

Cui Jun 崔鈞 [Yuanping 元平 or Zhouping 州平? *qq.v.*]; Boling; see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Lie, as a young man Cui Jun established a reputation as a fighting man; he became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, in charge of a palace guard of military cadets.

In 185 his father Cui Lie became an Excellency, but he had paid a large amount of money for the appointment and felt uneasy about it. He asked Cui Jun what people thought, and Cui Jun replied that people believed he was suitable for high rank, but they disapproved of the payment he had made. Cui Lie was

angry, and took a stick to hit Cui Jun. Though Cui Jun was in armour, he ran away. Cui Lie shouted at him for his lack of filial piety, but Cui Jun replied that though the legendary sage Shun 舜 would stand his ground for blows given by his father with a small stick, he ran away from a large one. Cui Lie calmed down.

In 190 Cui Jun was Administrator of Xihe. Though his father was with Dong Zhuo, he led troops to join the rebellion led by Yuan Shao. He is not heard of again. -HHS 52/42:1731-32; Ebrey 78:50-51, but see also Cui Yuanping and Cui Zhouping below.

Cui Lie 崔烈 [Weikao 威考] (d.192); Anping/Boling: see *sub* Cui Zhuang. Son of Cui Ban and a junior cousin of Cui Shi, he too was a man of considerable scholarship. He wrote a number of poems, hymns and essays, and held a high reputation across the north of the empire. He was a local officer in his commandery, joined the offices of the Excellency over the Masses about 170, and was later Administrator in a number of commanderies. About 180 he became a minister.

In 185 Cui Lie was promoted from Minister of Justice to Excellency over the Masses. At this time the government had instituted a system of fines or purchase of office, and Cui Lie was obliged to present five million cash to the emperor's private treasury in the Western Garden. At the inauguration Emperor Ling observed to his attendants that if he had been kept him longer he might have given more, but his favourite the Lady Cheng replied that it was only through her efforts that such a distinguished man had been persuaded to pay anything at all. Cui Lie's reputation suffered from this affair, he was unhappy about it himself, and he quarrelled with his son Cui Jun when he told him that, though people believed he was worthy of high rank they disapproved of the means by which he had obtained it; he was nicknamed Tongchou 銅臭 "Stink of Copper."

In the following year, concerned at the costs of the rebellion in Liang province, Cui Lie suggested that the northwest should be abandoned; he was vehemently opposed by the Consultant Fu Xie, who argued that the region was of essential strategic value against the barbarians, and Cui Lie was either a fool or a traitor. The emperor accepted Fu Xie's arguments.

In 187 Cui Lie was promoted Grand Commandant and was enfeoffed as a marquis. There is no record whether he paid money on this occasion, but he left his office after only a few months tenure.

In 189 Cui Lie attempted unsuccessfully to prevent Dong Zhuo from seizing the young emperor. In the following year Cui Jun joined the eastern alliance; Dong Zhuo arrested Cui Lie and imprisoned him kept in irons at the fortress of Mei in Youfufeng.

When Dong Zhuo was assassinated by Wang Yun and Lü Bu in 192, Cui Lie was released. He was appointed Colonel of the Gates in the new government, but was killed a few weeks later as Dong Zhuo's former officers captured Chang'an. -HHS 52/42:1731-32; Mather 76:581.

Cui Lin 崔林 [Deru 德儒] (d.244); Qinghe. Cui Lin was slow to demonstrate any ability, and only his cousin Cui Yan recognised his potential. After Cao Cao had taken over Ji province in 204 Cui Lin was appointed as a county magistrate in Taiyuan; he was so poor that he could not afford a carriage and had to walk to take up his new position.

In 207, after Cao Cao had defeated Gao Gan and taken over Bing province, he asked the Inspector Zhang Zhi who was the best of his local officials. Zhang Zhi recommended Cui Lin, and Cao Cao appointed him to senior positions on his staff in Ji province. He later transferred Cui Lin to his Imperial Chancellor's offices, and when the state of Wei was established in 213 Cui Lin became head of the Censorate.

As Cao Pi took power in 220 he appointed Cui Lin to his Secretariat, and he later held a variety of administrative positions in the provinces and at the capital. Under Cao Rui he became an Excellency and was enfeoffed. -SGZ 24:679-82*.

Cui Qi 崔琦 [Ziwei 子瑋]; Boling. Having travelled to the capital for study when he was young, Cui Qi became known for his wide learning, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and became a gentleman cadet.

About 140 Liang Ji, the brother of the empress who was at that time Intendant of Henan, invited Cui Qi to call upon him, but Cui Qi objected to the power of the imperial relatives by marriage and disapproved of Liang Ji's own conduct. He published *Waiqi zhen* 外戚箴 "Exhortations to the Consort Clan;" the text of the work is preserved in his HHS biography. When he saw this had no effect, Cui Qi composed *Baigua fu* 白鵠賦 "Rhapsody on the White Crane," in satirical vein. Liang Ji was angry, but Cui Qi faced his remonstrances with further criticism.

Cui Qi was named a magistrate, but he was afraid for his life and did not take up the post. Liang Ji sent

one of his henchmen to kill him, but when the man found Cui Qi he was peacefully ploughing a field, chanting from a book. Unable to kill such a virtuous man, he warned him of his master's intentions. Cui Qi went into hiding, but Liang Ji sent other men who sought him out and killed him.

Though we are told that Cui Qi was a kinsman of Cui Yuan and connected to the main line of the clan from Boling, the relationship was evidently not close, for Yuan's son Cui Shi accepted appointment from Liang Ji after the death of Cui Qi.

Cui Qi left fifteen *pian* of literary works, including rhapsodies, hymns, inscriptions, eulogies and essays. -HHS 80/70A:2619-23*; Ebrey 78:36-47, deC 89:11.

Cui Quan 崔權; Pingyuan. XTS 72C:2736 describes Cui Quan as a son of Cui Ting, and says that he became a general.

Cui Rong 崔融 [Zichang 子長]; Pingyuan. XTS 72C: 2736 describes Cui Rong as a son of Cui Jiu, and says that he was granted a county fief; this last seems unlikely.

Cui Shi 崔寔 or Cui Zhi 治 [Zizhen 子真 or Yuanshi 元始]; Anping/Boling: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Yuan, Cui Shi was a moral man, devoted to scholarship. Like his father, he was celebrated as a master of calligraphy in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." When Cui Yuan died in 142 Cui Shi spent the period of mourning in seclusion by his tomb: on this, however, see further below.

Invited to office by the three Excellencies, Cui Shi refused all of them, but in 147, when the government of the new young Emperor Huan was controlled by the Empress Liang Nüying and her brother Liang Ji, he received commandery nomination for a special recruitment of men who were Extremely Filial and of Exceptional Conduct. He was brought to court in a special carriage and was appointed a gentleman cadet, though on plea of ill health he failed to attend the examination and interview which usually followed such special nominations. He set out his opinions independently, in *Zheng lun* 政論, "An Essay on Government," which claimed there had been a steady decline in public morality and which criticised past policies of leniency in administering the laws.

Cui Shi was nonetheless invited to serve in the offices of the Grand Commandant Yuan Tang and of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Again he refused, but the ministers Yang Fu and He Bao urged that a man

of such talents should hold some position at court. Cui Shi was therefore appointed as a Consultant, and later transferred to Liang Ji's staff. Soon afterwards, about 151, an edict had him join the team of scholars, including Bian Shao, Fu Wuji, Huang Jing and Yan Du, at work in the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 of the Southern Palace on a third instalment of the official history of Later Han. The work was known at that time simply as the "Record of Han" 漢紀, but was later entitled *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記. Cui Shi continued his involvement with the project for several years, and the new compilation contained annals, tables of marquises and officials and of the bureaucracy, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, together with biographies of empresses and other individuals, including the eunuchs Sun Cheng and Cai Lun.

During the 150s Cui Shi also served as Administrator of the frontier commandery of Wuyuan. It is said that until that time, though the land produced hemp the people did not know how to use it, and they clad themselves, if at all, only in grasses and leaves: Cui Shi taught them to weave hemp, and purchased the first spinning wheels and looms. He also restored the system of warning beacons against raids from the non-Chinese, and his government was regularly cited as the best on the frontier.

Leaving office on account of illness, he was re-appointed as a Consultant and took part in editing the classics in the imperial library. At some time, moreover, Cui Shi compiled the *Simin yueling* 四民月令 "Monthly Ordinances for the Four Categories of People," an agricultural almanac designed for a gentleman farmer with a large estate and social responsibilities. It not only includes information about the proper times for planting and harvesting, but also gives advice on festivals and ceremonies, the education of children, marketing produce for the best returns, and preparation for self-defence in a time of banditry and disturbance.

When Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan in 159, as one of his former officers Cui Shi was dismissed and proscribed, but in 161, as the frontiers suffered increasing raids from the Xianbi, there was a call for nomination of men experienced in such problems. The Excellency Huang Qiong recommended Cui Shi. He was appointed Administrator of Liaodong, but his mother died at this time and he received permission to leave office for the period of mourning. He was then

appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, but was reluctant to be involved in an increasingly troubled government, and after a few months he once more pleaded ill health and returned home. He died about 170.

As indicated above, there is contradiction in the stories of how Cui Shi carried out the mourning for his father in 142, and the accounts of his personal fortunes. According to the biography of Cui Yuan, his family was comparatively poor, his last testament urged Cui Shi to avoid extravagance, and his instructions were dutifully carried out. Cui Shi's biography, however, says that he sold family property to pay for a magnificent tomb and set up a stele, and maintained such extravagant ritual that he eliminated the family wealth and was thereafter obliged to make a bare living by selling wine and preserved food. Though he later held office, the salary was inadequate, and he died in such poverty there was not enough money to pay for his funeral: a group of friends, the ministers Yang Ci, Yuan Feng, Duan Jiong and Yuan Wei, subscribed for his last rites.

On the other hand, *Simin yueling* reads as the work of a man experienced in dealing with a substantial property, and Cui Shi wrote specifically against the folly of extravagant funerals. It is possible that he wrote in each case from experience; having lived as a young man on a prosperous estate developed by Cui Yuan, and regretting his own foolishness after his father's death.

Besides his works on government and estate management, Cui Shi left a quantity of literary material including inscriptions, memorials and historical essays, and he was remembered for centuries as one of the leading writers of Han. -*HHS* 52/42:1725-31*; Balazs 50:105-116, Bn 54:11, Ebrey 78:36-49, 86:615, Hsü 80:59-61, 215-228, Loewe 86C:311-312, 86E:714-715, MBeck 90:25, 187, 216, Nishijima 86:566-568.

Cui Shuang 崔雙 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Ting 崔挺 [Zijian 子建]; Pingyuan. *XTS* 72C:2736 mentions Cui Ting, who probably lived at the beginning of Later Han.

Cui Wen 崔溫 [Daohe 道和]; Pingyuan. *XTS* 72C:2736 says that Cui Wen, son of Cui Rong, held clerical office at the capital.

Cui Yan 崔琰 [Jigui 季珪] (d.216); Qinghe. A well-built man of fine bearing, when Cui Yan was a young man he practiced military skills, but later turned to Confucian scholarship and studied under Zheng Xuan. During the early years of disorder in the 180s and 190s

he travelled widely between the Yellow River and the Yangzi, then joined Yuan Shao in Ji province.

Cui Yan argued against Yuan Shao's plan to attack Xu city in 200, as it was war against the emperor, and after Yuan Shao's death he refused to join either of his rival sons Shang or Tan. When Cao Cao took over Ji province in 204 Cui Yan became his Attendant Officer and urged him to a sensitive government.

As Cao Cao left Cao Pi at Ye city in 206 he appointed Cui Yan to be his mentor, and when he became Imperial Chancellor in 208 he put Cui Yan and Mao Jie in charge of official appointments and promotions; they enforced strict morality and restraint. Though Cui Yan was a close friend of Sima Lang, he told him that his younger brother Sima Yi, future founder of the Jin 晉 dynasty, had greater ability. He also recognised the potential of his cousin Cui Lin and of Sun Li and Lu Yu, all of whom had distinguished careers. When his friends Gongsun Fang and Song Jie died young, he brought up their children and treated them as generously as if they had been his own.

In 213 Cui Yan joined the Secretariat of Wei. He advised Cao Cao against making his younger son Cao Zhi his heir, even though Zhi was married to his niece. Admiring his honesty, Cao Cao appointed him to ministerial rank, but in 216, through misunderstanding of his support for Yang Xun, Cui Yan was accused of plotting against the government and was sent to prison. His enemies claimed he showed resentment, and he was ordered to commit suicide. -*SGZ* 12:367-70*; Mather 76:581.

Cui Yi 崔毅; Zhuo: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Zhuan, because of ill health he lived in retirement and held no office. He nonetheless continued to study, and taught his young son Cui Yin 駟. -*HHS* 52/42:1708-22; Ebrey 78:36.

Cui Yin 崔殷; Pingyuan. *XTS* 72C:2730 says that Cui Yin was Officer of Merit in his commandery; this was probably early in Later Han.

XTS then lists seven sons of Cui Yin: Shuang 雙, Han 邯, Yu 寓, Jin 金, Hu 虎, Fan 蕃 and Gu 固. None of them were distinguished, but Cui Yu was the great-grandfather of Cui Lin and Cui Yan.

Cui Yin 崔駟 [Tingbo 亭伯] (d.92); Zhuo/Lecheng: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Yi, Cui Yin was educated by his father and then attended the Imperial University at Luoyang, where he became a close friend of Kong Xi and was compared to Ban Gu and Fu Yi.

When a jealous fellow-student, Liang Yu, claimed that Cui Yin and Kong Xi had spoken disrespectfully of Emperor Wu of Former Han, the two young men were threatened with execution, but Kong Xi persuaded Emperor Zhang to halt the process.

Cui Yin had wide knowledge, particularly in the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Book of Changes* and *Chunqiu*, and he also had literary talent. He composed an essay to answer the rationalist tendencies of the day and about 87 he presented a hymn in praise of the tours made by Emperor Zhang. The emperor was impressed and arranged for Dou Xian to take Cui Yin as a respected client.

Many of Dou Xian's protégés rose to high office, but Cui Yin preferred a private life and was not anxious for appointment. After Emperor Zhang's death he refused several flattering invitations from Dou Xian, and presented a letter warning him against taking too great power. He did join Dou Xian's staff for the expedition against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, but raised so many criticisms that Dou Xian got rid of him: he graded Cui Yin as First Class and had him appointed as a magistrate in Lelang, present-day Korea. Considering this, quite reasonably, as exile, Cui Yin resigned office and returned home, where he died a few years later.

Noted for his literary work, Cui Yin left twenty-one *pian* of poems, rhapsodies, hymns, formal documents and essays, and he supplemented the *Exhortations* 箴 compiled by Yang Xiong 楊雄. He wrote with pleasure and skill of luxurious life, dramatic buildings, gallant hunting, fine food, wine, music and dance. -HHS 52/42:1708-22*, HQ 1:22b; Ebrey 78:36-49.

Cui Yu 崔寓 see *sub* Cui Yin 崔殷.

Cui Yuan 崔瑗 [Ziyu 子玉] (77/78-142/143); Lecheng/Anping: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Yin 駟, who died when Cui Yuan was in his teens, he was a diligent scholar who maintained his father's tradition of learning. At the age of eighteen he travelled to Luoyang to study under Jia Kui. An expert in mathematics and the calendar, and in the Jing interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, he was widely admired by Confucian scholars of the time and became a close friend of Ma Xu, Ma Rong and Zhang Heng.

Then Cui Yuan's elder brother Chang was killed, and Cui Yuan took vengeance with his own hand. He fled to escape punishment but was able to return home after an amnesty. Cui Yuan lived in the same house

as his remaining brothers for more than twenty years, and he spent freely in order to maintain a number of retainers. Some regarded this as an extravagance, but Cui Yuan justified it as the duty of a gentleman, and though the family was comparatively poor they held great influence in the local community.

Some time before 120, when Cui Yuan was forty, he became a local officer of his commandery. Because of some misconduct he was sent to prison in Dong commandery. One of the guards was interested in the *Ritual*, and Cui Yuan was so devoted to scholarship that he would discuss the classic even as he was questioned under torture. The matter was eventually resolved, Cui Yuan returned home, and soon afterwards took service with Deng Xun, General on the Liao. In 121, after the death of the Dowager Deng, Deng Xun shared in the fall of his family and Cui Yuan once more returned home.

In 125 Cui Yuan joined the staff of the General of Chariots and Cavalry Yan Xian, brother of the new regent Dowager. The Yan group had earlier persuaded Emperor An to depose his only son Liu Bao as Heir, and after the emperor's death they placed their own candidate, the child Liu Yi, on the throne. Liu Yi, however, was sickly, and Cui Yuan was concerned that his succession was in any case tainted by the wrongful deposition of Liu Bao. He wanted Yan Xian to take the lead in restoring Liu Bao to the succession, but Yan Xian was constantly drunk and Cui Yuan could not get to see him. He accordingly approached Yan Xian's senior aide Chen Shan, who accepted the idea and made some preparations. It all moved slowly, and before anything was arranged Liu Yi died and the palace eunuchs led by Sun Cheng destroyed the Yan and brought Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, to the throne.

As a member of the fallen faction, Cui Yuan was dismissed from his post. His disciple Su Zhi wrote to the throne with an account of his plans for the restoration of Liu Bao, and Chen Shan also offered to testify in his favour, but Cui Yuan refused their support. He retired to his home and refused all offers of even local appointment.

Years later, in 135, Liang Shang, father of Emperor Shun's new Empress Liang, became General-in-Chief and established administrative offices. He invited Cui Yuan to join his staff, but Cui Yuan was reluctant to be involved again with any imperial relatives by marriage; he excused himself on grounds of ill health.

Liang Shang nonetheless recommended Cui Yuan as Abundant Talent, and he became a county magistrate in Henei. During seven years in that office he opened up new areas of farm-land and arranged for a stele to be set up at the funerary temple of the Grand Duke Lü Wang 太公呂望, founder of the ancient state of Qi 齊: *SJZ* 9:7a. The people sang the praises of his government.

In 142 the ministers Hu Guang and Dou Zhang reported on Cui Yuan's qualities as a worthy Confucian official, arguing that it was not appropriate for such a man to remain so long in such a humble position. Cui Yuan was accordingly transferred to be Chancellor of Jibei, but a few months later, when Du Qiao and seven other commissioners were sent out to inspect the empire, Cui Yuan was reported for a number of faults and was sent to the Ministry of Justice. He presented a petition for clemency and was permitted to resign his office, but soon afterwards, at the age of sixty-six, he took ill and died.

Cui Yuan had evidently restored some of the family fortune, and on his deathbed he encouraged his son Shi not to be extravagant: as the spirit returned to the heavens and the body to the earth, there was no point in arranging a special cortège for entombment in his home country. He was buried where he had died, at Luoyang. *Cf.*, however, *sub* Cui Shi.

One of the great calligraphers of his day, skilled in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style," Cui Yuan compiled a treatise, *Caoshu shi* 草書勢. His work and that of his colleague Du Bodu, known as the style of Cui and Du 崔杜之法, served as a model for the later master Zhang Zhi.

Altogether Cui Yuan left fifty-seven *pian* of collected works, including letters, inscriptions, rhapsodies and hymns. His *Nanyang wenxueguan zhi* 南陽文學官志 "Account of the Literary Office in Nanyang" was a challenge and an inspiration to later times, he supplemented the *Exhortations* 箴 originally compiled by Yang Xiong 楊雄 and worked on by his father Cui Yin, and he also prepared a commentary to Yang Xiong's *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery." Cui Yuan was remembered also for the respect he showed other scholars, for his generosity towards clients and guests, and for the simple manner of his life. -*HHS* 52/42:1722-24*, *XC* 3:1a, *JS* 36:1066; *Ebrey* 78:36-49, *Knechtges* 82:516.

Cui Yuan 崔瑗, wife of: see the Lady Liu 劉 V.

Cui [Yuanping] 崔元平; *Boling*: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. According to Liang Zuo 梁祚 of the fifth century, Cui Yuanping was a son of Cui Lie and an elder brother of Cui Zhouping. He accompanied his father to Chang'an and became a Consultant in the government controlled by Dong Zhuo. After Cui Lie was killed in 192, Cui Yuanping wanted to avenge him, but he became ill and died soon afterwards.

Sima Biao, however, says that Yuanping was the style of Cui Jun. Cui Jun led troops against Dong Zhuo in 190, so he was certainly not a Consultant in his government, but one cannot judge whether Cui Yuanping was a separate person, or whether his story has been confused. -*HHSJ* 52/42:1866 & 1867 Hui Dong.

Cui Zhang 崔長 see Cui Chang 崔長.

Cui Zhi 崔治 [Yuanshi 元始] *i.e.* Cui Shi 崔寔 [Zizhen 子真]. -*HHS* 52/42:1725.

Cui Zhi 崔質; *Boling*. *XTS* 72C:2778 says that Cui Zhi was a son of Cui Hao, a grandson of Cui Shi, and father of Cui Zan 讚, who held office under Wei. *JS* 45:1287, however, in the biography of Cui Zan's son Cui Hong 洪, who became a minister under Jin, mentions his father Cui Zan and has Cui Shi as an ancestor, but does not mention Cui Zhi or to Cui Hao.

Cui [Zhouping] 崔州平; *Boling*: see *sub* Cui Zhuan. Son of Cui Lie and younger brother of Cui Jun, after the death of his father in 192 he travelled to Jing province, both to avoid the civil war in the north and also to study under Sima Hui. A fellow-student with Zhuge Liang, Cui Zhouping was one of the few to recognise his abilities, and Zhuge Liang long remembered him with affection and high regard. -*SGZ* Shu 5:911.

Ebrey 78:30 notes that the genealogical table of the family in *XTS* 72C:2773, identifies Zhouping as the style of Cui Jun, not as the name of a separate younger brother. Sima Biao, however, has Cui Jun's style as Yuanping 元平 [but see *sub voce*]: *HHSJ* 52/42:1866.

Cui Zhuan 崔篆; Zhuo. Member of an official family of Former Han, and younger brother of Wang Mang's high-ranking supporter Cui Fa 發, Cui Zhuan was appointed as a commandery Administrator under the Xin dynasty. He was reluctant to act, and resigned on grounds of ill health.

After the restoration of Han Cui Zhuan was recommended and invited to office, but since he had served the usurper he felt too embarrassed to accept.

He retired to seclusion in Henan, where he engaged in literary and scholarly work, including *Zhouyi lin* 周易林, a study of divination in the *Book of Changes*. On his death-bed he composed a rhapsody of regret, *Wei zhi* 慰志. -HHS 52/42:1703-08; Ebrey 78:35, QHX: 55.

In her important study of the history of this long-lasting lineage, Ebrey 78 gives the place of origin of the Cui family as Boling 博陵. In fact, their home county of Anping, in Zhuo commandery under Former Han, was later transferred to Xindu/Lecheng/Anping, and in 158 formed part of Boling, a new commandery which was itself abolished towards the end of the dynasty [see the Table of the Provinces and Commandery units, items 18 and 19].

D

Dadun 蹋頓 see Tadun.

Dahong 大洪 see *sub* Ping-Han 平漢.

Dai 戴, the Lady; Kuaiji. Daughter of Dai Zigong, the Lady was married to Huang Chang. She was kidnapped by bandits and later went to Shu commandery, where she married again. Years later Huang Chang became Administrator of Shu, and when her son committed some offence she went to plead for him. Huang Chang enquired about her background and found out what had happened. He then restored her to his household and gave her precedence over his later wife. -HHS 77/67:2497, XC 5:7a-7b, FSTY 3f:104.

Dai 戴 [personal name unknown] (8-110). Formerly a local officer, he and his wife (10-111) were commemorated with a picture stele set up by subscription in 113. -Nagata 94:48.

Dai [Boman] 戴伯蠻; Runan. Son of Dai Lingding, he was the elder brother of Dai Liang.

Dai Cheng 代盛 see Dai Sheng 代盛.

Dai Feng 祓諷 or Duo Feng, also as Zhu Feng 祝諷. Brought to office by Deng Zhi and his sister the Dowager Deng about 110, Dai Feng became Administrator of Guanghan and was then brought to the capital as Director of the Secretariat.

In 116 the government of the Dowager Deng ordered that high officials should observe a three-year period of mourning for the death of a parent. This moral policy, however, proved impracticable and in 121 Dai Feng and his colleague Meng Bu urged that

it should be rescinded because of its disruptive effect on administration. Their argument was supported by leading eunuchs and was put into effect.

Minister of the Household in 124, Dai Feng took part in the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. They achieved no success at the time, but after the accession of Liu Bao at the end of the following year their support was recognised. Dai Feng had died, but his son was appointed a cadet gentleman. -HHS 15/5:591-93, 46/36:1560-61, HYGZ 10B:149-50.

Dai Feng 戴封 [Pingzhong 平仲]; Jibei. At the age of fifteen Dai Feng went to the University at Luoyang and studied with a "Lord Shen" 申君. When his teacher died, Dai Feng escorted his body home to Donghai. On the way he passed his own home, where his parents expected him and where he was to be married. Dai Feng simply bowed as he passed and would not halt his journey. Then he returned to the capital to finish his studies.

At Luoyang, Dai Feng's fellow-student Shi Jingping also died. Dai Feng cared for the corpse, purchased a coffin and escorted it to Shi Jingping's home. When his family went to prepare the body for burial, they were surprised to find all his belongings packed in the coffin.

On another occasion Dai Feng was waylaid by robbers, who took his possessions but failed to find several bales of silk. Dai Feng went after them to hand the silk over too, but the robbers appreciated his honesty and gave everything back.

Dai Feng was later nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and became a senior secretary in the office of the Minister of the Household. He left office when his uncle died, but when nominations were called for men Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, probably in 95, Dai Feng was recommended both by his home commandery and by the Minister of Finance. A carriage was sent for him, he was received in audience, and after replying to questions he was appointed a county magistrate in Runan. His virtue preserved his territory from a plague of locusts which affected all the rest of the region. When the commandery Investigator came the locusts suddenly appeared, but as the man went away that same day, so did the insects. Everyone remarked on this phenomenon.

That year there also came a great drought. Dai

Feng prayed for rain, but without result. So he built a pile of wood, sat on top, and set it on fire. Immediately a downpour of rain put it out. This really got him a reputation.

Dai Feng then became Chancellor of Zhongshan. At that time there were more than four hundred men in the local prisons awaiting execution. Dai Feng was sorry for them, and he had them all released to return to their homes; none of them offended again. An edict approved and praised him.

About 100 Dai Feng became Minister of Ceremonies. He died in that office. -HHS 81/71:2683-84*, XC 6:1a.

Dai Feng 戴風; Lujiang. About 185 Dai Feng was a leader of rebels in the present-day Dabie Shan. He was defeated by the Administrator Yang Xu. -HHS 31/21: 1110.

Dai Gan 戴乾; Danyang. Recommended to Cao Cao about 200 by his personnel clerk Chen Qun, Dai Gan later died fighting loyally against the forces of Sun Quan of Wu. -SGZ 22:633.

Dai Hong 戴宏 [Yuanxiang 元襄]; Jibei. At the age of sixteen Dai Hong was living with his father, assistant magistrate of a county in Beihai. The magistrate Wu You was walking in the garden of the residence when he overheard Dai Hong chanting the classics. He befriended and sponsored him, and Dai Hong became a noted scholar in the east of the empire.

At twenty-two Dai Hong was an Investigator in the commandery. Reported for some fault and liable to a flogging, he compared the Administrator to Confucius and described himself as a loyal, albeit inadequate, disciple. Not only was he not punished, but he was appointed Registrar in the local government. Dai Hong later rose to commissioned rank and became Administrator of Jiuquan. -HHS 64/54:2101-02.

Dai Hui 戴恢. During the First Faction Incident in 166/167 Dai Hui, described as a member of the Imperial Secretariat, was commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu. He is not heard of again. -HHS 69/59:2240.

Dai Jiu 戴就 [Jingcheng 景成]; Kuaiji. Dai Jiu was commandery Officer for Granaries 倉曹 about 150 when Ouyang Can the Inspector of Yang province claimed that the Administrator Chenggong Fu had stolen grain. Dai Jiu was arrested, but he withstood the most ferocious tortures and firmly maintained the innocence of his master. Eventually he convinced the Attendant Officer in charge of the case, Xue An, who

reported accordingly and praised Dai Feng. The case was dropped and Chenggong Fu was released.

Nominated by the Administrator Liu Chong, Dai Jiu held appointment under the Minister of the Household but took ill and died in that office. -HHS 81/71:2691-92*, XC 6:3a.

Dai Li 戴禮. Having done well as an Imperial Clerk, Dai Li was sent out as Commandant of the eastern region of Danyang. -XC 6:14b.

Dai Liang 戴良 [Shuman 叔鸞]; Runan. Dai Liang's father Dai Lingding died when Dai Liang was young. Proud of his own fine qualities, Dai Liang was boastful, and though his mother attempted to restrain him by braying like a donkey each time he spoke in such a way, Dai Liang would simply respond in kind. He was briefly discouraged, however, when he met Huang Xian, a young man of the same county whom Dai Liang recognised as his superior.

When his mother died, both Dai Liang and his brother Boman appeared sorrowful, but while Boman stayed by the tomb, ate nothing but rice gruel, and kept all the rites of mourning, Dai Liang continued to eat meat and drink wine. Questioned about such behaviour, Dai Liang argued that ritual was the means to concentrate the emotions, but his own feelings were fully engaged, so the food made no difference and gave no pleasure.

Though talented, influential and respected in the community, Dai Liang frequently startled his fellows by such eccentric conduct and argument; in conversation with his neighbour Xie Jixiao he compared himself to Confucius and the sage Emperor Yu 禹. He was recommended Filial and Incorrupt, but would not accept, and likewise refused an invitation to appointment in the offices at the capital. The provincial authorities sought to force him, but as he was on the road he escaped, and then fled with his family to the hill country of Jiangxia. He remained there until his death in old age.

Dai Liang had five daughters. As each of them married, he sent her away with no more than simple bedding, plain clothes and wooden clogs. They all respected his precepts and were admired for their intelligence. -HHS 83/73:2772-73*, XC 6:7b; Vervorm 90:298.

Dai Ling 戴陵. A colonel in the Northern Army with enfeoffment as a secondary marquis, in 220 Dai Ling was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao

Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Soon afterwards, however, Cao Pi became angry when he protested at the number of times he went hunting, and he sentenced Dai Ling to death less one degree.

In 231 Dai Ling commanded troops under Sima Yi in operations against Zhuge Liang. -*SGZ* 2:76, Shu 5:925, *LS* 19:4a [also written as 凌]; Goodman 98:197, Fang 52:338.

Dai [Lingding] 戴零丁; Runan. Grandson of Dai Zun and father of Dai Liang, he died when Liang was young. -*XC* 6:7b.

Dai Ping 戴憑 [Zizhong 次中]; Runan. An expert on the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, at the age of sixteen Dai Ping was recommended as Understanding the Classics. He was examined by Academicians at the University and then appointed as a gentleman cadet.

Soon afterwards Dai Ping was called to debate with other scholars at a court conference. He refused to take his regular seat but remained standing, claiming that when a scholar expounded upon the classics he took precedence over all other officials. Emperor Guangwu was impressed and called him to sit upon the dais. As Dai Ping demonstrated his knowledge, Guangwu made him a Palace Attendant, and he frequently sought his opinion on matters of policy.

On one occasion Dai Ping claimed that Guangwu was too harsh in his judgements, and pointed to the case of Jiang Zun, a clerical officer whom he had excluded from office on the basis of slander. Guangwu angrily accused him of seeking to establish a faction, for Jiang Zun also came from Runan. Dai Ping promptly presented himself at the prison of the Minister of Justice, but the emperor ordered his release, and after a further interview Jiang Zun was restored to office.

While still holding office as Palace Attendant, Dai Ping was appointed a General of the Household in charge of military cadets.

At a New Year court gathering Guangwu ordered that all those present should debate questions of the classics, and that each who failed a test should have their mat taken away and given to his successful rival. By the end of the contest Dai Ping was sitting on a pile of fifty mats.

When Dai Ping died after eighteen years in office, the emperor ordered that a coffin be prepared for him in the imperial workshop and gave money for his funeral. -*HHS* 79/69A:2553-54*, *XC* 5:8b-9a; Bn 79:142, 187-

194.

Dai Run 戴閏; Xiapi. Having served as a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, in 86 Dai Run was Officer of Merit in his home state. He had great influence in the territory, but the new Chancellor Zhang Yu found fault with his arrangements on a formal tour and had him sent to prison. -*HHS* 44/34:1498.

Dai Shao 戴紹 [Youqi 幼起]; Runan. After the death of his father, Dai Shao yielded all the family property to his elder brother and took his wife and children to live as peasants. He later held local office, was made Reporting Officer, **nominated Filial and Incorrupt**, and eventually became a magistrate in Hongnong. -*FSTY* 4:31: Ying Shao regarded his conduct as excessive.

Dai She 戴涉 [Shuping 叔平] (d.44); Qinghe. As Administrator of Shangdang in the late 20s, Dai She appointed Bao Yu as a magistrate to deal with bandits in the Taihang mountains.

Dai She was later enfeoffed as a secondary marquis, and at the end of 39 he succeeded Ouyang Xi, who had died in disgrace, as Excellency over the Masses. When Empress Guo was dismissed in 41, Dai She and the Minister of the Imperial Clan Liu Ji were sent to take back her seal.

At the beginning of 43 there was a court conference to consider sacrifices to be offered to the imperial ancestors and the dynastic predecessors. The argument presented by Dai She and the Excellency of Works Dou Rong was accepted by Emperor Guangwu, and it was agreed that the emperor in person should sacrifice to the Former Han rulers Yuan and Xuan as members of his father's and grandfather's generations, that senior ministers should make offerings to Cheng, Ai and Ping, while ceremonies for Guangwu's own direct ancestors were to be carried out by local officials in Nanyang commandery.

In the summer of 44 Dai She was dismissed and died in prison. According to one account, he was found guilty of taking bribes to recommend people, but it is also claimed that he had falsely accused the former official Xi She of theft. Bielenstein notes that Dou Rong was also dismissed, and judges that the two Excellencies suffered primarily for their formal failure as guardians of good conduct: the accusation against Xi She is thus the more probable cause. -*HHS* 1B:72, 27/17:930; Bn 79:63, 169.

Dai Sheng 代盛; Shanyang. It is said that during the mid-150s Dai Sheng and Shao Qiangsheng were

master painters for the funerary temple of Xiang Tuo and his wife. -Nagata 94:118 [this text, however, is of doubtful provenance].

Dai Yi 戴異 (d.166); Pei. As he was cultivating his fields about 165 Dai Yi found a blank golden seal. He travelled to Guangling to join the religious leader Long Shang, who held sacrifice to wells and fountains and prepared written charms and amulets 符書. Either Dai Yi or possibly Long Shang took title as Grand Supreme Emperor 太上皇 [cf. He Deng]. Early in 166, however, they were caught and executed. -HHS 7:316.

Dai Yuan 戴員 (d.204); Wu. Dai Yuan and his colleague Gui Lan had been nominated for office by Sheng Xian, but after Sheng Xian's death at the hands of the Sun group they took refuge in the hills. In an attempt at reconciliation, Sun Yi the Administrator of Danyang gave them office, but when their follower Bian Hong assassinated Sun Yi, the general Sun He investigated and held them at fault. Frightened of punishment, they killed Sun He and called Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu to come from across the Yangzi. Sun Yi's officers, however, led by his widow the Lady Xu IV, killed the rebels and regained control. -SGZ Wu 6: 1214-15; deC 90:232-234.

Dai Zigong 戴次公; Kuaiji. Dai Zigong was the father of the Lady Dai and the father-in-law of Huang Chang. -HHS 77/67:2497.

Dai Zun 戴遵 [Zigao 子高]; Runan. Officer of the Censorate under Emperor Ping of Former Han, as Wang Mang took power Dai Zun pleaded illness and went home. He was extremely wealthy, kept hundreds of retainers and was described as the greatest magnate east of the passes. -HHS 83/73:2772-73, XC 8:12b.

Daisheng 戴升 of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. Chieftain 大加 of a tribal group numbering over ten thousand people, in 47 Daisheng came to the frontier of Lelang commandery and submitted to Chinese authority. -HHS 85/75:2814.

Daji 大計 see *sub* Ping-Han 平漢.

Dajuququ 大車且渠; Xiongnu. A king of the Xiongnu, in the time of Emperor Ming he came to Luoyang to study Confucian learning. -HHS 32/22:1126. [One must note that *Da juqu* 大且渠 was the title of an office under the Xiongnu, so it is possible that the name recorded for this man in fact represents a misunderstanding of his title: cf. *sub* Yimozi.]

Damu/Damou 大牟 (d.58); non-Chinese. In 58 Damu and Timieling, tribal chieftains in Yizhou commandery,

led a rebellion. They were defeated by local Chinese forces and their heads were sent to Luoyang. -HHS 101/11:3229.

Dan Chen 單臣 (d.43). Disciples of the former cult leader Wei Si, in 43 Dan Chen and his colleague Fu Zhen rose in rebellion and seized the county city of Yuanwu in the east of Henan. The imperial general Zang Gong was sent to deal with them, but though his force included troops from the Northern Army, strategic reserve of the empire, the rebels were well supplied and entrenched, and they drove back his assaults with heavy casualties.

On the advice of his son Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, Emperor Guangwu then sent instructions for Zang Gong to ease the pressure. Seeing a chance to escape, the rebels broke out from their lines and were then defeated in detail. Dan Chen and Fu Zhen were both killed. -HHS 18/8:695.

Dan Chuan 但穿 of Taishan was a son of Dan Wang *q.v.*

Dan Meng 儋萌 (d.226). Administrator of Jiuzhen about 220, Dan Meng was subordinate to the warlord Shi Xie in Jiaozhi.

His local officer Pan Xin got into a quarrel at a banquet and Dan Meng killed him on the spot. Pan Xin's brother Miao then attacked the commandery headquarters and Dan Meng was hit by a poisoned arrow and died.

Shi Xie sent troops to restore order in the commandery, but without success. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Dan Song 竇誦. An Internuncio in 123, Dan Song proposed that the official *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar should be changed to use a *jiayin* 甲寅 year [cycle number 51] as base (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") rather than a *guisi* 庚巳 year [cycle number 30]; this would accord with the apocrypha. After wide debate on alternatives, the current system was retained. -HHS 92/2:3034, 3038; MBeck 90:59-60.

Dan Wang 但望 [Bohe 伯闔]; Taishan. In the early 140s, when Dan Wang was a clerical officer at the imperial capital, his nephew, son of his younger twin brother, was arrested for having had a man killed. Dan Wang immediately left office and presented himself before the commandery offices, head and arms stripped bare, to ask for mercy. When the Administrator, Li Gu, invited him in, Dan Wang kowtowed until the blood flowed, took the blame for his nephew's conduct upon himself and offered his own son Dan Chuan in

his stead. Suitably impressed, Li Gu let the young men go. -*FSTY* 5:37. [One version of *FSTY* has the surname as Ren 任, whereas another gives the style as Bomen 伯門; the reading in *HYGZ* below appears more probable.]

Dan Wang later became Inspector of Bing province and then Administrator of Ba commandery. At the urging of his local officers, in 154 he presented a report on the difficulty of maintaining control over such a vast territory, and recommended the commandery be divided into three. The court did not agree at that time, but the change was made in the last years of the dynasty. -*HYGZ* 1:5-6.

Dan Yang 單陽 [Wuxuan 武宣]; Shanyang. Orphaned when he was young, Dan Yang brought himself up and led a life of the utmost austerity. Skilled in astronomy and mathematics, he was recommended Filial and Incorrupt, became Astronomer at the imperial court and a Palace Attendant, then left the capital to serve as Administrator of Hanzhong. He was dismissed for some fault, but later joined the Imperial Secretariat.

In 176 a yellow dragon appeared in Qiao county in Pei. The Counsellor Qiao Xuan asked Dan Yang for his interpretation, and Dan Yang observed that the territory was producing a ruler. Within fifty years the dragon would appear again. A certain Yin Deng recorded his prophecy.

Qiao was the birth-place of Cao Cao, at that time twenty years old. Forty-five years later, in 220, as Cao Cao's son Cao Pi [born in 187] succeeded his father as King of Wei, a yellow dragon was again reported from Pei. Yin Deng told Cao Pi of the earlier prophecy and later that year Cao Pi took the imperial title, claiming to rule under the power of yellow Earth which should take over from the red Fire of Han. -*HHS* 82/72B:2733, *SGZ* 2:58; *Ngo* 76:114, *DeWoskin* 83:72-73.

Dang 當 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -*LS* 19:4b; *Goodman* 98:197.

Dantai 澹臺 [surname] see *Tantai* 澹臺.

Dao Zhi 到質 became Administrator of Dongping. -*FSTY* 5f:125.

Deng 鄧, Empress of Emperor He and regent Dowager for Emperor An, see the Lady Deng Sui.

Deng 鄧, Empress of Emperor Huan, see the Lady Deng Mengnü.

Deng 鄧, the Lady (d.33); Nanyang. Second wife

of Yin Lu/Mu and mother of the Lady Yin, future empress of Guangwu, she was killed by bandits. -*HHS* 10A:405.

Deng 鄧 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. Elder son of Deng Bao 褒 and the Princess Liu Biede, sister of Emperor An, he succeeded to his father's fief. -*HHS* 16/6:606.

Deng Ai 鄧艾 [Shizai 士載] (d.264); Nanyang. When Deng Ai was young his father died, and as Cao Cao came to Jing province in 208 Deng Ai travelled with his mother to Runan, where he became a cowherd. When he was twelve years old the family migrated again to Yingchuan, where Deng Ai was inspired by a stele honouring the local worthy Chen Shi 陳寔 and changed his personal name to Fan 範 and his style to Shizi 士則: both new characters have the sense of "model" or "pattern." He later found that he had a kinsman of the same name and style, so he reverted to the original.

Having served as a local officer, Deng Ai came to the notice of the minister Sima Yi and entered the Secretariat of Wei. A practical and keen surveyor, in 241 he presented *Ji he lun* 濟河論, "Essay on Improving Rivers," and proposed major canals and water-control works for the south-eastern front along the Huai. He became a leading general of Wei and defeated Shu-Han in 263, but then fell under suspicion and was killed in the following year. -*SGZ* 28:775-83*; *Fang* 52:641-642, 65:402-479, *Needham* 71:573, *Mather* 76:575-576.

Deng Bao 鄧豹 [Boxiang 伯庠] (d.121); Nanyang. A cousin of the Dowager Deng, Deng Bao was appointed Court Architect; he was admired for the fact that his projects were not ostentatious and caused no hardship to the people. He later became Intendant of Henan, though his appointment was blocked for some time by the Excellency Li He, who objected to a member of the consort family occupying such a sensitive position.

After the death of the Dowager in 121, as Emperor An destroyed the power of the family Deng Bao killed himself. -*HHS* 10B:428, 16/6:617, *DGHJ* 8:4a.

Deng Bao 鄧寶 or Deng Zhen 珍: see below; Nanyang. Son of Deng Jing, he became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and in 117 he was granted a marquise in Runan with revenues from 3,500 households. After the death of the regent Dowager Deng he and other members of the family were stripped of their fiefs, reduced to the rank of commoners and sent out to their

home countries. -*HHS* 16/6:615-16, *HHJ* 16:193.

HHS 16/6 gives this man's personal name as Zhen 珍, but the modern scholar Shen Qinhan notes that this would mean he had the same name as his great-uncle. *HHJ* has the personal name as Bao, and this seems more likely. -*HHSJJ* 16/6:629.

Deng Bao 鄧褒; Nanyang. Son of Deng Cheng, he succeeded to his fief. He married the Princess Liu Biede, younger sister of Emperor An, and became a General of the Household. In the time of Emperor Huan Deng Bao was Minister Steward. -*HHS* 10B:457, 16/6:606, 55/45:1804.

Deng Bi 鄧弼; Nanyang. A kinsman of the Lady Deng Mengnü, Empress of Emperor Huan, Deng Bi became a colonel in the Northern Army. When the empress was disgraced in 165 all members of her family were stripped of their appointments and sent back to their home country. -*HHS* 102/12:3257.

Deng Biao 鄧彪 [Zhibo 智伯] (d.93); Nanyang. Son of Deng Han, Deng Biao was a man of family virtue and fine morality. When his father died and he was due to succeed to his fief, he asked it be given instead to his half-brother Feng [or Jingfeng]. Emperor Ming admired Deng Biao's generosity and granted the request.

Deng Biao held local office in his commandery and his province. He and four colleagues, all of whom were talented and ambitious and had the character *bo* in their styles, were known locally as "the five elder brothers" 五伯. Entering the commissioned civil service through the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, after various postings Deng Biao became Administrator of Guiyang and in 74 he was called to the capital as Minister Coachman.

When his step-mother died a few years later, he left his office and sought to retire on grounds of ill health. Instead he was appointed as a Household Counsellor for the duration of the mourning period and was then given supernumerary rank as Commandant of the Equipage.

Deng Biao returned to senior office as Minister of Finance in 81 and in the winter of that year he was appointed Grand Commandant; he was well known for honest and upright conduct. In 84 he sought to retire on account of ill health. This time leave was granted; he received a donation of 300,000 cash and life ranking as an official of two thousand *shi*. It was also ordered that the Minister of Ceremonies was to present him

with flesh from the sacrifices at the Imperial Ancestral Temple four times a year, and the Intendant of Henan should enquire after his health and offer mutton and wine in the eighth month of each year.

At the death of Emperor Zhang in 88, the government of the Dowager Dou, ruling as regent for the young Emperor He, appointed Deng Biao as Grand Tutor and enfeoffed him as a secondary marquis. The appointment was well deserved, but it was organised by the Dowager's brother Dou Xian and Deng Biao felt beholden to the Dou family. When there was opposition at court to the dominance of the imperial relatives by marriage, Deng Biao played no active role and when the head of the Imperial Censorate Zhou Yu failed to show suitable subservience to the regency regime Deng Biao arranged his dismissal.

In the autumn of 92 the emperor and a group of eunuchs ran a coup which destroyed the power of the Dou family. Now old and ill, Deng Biao offered to relinquish his nominal power of supervision; the emperor accepted, rewarding him with meat and wine. At the beginning of the following year Deng Biao died, and Emperor He personally attended his funeral. -*HHS* 44/34:1495-96*, 23/13:813, *DGHJ* 18:2a.

Deng Bing 鄧秉; Nanyang. Son of Deng Yan and nephew of the Empress Deng Mengnü of Emperor Huan, at the death of his grandmother the Lady Xuan about 163 he was granted a fief in Nanyang and held office among the guards at the capital. When the empress was disgraced in 165 all members of her family were stripped of their titles and appointments, sent back to their home country and obliged to return the gifts they had received. -*HHS* 10B:445, 102/12:3257.

Deng [Bokao] 鄧伯考; Runan. During the 150s Deng Bokao was Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat. His son Yuanyi returned home to Runan, leaving his wife the Lady Li to care for her mother-in-law. The Lady Deng cruelly mistreated the Lady Li and it was some time before Deng Bokao became aware of the situation. Embarrassed and ashamed, he sent his daughter-in-law back to her own family. -*HHS* 48/38:1607.

Deng Chang 鄧昌 [Jizhao 季昭] (d.118); Nanyang. Son of Deng Xun and brother of the Lady Deng Sui, when his sister became the Empress of Emperor He Deng Chang was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. When Emperor He died in 106, the Lady Deng, now Dowager, took control of the regency for Liu

Long the Young Emperor and Deng Chang was made a Palace Attendant. He married a woman of the Geng family.

In 107, after the death of the Young Emperor and the appointment of Emperor An, Deng Chang and his brothers were each granted county marquisesates with revenues from ten thousand households. They expressed reluctance, petitioning against such excessive rewards and honours, and after several exchanges the Dowager accepted their refusals. On the other hand, they were named Servants at Court, normally held by the most senior marquises, which gave authority to take part in court councils next only to the Excellencies.

When the Lady Yin of Xinye, mother of the Dowager and her brothers, became ill in 110, Deng Zhi and others all asked permission to leave their official appointments in order to care for her. Because Deng Chang was the youngest and showed particular filial piety, he was granted the honour. Soon afterwards the Lady died and after many requests her sons were given permission to leave the court and escort the cortège back for burial in her home country. Deng Chang again acquired great reputation for his display of filial conduct. A modest and moral man, he was also admired for his concern with the fortunes of the state and his anxiety over unfavourable portents.

Deng Chang and his elder brother Hui both died about the same time in 118 and their testaments asked that they be buried in simple fashion without special ceremony. The Dowager accepted the request, and Deng Chang's son Zhong succeeded to his father's fief.

After the death of the Dowager in 121 it was alleged that Deng Chang had been involved with his brothers Hui and Hong in a proposal to depose Emperor An in favour of Liu Yi the king of Pingyuan. This may have been true, though the high point of the campaign was not reached until 119, after all three brothers were dead: see *sub* Liu Yi. Emperor An is said to have been furious and he certainly took this as a reason to rid himself of the powerful family. He had the senior ministers present posthumous indictments of treason against the alleged conspirators and he stripped Deng Zhong and the other marquises of their fiefs, reducing them to the rank of commoners. -*DGHJ* 8:3b, *HHS* 16/6:612-16.

Deng Chang 鄧昌, wife of: see the Lady Geng 耿.

Deng Chang 鄧暢 (d.121); Nanyang. A cousin of

the Dowager Deng, he became Court Architect. After the death of the Dowager in 121, when Emperor An disgraced the family and destroyed their power, Deng Chang killed himself. -*HHS* 16/6:617.

Deng Chang 鄧昌; Nanyang. Younger son of Deng Bao 褒 and the Princess Liu Biede, sister of Emperor An, Deng Chang was made Marquis of Wuyin in right of his mother, and served as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -*HHS* 16/6:606.

Deng Chen 鄧晨 [Weiqing 偉卿] (d.49); Nanyang. Deng Chen belonged to a wealthy family which had produced many senior officials; his father Hong 宏 had been Commandant of Yuzhang. A student of the *Book of Changes*, and known as a man of honour, Deng Chen was a close friend of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu. He married Liu Yuan, youngest sister of Liu Xiu, who bore him a son and three daughters.

Early in 22, after the first troubles of Liu Bosheng, Liu Xiu came to take refuge in Xinye, where he was protected by Deng Chen's connection to the magistrate Pan Lin. In the winter Deng Chen supported the Han rebellion against Wang Mang, but at the battle of Xiaochang'an his wife the Lady Liu Yuan and their three daughters were all killed. In the aftermath of defeat Pan Lin was obliged to demonstrate his loyalty to Wang Mang by destroying the houses and tombs of the Deng clan. Deng Chen's relatives were angry that he had involved them in rebellion and caused such damage to their prosperity and prestige, but Deng Chen remained a supporter of Han.

As the Gengshi Emperor was proclaimed in the spring of 23, Deng Chen was made a lieutenant-general. He took part in the invasion of Yingchuan, captured the commandery capital, and joined Liu Xiu in the great victory at Kunyang in the summer. He was then sent with a detached force to the east of Henan, and in the winter of 23, when the Gengshi Emperor established his capital at Luoyang after the destruction of Wang Mang, Deng Chen was sent north as Administrator of Changshan.

When Liu Xiu, now commissioner for Han in the north, attacked the pretender Wang Lang in 24, he was driven into Xindu, but then received reinforcements from the Gengshi Emperor and was able to attack Wang Lang in Handan city. Deng Chen came to join him at Julu, but Liu Xiu sent him back to his territory to guard the north. In the autumn Deng Chen sent a thousand archers to aid in the campaign against the

Bronze Horse and other bandits and he maintained supplies for the army.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 Deng Chen was named a county marquis and in 26 his late wife Liu Yuan, sister of the emperor, was awarded posthumous title as a Senior Princess, while their son Deng Fan also received a county fief.

In 27 Deng Chen was called to court. He accompanied the emperor to Nanyang, was named a Household Counsellor, and was sent with the Staff of Authority to hold formal command over Jia Fu in his attack on rebels in Runan. In the following year he accompanied Guangwu to Shouchun, and stayed there in charge of Jiujiang commandery.

Deng Chen was Administrator in several commanderies, and we are told that he preferred settled government to military campaigns. In Runan he rebuilt the ancient Hongxi Dam, and in Zhongshan he was praised by the local officials and people, while his rule was rated best in the province. When his fief was transferred to another county in 37 he returned to Luoyang to give thanks and was granted title as Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. Soon afterwards he went out once more to be Administrator of Runan.

In 41 Deng Chen was called up as acting Minister of Justice to join Guangwu on his imperial progress into Nanyang. He took a leading role in celebrations at Xinye, with a banquet and grand donations, then returned to his post in Runan. In that commandery he opened new agricultural land, and controlled the Ru River to supply fish-ponds and paddy rice and to aid development further downstream.

In 42 Deng Chen's fief was changed once more and when he came to the capital to give thanks he was again named a Servant at Court. When he died in 49 an imperial edict ordered that he be buried in the Beimang hills north of Luoyang, and envoys were sent to bring the coffin of his late wife the Princess Liu Yuan to share his tomb. -*HHS* 15/5:582-84*, *XC* 1:2b-3a.

Deng Chen 鄧晨, wife of: see the Lady Liu Yuan 劉元.

Deng Chen 鄧辰 [Botai 伯臺]; Nanyang. Evidently a member of the aristocratic clan, in 156 Deng Chen was a student at the Palace School for Noble Families [founded by Emperor Ming *q.v.*]. He was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu.

-*LS* 17:16b.

Deng Cheng 鄧成; Nanyang. Son of Deng Gan, he succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 16/6:606. This is probably not the same man as below.

Deng Cheng 鄧成. After Cheng Qin was killed fighting the rebel Qiang in 110, Deng Cheng succeeded him as Administrator of Hanzhong. He kept Cheng Xin and other officers of his predecessor on his staff. -*HYGZ* 2:16, 10C:169. It is doubtful if this the same man as above.

Deng Cheng 鄧盛 see Deng Sheng 鄧盛.

Deng Dang 鄧當. Brother-in-law of Lü Meng, Deng Dang was an officer under Sun Ce and took part in operations against the hills people. He died about 199. -*SGZ* Wu 9:1272.

Deng Dao 鄧道. Deng Dao initially refused invitations from his commandery and province, but later entered the imperial service. As Administrator of Zuopingyi he acquired a wide reputation for the manner in which he kept powerful families under control. -*XC* 7:5a.

Deng De 鄧德; Nanyang. A kinsman of the Lady Deng Mengnü, Empress of Emperor Huan, Deng De became a Palace Attendant and an officer of the guards of the Feathered Forest. When the empress was disgraced in 165 all members of her family were stripped of their appointments and sent back to their home country. -*HHS* 102/12, 3257.

Deng Die 鄧疊 (d.92); Nanyang. Related to the throne through a female line, Deng Die was presumably a kinsman of Deng Chen, husband of the Lady Liu Yuan the sister of Emperor Guangwu.

In the time of Emperor Ming it was felt necessary to maintain constant watch lest Deng Die and the cousins Yin Dang and Yin Bo, also imperial relatives by marriage, presumed upon their position to act wrongfully, but after the death of Emperor Zhang in 88, as the Dowager Dou became regent for the young Emperor He, the Deng were close associates of the ruling faction.

Deng Die and his younger brother Lei were both colonels in the Northern Army, and their mother the Lady Yuan had ready access to the Dowager's apartments within the palace. Deng Die was also an old friend of the marquis Liu Chang, a man of depraved character, who came to the capital in 88 with a message of condolence from his family on the death of the emperor. Through Deng Die, Liu Chang met the Lady Yuan, and was able to visit the Dowager Dou

in her apartments. The Dowager's brother Dou Xian, concerned at the political implications of the favours the Lady Dou was showing, had Liu Chang killed. Despite this Deng Die and his family remained on good terms with both Dou Xian and his sister.

After the success of Dou Xian's initial campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, he went out again to Liang province to supervise further operations in the following year. At this time he named Deng Die as his second-in-command and early in 92, after the final destruction of the Northern Xiongnu, Deng Die was enfeoffed as a marquis.

As the Dou rose to the height of their power and influence the Deng group, together with Guo Huang and his son Ju, had ready access and most friendly contact with the palace and the Dowager Dou. In the autumn, however, as the young emperor and his eunuch allies overthrew the power of the Dou, Deng Die, Deng Lie and the Lady Yuan were all accused of treason and died in prison. -HHS 23/13:812-20.

[Deng?] E 鄧娥, the Lady; Nanyang. Deng E was the daughter of the Lady Deng Yan by a father whose name is not recorded. Her mother died when she was an infant and she was then cared for by her aunt Deng Sui, future consort of Emperor He. -XHS 1:13a.

Deng Fan 鄧汎 Nanyang. Deng Fan was the son of Deng Chen and the Lady Liu Yuan, sister of Emperor Guangwu. The Lady Yuan was killed in 22, at an early stage of the Han rebellion against Wang Mang. In 26 the emperor awarded her posthumous title as a Senior Princess and enfeoffed Deng Fan as a marquis responsible for her sacrifices. -HHS 15/5:583.

Deng Fan 鄧蕃; Nanyang. A son of Deng Xi, he married the Princess Liu Xiaoji, daughter of Emperor Ming. He was granted a county fief and became a Palace Attendant under Emperor He. -HHS 10B:459.

Deng Fan 鄧範 [Shizi 士則] see *sub* Deng Ai 鄧艾 [Shizai 士載]. -SGZ 28:775.

Deng Fang 鄧方 [Deshan 德山]; Runan. Assistant to the Administrator of Henei Xiang Bao, about 134 Deng Fang joined him in the major project, led by Wang Hui and then by Sima Deng, to dredge and reconstruct the channel of the Yellow River and its tributaries near Rongyang. -SJZ 7:9a.

Deng Fang 鄧訪/防; Nanyang. During the time that Emperor An was under the control of the regent Dowager Deng, her kinsman Deng Fang was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. When the Dowager died

in 121 and Emperor An came to power, his favourites Li Run and the Lady Wang Sheng told him that Deng Fang had planned with the Dowager's brother Deng Kui and others of the family to put Liu Yi [or Liu De] the King of Pingyuan in his place. The emperor sent Deng Fang to the frontier, reduced the Deng clan to be commoners, and transferred Liu Yi's fief to a district marquisate. -HHS 16/6:616-17.

Deng Fang 鄧方 [Kongshan 孔山] (d.221); Nan. An Assistant Officer to Liu Bei in Jing province, Deng Fang accompanied him to the west in 211. When Liu Bei seized power there in 214 he appointed Deng Fang as Commandant of the Dependent State of Jianwei, then raised the territory to a commandery and named him Administrator. He also became Area Commander of Laixiang, controlling the southern part of Yi province, with rank as a general. -HYGZ 4:49, SGZ Shu 15:1081, 12:1045.

Deng Feng 鄧奉 (d.27); Nanyang. A nephew of Deng Chen, Deng Feng was a member of the leading local family in Xinye county. He joined the Han rebellion against Wang Mang at an early stage and was named a general by the Gengshi Emperor. As that regime collapsed Deng Feng transferred his allegiance to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu.

Liu Xiu's concubine the Lady Yin also came from Xinye and during 24 and 25 she found safety at Deng Feng's base in Yuyang to the south. Deng Feng also became a general under Guangwu, and the Lady Yin's brother Yin Shi served in his army.

In 26, however, as Wu Han led an imperial army into Nanyang, Deng Feng was angered at the way Wu Han's men ravaged his homeland and in the autumn he rebelled. The men under his command were of high quality, and he surprised and defeated Wu Han in a night attack. Capturing his equipment and supplies, he re-established himself in Yuyang and allied himself to the neighbouring chieftain Dong Xin. In the winter their forces defeated Guangwu's general Cen Peng, captured his colleague Zhu You, and laid siege to Wan city.

Early in 27, however, as Guangwu brought an army into Nanyang, Deng Feng was driven back to Yuyang and forced to surrender. Recognising his earlier support and the provocation he had suffered, Guangwu was willing to be lenient, but Cen Peng and Geng Yan argued for his execution and so Deng Feng died. -HHS 10A:405, 17/7:656-57; Bn 59:153-154.

Deng Feng 鄧鳳 or Deng Jingfeng 荆鳳; Nanyang. Son of Deng Han, when his father died his elder half-brother Deng Biao should have succeeded to his fief. Deng Biao, however, asked to cede it to Deng Feng, and Emperor Ming approved. -HHS 44/34:1495.

Deng Feng 鄧奉 (d.102); Nanyang. Son of the Lady Deng Zhu, in 102 Deng Feng was accused of having assisted the Empress Yin in her sorceries. Arrested and tortured, he and his brother Yi made confessions implicating one another and also the empress's brothers. The empress was deposed, and Deng Feng and Deng Yi died in prison. -HHS 16/6:606.

Deng Feng 鄧鳳 (d.121); Nanyang. Son of Deng Zhi, he involved himself in official business and palace intrigue. On one occasion he wrote to Zhang Kan of the Imperial Secretariat suggesting that the scholar Ma Rong, then a collator in the library of the Eastern Pavilion, be appointed to that office.

Deng Feng was later given a horse by the General of the Household Ren Shang, but in 118 Ren Shang was accused of exaggerating his success against the rebel Qiang and embezzling military stores; he was arrested and executed. Concerned that his contact would be found out, Deng Feng confessed to his father. Deng Zhi was afraid of how his sister the regent Dowager might react, so he had Deng Feng's head shaved, and also that of his own wife the Lady Kou, mother of Deng Feng. This symbol of convict servitude was taken as an apology for Deng Feng's ill-chosen associate, and everyone was impressed.

Following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121 Emperor An turned against the family. Deng Zhi was ordered into effective exile in Changsha, south of the Yangzi; he and Deng Feng starved themselves to death. -HHS 16/6:616-17.

Deng Fu 鄧福 (d.126); Nanyang. Son of Deng Guo, he succeeded to his fief. He died without sons, and the marquise was ended. -HHS 15/5:584-85.

Deng Fu 鄧輔. In 219 Deng Fu was Liu Bei's Administrator of Fangling, on the Han River in the northeast of Yi province. He was attacked and defeated by Lu Xun. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Deng Fude 鄧甫德; Nanyang. Deng Fude was the younger son of Deng Hong 弘. After his father's death in 115 his elder brother Guangde was given the marquise Deng Hong had refused years before. Because Deng Hong had been tutor to Emperor An, however, Deng Fude was also considered worthy of

enfeoffment, so part of Guangde's territory was taken to provide him with a district fief.

When the Deng family was disgraced after the death of the Dowager Deng in 121 Deng Guangde and Deng Fude were permitted to remain at the capital because their mother was connected to the family of the Empress Yan.

Deng Fude maintained his father's tradition of scholarship in the *Classic of History*, and became a magistrate in Henan. He left office when his mother died and did not take appointment again. -HHS 16/6:615-18.

Deng Gai 鄧咳; Nanyang. Son of Deng Yu, he was a younger brother of Deng Xun; on his position in the family see *sub* Deng Yu. After Deng Xun's death in 92, his daughter the Lady Deng Sui, future Empress and Dowager, was about to enter the imperial harem. Among omens of her coming fortune, Deng Gai recalled the achievement of his brother, who had arranged the cancellation of the extravagant Hutuo Canal project in 78 and so saved many lives which would have been lost if the works had continued. -HHS 10A:419 & JJ at 394.

Deng Gan 鄧乾; Nanyang. Son of Deng Zhen, he succeeded to his marquise and married the Princess Liu Zhi, daughter of Emperor Ming. When the Empress Yin was disgraced in 102, Deng Gan was involved through his cousin Deng Feng and was deprived of his fief, but in 105 his title was restored and he was made a Palace Attendant. -HHS 16/6:606.

Deng Gu 鄧固; Nanyang. Son of Deng Tang, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 15/5:584.

Deng Guangde 鄧廣德; Nanyang. Son of Deng Hong 弘, after his father's death in 115 Deng Guangde was given the marquise he had refused years before, though part of his territory was taken to provide a district fief for his younger brother Fude.

In 121, after the death of the Dowager Deng, her family was disgraced but Deng Guangde and Deng Fude were permitted to remain at the capital because their mother was connected to the family of the Empress Yan. Deng Guangde died soon afterwards. -HHS 16/6:615-18.

Deng Guangzong 鄧廣宗 (d.121); Nanyang. Son of Deng Kui, after his father's death in 118 Deng Guangzong was given the marquise he had refused years before. After the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, however, it was alleged that Deng Kui and other

members of the family had earlier supported a proposal to depose the emperor. Emperor An is said to have been furious, and he certainly took this as a reason to rid himself of the powerful family. He had posthumous indictments of treason presented against the alleged conspirators, stripped Deng Guangzong and others of their fiefs and sent them away to their home country. Harassed by local officials, Deng Guangzong killed himself. -HHS 16/6:616-17.

Deng Guo 鄧國; Nanyang. Son of Deng Gu, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 15/5:584.

Deng Han 鄧邯; Nanyang. Deng Han's family came originally from the lower Yangzi, but his ancestor Deng Kuang 況 had migrated to Nanyang, and the family farmed estates there for several generations. Their residence was in Xinye county, and Deng Han's kinsman Deng Yu became a leading supporter of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu.

Deng Han also joined the Han rebellion against Wang Mang. He became Administrator of Bohai under Guangwu and was enfeoffed as marquis of a county. -HHS 44/34:1495.

Deng Hong 鄧弘; Nanyang. In the spring of 27 Deng Hong was General of Chariots and Cavalry under the command of Deng Yu, presumably a kinsman. They pursued the Red Eyebrows from the west, but they were defeated and had to be rescued by Feng Yi, imperial commander of the eastern army.

Feng Yi proposed a pincer movement to catch the enemy between them, but Deng Hong again attacked the Red Eyebrows directly. The enemy left their baggage and fled, but the flight was feigned and the baggage was bait. Deng Hong's troops were short of food, the wagons were laden with beans, and as Deng Hong's men stopped to eat the rebels returned. The imperial position collapsed, and when Deng Yu and Feng Yi went to help they were driven back with heavy losses. Deng Hong does not appear again in the records. -HHS 16/6:604, 17/7:646; Bn 59:118, 221.

Deng Hong 鄧鴻 (d.95); Nanyang. Deng Hong was a son of Deng Yu; on his position in the family see *sub* Deng Yu. About 70 Deng Hong was a student in the Palace School for Noble Families which had been founded by Emperor Ming. He became noted for his skill in planning, and paid particular attention to affairs of the frontier. The emperor thought well of him and appointed him a Chief Clerk in Command of Troops, in charge of units of the Northern Army garrisoned

in Yanmen commandery.

Under Emperor Zhang, Deng Hong became Administrator of Zhangye and in 82 he was made General on the Liao. In 89 he commanded a column in Dou Xian's attack on the Northern Xiongnu, and took part in the victory at Jiluo Mountain. In the following year he returned to the capital as Minister Herald, and later became Minister of the Household.

In the autumn of 94 the renegade Xiongnu prince Fenghou sought to establish an independent position across the frontier. Deng Hong was appointed Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, with rank above the nine ministers, and was sent with forty thousand men, including regiments of the Northern Army, border levies, and Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries, to deal with him. He achieved one major victory, and separate columns under Ren Shang and Feng Zhu also gained notable successes, but Fenghou and many of his people fled across the frozen Yellow River, and at the beginning of 95 the imperial army abandoned the pursuit.

When Deng Hong returned to the capital, he was accused of having mismanaged the campaign by "delay and lack of zeal" 逗留畏懦, a formula which in military law was punishable by execution. He was sent to prison and died. -HHS 16/6:605-06, 89/79:2956-57; deC 84:280-281.

Deng Hong 鄧弘/宏 [Shuji 叔紀] (d.115); Nanyang. Son of Deng Xun and brother of the Lady Deng Sui, when his sister became empress of Emperor He Deng Hong was made a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. When the emperor died in 106, the Lady Deng, now Dowager, took control of the regency government, and Deng Hong became a Palace Attendant. After the death of the Young Emperor he and his brothers advised the Dowager on the selection of Liu You, Emperor An, and Deng Hong then became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

In 107 Deng Hong and his brothers were each granted county marquises with revenue from ten thousand households. They petitioned against such excess, and the Dowager eventually accepted their refusals, but they were granted the title Servant at Court, normally held by the most senior marquises, with authority to take part in court councils next only to the Excellencies.

As a young man Deng Hong had become expert in the study of the *Classic of History* according to the

New Text school of Ouyang. He was respected by Confucian scholars of the day, and was a tutor to the youthful Emperor An. When he became ill in 115 both the Dowager and the emperor went to call upon him and when he died they both wore mourning.

Deng Hong had asked that his funeral be carried out with the utmost simplicity, without brocade cloth or jade armour. Though the senior ministers recommended he be buried with the honours of a senior marquis and a general the Dowager did not agree, and even the gifts she did offer were rejected by Deng Hong's brother Deng Zhi, as senior male member of the family.

Deng Hong's son Guangde succeeded to his marquisate, but later, considering Deng Hong's special connection to the throne as a teacher of the emperor, the younger son Deng Fude was granted a second fief from his elder brother's territory.

After the death of the Dowager in 121 it was alleged that Deng Hong and his brothers Hui and Chang had supported a proposal to depose Emperor An in favour of Liu Yi the king of Pingyuan. This may have been true, though the high point of the campaign was not reached until 119, after all three brothers were dead: see *sub* Liu Yi. In any event, Emperor An is said to have been furious, and he certainly took this as a reason to rid himself of the powerful family. He had senior ministers present posthumous indictments of treason against Deng Kui and the others, and he stripped Deng Guangde, Deng Fude and the other marquises of their fiefs. -HHS 16/6:612-16, DGHJ 8:3a-b.

Deng Hui 鄧悝 see Deng Kui 鄧隸.

Deng Hui 鄧會 (d.165); Nanyang. A grandson of Deng Xiang and the Lady Xuan, parents of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, at the death of the Lady Xuan about 163 Deng Hui was granted the marquisate which had been awarded posthumously to Deng Xiang; he was also appointed a General of the Household. When the empress was disgraced in 165, Deng Hui was sent to prison and died there. -HHS 10B:445, 102/12:3257 [as Deng Lu 魯].

Deng Ji 鄧濟. An officer of Liu Biao, in 197 Deng Ji commanded a garrison in Nanyang. As Cao Cao attacked, the city fell and Deng Ji was captured. -SGZ 1:15.

Deng Jing 鄧京; Nanyang. Son of Deng Xun and brother of the Lady Deng Sui, future regent Dowager, when his sister became the empress of Emperor He Deng Jing was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow

Gates. He died in that office soon afterwards. -HHS 16/6:612.

Deng Jing 鄧靜. In the early third century Deng Jing and his colleague Yin Qi, expert vocalists of formal music 雅樂, were members of the orchestra at the puppet court of Han under Cao Cao. -SGZ 29:806.

Deng Jingfeng 鄧荊鳳 see Deng Feng 鄧鳳.

Deng Kai 鄧闔 miswritten for Deng Chang 鄧閭.

Deng Kai 鄧凱; Nan. Local clan leaders in 219, Deng Kai and Wen Bu gathered non-Chinese people from the western hills to resist the invading forces of Sun Quan. Defeated by Lu Xun's officer Xie Jing, they fled west into Yi province and received military appointment under Liu Bei. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Deng Kang 鄧康 (d.134); Nanyang. Son of Deng Zhen 珍 and grandson of Deng Yu, in 112 Deng Kang was granted the succession to his father's marquisate after the death of his elder brother Lang. At this time, as each such fief changed hands by inheritance, the pension was reduced by half, but because Deng Kang was a cousin of the regent Dowager his revenues were reduced by only a third. He became a colonel in the Northern Army.

Deng Kang was concerned that the Dowager did not transfer power to the young Emperor An, even though he was formally of age. He protested several times but the Dowager made no change, so in 120 he claimed to be ill and did not attend court. The Dowager sent to ask after him, but the messenger had been a slave in the Deng household, and Deng Kang abused her, "You are one of our former slaves; how dare you show your face here!" The woman was angry; she reported to the Dowager that Deng Kang's illness was a pretence and that he had spoken disrespectfully. Deng Kang was dismissed and sent out to his fief in Beihai.

When the Dowager died in the following year and Emperor An turned against her family, Deng Kang's earlier remonstrances meant that he escaped their fate. He was appointed a Palace Attendant, and after Emperor Shun came to the throne in 125 he became Minister Coachman. He was admired by all the court for his fine morality and when he retired on account of ill health he was granted title as Specially Advanced, allowing him to remain in residence at the capital rather than go out to his fief. -HHS 10A:428-29, 16/6:608, 23/13:811-12.

Deng Kang 鄧康; Nanyang. Son of Deng Yan and nephew of the Lady Deng Mengnü, Empress of

Emperor Huan, Deng Kang succeeded to his father's county marquisate in Runan about 157. When the empress's original surname was recognised in 161 [see *sub* Deng Mengnü], Deng Kang's fief was changed to a larger county in Nanyang and he received a grant of a hundred million cash. As the empress was disgraced in 165, however, all members of her family were stripped of their titles and appointments, sent back to their home country, and compelled to return all the gifts they had received. -HHS 10B:444-45, 102/12, 3257.

Deng Kuan 鄧寬; Nanyang. Younger brother of Deng Yu, in 37 Deng Kuan was awarded a noble title on account of Deng Yu's great service to Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 16/6:605.

Deng Kui 鄧曄 [Shuzhao 叔昭] (d.118); Nanyang. Son of Deng Xun and brother of the Lady Deng Sui, when his sister became the empress of Emperor He Deng Kui was made a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. When Emperor He died in 106 the Lady Deng, now Dowager, took control of the regency government and Deng Kui was appointed General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger. After the death of the Young Emperor he and his brothers took part in the selection of Liu You, Emperor An, and Deng Kui then became Colonel of the City Gates.

In 107 Deng Kui and his brothers were granted county marquisates with revenues from ten thousand households. They were reluctant, and after several exchanges the Dowager accepted their refusals, but they were named Servants at Court, a title normally held by the most senior marquises, which gave the right to take part in court councils next only to the Excellencies.

Deng Kui and his brother Chang both died about the same time in 118, and their testaments asked that they be buried in simple fashion without special ceremony. The Dowager accepted the request.

After the death of the Dowager in 121 it was alleged that Deng Kui and his brothers Hong and Chang had supported a proposal of Deng Fang that Emperor An should be deposed in favour of Liu Yi the king of Pingyuan. This may have been true, though the high point of the campaign was not reached until 119, after Deng Kui's death. Emperor An took the occasion to rid himself of the powerful family: he had senior ministers present posthumous indictments of treason, and he ended several fiefs, including that of Deng Kui's son and successor Deng Guangzong. -HHS 16/6:612-16,

DGHJ 8:3a.

Deng Lang 鄧朗; Runan. Son of Deng Yuanyi, he told his grandfather Deng Bokao how Bokao's wife was ill-treating his mother the Lady Li. Deng Bokao was ashamed, and he sent the Lady Li back to her own family.

The Lady then married Ying Shun, but when she returned to the capital with her new husband Deng Lang, now a Gentleman at court, refused to accept her. In a face-to-face meeting, however, she persuaded him to take a less rigid attitude. -HHS 48/38:1607.

Deng Lei 鄧磊 (d.92); Nanyang. Younger brother of Deng Die, Deng Lei and his brother and their mother the Lady Yuan were close associates of the Dou faction which dominated the court at the beginning of the reign of Emperor He. Deng Lei became a colonel in the Northern Army. When the young emperor and his eunuch allies overthrew the power of the Dou in 92, Deng Lei, Deng Die and the Lady Yuan were accused of treason and died in prison. -HHS 23/13:819-20.

Deng Li 鄧鯉; Nanyang? In the early 70s, at the time of the alleged conspiracy involving Liu Ying the King of Chu, Deng Li held a marquisate, presumably as a member of the leading family from Nanyang. He and other members of the nobility were implicated by the confessions of Yan Zhong and Wang Ping, but before any action could be taken against them the censorial officer Han Lang persuaded Emperor Ming of their innocence. -HHS 41/31:1417.

Deng Liang 鄧良; Nanyang. Son of Deng Zhen 珍 and grandson of Deng Yu, he succeeded to his father's fief but died, probably in 112, leaving no heirs. -HHS 16/6:606.

Deng Long 鄧隆; Nanyang? A general of Emperor Guangwu, at the beginning of 26 Deng Long was sent with Chen Fu to summon Liu Yang, the discontented King of Zhending. Liu Yang barred his gates against them, but the imperial commissioner Geng Chun came to join Deng Long and Chen Fu, then enticed Liu Yang and his kinsmen to a meeting and had them arrested and killed.

In the autumn, after the rebellion of Peng Chong in Yuyang, Deng Long was sent to relieve Zhu Fu, who was besieged in Ji city in Guangyang. This was successful, but the two commanders then sought to operate separately and Peng Chong inflicted heavy defeats upon each of them. Deng Long was driven away and Zhu Fu was forced back into Ji. -HHS

21/11:764-65, 12/2:504; Bn 59:122-126.

HHS 15/5:582 refers to a Deng Long 鄧隆 who was Inspector of Yang province. Though the name is identical, it cannot be the same person, for the Inspector is described as a great-grandfather of Deng Chen, who married a sister of Emperor Guangwu and died in 49; he must have been active during Former Han: *QHX*:59. The Deng Long who served Guangwu was probably a member of the great Nanyang clan, but he cannot have been a lineal descendant of his namesake, for that would offend taboo.

Deng Long 鄧龍. An officer under Huang Zu, in 207 Deng Long was sent to lead a counter-attack against Sun Quan's general Zhou Yu on the Yangzi by the borders of Jing and Yang provinces. He was defeated and captured. -*SGZ* Wu 9:1260.

Deng Lu 鄧魯 miswritten for Deng Hui 鄧會. -*HHS* 102/12:3257.

Deng Lü/Lu 鄧閭 miswritten for Deng Chang 鄧昌. -*HHSJJ* 10A:392.

Deng Man 鄧滿 or Deng Pu 蒲. An officer under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, in 24 he was left in charge of the siege of Wang Lang's supporter Wang Rao in Julu while the main army went to attack Handan city. -*HHS* 12/2:493.

Deng Meng 鄧猛, the Lady: see Deng Mengnü 鄧猛女.

Deng [Mengnü] 鄧猛女 or Deng Meng 猛, the Lady; Nanyang: Empress of Emperor Huan. [*XHS* 1:17a says that the Lady's style was Mengnü, and it is possible that her given name was Meng.] Daughter of Deng Xiang and the Lady Xuan, the Lady Deng was selected into the harem of Emperor Huan in 153 or 154. The common age for such entry was thirteen *sui*, so the Lady was born about 141.

The Lady's father Deng Xiang was a great-nephew of the Dowager Deng and the family had been respected in Nanyang for many generations. Following the death of the Dowager in 121, however, Emperor An had disgraced her kinfolk, and Deng Xiang was no longer regarded as a man of noble descent. He held only low-ranking appointments and died within a few years of the birth of his daughter. His widow the Lady Xuan soon married again, and her second husband, step-father to the Lady Deng, was Liang Ji/Gi 紀, maternal uncle to the Lady Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. [Liang Gi was not directly related to the General-in-Chief, and I use the variant transcription to

distinguish him.]

Xuan and her children by Deng Xiang now shared in the prosperity of the imperial relatives by marriage; they adopted the surname Liang and Mengnü entered the harem under the patronage of Sun Shou, who evidently hoped she would serve as an agent or support for her adopted relatives. She was initially appointed as a Chosen Woman, lowest of the three ranks of imperial concubines, but her beauty attracted the favours of the emperor and she was soon promoted to be an Honoured Lady, highest rank below the empress. At first it appeared that Sun Shou's hopes were fulfilled, for the Lady Deng offered no challenge to the Empress Liang Nüying, sister of Liang Ji.

She did, however, seek and obtain favours for her own family. A year after she entered the harem, presumably at the time she was promoted to be Honoured Lady, her elder brother Deng Yan was made a county marquis in Nanyang with the high rank of Specially Advanced and precedence next only to the highest ministers of state, and when he died a year or so later his son Kang succeeded to his fief. On the other hand, the Lady's step-father Liang Gi died soon after her entry into the harem, so the connection with Sun Shou and Liang Ji was weakened, and in the autumn of 159 the situation was changed by the unexpected death of the Empress Liang. Liang Ji had no longer any direct connection to the imperial harem, and in order to regain his influence there he proposed to adopt the Lady Mengnü as his daughter and have her established as empress.

Emperor Huan was increasingly resentful of Liang Ji's dominance at court, but he still preferred Mengnü to the other women available, and so long as Liang Ji had the approval of Mengnü's family, notably her mother Xuan, there was no room for manoeuvre. At this point, however, Xuan and her relatives realised that they would lose much of their influence if Mengnü came under Liang Ji's control, and Xuan herself saw the opportunity to become mother-in-law to the emperor. She refused to approve the adoption.

An elder sister of Mengnü had married a certain Bing Zun, currently a Consultant at the court. He took the lead in urging the Lady Xuan to oppose Liang Ji's plans. Within a few days Liang Ji had sent a group of his retainers to kill him, and when Xuan still would not change her mind, Liang Ji sent his men against her too. They attacked the Lady Xuan's mansion in the capital

but she was warned by her neighbours, ran to the palace, and told the emperor. With the aid of a trusted group of eunuchs, Emperor Huan drew up orders for a mixed force of eunuchs and palace gentlemen to take their insignia from Liang Ji and Sun Shou and send them to exile in the far south. Husband and wife preferred to kill themselves, and the Liang clan was destroyed.

Five days later, on 14 September 159, the Honoured Lady Mengnü became empress. She and her relatives had renounced their connection with the Liang family, and Emperor Huan, who intensely disliked the name of Liang, insisted his new consort adopt the surname Bo 薄. This name, which also appears as 亳, may have been Xuan's maiden name before her marriage to Deng Xiang, but more likely it was chosen as a reminder of the good example of the modest Lady Bo, concubine of Emperor Gao of Former Han who became the mother of Emperor Wen; and one may note a similarity with the ritual which accompanied the enthronement of the emperor's previous Empress Liang [see *sub voce*].

Since Mengnü's brother Deng Yan had been enfeoffed when she was made an Honoured Lady in 155, and her cousin Deng Wanshi was a childhood friend of Emperor Huan, her true lineage must have been well known. Two years later, in 161 senior officials sent in a memorial to say that it was inappropriate for the empress to avoid the name of her true father, and an edict restored her surname from Bo to Deng. Deng Xiang was now granted posthumous title as a marquis and appointment as General of Chariots and Cavalry and Xuan was enfeoffed as Lady of Kunyang, a prosperous county in Yingchuan. Their grandsons Deng Kang, Deng Tong and Deng Bing all held fiefs, and Deng Xiang's title was transferred to a cousin, Deng Hui.

On the other hand, though her relatives commanded various units in the palace guards and the Northern Army, only the empress's cousin Deng Wanshi held significant position as Intendant of Henan, and that was probably on account of a long-standing personal connection to the emperor. Despite the modesty of their perquisites compared to the extravagance and power of the Liang family, the Deng family were not popular and Emperor Huan received many protests against the honours he had granted them. In particular and very strangely, though the Deng had long been a leading family, and there appears to have been no

question raised about the empress's legitimacy, she was described as a woman of low birth [e.g. Sima Biao in *HHS* 104/14:3295].

The emperor paid small attention to these criticisms and the Lady Deng continued to receive his favours. She bore him no sons, however, and though two imperial daughters appeared about this time it is unlikely that either of them were hers. Furthermore, the emperor had now gathered a vast harem, and the empress, in her late twenties and faced with constant competition from new, younger and ambitious rivals, was in a weak position. It is recorded that she had a furious quarrel with the Honoured Lady Guo, each telling tales about the other, and there is reference to her drunkenness. Her biography says she was arrogant and over-bearing and that the emperor became tired of her presumptions and importunities.

On 27 March 165 the Empress Deng was disgraced and imprisoned in the Drying House, the harem hospital which was also used for the seclusion of high-ranking ladies when they were out of favour, and a short time later she was dead, officially through an excess of grief 以憂死 – very possibly a euphemism for suicide or murder. It is also claimed that she was guilty of "heretical doctrines" 左道: i.e. non-Confucian teachings and superstition. Apart from her erratic behaviour under the pressure of harem rivalries, it may well be that the empress had been in search of some charm or drug which might enable her to bear the emperor a son. The accusation of witchcraft was a cliché of harem politics, but it may nonetheless be true, and any accusation of supernatural interference with the sacred person of the emperor or the imperial lineage, let alone the possibility of poison, were highly dangerous.

With the fall of the empress, her relatives were removed without difficulty from their positions at court. Deng Wanshi and Deng Hui died in prison, while others of the family were stripped of their honours and property and sent back to their home country in Nanyang.

The Empress Deng, in association with the eunuch Zuo Guan, was very likely involved in the early stages of the imperial worship of the divinity Huang-Lao 黃老, a combination of the legendary Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and the sage Laozi 老子. The cult had long been well established, but Emperor Huan was the first ruler to grant his patronage. At the beginning of 165

Zuo Guan was sent to make sacrifice at the shrine to Laozi in Chen, and it may be that this ritual reflected an enterprise of the Empress Deng, seeking mystical support for herself, her husband and his dynasty.

Even after her death and that of Zuo Guan, the imperial interest continued, culminating in the ceremony of worship to Huang-Lao and the new, alien, divinity of the Buddha 浮圖/浮屠, held at the imperial palace in Luoyang in the summer of 166. It has been suggested that Emperor Huan's third empress the Lady Dou was responsible for this development, but it seems more probable the imperial worship of Huang-Lao initially reflected the concerns of the Empress Deng. -HHS 10B:444-45*; deC 75B, deC 89:8-14, 58, also Seidel 69 and 69-70.

Deng Ni 鄧嶷 see Deng Yi 鄧嶷.

Deng Pin 鄧聘 (d. 195). An Imperial Clerk, officer of the Censorate, Deng Pin accompanied Emperor Xian on his escape from Chang'an in 195, but was killed in one of the battles along the way. -HHJ 28:340.

Deng Pu 鄧蒲 see Deng Man 鄧滿.

Deng Quan 鄧泉 see *sub* Deng Yuan 鄧淵.

Deng Rang 鄧讓; Nanyang. Appointed by the Gengshi regime as Governor of Jiaozhi, controlling present-day Guangdong, Guangxi and the coast of Vietnam, Deng Rang was married to an elder sister of the Lady Yin Lihua, concubine and later empress of Guangwu, and he was an old and close friend of Cen Peng, Guangwu's commander in the south. In 29, as Cen Peng defeated the warlord Tian Rong and took control of the middle Yangzi, he wrote to Deng Rang and invited him to submit to the new imperial regime. Deng Rang was naturally willing to do so, and his example encouraged the administrators of commanderies in the south of Jing province. All sent tribute and were enfeoffed, so the new Han government gained access to the riches of the south. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:157.

Deng Rang 鄧讓, wife of: see the Lady Yin Lihua.

Deng Rong 鄧融; Nanyang. Administrator of Longxi in 60, he obtained the services of Lian Fan as his Officer of Merit. The provincial authorities later accused him of some crime and he was sent to prison. Lian Fan managed to care for him there, but Deng Rong died shortly after his release. The case became a *cause célèbre*, for in 61 the Excellencies Guo Dan and Feng Fang were dismissed for having supported the false allegations and the ill-intentioned officials who had made them. -HHS 31/21:1101-02, 27/17:941,

33/23:1149.

Deng Rong 鄧容, the Lady; Nanyang. Daughter of Deng Xun 訓, she was younger sister of the Lady Deng Sui, future Empress Deng of Emperor He. -XHS 1:13a.

Deng Ru 鄧儒 [Bozu 伯祖]. As Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Deng Ru was reliable and kept confidences, and was not subservient to powerful ministers. -XC 6:12b. [The *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye has no mention of this man.]

Deng Shao 鄧邵. Magistrate of Xu county in Yingchuan, Deng Shao sponsored Chen Shi to the Imperial University at Luoyang. -HHS 62/52:2065.

Deng Sheng 鄧盛 or Deng Cheng [Bozhen 伯眞]; Cangwu. Deng Sheng was a junior officer under the Grand Commandant when the Chancellor of Pengcheng Zuo Xiang was arrested for embezzlement. Zuo Xiang was examined by torture, but he refused to provide the confession required for a guilty verdict. Then Deng Sheng was sent to the prison; he had Zuo Xiang's manacles removed and allowed him to wash, then spoke to him courteously. At this good treatment, Zuo Xiang confessed his wrongdoing.

Deng Sheng was later a magistrate in Nan commandery, but when he heard his mother had died he immediately left his post. Admired for his filial conduct, he was called up to a more senior position in the office of the Grand Commandant.

In the early 170s Deng Sheng was Inspector of Bing province. The Administrator of Taiyuan, Wang Qiu, admired a certain Lu Fu and intended to give him appointment, but his officer Wang Yun objected that Lu Fu had shown no distinctive qualities. Wang Qiu threatened to kill Wang Yun, but Deng Sheng, impressed by his judgement and courage, made him his Attendant Officer. Wang Yun was thus protected from Wang Qiu and acquired local fame. -HHS 66/56:2172 & JJ at 2388 Hou Kang quoting *Guangzhou xianxian zhuan*.

Despite differences in the records, Hou Kang suggests this may be the man who became Grand Commandant in 184: see below.

Deng Sheng 鄧盛 or Deng Cheng [Boneng 伯能]; Hongnong. In 184 Deng Sheng was promoted from Minister Herald to Grand Commandant. He left that office in the following year. -HHS 8:348-51.

At HHSJJ 66/56:2388, Hou Kang observes that although the styles are slightly different and the places

of origin are not the same, it is strange to have two men named Deng Sheng about the same time. He suggests this may be the same man as the Deng Sheng described above.

Deng Sheng 鄧升. Officers of Gao Gan in 206, Deng Sheng and Xia Zhao were left to guard his base in Shangdang as he sought aid from the Xiongnu. They presumably surrendered to Cao Cao after Gao Gan was taken and killed. -SGZ 6:206.

Deng Shou 鄧壽; Nanyang. A kinsman of the Lady Deng Mengnü, Empress of Emperor Huan, Deng Shou became an attendant at court. In 165, however, when the empress was disgraced, all members of her family were stripped of their appointments and sent back to their home country. -HHS 102/12:3257.

Deng Si 鄧嗣; Nanyang. Deng Si's father Deng Bao 豹 killed himself when the family fell from favour after the death of the Dowager Deng in 121. Deng Si, however, was adopted by the Lady Geng as heir to her late husband Deng Chang 闔. She tutored him in classical learning and Deng Si became a fine scholar.

During the late 150s Deng Si was a member of the group which worked on the third instalment of *Han ji*, the official history of the Later Han dynasty later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. He was also a colonel in the Northern Army. -HHS 16/6:618.

Deng Sui 鄧綏, the Lady (81-121); Nanyang; Empress of Emperor He and later regent Dowager. Deng Sui was the daughter of Deng Xun 訓 and his wife the Lady Yin, who was a cousin of Guangwu's Empress Yin Lihua. She was a favourite of her grandmother, the widow of Deng Yu and mother of Deng Xun. When she was five the elderly lady trimmed her hair for her, but because of her poor eyesight she cut her on the forehead. The girl made no complaint; when asked she said that it did hurt, but her grandmother would be upset if she complained and she would not hurt her feelings.

By the age of six she had mastered the *Shi shu* 史書 "Book of History," a standard elementary text, and by twelve she had read the *Classic of Poetry* and *Analects* and joined her brothers in their study of the classics and histories. Devoted to literature and scholarship, she had no interest in household work. When her mother complained about this, the Lady attended to traditional women's occupations during the day and returned to her books at night. The people of the household called her the "Scholar" 諸生, and her

father Deng Xun was most impressed. Considering her superior to her brothers and the hope of the family, he regularly discussed matters of business with her.

In 92 Deng Xun died. It had been planned that the Lady would enter the harem of Emperor He, but that was abandoned for the duration of mourning. The Lady wept for her father day and night, and for three years she refused salt and vegetables; her appearance was so changed by grief that her own family did not recognise her. On the other hand, she had a dream in which she drank milk from Heaven, while a physiognomist described her face as having the same pattern as that of the legendary King Tang 湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. Some questioned these signs of fortune and eminence, but others recalled the achievements of the Lady's grandfather Deng Yu and the fine record of her father Deng Xun; such family virtue was now to be rewarded. At this time also we are told that the Lady's elder sister Deng Yan had died, leaving a daughter named E. Though still young herself, the Lady cared for the infant.

THE RISE TO HIGH RANK

In 95 the Lady at last joined the imperial harem. Seven feet two inches tall [166 cm], she had evidently recovered from the privations of mourning her father, for she is described as having a handsome face and a most elegant appearance, quite different to the common run of entrants. All who attended her were amazed, and in the winter of the following year, at the age of sixteen, she was appointed an Honoured Lady, next rank below the empress. Modest in her conduct, she behaved with courtesy to all, from the empress to the maids and concubines. When she became ill her mother and brothers brought medicines for her, but the Lady was concerned that this weakened the proper separation of the harem and the outside world; she spoke of her concerns to the emperor, and he gave special approval for their visits. At times of feasts and banquets, when other women dressed in competing finery and ornament, the Lady Deng wore plain colours unadorned. Her usual costume reflected that of the Empress Yin, and she was careful to show respect in the empress's company, never sitting at the same level, bending when they walked together, and never speaking first to the emperor. Emperor He was increasingly impressed.

Later, as the Empress Yin became estranged from the emperor, she would claim to be ill whenever he

wanted to couple with her. For her part, the Lady Deng was sad that the emperor had seen many of his infant children die, and she was anxious that his lineage should flourish, so on several occasions she brought forward a junior concubine to give him greater opportunities. It seems certain that the Empress Yin was related to the Lady Deng, not only because the latter was kin to the Empress Yin of Guangwu, but also because the empress herself had a grandmother of the Deng clan. The details of the connection cannot be determined, and they made no real difference to the rivalry between the two women, for as the empress observed the success of the Lady Deng she became increasingly concerned at the threat to her own position.

There came a time that the emperor was extremely ill, and the empress remarked privately that if she had her way the Lady Deng would not survive him for long. The Lady heard of this, and she was so distressed at the evidence of the empress's hostility that she planned to commit suicide rather than bring scandal to the court and disaster to her family. One of her palace women, however, arranged a false report that the emperor was getting better, and so the Lady gave up the idea. Next day the emperor did indeed recover.

In the summer of 102 the Empress Yin was found to have been involved in black magic, and though the Lady Deng petitioned in her favour she was dismissed, imprisoned, and duly "died of grief." As senior ministers urged a new consort be appointed, Emperor He announced his choice of the Lady Deng. Though the Lady made suitable protestations, she was proclaimed empress on 21 November 102. In keeping with her conduct before she came to the throne, the new consort established a regime of some austerity, forbidding extravagant offerings to the court and arranging that seasonal offerings should comprise only ink and the newly-invented paper. Closer to home, though the emperor wanted to grant honours and offices to her family, the Lady Deng dissuaded him, and in the course of his reign her eldest brother Deng Zhi rose only to the position of a General of the Household, while the others were Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates.

THE DOWAGER AND THE SUCCESSION

In the winter of 105/106 Emperor He died, and the Lady Deng, now twenty-five years old, became Dowager. According to the constitutional custom of Han the Dowager had great potential power. Firstly, if

the new ruler was under age she was entitled to attend court and act as regent. Second, if her husband had died without naming an Heir, she was required to select his successor from among his sons or other males of the imperial clan. Emperor He had fathered several children, but many had died in infancy. Four daughters survived him, and they were enfeoffed as princesses at the time of his death, but he left only two sons. The identities of the mothers are unknown, though they were very likely among the junior concubines introduced to the ruler's bed through the agency of the Lady Deng. It was announced, moreover, that because of the high mortality, and the fear of evil within the palace, whether supernatural or human, both boys had been removed and cared for outside, and only the Dowager knew who and where they were.

Neither of the princes had been acknowledged as Heir before their father died, and the Dowager now announced that the elder, Liu Sheng, had a chronic illness which prevented him taking the throne. Enfeoffing him as King of Pingyuan, she granted the imperial succession to his younger brother, Liu Long, at that time barely three months old. The Young Emperor was brought to the throne on the evening that his father had died, but a few months later, in the autumn of 106, the child died. Liu Sheng was once more passed over, and the Dowager looked for a successor among the males of the imperial clan. Liu Qing the King of Qinghe had at one time been the Heir of Emperor Zhang, and though he had been deposed in favour of his half-brother he had been on excellent terms of friendship and trust with Emperor He. He could now have been named emperor, but he had always been sickly, and we are told that when Emperor He died Liu Qing again became ill, and he died at the end of the year. Instead, the Dowager chose Liu Qing's son Liu You, who had been born in 94 and was therefore thirteen *sui*, some twelve years old by Western reckoning, when he was brought to the throne on 23 September 106. He is known as Emperor An.

Some commentators have questioned the Dowager's motives and policy, arguing not only for the candidacy of Liu Qing, but noting that there were several other sons of Emperor Zhang who might have provided a new ruler of full age. Soon after the accession of the Young Emperor the Dowager had ordered Liu Qing and his brothers Shou, Kai and Zhang, kings of Jibei, Hejian and Changshan respectively, to leave their

long-term residences at the capital and go out to their fiefs. She was evidently anxious to have such possible pretenders away from the centre of power, while she arranged that the future emperor Liu You remained at Luoyang.

There are no details of the illness of Liu Sheng, the son of Emperor He who had now been passed over for a second time; it may have been physical or mental. A number of officials believed that the disability was not sufficiently serious to disqualify him from the imperial succession and the Dowager was choosing youthful rulers in order to prolong her regency. It does not appear, however, that Liu Sheng was markedly older than Liu You, and he may have been younger: he left no sons when he died in 113, and he may have been too young to sire children even then. In the winter of 107/108, a year after the accession of Emperor An, the Excellency Zhou Zhang attempted a coup to depose the Dowager and her nominee and set Liu Sheng upon the throne. The plot, however, was found out, and Zhou Zhang killed himself.

It is arguable that the Dowager had sought to carry out her responsibilities with honour: it may well be that the illnesses of both Liu Sheng and Liu Qing were, in different ways, truly incapacitating, while the choice of Liu You restored the inheritance to the lineage of the former Heir Liu Qing and prevented the claims of other descendants of Emperor Zhang from causing a struggle for the succession.

THE DOWAGER AND THE REGENCY

There is no question, however, that the Dowager enjoyed exercising power. It is said she consulted her elder brother Deng Zhi on the imperial successions, but this may be little more than lip-service to public expectation, and it is clear that she restricted the role of her male kinsmen in government. In 108 Deng Zhi was named General-in-Chief 大將軍, a position which Bielenstein regards as indicating his authority as regent [e.g. Bn 80:152 and 86A:283-284]. My own interpretation, however, is that the Dowager ruled as regent through her authority to "take part in the affairs of court" 臨朝, and Deng Zhi's position as her senior male relative was not significantly affected by his title as General-in-Chief: the appointment was actually used as an excuse to relieve him of direct command of operations against the rebel Qiang, where he had achieved very limited success.

Deng Zhi and his brothers formally withdrew from

government when their mother the Lady Yin died at the end of 110, and unlike Liang Ji, Dou Wu and He Jin, senior relatives by marriage in later reigns, Deng Zhi never held control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal command of the government. From 106 the Grand Tutor for the Young Emperor Zhang Yu and the Grand Commandant Xu Fang held this authority, but that arrangement ceased in 107 after the appointment of Emperor An; there was never any doubt that the Lady Deng was the effective ruler.

Even after Emperor An had formally taken the cap of manhood 加元服 at the beginning of 109, the Dowager continued to dominate the court. When she was taken ill a few months later, there was suggestion that she might hand over power, but the Lady reacted strongly and firmly. There were a number of protests over the years, and the emperor was naturally resentful, but there was no effective challenge until her death in 121. When he at last gained power for himself, Emperor An turned on the Deng family, disgraced its leaders and drove them to exile or suicide.

From 106 to 121, therefore, the Lady Deng was the *de facto* ruler of Later Han, primarily responsible for government policy, and the events of those years are discussed and summarised below.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THE QIANG REBELLION

On the northern frontier, the pattern begun in the time of Emperor He initially continued. In 106 there was a new incursion of the Xianbi in the northwest, but the Northern Xiongnu sent messengers to Dunhuang commandery offering tribute. In the autumn of that year, however, there was a general outbreak of rebellion in central Asia and the Protector-General Ren Shang was besieged at Shule [Kashgar]. He called for help, and a force of five thousand horsemen, primarily composed of auxiliaries from the Qiang and other non-Chinese tribes of Liang province was sent to his relief. Though the siege was broken before the relief force arrived, the troubles continued and worsened, Ren Shang was recalled and replaced, and in the summer of 107 the Dowager ordered that the whole territory of the Western Regions should be abandoned: the extended empire was more than the government could afford to maintain.

The strategic decision was justifiable: the enterprise in central Asia had been the personal achievement of Ban Chao, and its military costs now appeared to out-

weigh the benefits. Unfortunately, the withdrawal still required a transitional military presence, and when the Qiang were subjected to a further impressment they rose in rebellion throughout Liang province: the troubles in the far west were seen as a clear sign of weakness, and the non-Chinese resented the conscription and feared they would be kept from their homes indefinitely. An initial mutiny, badly handled, spread rapidly, and though some of the insurgents simply fled across the frontier other groups fought back. By the winter of 107 the insurgents had cut the road to central Asia, and the great Qiang rebellion was maintained for more than ten years.

The rebellion was far more serious than the earlier wars of this region, for those had been waged primarily against tribespeople on or outside the frontier, the so-called "Western Qiang," while this affair involved the "Eastern Qiang" who had settled within imperial territory. That process had begun early in the first century, partly by circumstance and partly though policy decisions by officials like Ma Yuan. The result, in any event, was that Chinese and non-Chinese occupied the same territory, and when trouble broke out the Qiang turned on their neighbours with devastating effect. Within a very short time the whole of Liang province had been affected, government offices were destroyed, and Chinese people fled south and west to escape massacre.

The government initially sought to ease the trouble with an amnesty, but by the end of 107 the rebels had found a leader, Dianlian of the Xianlian tribe in western Longxi, and they captured military equipment from camps and bases in the region. In the winter a hastily-gathered imperial army was sent out, commanded by the Dowager's brother Deng Zhi, with Ren Shang as his assistant. Many of the troops were untrained men from inner commanderies, and they were defeated in a series of battles in Hanyang. By the end of 108 Deng Zhi had been recalled, probably to save him further military embarrassment, Qiang raiding parties were ravaging the territories still under nominal imperial control, and there was widespread famine.

In the winter of 109 the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu joined the Xianbi and Wuhuan of the northeast in rebellion against Han, and though that trouble was soon settled the situation had become so unstable that the imperial forces were brought back to defend Chang'an, while in 110 and 111 the

headquarters of Jincheng, Longxi, Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies, and that of the Protector, were withdrawn south and east into more secure territory. In an effort to deny resources to the enemy, the government now forced its own people to leave their homes, and this deliberate depopulation, combined with the effects of the war itself, reduced Chinese tenure of the northwest still further.

In fact the year 111 marked the high point of Qiang success, for Dianlian died in the following year, and none of his successors was able to achieve the wide authority which he had held. Following another offer of amnesty, the Han forces returned to the attack and by 114 they had largely recovered Jincheng. A major offensive was defeated in 115 but thereafter, under the command of Ren Shang, the Chinese regained the initiative and as the remnant rebels were harried by raids, increasing numbers came to surrender. In 117 Ren Shang and the Protector Ma Xian defeated the last major army at Fuping in Beidi, and by 118 all resistance had ended.

The victory, however, was Pyrrhic, for massive damage had been done to the Chinese position in the northwest. There were continuing small-scale risings and raids across the frontier, while the displaced commandery capitals returned but slowly to their former sites and communications were only gradually restored. The government made grants of grain and farmland to refugees, forgave taxes on several occasions, and attempted to persuade emigrants to return, but the loss of population was not recovered. It was not until the late 120s that there was an active program of reconstruction, and that was overtaken by events ten years later.

The imperial position as a whole had also suffered heavily. The direct costs of the war were enormous – 24,000 million cash – and the collateral damage and disruption to the region was even greater. Furthermore, the loss of revenue from Liang province placed increasing strain upon the already stretched finances of a government which had been in difficulty even before the disaster, and in later years the pressure for funds from other sources would disrupt the equilibrium of both the court and the provinces. In the end the armies of Han had been successful, but they had certainly achieved no long-term stability.

By good fortune for the Chinese, the rebellion of the Xiongnu, Xianbi and Wuhuan in 109 and 110 had not

involved any active co-operation with the Qiang, and the trouble was put down within a few months. This was the first time that the hitherto subservient state of the Southern Xiongnu had turned against its master, and though peace was kept for the next ten years, and the surrender of the pretender Shanyu Fenghou in 118 marked the end of that renegade enterprise, the northern frontier was no longer stable and the problem of the Xianbi remained intractable.

Apart from the joint enterprise of 109-110 and some raids on the northeast in 115 and 117, the Xianbi had been comparatively quiet during this period, but they continued to spread westwards. By 118 and 119 they were raiding Shanggu and Dai commanderies, and their expanding power threatened the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan as well as the north of China Proper. Though leaders of the latter groups accepted Chinese suzerainty once more, they were driven to do so through their own weakness against the newcomers, while many of their subjects abandoned their former allegiance and styled themselves Xianbi. By the end of the Dowager's regency in 121 the Xianbi were dominant on the steppe while the northwest remained devastated in the aftermath of the Qiang rebellion.

Elsewhere in the northeast Chinese fortunes varied. In 107 tribute came from the Wa 倭 people of present-day Japan, and in 109 from Gaogouli [Koguryo] in present-day Manchuria. In 111, however, there was raiding by the people of Fuyu, northern neighbours of Gaogouli, and in 118 Gaogouli attacked Xuantu. During these years the court set up the commandery-level Dependent State of Liaodong in the hill country about the Daling River to strengthen military control there, and in 120 the Xianbi of that region offered submission while Fuyu sent tribute. In the following year, however, when the Inspector of You province Feng Huan attacked Gaogouli and its allies he was tricked by a false surrender and suffered a serious counter-attack.

From 109 to 111 there was serious piracy along the coast of the North China plain, but the south of the empire remained comparatively calm, apart from a series of disturbances in Wuling during 115 and 116, all of which were put down locally, and a rebellion which affected Cangwu, Yulin, Hepu and Nanhai about the same time. This too was settled by local forces, though the Imperial Clerk Ren Chuo was sent to lead them, and he was given authority to issue an amnesty

to those insurgents prepared to surrender.

As in the northeast, Yi province in the southwest experienced alternating tribute missions, raids and rebellions from the non-Chinese people of the frontier. In 107 and 108 some sixty thousand Qiang, separated from their rebellious cousins in the north, declared their submission, and the Dependent States of Jianwei and Guanghan, followed later by a third for Shu commandery, were set up to deal with them. Chinese sources say they were designed to assist the settlement of surrendered barbarians, but the Dependent States did not control new territory; on the contrary they included counties which already existed but which were now subject to military administration, and with their new population of non-Chinese they may be seen as much a sign of instability as of imperial expansion. On the other hand the region was certainly more secure than Liang province, and a number of new horse-parks were developed for the imperial cavalry, taking the place of those which had formerly been maintained in that now vulnerable territory.

In 120 King Yongyoutiao of Shan 掸, in the region of present-day Burma/Myanmar, sent tribute to the court. He had showed similar respect to Emperor He in 97, but this embassy included musicians, conjurers, jugglers and people who could swallow fire. They performed at the court assembly on New Year's Day 121, and Yongyoutiao was sent an official seal.

The envoys from Shan claimed that their country was connected in the southwest to the state of Daqin 大秦, traditionally identified with the Roman empire; they presumably referred to the sea route across the Indian Ocean. About the same time, following the end of the Qiang rebellion some Chinese presence was restored in central Asia. In 119 Cao Song the Administrator of Dunhuang sent an officer to set up a military colony at Yiwu near Hami and arranged for agents to take up residence in Shanshan and in the kingdoms of Jushi about present-day Turfan. In 120 the king of Further Jushi called on the Northern Xiongnu in Dzungaria to help him drive the Chinese away, and the king of Shanshan felt threatened and asked for help. The Dowager invited Ban Chao's son Ban Yong to comment. While he did not support a full campaign, Ban Yong did propose a cautious advance, primarily to deprive the Xiongnu of the resources of the region. So it was agreed that the claim to authority in the west should be revived, with residents in various

city-states and a garrison presence in Dunhuang to back them. Military colonies were as yet too ambitious, but this limited establishment marked the beginning of the second expansion of Later Han into the Western Regions.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Towards the end of the reign of Emperor He there was increasing concern about the weakness of government finance and the failure of officials to care for the people. Soon after she came to power the Dowager issued edicts expressing concern about the quality of local administration and calling for stricter attention to pastoral care, notably for refugees from the various disasters which afflicted the empire. She was particularly encouraged in this policy by Fan Zhun, an officer of the Imperial Secretariat; in following years she held special recruitment for worthy men in retirement and in 108 she sent Fan Zhun and Lü Cang as special commissioners to organise relief in the east of the empire.

The problems of drought, flood and locusts in the time of Emperor He continued with comparable and even increased ferocity during the regency of his Dowager Deng. There are almost annual reports of such misfortunes, coupled with frequent references to earthquakes and great winds. Some of these, particularly those in the Treatises of Astronomy and of the Five Powers, may reflect the exaggeration and even invention of contemporary politicians or later historians [this problem is discussed by Bielenstein and by Mansvelt Beck: Bn 54:156, MBeck 90:170], but it is clear that many of the phenomena recorded in the annals were only too real, that the human distress was very great, and that the government made such efforts as it could to alleviate it. There are frequent references to the opening of government granaries 稟, and in 107 it was ordered that grain was to be transferred from Yang province north to impoverished areas of Xu and Yan provinces. In 109 there were reports of cannibalism in the capital district, and the Vast Pond and other imperial parks were opened to the public. In later years, drought was accompanied by visitations of the imperial prison and jail release, together with prayers for rain; and successive plagues of locusts brought donations and the remission of taxes. In 113 there was another forced transfer of grain from the commanderies south of the Yangzi to afflicted territories in the north, while grain was also requisitioned from counties on the Vast Canal

to replenish the great Ao Granary. In 119 there was plague in Kuaiji, and a special mission was sent with the Court Physician, to authorise tax relief and to grant somewhat macabre awards of coffins.

There were attempts at positive construction, notably in 115 and 116 when old water control works in Wei and Taiyuan were repaired to increase arable land for new settlement. Elsewhere, however, the costs of the great rebellions and constant calls for tax remission and famine relief meant that there were few resources available.

The Dowager made several economies on ceremonial and imperial expenditure. We are told that she was little enamoured of magical or mystical beliefs and practices: she eliminated many of them from official ceremonies; and at the end of 106 she ordered the cessation of the festivals of Fishes and Dragons 魚龍 and of the Manyan 曼延 monster [Knechtges 82:230; Bodde 75:159-161]. In the following year the drummers and pipers of the Yellow Gates were transferred to more practical employment with the Feathered Forest corps of guards, while the allocation of fodder for the imperial stables was reduced except for those horses actually drawing carriages, and the manufacture of goods in the palace workshops was restricted. The Dowager likewise reduced expenditure on imperial banquets, and it is said that she herself ate meat only once a day.

These reforms had been found necessary even before the outbreak of the great Qiang rebellion in 107, and the financial problems of the imperial government then became even greater. In 109 there were further reductions, notably in the ceremony of the Great Exorcism 大儺, in the entertainments offered at the annual changing of the palace guards [Bodde 75:75], and in the court assembly held for the New Year of 110. The revenues of all marquisates were heavily cut, particularly at time of inheritance, as were the numbers of officials and their salaries, while the penalty for speculation in office included proscription of the culprit's family for three generations. Also in 109, the sale of offices and orders of honour was approved and inaugurated: secondary marquisates and lesser noble ranks were made available, as well as junior positions as guards and clerks at the capital. The program was introduced on recommendation from the Excellencies, and there was precedent from the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han, when proceeds had been similarly

used to cover military expenses, but this was the first occasion in Later Han: the model would be followed by Emperor Huan, and a more extensive and corrupt system would develop under Emperor Ling.

Given such pressures, at the peak of the Qiang rebellion in 111 the official Pang Can raised serious debate about the most effective way to maintain order on the frontier, and whether large regions of the northwest should not be abandoned. The government was persuaded to continue its campaign of reconquest and was eventually successful, but the costs and losses were enormous. It is impossible to assess the situation accurately, but it appears that by the end of the Dowager's rule, and despite her best efforts, the imperial government was functionally bankrupt: it was certainly generally incapable of carrying out its traditional duty to provide relief in times of public distress.

MORALITY AND SCHOLARSHIP

When the Dowager took power as regent in 106 official scholarship was in decline. The New Text had triumphed under Emperor Zhang, and its dominance had been confirmed by the authoritarian examination system at the University, instituted at the urging of the Excellency Xu Fang. In fact, however, New Text theories were largely rejected by leading scholars of the time, and the most distinguished preferred to work and teach privately. Early in the regency Fan Zhun presented a memorial urging the promotion of learning, praising the patronage shown by the early emperors, and particularly the splendid age of Emperor Ming, when the *Book of Filial Piety* was known even by military men, and the Xiongnu King Dajuququ came to study at Luoyang. On the other hand, Fan Zhun deplored the empty formality of orthodox teaching, and while recognising the value of Confucianism to law and political affairs, he emphasised the importance of individual morality, which was better fostered by the teachings of Huang-Lao and other forms of popular religion. He urged the government to seek out scholars in retirement and offer them appointment, and the Dowager issued a number of calls for nomination as Sincere and Upright, Plain and Honest, and Kind and Worthy.

For her own part, the Dowager had maintained her interest in scholarship. After she entered the imperial harem she was tutored by the Lady Ban Zhao on the classics, history, mathematics and astronomy, and

when she came to power she worked on government business during the day and studied at night. She also had palace eunuchs attend lessons on the classics in order that they in turn could teach the inmates of the imperial harem.

The Lady Deng sponsored two major projects. About 110 the scholars Liu Zhen, Liu Taotu and Ma Rong, were commissioned to join Academicians of the University in compiling a definitive edition of the official Five Classics, *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*. The project was supervised by the eunuch Cai Lun, putative developer of paper, and was carried out in the imperial library of the Eastern Pavilion.

In 120 Liu Zhen was further commissioned to work with Liu Taotu, Liu Yi and Li You on the official history of Later Han, *Han ji*, later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. The work had been started by Ban Gu and others under orders from Emperor Ming, with the title *Jianwu zhuji* 建武注記 "Diary of the Jianwu Period," and this second instalment contained annals for the period 58 to 106, being the reigns of Emperors Ming, Zhang, He and the infant Shang, together with tables and biographies of leading men, imperial relatives by marriage and noted scholars. A few years later Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu asked for the assistance of the scholar Zhang Heng, but Emperor An did not approve. Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu died soon afterwards, and further requests by Zhang Heng to complete the work were likewise rejected. It is possible, therefore, that this particular recension may never have reached final form.

Though she had limited interest in the Imperial University, in 119 the Dowager did summon some forty young members of the imperial clan and another thirty of her own family to the capital. They were provided with lodgings so they might study the Confucian classics and the histories, and the Lady Deng herself supervised their examinations. One cannot be certain how much this program overlapped with or supplemented the Palace School for Noble Families set up by Emperor Ming, but in the style of Fan Zhun's proposals ten years before the Dowager explained that she sought to revive the good examples of earlier rulers, and with this special tuition, together with her commissioning of classical editions and dynastic history, she could claim to follow the tradition of imperial patronage.

As further evidence of the Dowager's concern for Confucian principles, in 116 the government ordered that high officials should observe a three-year period of mourning for the death of a parent. The decision represented a triumph of theoretical morality over the real needs of administration, for the inconvenience of losing the services of senior ministers for extended periods was naturally great. The policy was initiated and supported by the Excellency Liu Kai, but it indeed proved impracticable and was rescinded after the Dowager's death.

Finally we may note that in 119 the Excellency Li He, who had sought to enhance the prestige of the University, persuaded the court that worship of a Sixth Venerable One 六宗 should be restored to the official program of rituals, as in Former Han. Given the previous concern of the Dowager to reduce and simplify state rituals, this addition may have reflected the personal influence of Emperor An [*HHS* 98/8:3184; *MBeck* 90:97].

THE DEATH OF THE DOWAGER AND THE FALL OF THE DENG CLAN

The Dowager died on 17 April 121, after a short illness, at the age of forty by Western reckoning. One of the most competent and effective rulers of Later Han, she had placed two emperors upon the throne and controlled the government in difficult times for more than fifteen years. Emperor An, however, bitterly resented her refusal to grant him power after he had formally come of age, and though her authority was unassailable while she lived, the emperor, once freed of her tutelage, soon turned upon her family.

After her death it was claimed that the Dowager had been disillusioned with the quality of the emperor, and that she had even planned to depose him and put his cousin Liu Yi, King of Pingyuan, in his place. Certainly Liu Yi had been among the princes brought to the capital for education in 119, and he received some signs of favour from the Lady Deng, but it is hard to believe she would have risked the turmoil of a succession conflict, while the allegation came from known enemies of her family. Given Emperor An's performance in power, however, it might have been better if the Dowager had followed such an inclination. In any event, Emperor An accepted the charge, and he may well have been waiting for an excuse to rid himself of such a powerful family. He had senior ministers present indictments of treason, then stripped

the Deng of their fiefs and their property, and drove many to suicide. Within a few months their power and influence were ended.

Despite the quality of her government and the later wilfulness of Emperor An, notably in regard to the succession of his only son Liu Bao, traditional commentators regard the regime of the Dowager Deng as an aberration from the proper pattern of imperial government, and the experience of the Deng family demonstrated the difficulties faced by any imperial relatives by marriage. No matter how it was managed, their position depended upon the good will or weakness of the emperor, and once the sovereign was in a position to exercise his own power there was no possibility of resistance. In different ways, the Dou in the time of Emperor He, and later the Liang and Dou under emperors Huan and Ling, demonstrated the ultimate authority of the imperial throne and the weakness of any subject, no matter how mighty, who might hope to contend with it. In the long term, there were no good answers. -*HHS* 10A:418-30*, *HHS* 5; *Bn* 86A:283-284, *Loewe* 86C:297-305.

Deng Tang 鄧棠; Nanyang. A younger son of Deng Chen, but not by the Lady Liu Yuan who was sister of Emperor Guangwu, Deng Tang succeeded to his father's county marquisate in 49. His fief was later shifted from Changshan into Nanyang. -*HHS* 15/5:584.

Deng Tong 鄧通 [Ziyuan 子淵]. As a colonel in the Northern Army, Deng Tong was respected by his officers and men. -*XC* 7:4b.

Deng Tong 鄧統; Nanyang. Son of Deng Yan and nephew of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, at the death of his grandmother the Lady Xuan about 163 he was granted a marquisate to take over her fief in Nanyang and was also made a Palace Attendant.

When the empress was disgraced in 165, however, all members of her family were stripped of their titles and appointments, sent back to their home country, and obliged to return the gifts they had received. -*HHS* 10B:445, 102/12:3257.

Deng Wan 鄧萬 see Deng Wanshi 鄧萬世.

Deng Wandai 鄧萬代 see Deng Wanshi 鄧萬世.

Deng Wanshi 鄧萬世 [also Wan and Wandai 代] (d.165); Nanyang. Son of Deng Zun, he was a friend of Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, when he was still a marquis, before he came to the imperial throne in 146. Since Deng Zun was disgraced and died in 121 and Liu Zhi was born only in 132, Deng Wanshi must have

been a good deal older than the future emperor.

Deng Wanshi is described as an uncle 從父 of the Empress Deng Mengnü, but it is unlikely that he was actually the brother of her father Deng Xiang: Deng Xiang's family is described as being reduced to a low status, while Deng Wanshi's father Deng Zun was still recognised as a senior officer of the past. More probably, Deng Wanshi was a senior cousin of the empress.

No doubt as a result of his connection to the throne, in the early 160s Deng Wanshi was Intendant of Henan. Emperor Huan sought to grant posthumous re-entfeoffment to Deng Zun. Deng Zun had been granted a county marquisate in 118, but it was cancelled when he was disgraced in 121. Though the emperor claimed the honour recognised Deng Zun's past success in the north, the real purpose was to ennoble Deng Wanshi. Though the minister Chen Fan and others objected that the emperor was too generous to his relatives by marriage and that Deng Zun's achievements were exaggerated, Deng Wanshi eventually received his fief.

When the empress was disgraced in 165, Deng Wanshi died in prison. Other members of the family, who had hitherto shared in the good fortune, were sent back to their home country. -HHS 10B:445, 48/38:1619, 66/56:2162-63; deC 75B:19.

Deng Xi 鄧襲; Nanyang. Second son of Deng Yu, at the death of his father in 58 he shared his fief with his brothers Deng Zhen 震 and Deng Zhen 珍 and received title as a marquis in Beihai. -HHS 16/6:605.

Deng Xi 鄧羲; Nanyang. An officer in Jing province about 198, he protested against Liu Biao's alliance with Yuan Shao against Cao Cao. Liu Biao paid no attention, so Deng Xi left his service. When Liu Biao died in 208 and Cao Cao took over Jing province, he enfeoffed Deng Xi and gave him high rank at court. -SGZ 6:211-12, 215-16 [HHS 74/64B:2424 and SGZ 1:30 have the personal name as Yi 義].

Deng Xian 鄧顯 (d.144). After the rebellion of Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng broke out in Jiujiang in 144, the Administrator Qiu Sheng was disgraced and Deng Xian took his place. Soon afterwards he followed Feng Gun in an attack on the rebels, but the army was defeated and Deng Xian was killed. -HHS 6:275, 38/28:1279.

Deng Xian 鄧賢. In 212, as Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, Liu Gui

and other officers were sent to oppose him but were defeated and forced to surrender. -SGZ Shu 2:882.

Deng Xiang 鄧香; Nanyang. A descendant of Deng Yu, he was a great-nephew of the Dowager Deng. After the Dowager's death in 121, however, the power of the Deng family at court had been broken by Emperor An, and Deng Xiang was no longer regarded as a man of noble descent. He held appointment as a gentleman cadet, but rose no higher than a junior position in the Lateral Courts, the bureau supervising the affairs of the harem, which was staffed by both eunuchs and full men.

Deng Xiang married the Lady Xuan, whose maiden surname is unknown, and had children by her, including the Lady Deng Mengnü who became an empress of Emperor Huan. He died in the 140s, a few years after the birth of his daughter, and his widow the Lady Xuan married Liang Ji/Gi. In 161, after his daughter had become empress, Deng Xiang was awarded posthumous honours as a marquis and General of Chariots and Cavalry. -HHS 10B:444, 16/6:618, 34/24:1186.

Deng Xiang 鄧香, wife of: see the Lady Xuan 宣.

Deng Xin 鄧尋 see Deng Xun 鄧尋.

Deng Xuan 鄧宣, the Lady, see the Lady Xuan, mother of Empress Deng of Emperor Huan.

Deng Xuanzhi 鄧玄之; Nanyang. In 215 Deng Xuanzhi was with Lü Meng's army as he attacked Liu Bei's holdings in the south of Jing province. Liu Bei's Administrator of Lingling, Hao Pu, an old friend of Deng Xuanzhi, held out and then Lü Meng was recalled. Before he left, however, he sent Deng Xuanzhi to Hao Pu with a threat to take the city by storm, and Hao Pu came to surrender. -SGZ Wu 9:11276-77.

Deng Xun 鄧尋 or Deng Xin. When Deng Yu was ordered west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he chose Deng Xun to be a general under his command. -HHS 16/6:601.

Deng Xun 鄧訓 [Pingshu 平叔] (36-92); Nanyang. Deng Xun was a son of Deng Yu; on his position in the family see *sub* Deng Yu. As a young man Deng Xun was ambitious but showed no love of learning, and his father was always angry at him. After Emperor Ming came to the throne Deng Xun was appointed a gentleman cadet. He was popular with men of every rank, and became well known after he helped the imperial physician Pi Xun when he was taken ill one cold night in a palace gatehouse.

We are not told whether Deng Xun held further offices after his period as a cadet, or whether he retired into private life, but early in the reign of Emperor Zhang he was sent as an Internuncio to report on canal works in Changshan. In 66, during the reign of Emperor Ming, a transport canal had been planned for the Hutuo River in the Taihang Mountains between Taiyuan and Changshan. The work was difficult and dangerous, and though it was carried on for many years with heavy loss of life, it had not been finished. Deng Xun was evidently expected to give impetus to the project, but in 78 he urged it be abandoned. Despite official reluctance to give up a long and expensive commitment, this was done, and Deng Xun was admired for his wise and sensitive recommendation.

About this time Ren Xing the Administrator of Shanggu organised a punitive expedition against the Wuhuan. General trouble broke out, and Deng Xun was ordered to bring reinforcements north from the base at Liyang in Wei commandery to camp in Yuyang. He became known to the people of the border regions and was extremely popular in You province.

After another interlude as Internuncio in charge of the Camp at Liyang, Deng Xun was sent north again in 81 as Protector of the Wuhuan. Though it entailed a long posting on the frontier, many of the Liyang troops went with their families to join him in his new command: see also *sub* Ju Guo. It is said that Deng Xun's reputation for military authority combined with fair dealing was such that the Xianbi did not venture to trouble the borders. Among his own men Deng Xun had wives found for those soldiers who had none, and when there was an outbreak of infectious fever he personally prepared medicines to treat the sick.

In 83 the intrigues of the Dou family of the empress brought the deaths of the Honoured Ladies Liang and the disgrace of their family. Deng Xun had been in correspondence with Liang Hu, a cousin of the concubines, and because of this he was dismissed and sent back to his home country. In 86, however, when rebellion broke out among the non-Chinese people in western Liang province, Deng Xun was sent as an Internuncio. He then became Administrator of Zhangye, and held great influence across the northwest.

Two years later the Protector of the Qiang Zhang Yu killed the chieftain Miyu by treachery, and his people were furious and caused trouble. The court at Luoyang was concerned, and Deng Xun was recommended by

the senior ministers to replace Zhang Yu.

The Qiang leader Mitang, son of Miyu, had created an alliance of the tribes through a network of treaties and hostages. He planned to wait until the Yellow River froze over in the winter, then bring forty thousand men to attack Deng Xun. At this time, however, the Little Yuezhi people of the hill country between the Koko Nor and the commandery of Wuwei lived separately from the Qiang and had long been hostile to them. Though fine and courageous horsemen, they numbered only three thousand fighting men and were always at a disadvantage. Mitang had ten thousand men from the frontier of Wuwei, and he intended to deal with the Yuezhi before turning against Deng Xun.

His advisers urged Deng Xun to take advantage of this conflict among the alien peoples, but he sent orders that his frontier troops should make no move, but offer refuge in Chinese forts and garrisons to Yuezhi refugees, and do their utmost to protect them. As a result, the Qiang could not harm the Yuezhi, and the Yuezhi came to kowtow in thanks. Deng Xun recruited several hundred of their young men into a force which became known as the Loyal Auxiliary of Barbarians of Huangzhong 湟中義從胡 [Huangzhong being the name for the valley of the Xining 西寧河 or Huang River 湟水].

Deng Xun also gave presents to the Qiang tribes and sent medicines when they were ill, so many groups, including that led by Mitang's uncle Haoyu, came to make peace. Deng Xun enlarged the Loyal Auxiliary to include Qiang and other non-Chinese tribesmen, and with this force, now numbering four thousand men, he advanced beyond the borders to seek out Mitang. He defeated him, killed more than six hundred of the enemy and captured over ten thousand head of horses, cattle and sheep. Mitang was driven from his base on the upper Yellow River, while many of his people abandoned him and fled.

In the spring of the following year, 89, the rebel Qiang attempted to return to their homelands, but Deng Xun was now able to gather six thousand auxiliaries, and he sent them to the attack under the command of his Chief Clerk Ren Shang. Crossing the Yellow River, they attacked the settlements of Mitang's people, forced them away again into the hill country to the north, and defeated a counter-attack with heavy losses. Now at the end of his strength, Mitang led the remnants of his followers away to the west, while the other tribes of

the enemy coalition fell away and came to make terms with Han.

The Shaoang chieftain Donghao, whose people had earlier settled in Chinese territory but had since gone to join Mitang, now returned to make obeisance, and other groups across the frontier sent hostages. Deng Xun made a full settlement, combining authority and good faith. The troops which had been called up from the commanderies were able to return to their homes and only some two thousand reprieved convicts were kept under arms. Distributing land to the poor, he set up a number of military colonies, and he put the cities and local fortresses into good repair.

As Dou Xian embarked on his campaign of conquest against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, he sought Deng Xun's advice and assistance. Deng Xun, however, was an old ally of the clan of the former Empress Ma of Emperor Ming, which had been destroyed by the Dou, so he established no close connection to the rival group. When Emperor He and his eunuch allies overthrew Dou Xian in 92 Deng Xun was unaffected.

Though he was tolerant and generous in his dealings with others, Deng Xun was strict with his own family. When his sons came to call upon him, he looked upon them sternly and insisted that they stand in respect before him. We are also told that he treated the sons of his friends like his own, punishing them when they misbehaved.

Deng Xun became ill and died in the winter at the end of 92. Not only his own officers, but also the non-Chinese people of the frontier, had admired and loved him, and thousands came day and night to pay their respects. The non-Chinese showed the same expressions of grief as at the death of a parent, riding their horses with wails and cries, while some cut themselves or slaughtered their dogs, horses, cattle and sheep, taking Deng Xun's death as one of their own. Men who had served when he was Protector of the Wuhuan also sought leave to attend the mourning, so many that some garrison posts would be left unmanned. The problem was reported to the current Protector Xu Yan, who gave his permission in admiration at such a display of respect for a man of honour. And every household put up a shrine to Deng Xun and prayed for his aid whenever there was illness.

A few years later Deng Xun's daughter the Lady Deng Sui entered the harem of Emperor He. She became an Honoured Lady, then Empress, and later

regent Dowager. In 105 Emperor He sent officials to pay respects at Deng Xun's tomb and granted him posthumous honours as a marquis. -HHS 16/6:607-12*, 87/77:2883, DGHJ 8:2a-b; Ch'ü 72:300, deC 84: 86-94.

Deng Xun 鄧訓, wife of: see the Lady Yin 陰 of Nanyang (d.110).

Deng Xun 鄧循; Nanyang. A kinsman of the Lady Deng Mengnü, Empress of Emperor Huan, Deng Xun became a Consultant. When the empress was disgraced in 165 all her family were stripped of their appointments and sent back to their home country. -HHS 102/12:3257.

Deng Yan 鄧衍/演; Nanyang. A member of the clan of the imperial relatives by marriage, early in the reign of Emperor Ming he attracted the attention and favour of the ruler. The Administrator Yu Yan was not impressed, and would not grant him any appointment nor show any respect. The emperor then ordered that Deng Yan be appointed Officer of Merit, called him up as a gentleman cadet, and made him major at one of the palace gates.

Later, when Deng Yan's father died he failed to carry out proper mourning. Emperor Ming now turned against him, and he appreciated Yu Yan's earlier understanding of his true character. -HHS 33/23:1153.

Deng Yan 鄧燕, the Lady; Nanyang. Eldest daughter of Deng Xun 訓, the Lady was a sister of Deng Sui, future Empress Deng of Emperor He. She died young, leaving an infant daughter named E, who was cared for by Deng Sui. -XHS 1:13a.

Deng Yan 鄧演; Nanyang. Son of Deng Xiang and elder brother of the Lady Deng Mengnü, when his sister was appointed Honoured Lady about 155 Deng Yan was enfeoffed as a county marquis in Runan with designation as Specially Advanced and precedence next only to the highest ministers of state. He died a few years later. -HHS 10B:444.

Deng Yan 鄧閭 miswritten for Deng Chang 鄧昌.

Deng Ye 鄧曄; Hongnong. Known for his fierce nature and strict sense of honour, in the autumn of 23 Deng Ye joined his fellow-countryman Yu Kuang in a rising against Wang Mang on behalf of Han. Their county magistrate was a loyalist, so they gathered troops across the border in western Nanyang, then returned to Hongnong, persuaded the magistrate to change sides, and stormed two cities. Taking title as generals who Support Han 輔漢 [or generals of the Restored Han 復

漢], Deng Ye and Yu Kuang took the Wu Pass, south-eastern gateway to the capital region, and despatched messages inviting the Gengshi Emperor to send an army to join them. In the mean time they continued their advance, killed Wang Mang's Administrator of Hongnong, then turned north to the Yellow River by its junction with the Wei.

Wang Mang now sent his last field army, commanded by Guo Qin and eight other generals, each with the word "Tiger" 虎 in his title. They guarded the mouth of the Wei River at Huayin, but as Deng Ye faced them Yu Kuang made a flank march to the south and took the enemy by surprise from the rear. Four of the generals fled, two committed suicide, and the remaining three gathered some of their scattered forces to defend the nearby Capital Granary. Shentu Qian and Li Song, generals of the Gengshi Emperor, had now caught up and may have taken part in the victory at Huayin. The combined force besieged the Capital Granary, but the defenders held out tenaciously. Impressed by their resistance, and reluctant to go further with such an enemy force astride their communications, the main army remained in Huayin, and sent only two advance detachments, one north of the Wei under the colonel Wang Xian, and the other, under the lieutenant-general Han Chen, directly towards Chang'an.

By this time the military failures of Wang Mang had inspired a number of local rebellions in the capital district, and Wang Xian placed himself at the head of a vast irregular force which entered Chang'an, ravaged the city, and killed Wang Mang. Filled with pride at his achievement, Wang Xian held sway there for three days, but when the main army arrived he was executed for lese-majesty.

Early in 24, as the Gengshi Emperor established his capital at Chang'an, Deng Ye was named Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital and a position equivalent to ministerial rank; he was not, however, granted a royal fief, for those were reserved to the original supporters of the rebellion.

In the autumn of 25, when the Gengshi Emperor heard that Wei Ao had joined Zhang Ang and other chieftains in plotting against him, he sent Deng Ye to arrest Wei Ao. Wei Ao called in his followers and barricaded himself in his house, then broke out by night and escaped from the city.

As the Red Eyebrows entered Chang'an and destroyed the Gengshi Emperor, Deng Ye and his

old comrade Yu Kuang made their escape, and at the beginning of 26 they came to Luoyang and offered submission to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. Both men were confirmed in their rank as generals and were sent under the command of Feng Yi to bring control over the region about Chang'an.

In 27 Deng Ye and Yu Kuang were sent against the warlord Yan Cen, then based in Hongnong, and drove him back into Nanyang. Transferred also to that region, at the beginning of 28 they joined the forces of Deng Yu to defeat Yan Cen once more, forcing him to take refuge in Hanzhong. Neither Deng Ye nor Yu Kuang appear again in the records. -Dubs 55:456-466, *HHS* 13/3:521, 1A:27, 17/7:647, 16/6:604-05, *XC* 6:10a; Bn 54:127-132, Bn 59:56.

Deng Yi 鄧毅 (d.102); Nanyang. Son of the Lady Deng Zhu, in 102 he was accused of having assisted the Empress Yin in her sorceries. Arrested and tortured, Deng Yi and his brother Feng made confessions implicating one another and also the empress's brothers. The empress was deposed and Deng Yi and Deng Feng died in prison. -*HHS* 16/6:606.

Deng Yi 鄧嶷 or Deng Ni; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Deng Yi was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -*LS* 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Deng Yi 鄧義 see Deng Xi 鄧羲. -*HHS* 74/64B:2424, *SGZ* 1:30.

Deng Yu 鄧禹 [Zhonghua 仲華] (2-58); Nanyang. Member of a leading clan of Xinye county in the southwest of Nanyang, when Deng Yu was still young he acquired an understanding of the classics and histories, notably the *Poetry*. He studied for several years at Chang'an, where he met Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu. Deng Yu, the younger man, recognised Liu Xiu's quality and became a close companion. As the Han rebellion against Wang Mang broke out in 22, and Liu Xuan was proclaimed as [the Gengshi] Emperor, Deng Yu initially made no move. In 23, however, when he heard Liu Xiu had been sent to the north he went to join him.

They met at Ye city, and Deng Yu was welcomed warmly, for he was the first of Liu Xiu's fellow-countrymen to join him of his own accord rather than as a former follower of his elder brother Liu Bosheng. Deng Yu was a man of limited military ability, and in an early campaign he and Zhu Fu were defeated by

Wang Lang's commander Li Yu, but his chief role was that of a friend. Even in times of difficulty and despair he encouraged Liu Xiu with prospects for the future, and urged him to seek the imperial throne. He was also trusted to recommend good men for office: among his nominees were Wu Han, Jia Fu, Kou Xun and Yao Qi, and they formed the basis of a strong faction of men from Nanyang.

Leading cavalry in support of He Yan, Deng Yu defeated the Bronze Horse bandits in Qinghe, and at the end of 24 he was named General of the Van and sent to the west with twenty thousand men. The main force of the Red Eyebrows was moving along the Yellow River towards Chang'an, and the Gengshi Emperor had sent troops to face them in Hedong and Hongnong. The threat from Deng Yu was intended to distract the imperial forces, for Liu Xiu was prepared to let the Red Eyebrows destroy the Gengshi regime, expecting to bring them under control once he had gained full control in the northeast. As sign of his trust, Deng Yu held the Staff of Authority and was allowed to appoint his own subordinate officers, even those of general rank.

At the beginning of 25 Deng Yu's forces attacked the Qi Pass, leading west from Henei into Hedong. The pass was fiercely defended by the Gengshi Commandant of Hedong, but after ten days Deng Yu's men broke through. Having gained quantities of baggage, they laid siege to the capital Anyi, but were held there for several months without success. The Gengshi general Fan Can attempted to bring relief, but Deng Yu sent a detachment which defeated and killed him.

In summer another army under Wang Kuang and other chieftains came to attack. In the initial clash, Deng Yu's men had the worst of it and his officers urged him to withdraw. He rejected their advice and the battle was renewed two days later. Deng Yu's men held the palisade of their camp until the enemy were almost upon them, then struck together and gained a complete victory. As the enemy commanders fled, Deng Yu captured six staves of authority, five hundred official seals and quantities of supplies. He executed the Administrator Yang Bao and other officers of the Gengshi regime, named his staff officer Li Wen in Yang Bao's place and set up new magistrates in each county.

Soon afterwards Liu Xiu took the imperial title and

sent messengers appointing Deng Yu, now twenty-four *sui*, as Excellency over the Masses. Deng Yu remained with his army, however, and his civil duties were carried out by his assistant Fu Zhan.

Deng Yu now crossed the Yellow River at its junction with the Fen and entered Zuopingyi, defeating Gongcheng Xi the local commander for the Gengshi Emperor. By this time the Red Eyebrows had entered Chang'an, the Gengshi regime had fallen, and the people of the region were ready to welcome Deng Yu as a source of stability. Though his officers urged a swift advance, and even Guangwu sent complaints of his tardiness, Deng Yu argued that it was hard to judge the strength of the bandits now they had access to the resources of the former capital. Circling Chang'an, he moved into Youfufeng, defeated a group of Red Eyebrows there, then spread his men north into Beidi, Shang and Xihe, taking over territory and gathering supplies for an offensive.

Deng Yu had left his generals Feng Yin and Zong Xin to face Chang'an, but the two men quarrelled. Feng Yin killed Zong Xin, then turned against Deng Yu and inflicted an embarrassing defeat. Feng Yin was soon afterwards defeated in Anding by the warlord Wei Ao and was brought as a prisoner by his officer Huang Fang, but Deng Yu had been obliged to recognise Wei Ao's effective independence as a nominal ally in the east of Liang province.

Early in 26 the Red Eyebrows abandoned Chang'an for an excursion to the south and then to the west, and Deng Yu entered the city without fighting. He held a banquet for his officers, sacrificed at the Temple of the founding Emperor Gao, cleaned the tomb-mounds and parks of the former rulers, and sent their ancestral tablets to Guangwu at Luoyang. He was enfeoffed as a marquis with revenues from four counties.

Militarily, however, Deng Yu was in trouble. A southern attack on the *condottiere* Yan Cen was defeated and, more importantly, the capital district had been plundered and exhausted. Deng Yu was obliged to withdraw into Zuopingyi to search for grain. The surrender of Liu Jia, former King of Hanzhong for the Gengshi regime, offered some satisfaction, but as Liu Jia's party arrived Deng Yu found his Chancellor Li Bao discourteous and had him executed. In revenge, Li Bao's brother brought followers to attack Deng Yu, and they killed the general Geng Xin.

These misfortunes and misjudgements weakened

the prestige of the new Han regime in the west, already damaged by the trouble with Feng Yin. Many people drifted away, and the army was short of supplies. Even more seriously, as the Red Eyebrows returned from their failed incursion into Wei Ao's territory, Deng Yu attacked them at the Long Slope but was defeated. They went on to attack Yan Cen and Deng Yu attempted to gain a position in Chang'an behind them, but he was again defeated and driven out.

Guangwu now sought to recall Deng Yu, and sent instructions that he should in any case undertake no further offensives. As the region about Chang'an was short of food, it was only a matter of time before the Red Eyebrows were obliged to return east where the main imperial armies could deal with them. Deng Yu felt ashamed at his lack of success, however, and as the bandits departed east into Hongnong early in 27 he pursued and attacked them. He was again defeated and had to be rescued by Feng Yi, commander of the imperial army from the east. Feng Yi urged a pincer movement, to catch the enemy between them, but before this was ready Deng Yu's general Deng Hong attacked on his own. His hungry men were routed as they plundered the enemy supply train, and Deng Yu and Feng Yi were drawn into the fight. Pressing forward in foolhardy fashion, Deng Yu was heavily defeated, and he fled the debacle with just twenty-four men. Feng Yi regrouped his men and drove the Red Eyebrows to their final surrender before Guangwu, but Deng Yu played no further part in the campaign.

Deng Yu was now quite humiliated, and in the spring of 27, just before the Red Eyebrows' surrender, he resigned as Excellency and handed back his seal as a marquis. The fief, however, was restored and a few months later he was appointed General of the Right.

In the spring of 28 Deng Yu was given a substantial army, with the subordinate generals Deng Hua and Yu Kuang, and sent against Yan Cen, now operating in Nanyang. Yan Cen was defeated and fled to Gongsun Shu. This proved to be the last occasion Deng Yu was actively involved in a campaign, though he retained his title as a general.

In 37, after the destruction of Gongsun Shu brought the end of civil war, the leading officials received augmented fiefs: Deng Yu received five counties in Beihai, and his younger brother Kuan was also granted a title. Soon afterwards Deng Yu and his colleague Jia Fu the General of the Left sent in a joint memorial

offering to resign their posts and disband their forces. Guangwu abolished both commands and used the occasion to begin a general disarmament.

Deng Yu was granted the status of Specially Advanced, permitting him to reside at the capital rather than on his fief, and though he held no formal office he continued to attend court. In 39 he was among those who supported the proposal to enfeoff the emperor's sons.

From his later thirties Deng Yu sought to lead a civilised private life from the revenues of his estates, treating his widowed sister-in-law with respect and educating his thirteen sons so that each became an expert in one of the classics. The emperor admired this, and when he carried out the Feng and Shan sacrifices in 56 he had Deng Yu act as Excellency over the Masses to accompany the cortège in place of the substantive officer, Feng Qin, who evidently remained at Luoyang.

In 57 Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming named Deng Yu as his Grand Tutor. He held no executive power, but took precedence over all other officials and had the right to sit beside the throne facing east, while the rest of the court faced north towards the ruler. In the following year Deng Yu took ill and died. The emperor attended his sick-bed on several occasions and two of Deng Yu's sons were made gentlemen cadets. -*HHS* 16/6:599-607*, *XC* 1:3a.

HHS 16/6:605 says that Deng Yu had thirteen sons, but names only six. Zhen 震, Xi and Zhen 珍 were evidently the eldest, while three others, Xun, Gai and Hong, are recorded. *HHS* 16/6:605 refers to Hong as the youngest son 少子, while 16/6:607 says that Xun was the sixth, and *HHS* 10A:419 records a memorial from Deng Gai referring to Xun as his elder brother. It would appear, therefore, that two boys were born between Zhen 珍 and Xun, and that Gai was one of six brothers born between Xun and Hong.

Deng Yuan 鄧元, the Lady. Mother of Deng Die, the Lady had regular access to the private apartments of the imperial palace, and in 88 she arranged for the introduction of the libertine marquis Liu Chang to the regent Dowager Dou.

When Emperor He and his eunuch allies overthrew the power of the Dou family in 92, the Lady and her sons Deng Die and Deng Lei were arrested and died in prison. If the implied accusations, no doubt levied by the emperor and his allies after the coup, can be

believed, the Lady had served as a go-between for the Dowager, arranging liaisons not only with Liu Chang but also with the Palace Attendant Guo Ju. -HHS 23/13:813-19, 101/11:3234.

Deng Yuan 鄧淵. In 195 Deng Yuan was Minister of the Household. He was one of the senior officials taken hostage by Guo Si during his quarrel with Li Jue at Chang'an, and later that year he was killed in the fighting as the emperor escaped from Chang'an. -HHS 9:338, 103/13:3275, HHJ 28:334, 340; deC 96:150, 164.

HHJ 28:334 has the surname of this man as Liu 劉, and this is followed by ZZTJ 61:1960, but later entries in HHJ 28:340 and ZZTJ 61:1967 have Deng, and this agrees with HHS 9 and 103/13. HHS 9 has the given name as Quan 泉, but this was a variation to avoid taboo on the personal name of the founding emperor of Tang.

Deng Yuanyi 鄧元義; Runan. While his father Bokao was Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the 150s, Deng Yuanyi returned home to Runan. He left his wife the Lady Li at the capital to care for his mother. The elder woman, however, hated her daughter-in-law and mistreated her. The Lady Li never complained, but Deng Bokao eventually found out through his grandson Deng Lang. Ashamed of the scandal, he sent the Lady Li back to her own family.

Having made a second marriage to Ying Shun, the Lady later returned with him to the capital. When Deng Yuanyi saw her, he explained that she was in no way at fault and he always spoke of her with respect. -HHS 48/38:1607.

Deng Yuanyi 鄧元義, wife of: see the Lady Li 李 of Runan and also above.

Deng Zhen 鄧震; Nanyang. Eldest son of Deng Yu, at the death of his father in 58 he shared his fief with his brothers Deng Xi and Deng Zhen 珍 and received title as a marquis in Beihai. -HHS 16/6:605.

Deng Zhen 鄧珍; Nanyang. Third son of Deng Yu, at the death of his father in 58 he shared his fief with his brothers Deng Zhen 震 and Deng Xi and received title as a marquis in Beihai. -HHS 16/6:605.

Deng Zhen 鄧珍 see Deng Bao 鄧寶. HHS 16/6:615 says that a son of Deng Jing had the personal name Zhen. The modern scholar Shen Qinhan, however, notes that this man was a great-nephew of Deng Zhen 珍 above, and should not have had the same personal name. HHJ 16:193 has the personal name as Bao, and

this appears more likely. -HHSJJ 16/6:629.

Deng Zhi 鄧鸞/陟 [Zhaobo 昭伯] (d.121); Nanyang. Deng Zhi was the eldest son of Deng Xun and elder brother of the Lady Deng Sui, future Empress and Dowager of Emperor He. As a young man he held appointment in the office of the General-in-Chief Dou Xian, and when his sister became an Honoured Lady in 96, he and his brothers were made gentleman cadets. They received further appointments when the Lady Deng became empress in 102, and Deng Zhi was made General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

In 106, when Emperor He died and the Empress Deng, now Dowager, took control of the regency for Liu Long the Young Emperor, Deng Zhi was named General of Chariots and Cavalry, with ceremonial ranking equal to the Excellencies: this was the first time a General of Chariots and Cavalry had held such status. Liu Long died a few months later, and Deng Zhi and his brothers then advised the Dowager on the selection of Liu You, Emperor An.

Deng Zhi and his brothers had apartments in the imperial palace so that they might support their sister, but Deng Zhi was concerned not to appear presumptuous, and he asked that they be allowed to withdraw to their own residences. The Dowager eventually agreed. In the following year, 107, the brothers were granted county marquises, each with revenues from ten thousand households, while because of his leading role in choosing the new emperor Deng Zhi was to receive an additional three thousand households. He and his brothers made great show of reluctance: they petitioned the Dowager against such excessive rewards, and their refusals were eventually accepted. On the other hand, they were granted title as Servant at Court, normally held by the most senior marquises, with authority to take part in court council next only to the Excellencies.

In the summer of that year the great rebellion of the Qiang broke out and spread rapidly across Liang province. In the winter Deng Zhi was sent with an imperial army to deal with it. Besides men from the regiments of the Northern Army and guards of the Feathered Forest the greater part of his command was drawn from the inner regions of the empire: Taiyuan and Shangdang north of Luoyang, Runan and Yingchuan to the southeast, Nanyang to the south, and the capital province of Sili. This was a major weakness, for the men of these territories were not

trained for war: the policy of Later Han had restricted serious military exercises to the frontier, and preferred to have untrained men within the empire as being less likely to present a source of competent rebels. As Ying Shao observed later in the century, "to send men into battle without having trained them is nothing more than throwing them away." Even the Northern Army, though described as the elite force of the empire, and maintained as the central strategic reserve, was below the expected standard. We are told that after the great successes achieved by Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu more than ten years before, optimistic and idealistic Confucianism at court had allowed a general relaxation of military preparedness, and had discontinued the annual ceremonies of hunting and military review. Deng Zhi's troops had therefore serious problems of competence and morale.

It was intended that the imperial army should hold Hanyang commandery on the lower Wei, then move against the enemy. In the spring of 108, however, the Qiang attacked their advance posts and drove them back. No further activity took place until the winter, when Deng Zhi's officer Ren Shang, sent to attack the Qiang leader Dianlian, was heavily defeated and lost eight thousand men. As the imperial armies were forced onto the defensive Deng Zhi was recalled to the capital, presumably to save further embarrassment, and Ren Shang was left to hold the line in the Wei valley as well as he could.

Deng Zhi was received at the capital with great honour and was named General-in-Chief in the winter of 108, but he took no further part in military operations. He and his sister the Dowager sought to recruit competent officials and re-establish a government capable of dealing with the massive problems of rebellion, natural disasters and internal disorder which faced them. There was a proposal at court, initiated by Pang Can, that Liang province be abandoned altogether. Deng Zhi, with its problems fresh in his mind, supported the idea, but the plan was opposed by the energetic junior official Yu Xu, and a full retreat was not approved; on the other hand, withdrawal of commandery capitals from the north and west over the following years produced a very similar effect.

At the end of 110 Deng Zhi and his brothers formally withdrew from government on account of the illness and death of their mother the Lady Yin. Deng

Zhi soon returned to court, and though he no longer held title as General-in-Chief and still had no fief he was ranked just below the Excellencies and above all marquises.

[Bielenstein interprets Deng Zhi's position as General-in-Chief, which he held from the winter of 108/109 to the end of 110, as indication of authority as regent [Bn 80:152 and 86A:283-284]. My interpretation is that the real power of regency was held by the Dowager, through her authority to "take part in the affairs of court" 臨朝, and Deng Zhi's position as her senior kinsman was not notably changed by his title as General-in-Chief. Unlike senior relatives by marriage in later reigns, Liang Ji, Dou Wu and He Jin, Deng Zhi never held "control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat" with formal command of the government.

Despite their high position, greater than the Dou had held in the previous reign, Deng Zhi is said to have sought to restrain his family, and when his son Deng Feng was found to have been in contact with the general Ren Shang, who was then executed for embezzlement, he had Deng Feng and his own wife the Lady Kou, mother of the young man, shave their heads as sign of guilt and remorse.

In 121 the Dowager died and Emperor An was able to exercise power for himself. Initially, he awarded Deng Zhi the county marquissate that he had refused many years before, together with the rank of Specially Advanced, allowing him to reside at the capital. Within a few weeks, however, various of the emperor's favourites, including his former wet-nurse Wang Shang and the eunuchs Li Run and Jiang Jing, brought forward allegations that Deng Zhi's brothers Hui, Hong and Chang, and their kinsman Deng Fang, had proposed that the Dowager should depose the emperor for incompetence and replace him with Liu Yi the King of Pingyuan. The story was primarily based upon evidence from Zhao Ren, a discontented woman of the harem, but Emperor An accepted it, and despite his earlier show of courtesy he may well have been waiting for a reason to rid himself of a powerful family. He had senior ministers present indictments of Great Refractoriness and Impiety against the alleged conspirators, stripped Deng Zhi's kinsmen of their fiefs and confiscated their property.

It was not suggested that Deng Zhi himself had been involved, so he was permitted to keep his noble rank, but he lost the position of Specially Advanced

and was forced to quit the capital for his estates. Then his fief was transferred from Runan to Changsha, south of the Yangzi, and at this sentence of exile Deng Zhi and his son Feng starved themselves to death. Through the efforts of the minister Zhu Chong the emperor was persuaded to regret his persecution: Deng Zhi was buried at Luoyang with proper ceremonial and sacrifices, and surviving members of his clan were permitted to return to the capital. -HHS 16/6:612-18*, 87/77:2886; deC 84:92-102.

Deng Zhi 鄧鸞/陟, wife of: see the Lady Kou 寇 I.

Deng Zhi 鄧芝 [Bomiao 伯苗] (d.250); Nanyang. A distant kinsman to the Deng clan of imperial relatives by marriage, as the Han government fell into ruin Deng Zhi travelled to Yi province and became a client of Pang Xi, Administrator in Ba.

When Liu Bei took over the province in 214 Deng Zhi held only minor office, but he impressed Liu Bei, who made him a county magistrate and then Administrator of Guanghan. His administration proved excellent and he was later appointed to the central Secretariat.

After the death of Liu Bei in 223 the regent Chancellor Zhuge Liang sent Deng Zhi as envoy to Wu. Sun Quan admired him greatly, and they negotiated peace and alliance. Deng Zhi later became a general and served at that rank for more than twenty years. Widely respected, he left no surplus in his household when he died. -SGZ Shu 15:1071-73*.

Deng Zhong 鄧終/眾 (d.27); Nanyang. Younger brother of Deng Feng, early in 27 he was defeated and killed by Emperor Guangwu's general Zhai Zun. -HHS 20/10:739.

Deng Zhong 鄧忠 (d.121); Nanyang. Son of Deng Chang and the Lady Geng, he succeeded to his father's fief in 118. After the death of the Dowager Deng in 121 it was alleged that Deng Chang and other members of the family had supported a proposal to depose the emperor. Emperor An took the opportunity to rid himself of such a powerful family. He had senior ministers present posthumous indictments of treason against the alleged conspirators, then stripped Deng Zhong and other kinsmen of their fiefs, reducing them to the rank of commoner, and sent them away to their home country. Harassed and oppressed by local officials, Deng Zhong killed himself. -HHS 16/6:616-18.

Deng [Zhongkuang] 鄧仲況. In 27 Deng Zhongkuang

was a junior commander under the *condottiere* Yan Cen in Nanyang, and his troops ravaged the surrounding country. His staff officer Liu Gong was a kinsman of the celebrated scholar Liu Xin, and Liu Xin's former colleague Su Jing wrote to criticise their conduct. Deng Zhongkuang then submitted to Emperor Guangwu of Han. -HHS 30/20A:1041-46.

Deng Zhu 鄧朱, the Lady; Nanyang. Maternal grandmother of the Empress Yin of Emperor He, she visited her regularly in the imperial harem, but in 102 she was accused of assisting the empress with witchcraft. Arrested and questioned in the harem prison, she implicated her sons Deng Feng and Deng Yi and the Empress's brothers. The empress was deposed, she and other members of the family died, and the Lady Deng was exiled to the far south.

In 110 the Empress Yin's successor, the regent Dowager Deng, issued an amnesty, and the accused were permitted to return to their home countries. -HHS 16/6:606.

Deng [Zijing] 鄧子敬; Nanyang. Three years younger than his fellow-countryman Zhang Boda, although they were not related Deng Zijing treated him with all the honour of an elder brother, sleeping on a couch below his bed and doing obeisance each morning.

Having accompanied Zhang Boda in his migration to Henan, where they taught in a private academy, Deng Zijing was later invited to join the offices of the Excellency over the Masses, and an official carriage was sent for him. -FSTY 3:24: Ying Shao categorises his behaviour as Inappropriate 愆禮.

Deng Ziran 鄧子然 see Zhen Ziran 甄子然.

Deng Zixiao 鄧子孝. In 196 Deng Zixiao fled with Xu Jing from Kuaiji to Jiao province in the far south. In 208 he met Wang Lang in Jing province and gave him news of Xu Jing in Yi province. -SGZ Shu 8:964, 968.

Deng Zun 鄧遵 (d.121); Nanyang. A cousin of the Dowager Deng, Deng Zun became Protector of the Wuhuan, and in 114 he was appointed full General on the Liao, responsible for military affairs on the northern frontier. Though Liang Qin had held the full title for a short time, this was the first occasion the office had been awarded without the qualifying prefix "acting" 行 and the distinction was granted on account of Deng Zun's relationship to the throne and to the regent Dowager.

In 116 Deng Zun led ten thousand horsemen of the Southern Xiongnu, commanded by the Shanyu Tan and

one of his kings, to raid the Qiang leader Lianchang at Lingzhou by the Yellow River in Beidi. They killed over eight hundred of the enemy.

In 118 Deng Zun sent the Qiang renegade Diaohé to assassinate the fugitive Qiang leader Langmo, the last significant leader of the rebellion. Diaohé was granted a noble title, while Deng Zun received gifts and honours and was enfeoffed as a marquis with revenue from three thousand households. It was generally believed, however, that he received these rewards for his connection to the Dowager rather than for his own good work. In contrast, his fellow-commander Ren Shang, whose achievements were at least comparable, was granted no such honours but was instead accused of exaggerating his successes and was then executed for embezzlement.

In 118 and 119 the Xianbi attacked the frontier of Dai commandery. The frontier defences were strengthened, and on the second occasion Deng Zun led three thousand bowman scouts with a mixed force of Xiongnu cavalry and local levies to defeat the raiders in the field and pursue them across the border. Soon afterwards the Xiongnu leader Fenghou surrendered, and in the winter at the end of 120 the Xianbi chieftains Wulun and Qizhijian of Liaoxi came to submit.

As Emperor An took power after the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, the former wet-nurse Wang Sheng and her eunuch associate Li Run claimed that members of the family had planned to dismiss the emperor and set a new ruler in his place. The Deng were dismissed from all their offices, and Deng Zun and others committed suicide. [It was claimed, perhaps correctly, that the later incursions against the Chinese frontier by the Xianbi war-leader Qizhijian followed from the death of his patron Deng Zun.]

In the early 160s Deng Zun's son Wanshi was a favourite of Emperor Huan, who planned to grant posthumous re-enfeoffment to Deng Zun and thus to ennoble Deng Wanshi. The minister Chen Fan and others objected that the emperor was too generous and that Deng Zun's military achievements had been exaggerated, but Deng Wanshi did receive a district fief. -HHS 5:225-33, 16/6:617, 87/77:2890-91, 89/79:2958, 90/80:2987; deC 84:109-111, 288-289, 298-299.

Di Du 邸杜 was Administrator of Shang commandery. -FSTY 5f:128.

Di Fu 翟輔 and/or Di Pu 翟輔 see Zhai Fu 翟輔.

Dian 滇 [part of a Qiang name] appears also as 顛: DGHJ 22:2a.

Dian Man 典滿; Chenliu. Son of Dian Wei, when his father died fighting in 197 Cao Cao gave Dian Man a position at court. Later he again recalled Dian Wei's service, and made Dian Man a major and a member of his body-guard.

When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he appointed Dian Man as a Commandant and enfeoffed him as a secondary marquis. -SGZ 18:545.

Dian Wei 典韋 (d.197); Chenliu. A large man of great strength, Dian Wei saw himself as a knight errant, and when the local Liu clan had a vendetta with a certain Li Yong of a neighbouring county, he chose to act as their champion.

Li Yong was a former magistrate and had an attentive group of guards. Dian Wei, however, rode up to the gates of Li Yong's residence in a cart laden with chickens and wine under the guise of a tradesman. When the gates were opened for him he went in with a dagger hidden in his clothing and killed both Li Yong and his wife.

Dian Wei then made his escape on foot. He was chased by several hundred men, for Li Yong's house was near a market, but none of his pursuers dared get too close, and after four or five *li* he met some companions and they fought their way free. From this exploit Dian Wei became celebrated among the local bullies and bravos.

In 190, as Zhang Miao was raising troops for the rebellion against Dong Zhuo, Dian Wei went to join him. He impressed his commanding officer Zhao Chong by setting up the great headquarters banner with just one hand, when no-one else had been able to manage it even with two hands.

Dian Wei later transferred to the unit led by Xiahou Dun and served with him in the defence of Yan province for Cao Cao in 194. He killed great numbers of the enemy and was appointed a major. In a hard-fought engagement with Lü Bu outside the city of Puyang, Dian Wei led a group of volunteers to break the enemy line and establish a forlorn hope within their ranks. Totally surrounded, Dian Wei ordered his men to hold their position until the enemy were within five paces, then launched a counter-attack to drive them back. Cao Cao thus gained a breathing space to effect his own withdrawal.

Dian Wei was appointed Commandant of a troop of guards, and with several hundred picked men he watched Cao Cao's tent day and night. He took the lead in every engagement and was promoted to be a colonel. He was admired by Cao Cao for his vast appetite for food and his capacity for drinking great quantities of wine, and he was celebrated in the army for his favoured weapon, a double-axe halberd weighing twenty kilos.

In 197 Cao Cao attacked Nanyang in Jing province. Liu Biao's local commander Zhang Xiu surrendered, but then Cao Cao took the widow of Zhang Xiu's former master Zhang Ji as a concubine, and he planned to kill Zhang Xiu. Learning of this, Zhang Xiu made a sudden attack. Taken by surprise, Cao Cao was wounded and compelled to flee, and Dian Wei, fighting in the rear-guard, was overwhelmed and slain.

When Cao Cao learned of Dian Wei's death he wept for him, had his body returned to his home country and offered sacrifice at his tomb each time he passed that way. He appointed his son Dian Man to be a major on his staff. -SGZ 18:543-45*; deC 96:139-140, 212.

Dian'an 滇岸; Qiang. Son of Dianliang and younger brother of Dianyu, Dian'an was an associate leader in the great attack by the Shaodang Qiang in 57, but was forced to surrender in 58. Wrongly advised by his officers, Dou Lin the Protector of the Qiang took Dian'an to be the senior chieftain, and granted him titles as Marquis Who Returns to Allegiance 歸義侯 and Grand Chief Commandant for Han 漢大都尉. In the following year, when Dianyu the real leader of the rebels also came to surrender, Dou Lin presented him too as the paramount chief. When Emperor Ming enquired about this, Dou Lin claimed the two men were the same, and their names had been confused in the local speech. The emperor investigated further, discovered the truth, and dismissed Dou Lin from his post. -HHS 87/77:2880.

Dianlian 滇零 (d.112); Qiang. Leader of a small sub-group of the Xianlian tribe, as disturbance erupted in the northwest in the late summer of 107, Dianlian joined men of the Zhong tribe in an attack on Chinese positions. It is said that the Qiang had been at peace for so long they had no weapons or armour, but they took up bamboo staves and carried boards as shields, terrifying the local authorities and cutting the military communications of the Long Road which led into central Asia.

In the following year the Han court sent Deng Zhi with a large army against the rebels, but the Zhong tribe inflicted an initial defeat, and in the winter Dianlian drove back an attack by Ren Shang in Hanyang with heavy losses. Following that success Dianlian proclaimed himself emperor; and from his base in Beidi commandery he gathered allies from Wudu, Shang and Xihe commanderies. His forces dominated Liang province and the Chinese position became largely untenable. In the east the Qiang ravaged Zhao and Wei on the edge of the North China plain, while in the south they invaded the Han valley and killed the Administrator of Hanzhong. In 109 the Qiang continued their successes and consolidated their hold on the upper Wei valley and in Longxi. In 110 Dianlian again sent troops against the passes of the Qin Ling ranges leading into Hanzhong, where they defeated and killed the Administrator Zheng Qin. At the same time the Han court ordered that the administration of Jincheng should be transferred into Longxi, effectively abandoning the commandery.

Ren Shang's attacks in the Wei valley had been continually defeated, and in 111 he was dismissed for his lack of success. Governments-in-exile were now established also for Anding, Beidi and Shang, and the administration of Longxi was transferred to a more secure county. The commanderies were largely abandoned to the rebels, and orders were given to drive Chinese settlers from their lands, while Qiang raiding extended into Hedong and Henei, and refugees crossed the Yellow River to seek safety in the capital. Six hundred forts were set up in Wei, Zhao, Changshan and Zhongshan to defend the North China plain, and a contingent of the Northern Army was sent to defend the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River north of Luoyang; this camp, however, was disbanded soon afterwards when Ren Shang, restored to a command, defeated a raiding party of the Qiang in Shangdang.

The rebels were now joined by Chinese renegades, and though their leader Du Qi was swiftly assassinated and his followers were defeated, Du Qi's brother Du Jigong came to join Dianlian.

In 112, however, Dianlian died. He was succeeded by his young son Lianchang, but the centre of the rebellion was considerably weakened. -HHS 87/77:2886-88; deC 84:94-106. [On the pronunciation of the character 零 (normally *ling*), see deC 84:471 note 14.]

Dianliang 滇良; Qiang. Shaochang 燒當, chieftain of the Yan 研 tribe during Former Han about 40 BC, gained such a reputation as a war-leader that the name of the tribe was changed in his honour. The power of the Shaochang later declined, and they suffered at the hands of their neighbours the Xianlian and the Bi'nan, but by the time of Shaochang's great-great-grandson Dianliang the Xianlian in particular had been seriously weakened by the campaigns of Ma Yuan and the migration into China that he imposed.

About 40 Dianliang led his people to attack the remnant Xianlian and the Bi'nan. He took over their territory and established a new position in the Yu valleys, on the southern bank of the upper Yellow River by present-day Guide in Gansu. Over the next several years Dianliang established his local authority and a pattern of occasional alliances among the other tribes of the frontier. In his own time, Dianliang was not a direct source of major trouble for China, but his son Dianyu became a noted foe of Han. -HHS 87/77:2878-79; deC 84:78-79.

Dianling 滇零 see Dianlian 滇零.

Dianyu 滇吾 [or Dianwu] I; Qiang. Son of Dianliang, during the 50s Dianyu led minor raids against Chinese frontier positions and gained recognition as a war-leader and counsellor among the Shaochang and other tribes. In the autumn of 57 he led five thousand men in a substantial attack along the Yellow River, defeating the commandery forces of Longxi and Jincheng and inspiring a series of local rebellions which also gained success. In 58 an army of forty thousand men was sent from Luoyang under the command of Ma Wu and Dou Gu, the incursions were put down, and in the following year Dianyu surrendered to the Protector Dou Lin. -HHS 87/77:2879-81.

Dianyu 滇吾 [or Dianwu] II; Qiang. A chieftain of the Goujiu group of the Qiang, in 184 he commanded the force which defeated local troops of Hanyang led by He Xun. Dianyu knew He Xun to be a worthy man, and when his men surrounded him he ordered them to hold back and offered his own horse to He Xun so that he might escape. He Xun swore at him and rejected his aid, so Dianyu took him prisoner, but released him soon afterwards. -HHS 58/48:1880-81; deC 89:187-188.

Diao 鈔 [surname] see Yao 姚 *passim*.

Diao Wei 刁韃 [Zirong 子榮]; Pengcheng. About 163 Diao Wei was an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate

when powerful families objected to the policy of Chen Fan and Huang Wan, who insisted that only men of good quality in the corps of Gentlemen should receive ministerial recommendation as Abundant Talent. Diao Wei and his superior Wang Chang approved the change and took no action, but then the matter was pressed: Wang Chang was demoted and Diao Wei proscribed from office.

Diao Wei, however, was praised for his stand, and he was later returned to an appointment in the Imperial Secretariat. In 169 he joined the Director Liu Meng and the minister Zhang Huan in urging that Wang Chang and Li Ying, known enemies of the eunuchs who controlled the court of Emperor Ling, should take part in the selection of Excellencies. Cao Jie and the other eunuchs had an edict sent down to reprimand them, and the petitioners presented themselves in bonds at the imperial prison. They were released on payment of a fine equal to three months salary.

Diao Wei later served as Administrator of Donghai and Chancellor of Lu. He was known for clear thinking, firm adherence to the law, and strict discipline in his household. -HHS 61/51:2040-41, 65/55:2141.

Diao Yao 刁曜 [Ziqing 子卿]; Pengcheng. Having served as an Imperial Clerk, Diao Yao was appointed to Yuyang, where he found that his predecessor had planted vegetables; he harvested them and sent them on.

Diao Yao was also an influential Chancellor of Lu. -XC 7:3b-4a.

Diao Zidu 刁子都 see Li Zidu 力子都. -Bn 59:41.

Diaohe 雕何; Qiang. Sent by the Chinese general Deng Zun in 118 to assassinate the rebel Qiang leader Langmo, he was rewarded for his success with the title Marquis of the Qiang 羌侯. -HHS 87/77:2891.

Digen 氏根 or 氐根 *i.e.* Yu Digen. -SGZ 8:261.

Ding 丁, the Lady I. Wife of Cao Cheng, she was the daughter-in-law of the Lady Ban Zhao. After the death of the Lady Ban about 120 the Lady Ding collected her literary works in sixteen *pian* and published them with an introductory Eulogy 讚. -HHS 84/74:2792; Swann 32:44-45.

Ding 丁, the Lady II; Pei? Wife of Cao Song, she was the mother of Cao Cao. In 220 her grandson Cao Pi had her honoured by Emperor Xian of Han. -SGZ 2:59.

Ding 丁, the Lady III; Pei? Wife 嫡 of Cao Cao, she had no children of her own but cared for his eldest son Cao Ang, born to the Lady Liu X. When Cao Ang

was killed in 198, she mourned him bitterly and Cao Cao, angry at this, sent her away. He later sought a reconciliation, but she rejected him and so he replaced her with the Lady Bian.

The Lady Ding had not treated the Lady Bian well, but when the Lady Bian came to favour she always showed her respect. The Lady Ding died about 220. -SGZ 5:156-57; C/C 99.90-92.

Ding Chen 丁綝 [Youchun 幼春]; Yingchuan. In 23 Ding Chen was a county commandant in Yingchuan in the service of Wang Mang. Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to attack and Ding Chen persuaded his colleagues to surrender. He was well rewarded and was named a lieutenant-general in the Han forces.

In 25 Ding Chen took part in the crossing of the Yellow River from the north into Henan, then raised troops to garrison Chenliu and Yingchuan. As Liu Xiu took the imperial title he appointed Ding Chen his Administrator of Henan and awarded him a marquisate. Unlike other commanders, who sought county fiefs, Ding Chen asked only for the territory of his native district: he was granted it, together with the revenue from five thousand households; the territory of his fief was later changed to a county in Danyang. -HHS 37/27:1262.

Ding Cheng 丁盛 see Ding Sheng 丁盛.

Ding Chong 丁冲. A Gentleman at the Yellow Gates at Chang'an in 195, Ding Chong joined Yang Qi, Zhong Yao and others in a plot with Liu Jue's officer Yang Feng to kill Li Jue. They were unsuccessful, but Yang Feng then set himself up independently and Li Jue was weakened.

Ding Chong then became a Palace Attendant and travelled with the emperor to the east. An old friend of Cao Cao, he helped arrange the transfer to Xu city in 196. He was enfeoffed for good service in the escape from Chang'an and was named Director of Retainers, but died soon afterwards in a drinking bout. -HHJ 28:336-37, HHS 72/62:2342, SGZ 19:561-62.

Ding Fan 丁蕃 (d.203); Kuaiji. A fellow-countryman of He Qi, in 203 Ding Fan was a county magistrate under his command in southern Kuaiji. Ordered to remain behind to guard the lines of communication, Ding Fan was reluctant to accept such a humble post. He Qi cut off his head. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Ding Fang 丁魴 [Shuhe 叔河]. After successful service as Commandant of the Dependent State of Shu commandery, Ding Fang was transferred to the

Dependent State of Guanghan. In 151, after he had left that office, sixty local gentlemen honoured him with a stele. -LS 17:5b-6b.

Ding Feng 丁奉 [Chengyuan 承淵] (d.271); Lujiang. As a young man, Ding Feng served in junior commands under Gan Ning, Lu Xun and Pan Zhang, generals of Wu. He was steadily promoted thereafter, and from 252 he held high military rank. -SGZ Wu 10:1300-02*.

Ding Fu 丁浮; Yingchuan. Son of Ding Zhan, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 37/27:1268.

Ding Gong 丁恭 [Ziran 子然]; Shanyang. Expert in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan interpretation, Ding Gong established a private academy with emphasis on morality. He refused appointments in the commandery and the province, but soon after Emperor Guangwu claimed the throne he became a Counsellor Remonstrant, then an Academician at the University, and was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis.

In 26 it was proposed that the fiefs of full marquisates awarded to leading followers of Guangwu could be as large as four counties, depending upon merit. Ding Gong argued in court that they should not exceed the classical level of 100 *li*, but the emperor claimed that the failure of previous regimes was a result of their rulers' lack of virtue, and expressed [perhaps naive] confidence in his meritorious supporters.

In 36 Ding Gong became Minister Steward. Scholars from every part of the empire came to him, and he was recognised as the leading Confucianist of his time, with Lou Wang, Cheng Gong and Fan Shu among his students.

In 44 Ding Gong was appointed Libationer of the Palace Attendants and Commandant of Cavalry. He and Liu Kun were close attendants of Emperor Guangwu, and were regularly consulted on affairs of state. Ding Gong died in office. -HHS 79/69B:2578*; Bn 54:189, Bn 67:44, 79.

Ding Gong 丁宫 [Yuanxiong 元雄]; Pei. Inspector of Jiaozhi and Administrator of Cangwu in the 180s, Ding Gong later became Minister of the Household. He was promoted Excellency of Works in 187 and Excellency over the Masses in 188, but left office when He Jin held power in 189. Later that year, as a member of the Imperial Secretariat, he approved Dong Zhuo's deposition of Liu Bian and his replacement by his half-brother Liu Xie, Emperor Xian. -HHS 8:354-58, SGZ 6:175, SGZ Wu 4:1191. See also *sub* Ding Yansi.

Ding Han 丁邯 [Shuchun 叔春]; Jingzhao. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 30, Ding Han refused a position as a Gentleman in the Imperial Secretariat on the grounds that he had not yet served the traditional apprenticeship as a Foreman Clerk in that office. Emperor Guangwu, who was attempting to change the system, was furious and had him flogged, but Ding Han maintained his defiance.

After a successful term as a magistrate in Hedong, Ding Han became Administrator of Hanzhong. When his wife's brother took a military position under the pretender Gongsun Shu, Ding Han sent her to the commandery prison, then took off his hat and went bare-foot to report the situation. An edict acknowledged his loyalty, he remained in office and maintained good government. -HHS 116/26:3598-99; Bn 80:172-173.

Ding Hong 丁頔 (d.46). An officer at the court of Emperor Guangwu, in 46 Ding Hong was accused of inappropriate association with the gentleman Wang Pan and the Director of Retainers Su Ye. All three died in prison. -HHS 24/14:851.

Ding Hong 丁鴻 [Xiaogong 孝公 or Jigong 季公] (d.94); Yingchuan. Son of Ding Chen, at the age of thirteen Ding Hong became a pupil of Huan Rong, studying the Ouyang interpretation of the New Text *Classic of History*. After three years he understood the major commentaries and could explain most difficult passages. He travelled long distances as a simple scholar in search of further knowledge.

When his father died, Ding Hong asked permission to yield his fief to his younger brother Ding Sheng. He received no reply, but after the funeral he left a letter for his brother, abandoning everything in his favour, and travelled east to Donghai. There he met his friend Bao Jun, who had been a fellow-student under Huan Rong. Bao Jun persuaded him that he had been wrong to abandon his responsibilities, so Ding Hong returned and opened a private academy.

Bao Jun wrote to Emperor Ming, praising Ding Hong's scholarship and fine conduct, and in 67 the emperor invited Ding Hong to court. In a special interview, he discussed "The Charge to Prince Wen" 文侯之命 chapter of the *Classic of History*, and was rewarded with robes, ribbons and noble rank, and honours comparable to those of an Academician. He was named a Palace Attendant soon afterwards and in 70 he was appointed a colonel in the Northern Army.

In 79 Ding Hong was awarded a marquise

in Lujiang, and in that year, when Emperor Zhang called an imperial conference on Confucianism in the White Tiger Hall, Ding Hong played a leading role in the Discussions. Admired by the ruler and by his colleagues, he received many rewards and marks of favour, taught pupils and edited books.

Ding Hong later became Minister Steward, and in this position he attracted thousands of students from the furthest parts of the empire; among them were Liu Kai, Ba Mao and Zhu Chang, all of whom rose to high rank. He accompanied the emperor on tour to the east in 85 and presented a most flattering memorial on his care for the nation and his attention to ritual.

At the accession of Emperor He in 88 Ding Hong was transferred to be Minister of Ceremonies, and he became Excellency over the Masses in 92. The court was at that time dominated by the Dowager Dou, her brother Dou Xian and other members of the family, and Ding Hong sent a sealed memorial urging the emperor to take action against them. The emperor had already planned to destroy the Dou, notably with the aid of the eunuch Zheng Zhong, but Ding Hong's proposal showed his good will. Ten days later he was made acting Grand Commandant and also Minister of the Guards, and he commanded the troops which took control of the palaces and seized Dou Xian's insignia as General-in-Chief. Dou Xian and his brothers killed themselves. [We must note, however, that although his biography credits Ding Hong with a high level of involvement in the coup, the Annals at HHS 4:173 and the biography of Dou Xian at HHS 23/13:819-20 make no mention of his role, and he received no reward: cf. HHS 78/68:2512, the biography of Zheng Zhong. On one occasion at least, moreover, he agreed with Dou Xian and his ally the Excellency Song You on a question of frontier policy: HHS 45/35:1520.]

Later in 92 the emperor noted there was an imbalance in Filial and Incorrupt nominations for the imperial civil service. All commandery units were entitled and required to present two such candidates each year, regardless whether they were populous and prosperous, or had limited numbers and were on the frontiers of the empire. In response to an edict Ding Hong and his colleague the Excellency of Works Liu Fang proposed that commandery units should recommend one Filial and Incorrupt candidate for every 200,000 inhabitants; those with population less than 200,000 should nominate one man every second

year; and those with fewer than 100,000 one man every three years. This was approved.

Ding Hong died in office two years later and was granted special funerary honours. -HHS 37/27:1262-68*; Tjan 49:161, Bn 80:134.

Ding Kui 丁夔 see Ding Xia 丁夏. -XHS 3:12a.

Ding Lan 丁覽 [Xiaolian 孝連]; Kuaiji. Orphaned when he was young, Ding Lan held local office in his county. A generous and honourable man, he was recommended by Yu Fan and Sun Quan promoted him to be a magistrate. He died before he could rise higher, but his son Gu 固 became an Excellency in Wu. -SGZ Wu 12:1323.

Ding Lang 丁朗 see Sun Lang 孫朗.

Ding Lin 丁綝 see Ding Chen 丁綝.

Ding Mu 丁牧. As a clerical officer under Liu Cang when he was General of Agile Cavalry at Luoyang, Ding Mu admired his courteous treatment of his troops. When Liu Cang went out to his state as King of Dongping in 62, Ding Mu followed him, and he served Liu Cang, his son Zhong and his grandson Chang as an officer in the royal household.

When Emperor Zhang came on tour to Dongping in 86, Ding Mu and his colleague Zhou Xu were presented to him. In recognition of their good will and loyalty, both men were appointed Consultants, and Ding Mu later became Chancellor of Qi. -HHS 42/32:1442.

Ding Sheng 丁盛 or Ding Cheng [Zhonggong 仲公]; Yingchuan. Ding Sheng was a younger brother of Ding Hong, who cared for him while their father Ding Chen was on campaign with Emperor Guangwu during the 20s. When Ding Chen died Ding Hong abandoned the family property in favour of Ding Sheng. -HHS 37/27:1263.

Ding Sheng 丁盛 or Ding Cheng. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in 117, he was threatened with exposure by Zhang Jun, but conspired to bring about his downfall. -HHS 45/35:1524.

This may be the same person as the Ding Sheng/Cheng above, but the dating appears wrong. If the younger brother of Ding Hong of Yingchuan was a child in the 20s, or even the 30s, he would have been aged over eighty in 117, and it is hard to believe a man of that age would occupy a regular post in the Secretariat. There is similar confusion between two people named Ding Hong: cf. above.

Ding Su 丁肅; Jiyin. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow

Gates under Emperor Ling, he was respected for his honesty and loyalty and for the fact that, unlike Zhang Rang and others, he did not contend for power. He later became a Regular Attendant, and in the early 170s he was known as a close associate of the senior official Hu Guang. Hu Guang's biography, however, records that the connection attracted unfavourable comment and criticism. -HHS 78/68:2533, 44/34:1510.

Ding Xia 丁夏 or Ding Kui 夔; Yingchuan. Son of Ding Fu, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 37/27:1268.

Ding Xu 丁諲; Wu. Head of a section of five conscript soldiers, Ding Xu was developed and befriended by Gu Shao, son of Gu Yong and a noted judge of character. He later held administrative and military office at the court of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 7:1229.

Ding [Yansi] 丁彥思. Following the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192, the minister Wang Yun made some attempt to reassure his former officers Li Jue and others. They were concerned at the manner in which he had executed Cai Yong and Ding Yansi simply because Dong Zhuo had favoured them, and they accordingly turned against him and destroyed the new government.

On Cai Yong see *sub voce*. Ding Yansi does not appear elsewhere, but Hong Liangji suggests he may be the same person as Ding Gong [though Ding Gong is known to have had a different style]. -HHS 66/56:2177 & JJ at 2380, but cf. JJ at 2389 Liu Congchen.

Ding Yi 丁義. A pirate in the early years of Later Han, Ding Yi and his band were dissuaded from attacking Kuaiji by the arguments of the official Peng Xiu. -XC 5:12b.

Ding Yi 丁儀 [Zhengli 正禮] (d.220); Pei. Son of Ding Chong, because of his father's good service Cao Cao intended to marry Ding Yi to one his daughters. Cao Pi, however, dissuaded him, on the grounds that Ding Yi had only one eye. Cao Cao did appoint Ding Yi as a clerk, admired his ability, and later regretted having taken his son's advice. With Cao Cao's favour, Ding Yi accused Mao Jie and Xu Yi, securing their dismissal and demotion and establishing a personal influence at court.

In resentment against Cao Pi, Ding Yi became a close friend of his younger brother Cao Zhi, and supported his push for the succession. In 217, however, Cao Pi was appointed Heir, and when he came to power in 220 he killed Ding Yi, his brother Yi 廙, and

all male members of their family.

Ding Yi was a man of considerable literary talent, but he was, predictably, not ranked by Cao Pi with the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature," nor did he receive any substantial biography in the *Sanguo zhi* of Chen Shou. -SGZ 19:561-62.

Ding Yi 丁廙 [Jingli 敬禮] (d.220); Pei. Younger brother of Ding Yi 儀 and also a man of literary talent, he joined Liu Yi in compiling an essay on criminal law and ritual, *Xingli lun* 刑禮論. Also a close friend of Cao Zhi, he joined in pressing his claim to succeed Cao Cao. He shared his brother's fate when Cao Pi came to the throne. -SGZ 19:562.

Ding Yu 丁羽. Administrator of Guanghan about the middle of the second century, he nominated Jing Yi as Filial and Incorrupt. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Ding Yuan 丁原 [Jiayang 建陽] (d.189). A man of the frontier, excellent horseman and archer, Ding Yuan became Inspector of Bing province and then a Commandant of Cavalry stationed in Henei. As the General-in-Chief He Jin planned to deal with the palace eunuchs in 189, he ordered Ding Yuan to make a show of strength. Ding Yuan burnt the city of Mengjin, north of Luoyang, and was then appointed Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital.

As Dong Zhuo took power at the capital after the destruction of He Jin, he was concerned that Ding Yuan might become a rival. He persuaded Lü Bu, Ding Yuan's protégé, to kill him. -SGZ 7:219, HHS 75/65:2444.

Ding Zhan 丁湛; Yingchuan. Son of Ding Hong, he succeeded to his fief in 94. -HHS 37/27:1268.

Ding Zhong 丁仲; Pei. A leading robber in the middle 40s, Ding Zhong was captured by the Assistant Administrator Han Gong, who took his booty and had him bastinadoed eight hundred times. Ding Zhong survived this, but Han Gong then simply killed him. -HHS 29/19:1032, DGHJ 15:4a.

Ding Zhong 丁中 miswritten for Ding Chong 丁冲.

Ding [Zhongli] 丁仲禮 was an Assistant Officer in Yan province. -LS 27:4b.

Ding [Zisi] 丁子嗣 (d.184); Runan. In 184 Ding Zisi was a member of the local staff of the Administrator Zhao Qian. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out the commandery militia was defeated. Ding Zisi and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though they were killed he was able

to escape. An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527.

Dingxing 丁興 of Jumi [present-day Yutian]. A member of the royal house, Dingxing was a hostage prince at the Han court.

In 175 King Anguo of Yutian [Khotan] attacked Jumi and killed the king. Chinese authorities in the Western Regions retook Jumi and placed Dingxing upon the throne. The small state, however, whose population was formerly 7,500, now contained only about a thousand people. -HHS 88/78:2915.

Director of Retainers Who Scales the City Wall 司隸緣城 see Sili Yuancheng.

Diwu Fang 第五訪 [Zhongmou 仲謀] (d.159); Jingzhao. A kinsman of Diwu Lun in a later generation, Diwu Fang was orphaned when he was young. The family was very poor, and he worked in the fields to support his elder brother's wife. Any spare time he had from his labours he spent in reading and study.

Having served as Officer of Merit in his commandery, Diwu Fang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a magistrate in Guanghan. His administration was peaceful, and it was claimed his moral authority was so well expressed that people from neighbouring counties went to live under his rule, as a result, in no more than three years the population had increased tenfold.

Diwu Fang then became Administrator of Zhangye. There was a famine at the time, and the cost of grain was enormous. Diwu Fang ordered that the official granaries be opened to relieve the distress. His officers were reluctant to take the responsibility and wanted to refer the proposal to the capital, but Diwu Fang insisted. The grain was distributed, all the people of the commandery were saved, and Emperor Shun sent a letter of commendation. Diwu Fang then encouraged the people to agriculture, and in following years the harvests were abundant and there were no robbers or bandits.

Diwu Fang was later transferred to Nanyang, but then resigned. In 155 he was recalled to be Protector of the Qiang, and he maintained the frontier by personal authority and honest dealing. After four years he died in office. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏 -HHS 76/66:2475-76*; Ch'ü 72:379-380, deC 84:126.

Diwu Jun 第五儁; Jingzhao. In 188, as the Liang

province rebels under Wang Guo approached Chang'an, the Intendant He Xun persuaded Emperor Ling to commission private troops. Diwu Jun was one of five leaders of local gentry who received title as Commandant, to raise their own regiments and join the imperial forces under He Xun's command. -*HHS* 58/48:1883.

Diwu Lun 第五倫 [Boyu 伯魚]; Jingzhao. The Diwu were descended from the royal Tian 田 clan of the ancient state of Qi 齊. During Former Han different groups of the clan were moved at various times to settlement in the funerary parks about Chang'an; the lineage of Diwu Lun identified itself as the fifth 第五 to suffer such forced migration. Despite this distinguished ancestry, no member of Diwu Lun's family appears in a prominent position in the empire before his time.

Diwu Lun showed quality as a young man, and during the troubles which followed the fall of Wang Mang he commanded his family and retainers in an encampment, well-equipped with cross-bows and other weapons of war. They dealt successfully with local bandits and withstood attacks from the Bronze Horse group and even the Red Eyebrows.

After the region had been largely settled by the new government of Emperor Guangwu, Diwu Lun called on the Intendant Xianyu Bao, who was impressed and gave him a position on his staff. When Xianyu Bao was demoted to a county magistracy in the east, Diwu Lun became a district headman. Though he governed well and was popular with the people, he had criticised his superior and believed he would never gain advancement. [*HQ* 1:16a identifies this superior as He Yan, but the statement appears anachronistic: He Yan was engaged elsewhere in the late 20s, and though he did replace Xianyu Bao as Administrator of Zuopingyi in the late 30s he was never Intendant of Jingzhao.]

Diwu Lun therefore left his post and took his household to Hedong. Changing his name to Wang Boqi, and cutting all ties with his former acquaintances, he became a salt merchant in Taiyuan and Shangdang. The change of name was partly from embarrassment, and concern that as a member of the gentry he should not engage in such an occupation, but it also meant that he could later resume his true name and re-enter official service.

After some years Diwu Lun's former patron Xianyu Bao was able to recommend him to the new Intendant

Yan Xing, who appointed Diwu Lun as his Registrar. At this time the markets in Chang'an were in disorder, with great numbers of false coins and forgers. Put in charge, Diwu Lun enforced strict control of currency, weights and measures. He was swiftly successful and was widely praised.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt in 51, Diwu Lun was made physician to the imperial son Liu Yan, King of Huaiyang. As the king left for his state in the following year, Diwu Lun met Emperor Guangwu, and though the meeting was brief he made a favourable impression. When he returned with his master on a visit to the capital in 53, Guangwu asked about affairs of state at a general assembly, and Diwu Lun's reply pleased him so greatly that he summoned him for a long conversation, lasting well into the night.

Diwu Lun was named as a county magistrate in Lingling, but even before he took up that post he was transferred and promoted to be Administrator of Kuaiji. Though he now held high rank and salary, he lived most frugally, cutting grass himself to feed his horse, while his wives did the cooking for the household; any surplus was given to the poor.

Kuaiji was strongly influenced by shamans and diviners, who told the people that they must sacrifice their plough-oxen to the gods – should they fail to do so they would fall ill, bellowing like an ox, and die. Previous officials had tried to suppress the custom, but without success, and shortage of oxen naturally made it difficult to establish traditional Chinese agriculture. Diwu Lun enforced strict penalties against the medicine men and any who obeyed them, and the cult was eliminated [also in *FSTY* 9:70; Nylan 83:531-532].

After almost ten years in office, in 62 Diwu Lun was recalled for punishment on account of some fault. The local people held his carriage to prevent him leaving, and even when he evaded them and left by boat several thousand followed him to the capital, where they held vigil outside the gates and sent petitions in his favour.

At this time Emperor Ming was engaged in the case of his former brother-in-law Liang Song 松, and was annoyed by the host of petitions which had been sent in on behalf of Liang Song. He therefore ordered that no pleas were to be accepted for either Liang Song or Diwu Lun. He did, however, visit the prison soon afterwards, and Diwu Lun was released. Allowed to return home, he worked on his land beside

his household slaves, and he kept no contact with the outside world.

A few years later, about 65, Diwu Lun was again appointed as a county magistrate, this time in Ba commandery, where he became the patron of the future minister Xuan He. After four years he was made Administrator of Shu, where he confirmed his reputation as a judge of men. He had his staff selected for ability and honesty rather than for wealth and breeding, and he encouraged the recruitment of men from poor families. Corruption was reduced, there was strong competition, and many of his local officers became ministers and administrators.

Soon after Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, Diwu Lun was called to the capital as Excellency of Works. He promptly presented a memorial objecting to the high offices held by the Ma family of the Dowager, and another urging that officials act less harshly: though it had been appropriate for Guangwu to establish a firm regime after the disorders which followed Wang Mang, it was time for a more generous policy. He likewise supported Yang Zhong's proposal to end the exile of convicts from the southeast of the empire onto the northern frontier.

At the end of that year the Northern Xiongnu attacked the newly-established protectorate-general in the Western Regions and messengers came for help. Arguing a conservative position, Diwu Lun opposed sending reinforcements, but the emperor was persuaded that it would be bad for morale to abandon the troops, and that it would enhance the prestige of the empire to save them.

In 77 Diwu Lun protested at the appointment of the Dowager's brother Ma Fang to lead an army against the Qiang, but he was once more over-ruled.

Despite such political defeats, Diwu Lun retained imperial favour, while he was celebrated for his honesty and frugality and for his refusal to allow private interest to interfere with his conduct of public affairs. When a cattle plague broke out in 76, the first to affect the empire as a whole, Diwu Lun organised the relief program and was admired for its effectiveness.

After several requests to retire on grounds of old age, Diwu Lun was permitted to leave office in 86 with a grant of 500,000 cash and a pension for life. When he died a few years later, aged over eighty, the state provided regalia and other expenses for his funeral. -HHS 41/31:1395-1402*, 19/9:721-22, XC 2:5b-6a;

Miyakawa 60:30, Loewe 86C:292-295, Nishijima 86. 620.

Diwu Xi 第五頔 [Ziling 子陵]; Jingzhao. Younger son of Diwu Lun, Diwu Xi was a close friend of the leading officials and scholars Zuo Xiong and Zhang Heng. He became Officer of Merit in his commandery and was an Attendant Officer under the Director of Retainers, then entered the offices at the capital. Recommended First Class, he became an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate and then a county magistrate in Runan.

Diwu Xi later served as Administrator in Guiyang, Lujiang and Nanyang, and he was praised in each commandery for his good government. Returning to the capital as Counsellor Remonstrant, he was promoted to be a Palace Counsellor. In 124 he joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne at the end of 125 they were rewarded with high position, and the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen.

Diwu Xi became Court Architect and died in that office about 130. -HHS 41/31:1402.

Diwu Xun 第五巡 [Wenxiu 文休]; Jingzhao. Son of Diwu Zhong and a man of local reputation, he with Jin Shang and Wei Duan were known as the "Three Xiu" from the common character in each man's style. Diwu Xun was Reporting Officer of the commandery, but nothing more is recorded of his official career. -HHSJJ 41/31:1492 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu juehu*, SGZ 7:223.

Diwu Yong 第五永; Jingzhao. In the time of Emperor Ling Diwu Yong was sent to You province as Imperial Clerk in Command of Troops. He was farewelled from Luoyang by a notable assembly of scholars and writers, including Cai Yong and Gao Biao. -HHS 80/70B:2650.

Diwu Yuan 第五元 or Diwu Yuanxian 第五元先?; Jingzhao. A kinsman and perhaps a brother of Diwu Zhong, Diwu Yuan was a scholar of the *Book of Changes* and the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, and also of the *Santong* 三統 [Triple Concordance] calendar of Liu Xin 劉歆 of Former Han, as well as *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 "Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art." As a member of the Imperial University at Luoyang about 150, Diwu Yuan was a teacher of Zheng Xuan. -HHS 35/25:1207 & JJ at

1274.

Diwu [Yuanxian] 第五元先 see Diwu Yuan 第五元.

Diwu Zhong 第五種 [Xingxian 興先]; Jingzhao. A great-grandson of Diwu Lun, Diwu Zhong held local appointment and then served in the offices at the capital. In 145 he was sent to Ji province as a Commissioner against Corruption.

Diwu Zhong then became a county magistrate in Beihai. His territory was on the border of two provinces, both troubled by bandits, but Diwu Zhong kept control and gave refuge to several thousand displaced families. He was later Chancellor of the duchy of Wei, the county in Dong commandery which had been granted as a fief to descendants of the royal house of Zhou 周.

Inspector of Yan province in 160, Diwu Zhong sent his officer Wei Yu to investigate Shan Kuang, Administrator of Jiyin and kinsman of the palace eunuch Shan Chao. Wei Yu arrested a number of Shan Kuang's retainers and found stolen goods, but though Diwu Zhong reported Shan Kuang and Shan Chao, the affair was halted.

Soon afterwards Wei Yu persuaded the bandit Shusun Wuji to a short-lived surrender, but Shan Chao had his colleague Hou Lan accuse Diwu Zhong of exaggerating his success, and he was exiled to Shuofang. A kinsman of Shan Chao was Administrator there, and waited to kill him, but Diwu Zhong's former officer Sun Bin gathered men to waylay the escort and rescue him. Diwu Zhong went into hiding, but later benefited from an amnesty and died at home. -HHS 41/31:1403-05*; deC 89:22.

Diwu 地餘 see Wang Bin 王斌.

Dong 董, the Lady I (d.189); Hejian. A concubine of Liu Chang the Marquis of Jiedu Village 解瀆亭, the Lady became the mother of Liu Hong, future Emperor Ling. When Liu Hong was brought to the throne in 167, she remained in Hejian with rank as an Honoured Lady at her late husband's tomb, but after the eunuchs destroyed Dou Wu in 169 she was brought to the capital, given title as Dowager and allocated private apartments, known as the Yongle Palace 永樂宮 [Palace of Perpetual Joy]. A woman of poor background, it is said that she encouraged the emperor to sell offices to gain money for his private treasury.

Soon after the birth of Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, in 181, his mother the Lady Wang was killed, and the Lady Dong was entrusted with the infant's

care, to protect him from the dangers, supernatural or real, of life in the central apartments of the palace [see also *sub* the eunuch Zhu Zhi]. The boy became known as Lord Dong 董侯, and the Lady attempted to persuade the emperor to establish him as Heir, rather than his elder half-brother Liu Bian, son of the Empress He. Though the emperor indeed favoured Liu Xie, he made no decision, and when he died in 189 the Dowager He placed Liu Bian upon the throne.

With the aid of some senior eunuchs, the Lady Dong nonetheless attempted to involve herself in politics at court. When she was unsuccessful, she became angry and threatened the Dowager He and her family with the power of her nephew Dong Zhong. The General-in-Chief He Jin, however, had no difficulty in arranging for the Excellencies to present an accusation that the Lady Dong had arranged for provincial governments to send funds to her private treasury. It was ordered that the Lady's presence was no longer required at the capital, and that she should be sent back to Hejian. At the same time He Jin sent troops to arrest Dong Zhong, and Dong Zhong killed himself.

The Lady Dong died soon afterwards, and was buried with her husband in Hejian. It was believed that the Dowager had behaved wrongly towards her mother-in-law, and the He family was blamed for her death. -HHS 10B:446-47*.

Dong 董, the Lady II (d.192); Longxi. Widow of Dong Junya, the Lady was the mother of Dong Zhuo. When her son took power in 189 he granted her an estate and title, but after he was assassinated in 192 she was killed in the general massacre of the family. She was at that time aged 90. -SGZ 6:179-80.

Dong 董, the Lady III; Anping? Wife of Guo Yong and mother of the future consort of Cao Pi, she died about 189. When her daughter became empress in 222 she received posthumous enfeoffment. -SGZ 5:165; C/C 99:107.

Dong 董, the Lady IV (d.200). Daughter of Dong Cheng, she became an Honoured Lady of Emperor Xian. In 200, when Cao Cao discovered her father's treachery, he had the Lady arrested. Though she was pregnant at the time and the emperor begged for her life, she was killed. -HHS 10B:453.

Dong 董, the Lady V; Longxi? Secondary wife 庶婦 of Ma Chao, the Lady was left behind in Hanzhong as Ma Chao left to join Liu Bei in 214. When Cao Cao conquered Hanzhong in 215, he gave her to his officer

Yan Pu. -*SGZ* Shu 6:948. See also *sub* Chong 种 [surname unknown], the brother-in-law of Ma Chao.

Dong, Lord 董侯 see Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, and *sub* the Lady Dong (d.189) above.

Dong, Lord 董君 see Dong [personal name unknown] IV below.

Dong 董 [personal name unknown] I; non-Chinese of Zangke. Head of the clan of that name in the middle 20s, he and other leaders supported the Chinese Xie Xian, Officer of Merit of the commandery, in maintaining allegiance to Han rather than acknowledging the imperial claim of Gongsun Shu. They sent messengers by the south-eastern route through present-day Guangdong, and Guangwu rewarded them with ceremonial robes. -*HHS* 86/76:2845, *HYGZ* 4:54.

Dong 董 [personal names unknown] II & III; Runan. Two brothers, father and uncle of Dong Zizhang, were killed about 30 by a neighbour of the Sheng surname. Before Dong Zizhang could avenge their deaths he fell mortally ill, but his friend Zhi Yun did the work for him. -*HHS* 29/19:1027.

Dong 董 [personal name unknown] IV; Hongnong. In commenting on the case of Hu Yi and Fan Shao *qq.v.*, Ying Shao tells of a certain Lord [or Mr] Dong 董君, who had received high assessment as a clerk in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses during the mid-180s, but then took leave of absence to deal with family matters. While he was in his commandery, although he had not resigned his office at the capital, he agreed to meet the Administrator Ji Chong and worked with his Officer of Merit. The Excellency Yuan Wei disapproved of this conduct, but took no action, and Ying Shao complains that, as a result of this failure in demarcation and proper loyalty, the structures of local government became hopelessly confused. -*FSTY* 5:39; *Nylan* 83:469-471.

Dong An 董黯 [Xiaozhi 孝治]; Kuaiji. During the early 190s Yu Fan discussed the local worthies of Kuaiji with the Administrator Wang Lang. He praised Dong An as a man of filial piety, so great that when his mother died the wild beasts came to help him build her tomb. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1325.

Dong Ba 董巴. Little is known of Dong Ba, though he wrote several works on Later Han. A scholar of cosmology and the calendar, he compiled treatises on portents and on carriages and robes, and he prepared some part of a full history of Later Han, all of which is now lost. His treatises were used extensively by Sima

Biao for those of his *Xu Han shu*, now incorporated into the standard *Hou Han shu*.

During the debates and negotiations as Cao Pi took the imperial throne in 220, Dong Ba appears as an Academician with supernumerary title as Serving within the Palace; he and Su Lin prepared a genealogy which linked the Cao family with the mythical Yellow Emperor 黄帝. -*HHS* 103/13:3265, *SGZ* 2:70, *JS* 17:499; Goodman 98:108, 145-151, MBeck 90:18, 39, 145-146, 242-246, 269-273.

Dong Ban 董班 [Ji? 季 (second character lost)]; Nanyang. As a young man Dong Ban travelled to Luoyang, where he became a student of the Excellency Li Gu.

When Li Gu was executed in 147, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji had his body displayed and ordered that anyone who approached it would be killed. Dong Ban nonetheless carried out mourning rituals. This was reported, but the regent Dowager Liang ordered that Dong Ban should not be punished, and he was permitted to take Li Gu's corpse for burial in his home country of Hanzhong.

Dong Ban was widely admired. He was offered appointment in the offices of the Excellencies, but refused and went into hiding. -*HHS* 2088-89.

A similar story of the loyal student is told of Guo Kiang and of Yang Kuang.

Dong Bing 董炳 (d.108 or 116). An Administrator in Yi province, Dong Bing was killed by rebel Qiang. -*HHS* 87/77:2886, *HYGZ* 1:5; deC 84:97.

The texts disagree on the post Dong Bing held and the year that he died. *HHS* 87/77 says that he was the head of Hanzhong and was killed in 108 or 109, while *HYGZ* 1 and *HHS* 31/21:1105 say that he was head of Ba commandery and died in 116. [The disagreement on dates is based on whether the reign period was Yongchu 永初 (107-113) or Yuanchu 元初 (114-119)]. *HYGZ* 1 adds that he was succeeded by Wang Tang; from context, Wang Tang took his position in 116.

It may well be that an Administrator of Hanzhong was killed about 109, and it seems certain that an Administrator of Ba died in 116. Dong Bing was probably the latter.

Dong Bing 董並; Chenliu. Son of Dong Xuan, he was made a gentleman cadet in honour of his father and later became Chancellor of Qi. -*HHS* 77/67:2490.

Dong Bing 董竝 [Gongfang 公昉]; Henei. A county Commandant in Danyang, in 181 Dong Bing was a

leading sponsor of a stele in honour of the magistrate Pan Qian, his senior officer. -LS 5:4a.

Dong Bo 董白, the Lady (d.192); Longxi. Grand-daughter of Dong Zhuo, though not of marriageable age in 191, she was enfeoffed as Lady of Weiyang in an extravagant ceremony at the family stronghold of Mei in Youfufeng.

The Lady presumably died in the massacre of the family which followed the death of Dong Zhuo in the following year. -SGZ 6:178.

Dong Can 棟蠡 see Dongcan 棟蠡.

Dong Chen 董臣. In 71 it was alleged that Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan had sent his officers Dong Chen and Zhang Yang to make contact with Yan Zhong and other members of the alleged conspiracy about Liu Ying the King of Chu.

Dong Cheng 董承 (d.200); Hejian or Longxi [some sources say that Dong Cheng was a nephew of the Dowager Dong and a childhood friend of his cousin Emperor Xian, others that he was a kinsman of Dong Zhuo; he cannot have been both].

In the early 190s Dong Cheng was an officer under Niu Fu, son-in-law of Dong Zhuo. In 195 he was one of the troop commanders who helped Emperor Xian escape from Chang'an to Hongnong and across the Yellow River to Hedong; in 196 he escorted him back to Luoyang. He initially opposed Cao Cao's plan to bring the court to his headquarters at Xu city, but later agreed. He was named General of the Guards and enfeoffed, and his daughter entered the imperial harem.

In 199 Dong Cheng was made General of Chariots and Cavalry, but about this time Emperor Xian asked him to organise a conspiracy against Cao Cao. Early in 200 the plot was discovered and Dong Cheng and his family were destroyed. -HHS 72/62:2338-43, SGZJ Shu 2:8a; deC 96:268-271.

Dong Chong 董崇; Youfufeng. At some time a fellow-student of Kou Xun the Administrator of Henei, he warned him in 25 that despite his good work he should be concerned lest Emperor Guangwu doubt his loyalty. Citing the advice of Bao Sheng 鮑生 to Xiao He 蕭何 in the time of Emperor Gao [QHx:8], he urged him to send some of his kinsmen as quasi-hostages. At the end of the year, therefore, when Guangwu passed through Henei Kou Xun offered the services of his two nephews with troops of cavalry. The emperor was delighted.

Well-known as a gentleman scholar, Dong Chong became a county magistrate in Nanyang, and in the 30s he was commended to Guangwu by the Administrator Du Shi. He does not, however, appear again in the histories. -HHS 16/6:622, 31/21:1096.

Dong Chong 董寵 (d.170); Hejian. Dong Chong was elder brother to the Lady Dong the mother of Emperor Ling. When she was brought to Luoyang as Dowager in 169 he accompanied her and became Bearer of the Mace. In the following year, however, he was found guilty of extortion and died in prison. -HHS 10B:446.

Dong[?] Chong 董种 see *sub* Chong [personal name], brother-in-law of Ma Chao. -SGZJ Shu 6:12a Zhao Yiqing.

Dong Chun 董春 [Jiyang 紀陽]; Kuaiji. In the latter part of the first century BC Dong Chun studied the New Text *Classic of History* with the Palace Attendant Wang Junzhong 王君仲 and the *Book of Changes* with Jing Fang 京房. He established a private academy in his home country and was later a popular and successful Administrator of Lujiang. -XC 7:4a-b.

Dong Cizhong 董次仲 (d.26); Dong. A leader of local bandits during the disorders at the time of the fall of Wang Mang, in 24 he became chieftain of the band of Tanxiang 檀鄉 [Tan District] in the marshlands to the south of Dong commandery, which combined a number of disparate groups including followers of the late Li Zidu. Dong Cizhong led his people into Wei and Qinghe. Their depredations extended over the North China plain and they joined the Wuxiao group about present-day Beijing and Tianjin to form a band estimated at more than a hundred thousand.

In 25 Emperor Guangwu sent his general Wu Han to deal with them, and in the spring of 26 he destroyed Dong Cizhong and his fellows. -HHS 21/11:753; Bn 59:80-81.

Dong Dun 董敦. A leader of the Wuxiao bandits operating in the region of the Yellow River, Dong Dun took the title of Household Counsellor bearing credentials 持節光祿大夫. In 26 he surrendered to the forces of Du Mao and Wang Liang. -HHS 22/12:776.

Dong Fang 董訪; Jiyin. Younger brother of Dong Zhao, in 192 he was an officer under Zhang Miao. When Zhang Miao quarrelled with Yuan Shao, Yuan Shao turned against Dong Zhao.

When Zhang Miao attacked Cao Cao in 194, however, Dong Fang transferred his allegiance.

Dong Zhao became one of the leading advisers of

150 Dong Fen

Cao Cao and the new Wei state, Dong Fang played a less prominent role. In 221, however, he was enfeoffed by Cao Pi as a secondary marquis. -SGZ 14:437, 441.

Dong Fen 董芬; Hongnong. Head of the Imperial Censorate in 196, as the remnant court came under Cao Cao's control Dong Fen was one of those enfeoffed for good service in the escape from Chang'an. He later joined Cao Cao's staff.

At one time, influenced by the example of the adept Gan Shi, Dong Fen sought to obtain long life by practising techniques of controlled breathing. His throat became blocked, however, and it was a considerable time before he recovered. -HHS 72/62: 2342, 82/72B:2747, SGZ 29:805.

Dong Fengde 董奉德. A student at the University in Luoyang, he was a friend of Ren Mo, and very likely came also from Shu commandery. When Dong Fengde died, Ren Mo took his body back to his home country for burial. -HHS 79/69B:2572.

Dong Fu 董扶 [Mao'an 茂安]; Guanghan. As a young man Dong Fu attended the Imperial University at Luoyang. He and his fellow-countryman Ren An studied prognostication according to the *Book of Changes* and the apocrypha under Yang Hou/Xu. They acquired considerable reputations, and when they returned home the two men maintained private academies which attracted numbers of students from far and near.

Dong Fu was invited several times to appointment in the offices at the capital, and an official carriage was sent for him on three occasions. He was also given special nominations as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, Knowing the Way and as an Academician. Each time he pleaded illness and did not go, but after more than twenty years, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Ling, the General-in-Chief He Jin called him to be a Palace Attendant. He was held in great respect at court.

In 188 the Minister of Ceremonies Liu Yan sought appointment as Governor of the southern province of Jiaozhi, but Dong Fu told him privately that "The capital district will suffer great disorder, but in the region of Yi province there are signs of a Son of Heaven." Liu Yan accordingly changed his request to Yi province. Dong Fu accompanied Liu Yan to the west as Commandant of the Dependent State of Shu.

In the following year Emperor Ling died and the empire fell into turmoil. Dong Fu left his position and

returned home, where he died at the age of eighty-two. Liu Bei's later proclamation of the dynasty of Shu-Han was believed to have fulfilled his prophecy.

Many years later Zhuge Liang asked Qin Mi of Guanghan to compare Dong Fu and Ren An. Qin Mi replied that Dong Fu would praise anything that was in any way good, but criticised even the smallest fault. Ren An, on the other hand, considered only men's good points, and ignored their faults. -HHS 82/72B:2734*, SGZ Shu 1:866, HYGZ 10B:147; Ngo 76:115-116, DeWoskin 83:74.

Dong Fu 董馥 (d.188). An Assistant Officer of Yi province, in 188 Dong Fu was on detachment with his colleagues Yan Bin and Zhang Yin when the Inspector Que Jian was attacked and killed by rebels at his headquarters nearby. Yan Bin urged his fellows to turn against the enemy, but when they refused he fought alone and died. When Liu Yan arrived as Governor he honoured Yan Bin's heroism but executed Dong Fu and Zhang Yin for cowardice. -HYGZ 10C:170.

Dong He 董和. In 214 Dong He was a military adviser to Zhu Guang the Administrator of Lujiang in the service of Cao Cao. As Sun Quan's army stormed Huan, capital of the commandery, Zhu Guang and Dong He were both taken prisoner. -SGZ Wu 2:1119.

Dong He 董和 [Youzai 幼宰] (d.221); Nan. Dong He's family came originally from Ba commandery, and during the disorders at the end of Han he led his kinsmen back to the west and took service with Liu Zhang the Governor of Yi province. He was magistrate in two counties, and then held charge of the capital, Chengdu.

The region of Shu was prosperous, but the people were fond of fine clothing and good food, while their marriage and funeral ceremonies were so extravagant they could bankrupt a family. Dong He gave an example of plain living and temperate conduct [see also *sub* his son Dong Yun], and he gained influence and respect in each territory he was posted to. The powerful clans about Chengdu, however, concerned at his strict enforcement of the laws, sought Dong He's removal. The local officers and the common people sent petitions for him to stay, but Liu Zhang was persuaded to transfer him to be Commandant of the Dependent State of Badong by the Yangzi Gorges, and later appointed him Administrator of Yizhou in the far south.

Showing the same modest conduct, Dong He

gained the trust of the non-Chinese people by his honest and fair dealings.

When Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214, he appointed Dong He to be General of the Household Manager of the Army, responsible for supplies. He served in that capacity for seven years, and when he died his house contained not one item of value. Zhuge Liang, who had worked with him at headquarters, praised his conscientiousness and his honesty of opinion. -SGZ 9.979-80*; deC 96:470-471, Fang 52: 141.

Dong Huang 董璜 (d.192); Longxi. Son of Dong Zhuo 擢, Dong Huang held court and military position after his uncle Dong Zhuo 卓 seized power. When Dong Zhuo 卓 was assassinated in 192, Dong Huang and his kinsmen were killed. -SGZ 6:176, 179.

Dong Hui 董恢 [Hanzong 漢宗]; Langye. The main text of *HHS* 76/66:2482 gives the surname of this man as Tong 童, while commentary cites *XC* 5:5a as reading variously 僮 or 憧. In *HHSJJ* at 2718, however, Hui Dong argues that those characters are a variant form of the common surname Dong, and the modern edition of Xie Cheng follows this. Xie Cheng gives the personal name as Zhong 种 or 仲, though this may be a confusion with Dong Hui's father Zhongyu 董仲玉.

Dong Hui's father died when Dong Hui was young, but his family was prosperous. He served as a local officer of both the commandery and of Xu province. About 176, having heard of his honesty and knowledge of the law, the Excellency Yang Ci appointed him to his offices. In 177, when Yang Ci was accused of making a bad appointment and was about to be dismissed, all his clerical officers offered their resignations but Dong Hui went to the palace gates to complain of his master's treatment. Later, when the others returned to work he went in and whipped them for their cowardice, then left. He was admired for his sense of honour.

Later Dong Hui was again appointed to the offices at the capital and then became a county magistrate in Donglai, on the southern shore of the Shandong peninsula, close to his native commandery but in neighbouring Qing province. If any official or commoner did something wrong he would explain their fault to them, and when they did something well he would present them with wine. As a result, we are told that the prisons were empty for years at a time, while there was a flourishing production of

food and silk, and each household had pigs and hens. People came from neighbouring counties to receive his government, so the population increased by two hundred thousand households.

Then there was the tiger incident. The region was plagued by tigers, but when two were caught Dong Hui went and spoke to them, demanding that if either had killed a man it should confess and face its punishment. We are told that one of the beasts lowered its head and looked guilty, so they killed it; the other roared with righteous indignation at the accusation, and it was set free.

The local officers and the people sang the praises of Dong Hui, and a flock of auspicious red birds appeared to honour him. The provincial authorities reported his Exceptional Quality and he was transferred to be Administrator of Danyang, but then became ill and died. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏 and *LS* 13:6a-7b preserves a fragment of a stele inscription set up in his honour. -*HHS* 76/66:2481-82*.

Dong [Jizhong] 董季中; Hongnong. In the middle 190s Dong Jizhong and his younger brother Dong Yu went for protection to the territory of the warlord Duan Wei. Though they were desperately poor, Dong Yu maintained his studies. Dong Jizhong laughed at him for this, but Dong Yu became a minister of Wei, while Dong Jizhong is not heard of again. -SGZ 13:420.

Dong Jun 董鈞 [Wenbo 文伯]; Jianwei. A scholar of the *Ritual* according to the interpretation of Qing Pu 慶普, at the beginning of the first century Dong Jun went to study at Chang'an. During the reign of Emperor Ping of Former Han he was nominated as Understanding the Classics and held charge of the Office for Sacrificial Grains and Animals, but later resigned on grounds of ill health.

In the time of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han Dong Jun was recommended as Filial and Incorrupt and held appointment in the office of the Excellency over the Masses. With wide knowledge of both Old Text and New Text Confucianism, he took part in a number of debates at court. During the reign of Emperor Ming Dong Jun became an Academician, and in 58 and 59 he played a leading role in determining the procedures for ceremonies including Serving the Aged, worship of Heaven and Earth, at the five Suburban Altars and the Imperial Ancestral Temples, and funerary rituals for kings.

Regarded as the doyen of Confucian scholarship, Dong Jun had more than a hundred students. His highest office at court was that of General of the Household for All Purposes, but he was later found guilty of some fault and demoted to a Commandant of Cavalry. Some time after 60 he died in retirement, aged over seventy. -*HHS* 79/69B:2576-77*, *HYGZ* 10B:155; MBeck 90:72, Bodde 75:199.

Dong Junya 董君雅; Longxi. Father of Dong Zhuo, he held low commissioned office as a county commandant in Yingchuan. -*SGZ* 6:171.

Dong Junya 董君雅, wife/widow of: see the Lady Dong II.

Dong Lu 董魯. A noted Confucian scholar, during the time of Emperor Guangwu Dong Lu became a Consultant. -*DGHJ* 16:8a.

Dong Meng 董萌. An officer for the calendar under the Minister of Ceremonies, in 66 Dong Meng advised that the official system was not accurate. The matter was referred to a committee of the Excellencies, the Minister and other experts, but it was reported in the following year that there was no immediate solution to the problem. -*HHS* 92/2:3025 and see *sub* Bian Xin.

Dong Meng 董蒙. A village marquis in 213, Dong Meng was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -*SGZ* 1:40.

Dong Meng 董萌. A eunuch, Dong Meng was Prefect of the Yellow Gates under Emperor Ling. He was an advocate of the Dowager Dou of Emperor Huan, whose family had been destroyed but who still retained residence in the Southern Palace. In 171 the emperor went to pay respects to his formal and titular mother, but the leading eunuchs Wang Fu and Cao Jie, concerned at Dong Meng's support for the Dowager, accused him of having slandered the emperor's natural mother, the Lady Dong. Dong Meng was sent to prison and died. -*HHS* 10B:446.

Dong Min 董旻 [Shuying 叔穎: see *sub* Dong Zhuo 卓] (d.192); Longxi. Third son of Dong Junya and younger brother of Dong Zhuo, in 189 Dong Min was Commandant of the Equipage at Luoyang. When He Jin was assassinated by the eunuchs, Dong Min joined Wang Kuang to kill He Miao, regarded as a eunuch ally.

After Dong Zhuo seized power, Dong Min was enfeoffed and named General of the Left, commanding the stronghold at Mei in Youfufeng. After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192 the fortress was overrun

and plundered, while Dong Min and other members of the family were killed. -*SGZ* 6:171-73.

Dong Qin 董勤. Inspector of Yang province in the late 80s, Dong Qin invited the scholar Wang Chong to become his Headquarters Officer. Some time later, however, Wang Chong resigned. -*HHS* 49/39:1630.

Dong Sheng 董生. A magistrate in Chenliu in 163, Dong Sheng had a stele set up at the temple honouring the early Han hero Li Yiji 酈食其 [*QHX*:234-235]. -*SJZ* 24:1a-b.

Dong Si 董祀 or Dong Shi; Chenliu. About 206 Cao Cao arranged for Dong Si to marry the Lady Cai Yan *q.v.*, whom he had ransomed from the Xiongnu. Dong Si became a commandant of agricultural colonies, but he was then found guilty of some crime and sentenced to death. The Lady Cai appealed to Cao Cao, and persuaded him to leniency. -*HHS* 84/74:2800-01.

Dong Tai 董臺; Jianwei. A gentleman of family in the late second century, he arranged for a brother of the Attendant Officer Wang Shang to seek the hand of the young widow Han Jiang on his behalf. The Lady refused him, but two of Dong Tai's clients, Zuo Xi and Wang Su, then abducted her and forced her into the marriage. The Lady Han killed herself, and when the Administrator Gong Yang learned of the affair he had Zuo Xi and Wang Su executed to avenge the suicide. -*HYGZ* 10B:160.

Dong Teng 董騰 (d.172). A eunuch, Dong Teng became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. He and the Regular Attendant Zhang Li had friendly contact with Liu Kui, King of Bohai and younger brother of Emperor Huan, whom they admired for his free and sometimes frivolous conduct. The senior eunuch Wang Fu, however, was angry at Liu Kui, and in 172 he claimed that Zheng Li and Dong Teng were conspiring to set Liu Kui upon the throne in place of Emperor Ling. Zheng Li and Dong Teng died in prison at the hands of the Director of Retainers Duan Jiong, while Liu Kui and his household were destroyed. -*HHS* 55/45:1798.

Dong Xi 董喜; Youfufeng. In 23 Dong Xi was the head of a strong local clan in Maoling county. In the autumn the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties under Wang Xian and Han Chen towards Chang'an. Dong Xi and other local leaders took title as generals in the name of Han and came to attack the capital. As the main Han army was halted at Huayin,

these irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang. -Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130.

Dong Xi's local power no doubt suffered a few years later when the *condottiere* Yan Cen took control of Maoling.

Dong Xi 董襲; Chenliu. *LS* 27:1b lists a stele to this man.

Dong Xi 董襲 [Yuandai 元代] (d.217); Kuaiji. Eight feet tall [185 cm], strong and brave, Dong Xi went to join Sun Ce when he arrived in Kuaiji in 196, and he was appointed to his personal staff. He joined the attack on Huanglong Luo and Zhou Bo and it is said that he killed both men. He was then made a senior major with several thousand men, and later became a Commandant. In 199 he took part in the western expedition which conquered Lujiang and Yuzhang and attacked Huang Zu in Jiangxia.

After Sun Ce was killed in 200, Dong Xi was one of the chieftains who reassured the Lady Wu, mother of Sun Quan, that the warlord state could survive against Cao Cao. He later dealt with the groups led by Peng Hu in the Poyang region.

When the Sun army attacked Huang Zu in Jiangxia in 208, Huang Zu based his defence on a great boom across the mouth of the Han River, with two moored lines of armoured boats, and crossbows to provide covering fire. Dong Xi and Ling Tong led a group of volunteers against the boom, and Dong Xi cut the ropes with his sword. The boom was swept away, the attackers could move forward, and Huang Zu was killed as he fled. Sun Quan gave credit for the victory to Dong Xi.

When Cao Cao attacked the line of the Yangzi in 217, Dong Xi held command of five towered warships based at Ruxu. A fierce wind sprang up during the night, however, and the great ships capsized. His attendants called him to join them in their boats but Dong Xi refused and was drowned. Sun Quan came in person to pay respects at his funeral. -*SGZ* Wu 10: 1290-91*, *XC* 8:9b.

Dong Xian 董憲 I [Qiaoqing 喬卿] (d.30); Donglai. A man of gentry family, when Dong Xian's father was murdered he gathered retainers to avenge him, then established a local power. In 24 he was named Administrator of Linhuai by the Gengshi Emperor, and held authority on the coast from the Shandong peninsula to the mouth of the Yangzi. He later accepted title as a chief general from Liu Yong, but gave him no

practical assistance.

At the end of 26, after the first defeat of Liu Yong, Dong Xian's southern territory of Linhuai was occupied by Guangwu's forces. He remained independent in Donghai, however, and was named as a king by Liu Yong during his brief revival in 27.

In the autumn of 28, after the final destruction of Liu Yong by Guangwu's forces, Dong Xian's officer Ben Xiu changed sides and invited the general He Yan. Dong Xian drove He Yan away and killed Ben Xiu. He Yan attacked Dong Xian's capital at Tan, but gained no success, and campaigns in the following months left Dong Xian's position largely intact.

The main imperial army, commanded by Guangwu himself, now advanced through Lu and Shanyang, and in the autumn of 29 Dong Xian and his fellows brought a combined force to face them at Changlü in Donghai. There, after a three-day battle, the Han obtained a complete victory. Dong Xian fled to Tan, and as that city fell to Guangwu's troops a few weeks later, he fled further east with Pang Meng to the coast, where they were besieged in Qu city by Wu Han.

In the spring of 30 Qu city was starved into submission. Abandoning their families, Dong Xian and Pang Meng now escaped to the north. They took Ganyu in Langye by surprise, but were driven out by the Administrator Chen Jun and fled into the marshes. Dong Xian attempted to make his way west to surrender, but he was killed by Han Zhan, an officer of Wu Han. -*HHS* 12/2:494-97; Bn 59:132-150.

Dong Xian 董憲 II. Leader of a detachment of the Red Eyebrows in 22, Dong Xian defeated Wang Mang's troops in Yan province and killed his general Lian Dan 廉丹. [This is not the same man as Dong Xian I, who was a member of the gentry from a very different region.] -*HS* 99C:4177; Bn 54:139, *QHX*:67.

Dong Xin 董訢; Nanyang. In 26 Dong Xin was a local leader in the countryside east of Wan, capital of the commandery. A few months after the armies of Emperor Guangwu took first control of Nanyang, he led a rebellion which seized the city and captured the Administrator Liu Lin. The Han general Jian Tan soon recaptured the city, and Dong Xin returned to his base, but in autumn the imperial general Deng Feng rebelled and made common cause with him. The allies defeated Guangwu's local commander Cen Peng, then besieged Jian Tan in Wan city for several months.

Early in 27 Guangwu brought another major army

into Nanyang, while Cen Peng caught a detachment of Dong Xin's troops, several thousand strong, in a blocked road and heavily defeated them. As the imperial army continued to advance Dong Xin surrendered. -*HHS* 22/12:783, 17/7:656; Bn 59:153-154.

Dong Xuan 董宣 [Shaoping 少平]; Chenliu. Recruited to the offices at the capital about 30, Dong Xuan was graded First Class and became Chancellor of Beidi. When the local leader Gongsun Dan and his son committed murder Dong Xuan had them arrested and executed. Their kinsmen and followers rioted in protest, but he arrested and killed them too, as former adherents of Wang Mang and potential allies of a local pirate gang.

Dong Xuan was impeached by the Inspector of Qing province for excessive brutality, and his assistant Shuiqiu Cen was tortured. Insisting that the responsibility was entirely his, Dong Xuan was sent to Luoyang and condemned. Even in the face of the death sentence, however, he took full responsibility and justified his actions to a personal emissary of Emperor Guangwu. He was reprieved at the last moment by direct order of the emperor, and suffered only demotion to be a magistrate in Henei, while Shuiqiu Cen escaped further investigation.

Dong Xuan was later sent as Administrator of Jiangxia to deal with banditry. He did so successfully, but was dismissed for having shown disrespect to a member of the Yin family of the empress who was serving as his Commandant.

About 40 Dong Xuan was appointed Prefect of Luoyang. A favourite slave and lover of the Princess Liu Huang killed a man in broad daylight but then took protection with her. No other official dared to take action, but Dong Xuan halted the carriage in which the slave was riding with the princess, arrested him and killed him.

The Lady Liu complained to her brother and sought to have him punished, but Dong Xuan asked how the ruler could justify allowing slaves to kill innocent men. He offered to kill himself, and beat his head till the blood flowed, but he refused to apologise and resisted even when attendants sought to force him to kowtow to the princess. The emperor, admiring his obstinacy and his principles, released him and rewarded him; Dong Xuan shared the money with his junior officers. [*XHS* 5 attributes the incident to the Lady Huang's sister Boji, Senior Princess of Ningping, and has the guilty

man as either a slave or the son of her wet-nurse.]

Dong Xuan remained as Prefect for five years, celebrated for his defiance of powerful families. When he died about 45 at the age of seventy-four, he left only a little wheat, a white horse and an old carriage. Admiring his obvious honesty, Guangwu had his funeral carried out with the honours of a high official and appointed his son Dong Bing a gentleman cadet.

Fan Ye classified Dong Xuan as a Stern Official 酷吏. -*HHS* 77/67:2489-90*, *XC* 5:6b-7a, *XHS* 5:10a-b; Bn 79:133, 140, Ch'ü 72:373-374.

Dong Yanxing 董彦興; In *FSTY* 9:75; Nylan 83:550-552, Ying Shao tells how in 165 Qiao Xuan was haunted by a strange light which appeared in his bedroom. He told Ying Shao about it, and Ying Shao advised him to seek the advice of the diviner Dong Yanxing. After some demur, Dong Yanxing cast his fortune and told him that the sign was not harmful, but that he would rise to high office. Qiao Xuan was at first surprised and doubtful, but the prophecy came true.

Ying Shao describes Dong Yanxing as a grandson of the soothsayer Xu Man in the maternal line and says that he was a student of Wang Chang.

Dong Yao 董曜 see Dong Zhao 董昭.

Dong Yi 董翊 [Hanwen 漢文]; Langye. The main text of *HHS* 76/66:2482 gives the surname of this man as Tong 童, but see *sub* the entry for his brother Dong Hui.

Son of Dong Zhongyu, Dong Yi's reputation was comparable to that of his elder brother Dong Hui. He initially refused local appointment, but when Dong Hui went to office at the capital Dong Yi accepted nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, and later became a county magistrate in Dongping. He had great influence for good, and a stele was erected in his honour.

Dong Yi left office on account of mourning, and though he received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent, he did not accept and died at home. -*HHS* 76/66:2482.

Dong Yu 董翊. An Internuncio in 172, Dong Yu was sent to supervise the funeral of Hu Guang, who had been awarded special insignia and grave goods. -*Cai* 4:1.

Dong Yu 董遇 [Jizhi 季直]; Hongnong. A quiet man and a keen scholar, in the middle 190s Dong Yu and his elder brother Jizhong went to the territory of the warlord Duan Wei, who provided a measure of security. They were forced to make their living by gleaning wild

vegetables and selling them, but although his brother jeered at him, Dong Yu kept his books and maintained his studies.

A few years later, as some order was restored under Cao Cao, Dong Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery. Appointed to the Han court as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, he became a close confidant to Emperor Xian.

Following the failed rebellion of Ji Miao in Xu city in 218 a purge was carried out. Dong Yu had not been involved in the affair, but he was transferred to Cao Cao's capital at Ye, and in the following year he attended Cao Cao on campaign to the west. The army passed the tomb of Liu Bian the Little Emperor, elder half-brother of Emperor Xian, who had been deposed by Dong Zhuo and named King of Hongnong before he was killed. Cao Cao wondered whether he should send an envoy to pay respects but Dong Yu persuaded him, with citations from the classics, that such courtesy was not appropriate for a ruler of less than a year.

It appears that Dong Yu later returned to the court of Han, and when Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he took part in the process which brought the abdication in favour of Wei. He was then a commandery Administrator, but later returned to the capital and was a Minister under Cao Rui. He died in the early 230s.

Dong Yu compiled a *variorum* edition of *Zuo zhuan*, together with commentaries to *Laozi* and the *Book of Changes*. He took only a limited number of students, telling those who approached him that they should first seek the meaning of the classics through their own reading. Because he had so few disciples, his edition of *Zuo zhuan* was lost, but Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, identified Dong Yu as one of seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in times of disorder. -SGZ 13:420; Fang 52:170-171, Goodman 98:97-98.

Dong Yuan 董援. A junior relative by marriage to the eunuch Shan Chao, about 160 Dong Yuan was Administrator of Shuofang. When Diwu Zhong, who had accused Shan Chao of wrongdoing, was sent to exile there, Dong Yuan planned to kill him, but Diwu Zhong was rescued by a group of his former officers. -HHS 41/31:1404.

Dong Yue 董越 (d.192). An officer of Dong Zhuo, but probably not a close kinsman, as Dong Zhuo withdrew from Luoyang to Chang'an in 191, Dong Yue was given charge of the defences at Mianchi in Hongnong.

In the following year, after the death of Dong Zhuo, Dong Yue was killed by Niu Fu. It is said that Niu Fu took the advice of a sooth-sayer who cast a trigram which told against him, but the diviner held a grudge against Dong Yue because he had formerly had him flogged. -HHS 72/62:2328, SGZ 6:181.

Dong Yun 董允 [Xiuzhao 休昭] (d.246); Nan. Son of Dong He, he accompanied his father west into the former family homeland of Ba commandery. About 215 he wanted to attend the funeral of a friend, the son of Xu Jing, and asked his father for a carriage. When Dong He gave him and his companion Fei Yi only a rickshaw, Dong Yun felt ashamed but Fei Yi was quite unperturbed.

When Liu Bei established his son Liu Shan as Heir to his kingdom of Hanzhong in 219, Dong Yun was appointed to his suite. When Liu Zhan succeeded his father in 223, Dong Yun obtained rank at court, and he was one of those left to guide the young ruler when Zhuge Liang went on campaign to the north in 227. Dong Yun later became Director of the Secretariat and held great moral influence over Liu Shan. -SGZ Shu 9.985-86*.

Dong Zhao 董昭 [Gongren 公仁] (156-236); Jiyin. To avoid taboo on the personal name of Sima Zhao, a founder of the Jin dynasty, the personal name sometimes appears as Zhao 照 or Yao 曜;.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Dong Zhao became a county magistrate in Julu and then in Zhao. When the reforming Governor Jia Cong came to Ji province in 187 Dong Zhao was one of the few officials prepared to remain in their posts and withstand his scrutiny.

About 190 Dong Zhao became an adviser to the warlord Governor Yuan Shao. As Gongsun Zan attacked Julu in 192, the senior officers were frightened and planned to change sides. Yuan Shao learned of this and sent Dong Zhao to take over government there, but when asked about his plans Dong Zhao replied only that he would adapt to circumstances.

As he arrived in his territory Dong Zhao found the officials and people under strong influence from Sun Kang and other members of leading families. Claiming that there was threat of attack from bandits, he proclaimed a state of emergency, then executed Sun Kang and some thirty other local leaders. The people were impressed and Dong Zhao had no difficulty in re-establishing good order and loyalty.

Soon afterwards Yuan Shao sent Dong Zhao to Wei

commandery, where the previous Administrator had been killed in battle. The territory was in complete disorder, with tens of thousands of bandits, but Dong Zhao obtained information from travelling merchants and was able to surprise the enemy and defeat them.

Dong Zhao's younger brother Dong Fang, however, was an officer of Zhang Miao, and Zhang Miao now quarrelled with Yuan Shao. So Yuan Shao turned against Dong Zhao, and Dong Zhao went west in hope of joining the emperor. In Henei he met Zhang Yang, Administrator in Dong Zhuo's service and enemy of Yuan Shao. Zhang Yang kept Dong Zhao with him, had him return his former insignia of office, and appointed him a Commandant of Cavalry.

Late that year Cao Cao sought to make contact with the imperial court at Chang'an, now under the new regime of Li Jue and his fellows. Zhang Yang at first rejected his approach, but Dong Zhao persuaded him to send a memorial endorsing Cao Cao, and he himself wrote letters in support to Li Jue and the others. Up to this time it does not appear that Dong Zhao had had any direct contact with Cao Cao, but his brother's commander Zhang Miao was a close supporter.

In 195, as Emperor Xian came to Henei after his flight from Chang'an he was welcomed by Zhang Yang and Dong Zhao was named a Consultant. In the following year, however, as the court returned to Luoyang, the various leaders fell out among themselves. Noting that Yang Feng had the strongest force but the weakest party at court, Dong Zhao composed a letter, as if from Cao Cao, offering friendship and alliance. Yang Feng was delighted, and he persuaded his fellows to recognise Cao Cao as a general and a marquis. Cao Cao came to Luoyang and swiftly established authority over the ramshackle rivals. He now met Dong Zhao, who advised him how to persuade Yang Feng to allow the transfer of the court to Xu city. Cao Cao thus confirmed control of the puppet government, and Dong Zhao was named Intendant of Henan.

In 198 Zhang Yang was killed in Henei by one of his officers. His former subordinates Xue Hong and Miao Shang sought support from Yuan Shao, but Cao Cao sent Dong Zhao to them, and he persuaded them to surrender.

When Cao Cao sent Liu Bei to Xu province in 199, Dong Zhao protested. It was, however, too late, and Liu Bei made himself independent and allied with Yuan Shao. Cao Cao drove him away, and then

named Dong Zhao as Governor of Xu. As Yuan Shao attacked, Cao Cao named Dong Zhao Administrator of Wei commandery, in Yuan Shao's territory, and he came north to assist the defence.

As Cao Cao laid siege to Ye city in 204, Yuan Chunqing, a kinsman of the Yuan family, was Administrator of Wei for the Yuan and was in the city. Chunqing's father Yuanzhang had been in Yang province; Cao Cao had him brought to court, and Dong Zhao wrote a most eloquent letter to Yuan Chunqing, urging him to obey the dictates of filial piety and change his allegiance. Ye city was captured and Dong Zhao came to court as a Counsellor Remonstrant.

In 206 and 207 Dong Zhao accompanied Cao Cao to the northeast against the Wuhuan chieftain Tadun and the Yuan brothers. He designed the Pinglu 平虜 "Pacify the Caitiffs" and Quanzhou 泉州 canals to bring supplies up for the army, and at the conclusion of the campaign he was enfeoffed. He became a senior adviser on Cao Cao's staff.

In 212, in a memorial of gross flattery, Dong Zhao argued that Cao Cao should be awarded the Nine Distinctions and that the five feudal ranks of the ancient Zhou dynasty should be revived in order that he might take title as a Duke 公. He was opposed by Xun Yu, but Cao Cao was pleased, and after Xun Yu died a short time later he took the honours in the following year.

As Guan Yu was besieging Cao Ren in Fan city in 219, Sun Quan sent a secret message to say that he planned to attack him from behind. Dong Zhao recommended they promise Sun Quan to keep the proposal quiet, but in fact release it. This Machiavellian plan was agreed, but in the event Guan Yu did not believe the news. [It is questionable whether Sun Quan would have been so foolish as to reveal his plans in the first place.]

When Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220 Dong Zhao was appointed Court Architect; he was among the sponsors of a commemorative stele when Cao Pi took the imperial title. He then became Minister Herald and was raised in fief. Dong Zhao was a Palace Attendant and became an Excellency under Cao Rui. He died at the age of eighty-two. -SGZ 14:436-42*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Dong Zhong 董重 (d.189); Hejian. Son of Dong Chong and a cousin of Emperor Ling, Dong Zhong became Minister of the Guards. In 188 he was enfeoffed and

made General of Agile Cavalry with command of a thousand men at Luoyang. In 189 his aunt the Lady Dong, mother of the late emperor, threatened to use him against her rival the regent Dowager He. The Dowager had her brother the General-in-Chief He Jin send troops to arrest him, and Dong Zhong killed himself. -HHS 10B:447.

Dong Zhong 董种/仲 see Dong Hui 董恢. -XC 5:5a.

Dong [Zhongyu] 董仲玉; Langye. A prosperous young gentleman, at a time of famine Dong Zhongyu distributed family supplies to his kinsmen and neighbours, saving hundreds of lives. He died soon afterwards. -HHS 76/66:2481-82: the main text gives the surname of this man as Tong 童, but see the entry for his son Dong Hui.

Dong Zhuo 董擢 [Menggao 孟高]; Longxi. Eldest son of Dong Junya and brother of Dong Zhuo 卓, he died young. -SGZ 6:171.

Dong Zhuo 董卓 [Zhongying 仲穎 often miswritten as 仲穎] (d.192); Longxi. Dong Zhuo's father Dong Junya came from Lintao county in Longxi, but at the time Dong Zhuo and his brother Min were born he was serving as a county commandant in Yingchuan 穎川; he therefore included the character *ying* in their styles.

In his youth Dong Zhuo had dealings with the Qiang people, gained reputation as leader of fighting men, and distinguished himself on the frontier. Braver and stronger than other men, he carried a bow at each side and was skilled with both of them. About 165 he was recommended as a cadet in the Feathered Forest guard, then became a major under Zhang Huan.

In the winter of 167 Dong Zhuo and his colleague Yin Duan defeated rebel Qiang in Hanyang, killed their leaders and forced their surrender. Dong Zhuo was rewarded with silk, which he distributed among his troops, and he was appointed a gentleman cadet for civil office. He then became a county magistrate in Yanmen, a divisional commandant in Shu, and Wu and Ji Colonel in the Western Regions; leaving the last office on account of some wrongdoing. In the late 170s he became Inspector of Bing province and in the early 180s he was Administrator of Hedong.

In the summer of 184 Dong Zhuo was sent as General of the Household of the East with the Staff of Authority to take over operations against the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue in Julu. He was not successful, however, and in the autumn he was

dismissed. Soon afterwards, as rebellion broke out in Liang province and Chang'an came under threat Dong Zhuo was sent to the west as a subordinate general, first under Huangfu Song and then under his replacement Zhang Wen.

After almost a year of indecisive engagement, in late 185 the main body of the enemy were defeated by Dong Zhuo and Bao Hong at Meiyang in Youfufeng: it is said the rebels were demoralised by a shooting star which appeared to fall in their camp. They nonetheless withdrew in good order, and when Dong Zhuo and Zhou Shen were sent to follow them into Hanyang they were both compelled to fight their way out. In accounts of the campaign we are told how Dong Zhuo extricated his force from a siege by the Qiang and other non-Chinese: pretending that he wanted to catch fish to alleviate the problems of his men under siege, he dammed a river and then used it to protect his line of retreat, while he had also kept a large reserve force to threaten the enemy and restrict their manoeuvre. He later claimed that he had urged Zhou Shen to act as spearhead while he himself waited in reserve, but that Zhou Shen refused to co-operate and so both forces got into difficulties. His victory at Meiyang, the only success achieved by imperial forces, earned Dong Zhuo a district marquiseate.

In 188 a new coalition of rebels laid siege to Chencang in Youfufeng. Dong Zhuo, now General of the Van but under the command of Huangfu Song, joined operations against them, and the enemy were defeated and driven away. It is said that Huangfu Song rejected his advice on two occasions, first in not hastening to relieve the city and then attacking the rebels as they retreated; on both occasions his decisions proved successful. Though Dong Zhuo may have been embarrassed, he was promoted in fief and appointed Governor of Bing province with both civil and military authority. Though ordered to leave his troops under the command of Huangfu Song, he refused to do so, and when he was called to the capital as Minister Steward he claimed that his men would not allow him to leave.

There are several stories about Dong Zhuo's arrogance, his insubordination, and his military failures. He is said to have lacked energy against the Yellow Turbans [see *sub* Guo Dian], he refused to respect Zhang Wen [see *sub* Sun Jian] and he gave mistaken advice to Huangfu Song. Some tales may

have been true, but many were surely written in the light of his later reputation as the traitor who destroyed the Han; there seems no doubt of his victory at Meiyang in 185.

After the death of Emperor Ling in 189 the General-in-Chief He Jin planned to eliminate eunuch power from the court, and he called in Dong Zhuo to place pressure on his opponents. Dong Zhuo came with threats against the wrongdoers at the capital, but while he was in camp outside Luoyang the eunuchs killed He Jin and were then slaughtered themselves by guards at the capital. Dong Zhuo saw flames in the sky and led his men forward. On 25 September he took possession of the young emperor Liu Bian and his brother Liu Xie, then entered Luoyang to establish his own regime. When the senior ministers protested, he replied that the killing and burning and the flight of the ruler from the capital displayed their failure, and the time for reform had come. His army at the capital, which terrified the inhabitants with ill-disciplined ravages, provided all the authority he needed.

At one level, Dong Zhuo did attempt to restore the government. He held ceremonies to honour Chen Fan, Dou Wu and the men of Faction, he appointed scholars and reformers to high office at court and in the provinces, and he restricted his own favourites to middle-rank military commands. On the other hand, as a fighting general from the uncouth northwest, Dong Zhuo had no right to his authority and no acceptance among the gentlemen from central China who controlled the bureaucracy. Though he revived for himself such titles as Chancellor of State 相國 and Grand Master 太師, and raised his fief to a county marquisate, he held his position by military force and only another army could remove him: that way led to civil war and the end of Han.

Dong's Zhuo's conduct ensured massive opposition. On 28 September, three days after entering the capital, he forced Liu Bian to abdicate in favour of his younger half-brother Liu Xie, Emperor Xian. Two days later the Dowager He died, and she was duly followed by Liu Bian. Both deaths were the work of Dong Zhuo. Regardless of their faults and irrespective of claims for reform, there was no justification for such brutality, and by the spring of 190 the leaders of eastern China had joined in "loyal rebellion" to remove the usurper and restore the Han.

Dong Zhuo's men were at first successful in holding

the passes which led to Luoyang, but his regime had lost authority over the greater part of the empire, and in the spring and summer of 190 the court was withdrawn west to Chang'an. The civilian population was driven away, and Luoyang became a centre for military defence, with wholesale plundering of the city, the imperial tombs and the treasures of the dynasty. Dong Zhuo also destroyed the traditional coinage, melting down statues to cast new money, and bringing massive inflation.

Dong Zhuo made some attempt to come to terms with his enemies, but he had embarked upon a personal feud with Yuan Shao, leader of the allies, by executing Yuan Wei, his own former patron, and other senior members of the clan. So the gentlemen he sent on embassy were killed without compunction. In the spring of 191 the general Sun Jian in the service of Yuan Shu forced his way into Luoyang from the south, and in the summer Dong Zhuo completed the retreat to Chang'an, where his government was based upon raiding abroad and terror within, with banquets accompanied by torture. Despite his initial restraint of office-holding among his supporters, Dong Zhuo now granted honours and fiefs to the most junior members of his family, and stored treasure and supplies at his fortified fief city of Mei, west of Chang'an.

Wang Yun, Excellency over the Masses appointed by Dong Zhuo, planned his assassination, notably with Lü Bu, who had sworn an oath to Dong Zhuo as son to father, and served as his bodyguard. On 22 May 192, as Dong Zhuo called upon the emperor, Lü Bu and his associates killed him, and they followed up the coup by the massacre of his family and supporters at the capital and at Mei. We are told Dong Zhuo was vastly fat, and as his corpse lay exposed someone placed a wick in the belly and lit it: he burned like a candle for several days.

The coalition of Wang Yun and Lü Bu was swiftly overthrown by former officers of Dong Zhuo, led by Li Jue and Guo Si, and the regime at Chang'an fell into utter confusion.

In traditional history, Dong Zhuo is reviled for destroying the dynasty of Han, and the accusation is not unfair. Given the chaos at Luoyang in 189, the task of restoration and reform was perhaps impossible, but Dong Zhuo was quite unsuited and inadequate to the task, and he confirmed the collapse of imperial government. -HHS 72/62:2319-32*, XC 4:12b; SGZ 6:

171-79*.

Dong [Ziyi] 董子義. Dong Ziyi was one of several gentlemen and scholars from the north who took refuge in Kuaiji to avoid the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang. -*HHS* 76/66:2461.

Dong [Zizhang] 董子張; Runan. Dong Zizhang's father and uncle were killed about 30 by a neighbour of the Sheng surname, but Dong Zizhang fell mortally ill before he could avenge their deaths. His old friend Zhi Yun came to visit him on his death-bed, and though Dong Zizhang could not speak he signalled with his eyes and Zhi Yun guessed the source of his distress. Taking a troop of retainers, he killed the enemy and presented his head to Dong Zizhang. Dong Zizhang died content. -*HHS* 29/19:1027.

Dong Zizhong 董次仲; Dong. After the bandit leader Li Zidu was killed by his own men in 23, his followers regrouped in Dong commandery south of the Yellow River. They chose the local man Dong Zizhong as their leader, and were known by the district name of Tanxiang 檀鄉. In 24 they crossed the river to operate in the southeast of Ji province.

In early 26, as the group was in the east of Wei commandery, a large army under the command of Wu Han was sent against them, and the Tanxiang bandits were destroyed. -*HHS* 1A:16, 26, 18/8:678; Bn 59:80, 121.

Dong'an 東岸; Qiang. In 107 Dong'an was a leader among the Lejie and Dangjian tribes. Disturbed by the mutiny of Qiang conscripts in Jiuquan, he and other chieftains scattered to go across the frontier. This marked the beginning of the unravelling of the Han position in the northwest and the start of the great Qiang rebellion. -*HHS* 87/77:2886.

Dongcan 棟蠶 (d.45); non-Chinese. A chieftain of Yizhou commandery, in 42 Dongcan led a rebellion, killing local officers and burning their posts. The disturbance extended through six counties and over the border into Yuexi commandery. Fan Sheng the Administrator of Yizhou fought the insurgents without success and was driven to take refuge in Jianwei.

In 43 the general Liu Shang was sent, calling up militia from Guanghan, Jianwei and Shu commanderies, with auxiliaries from the tribespeople of Yuexi. He entered Yizhou in 44, and though the rebels occupied fortified settlements in the hills, he captured their supplies of grain and animals.

Early in 45 Dongcan's headquarters were captured.

He and some seven thousand of his followers were killed, while almost six thousand prisoners were taken, together with three thousand horses and thirty thousand cattle and sheep. The region was quiet thereafter. -*HHS* 86/76:2846-47; Bn 67:66-67.

Dongguan Yi 東關義 was a junior military officer. -*FSTY* 5f:127.

Dongguo Dou 東郭竇 (d.156). Leaders of bandits in the region of Mount Tai, Dongguo Dou and Gongsun Ju commanded a force of thirty thousand men which ravaged Taishan and Langye and extended their depredations to Qing, Yan and Xu provinces. In 155 Duan Jiong was sent against them; he destroyed their army and executed the leaders. -*HHS* 7:200-01, 65/55: 2145-46; Young 84:65.

Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年 [Gongyou 公淤]; Shan-yang. At the end of the second century, Dongguo Yannian and his associates Zuo Ce and Gan Shi were noted for their long life, while still retaining a youthful appearance. All three men nourished their vital essence by coupling with a number of different women and failing to ejaculate. They also drank urine and hung upside down in order to emulate vegetables, whose growth comes from below.

Cao Cao gave appointment to Dongguo Yannian and other adepts and he may have been interested in the possibilities of longevity. His son Cao Zhi, however, claimed that such patronage was intended only to keep these men and their wild teachings under control; he and his family gave them no credence. -*HHS* 82/72B:2750, *SGZ* 29:805-06; Ngo 76:141-142, DeWoskin 83:87-88, 150-152.

Donghao 東號; Qiang. Son of Dongyu, about 89 he succeeded his father as head of the Shaodang tribe. He and his people had left Chinese territory to join Donghao's nephew Mitang, who had established himself across the frontier and was seeking vengeance for the murder of his father Miyu. As the new Protector Deng Xun used bribes to divide the Qiang alliance, Donghao brought his people back and submitted. He died about 106. -*HHS* 16/6:611, 87/77:2883.

Dongli Bao 東李褒 see Dongli Gun 東李袞.

Dongli Gun 東李袞. In 218 Dongli Gun was Administrator of Nanyang. The people were suffering from heavy demands of labour services, and in the winter the garrison officer Hou Yin led a mutiny, seized the capital, Wan, and called people from the hills to support him. Dongli Gun managed to escape from the

city, but Hou Yin sent men in chase and his party was caught. As the enemy shot at them, the Officer of Merit Ying Yu shielded Dongli Gun with his own body. He was fatally wounded, and the fugitives were all taken prisoner, but before he died Ying Yu persuaded his captors to spare Dongli Gun.

Dongli Gun was brought back to Wan, but Zong Ziqing, who had succeeded Ying Yu as Officer of Merit, persuaded Hou Yin to let him go. Dongli Gun then collected loyal troops outside the city and returned to lay siege to Hou Yin. In the spring of 219 a major army under Cao Ren arrived and the rebellion was destroyed.

Dongli Gun was succeeded as Administrator by Tian Yu, and he became a major under Yu Jin. The Han system ranked a major in the army substantially below the civilian head of a commandery, but it is likely that this new appointment was not a demotion but reflects the changed significance of the two posts in Cao Cao's militaristic regime.

In the autumn of 219 Yu Jin was defeated and captured by Guan Yu outside Fan 樊 city. Dongli Gun was also taken prisoner, and when Guan Yu was destroyed by the surprise attack of Sun Quan's general Lü Meng a few weeks later, Dongli Gun and his comrades came into the hands of Sun Quan.

In 220, after Cao Pi had succeeded Cao Cao as King of Wei, Sun Quan sent Dongli Gun and his colleague Hao Zhou back to the north with messages assuring Cao Pi of his allegiance. Cao Pi asked them whether Sun Quan's protestations of good faith could be relied upon. Hao Zhou said they could, and he later went on embassy to grant Sun Quan enfeoffment as King of Wu. Dongli Gun, on the other hand, expressed his doubts, and he proved to be correct. -*SGZ* 4:141, 1:51, *SGZ* Wu 2:1128; *deC* 96:523-524, *Fang* 52:107, 127.

Dongshan Huangtu 東山荒秃 see Huang Tu 荒秃.

Dongyu 東吾 [or Dongwu]; Qiang. Son of Dianyu and elder brother of the energetic Miyu, he succeeded his father as formal head of the Shaodang people. Accepting the submission which Dianyu had made, he went to live within Chinese territory. He died about 89. -*HHS* 87/77:2881-83.

Dongzi Zhong 董次仲 see Dong Zizhong 董次仲.

Dou 寶, Empress of Emperor Huan: see the Lady Dou Miao.

Dou 寶, Empress of Emperor Zhang: see the Lady

Dou I.

Dou 寶, the Lady I (d.97) [Empress of Emperor Zhang]; Youfufeng. Eldest daughter of Dou Xun by his wife the daughter of Liu Qiang, King of Donghai, who held title as Princess of Piyang, the Lady was a great-grand-daughter of Dou Rong and, through her mother, of Emperor Guangwu. She is said to have been precocious, learning to read by the age of six, and even in the years of disgrace and exile after her father's death in the early 70s she was admired and received prophecies of great honour for the future.

In 77 the Lady and her younger sister were brought by selection into the harem of Emperor Zhang and in 78 she was named empress, while her sister became an Honoured Lady. At that time she was presumably about fifteen years old. It is said that the Lady Dou received approval and endorsement from the Dowager Ma, widow of Emperor Ming and foster-mother of Emperor Zhang, but this is unlikely, for the Lady Ma had attempted to secure the future prosperity of her clan through her cousins the two sisters Song. She had brought them to Liu Da before he came to the throne, both had been made Honoured Ladies, and in 78 the elder gave birth to Liu Qing, who was named Heir in 79. The Song sisters had been in the harem of Liu Da some five years longer than the Dou, and it is likely that, despite the birth of an imperial son, the Lady Dou attracted the attention of the twenty-year-old emperor because she was new and younger; and perhaps also because the relevant Lady Song was unavailable by reason of her pregnancy. Political considerations would in any case encourage the ruler not to commit himself too firmly to one distaff faction.

In 79 the Dowager Ma died, and the Empress Dou became chief of the harem. She had no son of her own, and suffered from a condition which ensured that she could have no children. Like the Lady Ma before her, she sought to maintain her family's power through indirect control of the inheritance. In 82 the empress arranged that Liu Qing, son of the late Dowager's protégée the Honoured Lady Song, was dismissed as Heir and appointed King of Qinghe. Aided by her mother the Princess of Piyang, she then had the Lady Song and her sister accused of witchcraft; they were sent to the harem jail and forced to commit suicide. The Empress Dou now had Liu Zhao, son of the Honoured Lady Liang, named as Heir.

The Liang family had a long association with the

Dou, and there was probably an understanding that they would accept a secondary role. Very soon, however, the Liang relatives displayed undue ambition, and in 83 the empress had the Honoured Lady's father Liang Song arrested and executed on a charge of treason. The two Liang sisters then "died of grief" 以憂死 – killing themselves or being helped to do so – while their brothers were exiled to Jiuzhen in the far south. The empress now took over the care of the future Emperor He, and she arranged to have him treated as a scion of the Dou with no reference to his Liang maternity. When Emperor Zhang died in 88 the boy was aged ten, and the Lady Dou, now in her mid-twenties, ruled as regent Dowager.

For the most part the Dowager was willing to grant political authority to her eldest brother Dou Xian, but there was an early crisis when the marquis Liu Chang came to the capital at the beginning of the new regime. Officially he was bringing a message of condolence at the death of Emperor Zhang from the King of Qi, but Liu Chang was a well-known libertine, and through his friend Deng Die and Deng Die's mother the Lady Yuan he was able to gain entry to the palace and to the favour of the Dowager. Concerned that he might become a rival for influence with his sister, Dou Xian sent retainers to kill him. His guilt was discovered, and he was held in house arrest. Soon afterwards the Southern Shanyu of the Xiongnu sent in a memorial to urge a major attack on his northern rivals, and the Dowager was able to release her brother in order that he might take command of a major expedition.

Over the following years, as Dou Xian and his troops destroyed the Northern Shanyu and his government, the scandal was lost in celebrations for the military triumph, and the Dou became increasingly powerful. In 91 the emperor came formally of age, and in the following year, with the aid of the eunuch Zheng Zhong and others, he destroyed Dou Xian and his brothers. The Dowager herself was not harmed, but she was held under house arrest in her apartments, known as the Changle Palace [Palace of Prolonged Joy]. She died of natural causes five years later, aged in her middle thirties.

In the course of the coup, the Lady Yuan and Deng Die had been executed, as well as the colonel Guo Ju, who was accused not only of treason but also of having been favoured 得幸 by the Dowager. The phrase is the same as that used for the unfortunate Liu Chang in 88,

and commonly describes the sexual favours shown by an emperor for an attractive concubine. So it appears that the Lady Dou was not entirely chaste in her widowhood but it is also possible that the accusation was devised by Emperor He and his supporters to eliminate her influence.

After the death of the Dowager in 97, and before she was buried, the family of the late Honoured Lady Liang, led by her cousin Liang Hu and her sister Liang Yi, reported on her role in the death of the emperor's true mother and on her ill-treatment of the family. As the Liang were restored to favour, senior officials argued that the Dowager should be excluded from the imperial lineage. Emperor He, however, gave his personal approval that she be buried with her consort Emperor Zhang. -HHS 10A:415-17*, 23/13:813-19.

Dou 寶, the Lady II; Youfufeng. Younger daughter of Dou Xun, in 77 she and her sister were taken into the harem of Emperor Zhang. When her elder sister was appointed empress in the following year, she was named an Honoured Lady. -HHS 10A:415.

Dou 寶, the Lady III. Daughter of Dou Zhang, she inherited his ability at literary composition. Aged twelve in the late 120s, on account of both her talents and her beauty she was selected into the harem of the young Emperor Shun. She received his favours, and she and the Lady Liang Na both became Honoured Ladies. For a time there was rivalry between the ambitious Liang family and those who sought to encourage the fortunes of the Lady Dou and other candidates. The Lady's father Dou Zhang, however, showed little interest in such intrigues, and the Lady herself died young, probably before she was twenty. Given the intensity of harem politics, and the record of the Liang family, one cannot be sure her death was natural. The emperor mourned her deeply, and commissioned a stele in her honour, with an inscription written by her father. -HHS 23/13:813.

Dou Ba 寶霸; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Mu, Dou Ba shared in the family's loss of favour under Emperor Ming. From the late 70s their fortunes were restored through the Empress Dou, who became regent Dowager for the young Emperor He in 88. Dou Ba became Colonel of the City Gates, but is not mentioned again after Emperor He destroyed the power of the family in 92. -HHS 23/13:819.

Dou Bao 寶褒; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Mu, Dou Bao shared in the family's loss of favour under Emperor

Ming. From the late 70s their fortunes were restored through the Empress Dou, who became regent Dowager for the young Emperor He in 88. Dou Bao became Court Architect, but is not mentioned again after Emperor He destroyed the power of the family in 92. -*HHS* 23/13:819.

Dou Biao 竇彪; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Gu, he was a colonel in the Northern Army, but died before his father and left no heirs. -*HHS* 23/13:811.

Dou Bin 竇賓 see *sub* Dou Tong 竇統.

Dou [Boxiang] 竇伯向; Youfufeng. Recognised for literary and scholarly ability, he held office in the imperial government in the latter part of the first century. -*HHS* 80/70A:2617.

Dou Du 竇篤 (d.92); Youfufeng. Son of Dou Xun, when his sister the Lady Dou became the consort of Emperor Zhang in 78 Dou Du and his brothers Dou Xian, Dou Jing and Dou Xiang were favoured as her male relatives. Dou Du became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates.

The Prefect of Luoyang, Zhou Yu, had proclaimed a firm policy to control the imperial relatives by marriage, and as Dou Du was returning home from the palace one evening he was halted by the police officer Huo Yan. One of the slaves of Dou Du's escort attacked Huo Yan, but he drew his sword and arrested Dou Du. When Dou Du complained, the Intendant of Henan and the Director of Retainers were questioned by the Secretariat, while Zhou Yu was briefly imprisoned. Emperor Zhang, however, then endorsed his policy of keeping the distaff families under control.

Following the testamentary edict of Emperor Zhang in 88, Dou Du was appointed General of the Household of the Feathered Forest. The Dowager Dou was now regent for the young Emperor He, and her family became still more powerful. Dominating the court and the capital, the brothers used official *corvée* labour to build great mansions, and gathered armies of retainers who plundered the people.

As Dou Xian embarked on his campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, Dou Du was Minister of the Guards, and in 90, after Dou Xian's triumphant return from his first campaign against the Northern Xiongnu, his brothers were enfeoffed. After the final victory in 91 Dou Du was named Specially Advanced, with ceremony comparable to that of the Excellencies, and the right to present candidates for official appointment.

In 92 with the aid of the eunuch Zheng Chong, Emperor He carried out a coup against the Dou group. Dou Xian and his brothers were stripped of their offices and sent away to their fiefs; all but Dou Xiang either committed suicide or were killed on the road. -*HHS* 23/13:812-820; Ch'ü 72:460-462.

Dou Feng 竇奉; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Jia, he became Administrator of Dingxiang. He was the father of Dou Wu. -*HHS* 23/13:809, 69/59:2239.

Dou Feng 竇奉, wife of. It is said that when the Lady gave birth to Dou Wu she also gave birth to a snake, which promptly disappeared into the forest. When she died and before her body had been placed in the tomb, a great serpent emerged from a thicket of thorns and came weeping to beat its head upon the coffin, so that blood and tears flowed together. People took this as a sign of great fortune for the Dou family. -*HHS* 69/59:2245.

Dou Fu 竇敷 see *sub* Dou Rong 竇融.

Dou Fu 竇輔 (167-211); Youfufeng. A grandson of Dou Wu, after the family was destroyed in 168, the victorious eunuchs instigated a fierce search for Dou Fu, then two years old. Dou Wu's client Hu Teng, however, aided by his colleague Zhang Chang, brought the child south to Lingling, and spread the story that he had died. Hu Teng arranged for Dou Fu to marry into his family in Guiyang and adopted him as his son.

About 200 Dou Fu received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, and he became an Attendant Officer under the warlord Governor Liu Biao. Learning his true origins, Liu Biao had him resume the Dou surname, for it enhanced his own prestige among gentlemen and scholars to have the head of the great reformist family at his court. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Dou Fu and his kinfolk went north to Ye city, and he was appointed to a clerical post in Cao Cao's office as Imperial Chancellor.

In 211 Dou Fu accompanied the army on campaign to the northwest. He was struck by a chance arrow and died of his wound. -*HHS* 69/59:2244-45.

Dou Gu 竇固 [Mengsun 孟孫]; Youfufeng. Son of Dou You and a nephew of Dou Rong, Dou Gu married the Princess Liu Zhongli, daughter of Emperor Guangwu, and was granted junior office as a Gentleman of the Yellow Gates. He enjoyed the Confucian classics, but was also interested in military affairs. He was respected for his ability and generally treated with favour.

Dou Gu suffered some embarrassment over his

association with the critic Du Bao, evidently caused by one of the supporters of the faction led by Ma Yuan, but avenged himself in 49 by joining the chorus of accusations which brought the posthumous disgrace of Ma Yuan and the eclipse of his family.

In 56 Dou Gu was granted the succession to his father's fief, and in 58 Emperor Ming appointed him General of the Household of the Feathered Forest. In that capacity he accompanied the army of Ma Wu which defeated the Qiang war-leader Dianyu.

When Dou Mu and his cousins were disgraced in 61, Dou Gu was also forced to leave office, and he remained at home for over ten years. In 72, however, as Emperor Ming resolved to attack the Northern Xiongnu he consulted privately with Dou Gu and then appointed him as Commandant of the Equipage with command of a force recruited from Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang and an auxiliary of 12,000 horsemen from the Qiang and other non-Chinese of the northwest. In 73 he moved north from Jiuquan in conjunction with another column under Geng Bing, which was to attack from Juyan/Edsin Gol. At the same time, two armies further east, commanded by Zhai Tong and Lai Miao, advanced from Shuofang in the Ordos region and from the Sanggan valley at Yanmen. Of the four commanders in this enterprise, only Dou Gu achieved any notable success. Reaching Lake Barkol, he defeated a Xiongnu king and occupied the region of Yiwu near present-day Hami.

Dou Gu was honoured as Specially Advanced, and late in 74, leading Geng Bing and Liu Zhang with a combined force of 14,000 horsemen, he made another expedition. Advancing to the Barkol Tagh, their forces defeated the Xiongnu once more and received submission from the kingdoms of Jushi in Turfan. For the first time Later Han gained control of the approaches to the Western Regions and re-established the protectorate which had been maintained by Former Han.

After Emperor Zhang succeeded to the throne in 75, Dou Gu returned to the capital as Minister Herald and became a leading adviser on frontier policy. Following the appointment of his great-niece as empress in 78 his achievements were recognised by an augmentation to his fief. In 82 he became Minister of the Household and in 83 Minister of the Guards. Greatly honoured, and vastly wealthy from his long service in high office, he was nonetheless admired for his unaffected manner.

Dou Gu's son Biao had died before him, so although he received posthumous honours as a marquis the fief was ended at his death. -HHS 23/13:809-811*.

Dou Gui 寶瑰 see Dou Xiang 寶瓌.

Dou Huai 寶瓌 see Dou Xiang 寶瓌. -Ch'ü 72:462.

Dou Huizong 寶會宗; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Wanquan, he inherited his fief. -HHS 23/13:809.

Dou Ji 寶機 (d.168); Youfufeng. Son of Dou Wu and brother of the regent Dowager, in 168 Dou Ji was appointed as a Palace Attendant and received a county fief for his nominal role in bringing Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, to the throne. He was killed when the Dou were destroyed later that year. -HHS 69/59:2241, HHJ 22:259.

Dou Jia 寶嘉; Youfufeng. Youngest son of Dou Mu, in 71 Dou Jia was enfeoffed as a county marquis to maintain the lineage of his grandfather Dou Rong. He shared in the family's loss of favour under Emperor Ming, but in the late 70s their fortunes were restored through the appointment of Dou Jia's niece the Lady Dou as the consort of Emperor Zhang. In 88 the Empress Dou became regent Dowager for the young Emperor He, and Dou Jia became Minister Steward. When Emperor He destroyed the power of the family in 92 Dou Jia was dismissed and sent to his fief in Lujiang. -HHS 23/13:809 & 819.

A memorial presented in 232 by the official Du Shu 杜恕 to Cao Rui, Emperor of Wei, says that on one occasion Dou Jia had recommended the appointment of a nephew of the Minister of Justice Guo Gong and that he was criticised for such favouritism; this may have been among the accusations at the time of his dismissal in 92. -SGZ 16:504; Fang 52:382.

Dou Jian 寶建 or Liu Jian 劉建. Dou Jian's family is not known, but he held a marquisate in the early 70s, at the time of the alleged conspiracy involving Liu Ying the King of Chu. Implicated by the confessions of Yan Zhong and Wang Ping, Dou Jian and others were liable to execution, but the censorial officer Han Lang persuaded Emperor Ming to doubt the accusation. -HHJ 10:123, HHSJJ 41/31:1506.

Dou Jing 寶景 (d.92); Youfufeng. Son of Dou Xun, when his sister the Lady Dou became the consort of Emperor Zhang in 78 he and his brothers Dou Xian, Dou Du and Dou Xiang were favoured as her male relatives, and in 88 Dou Jing and Dou Xiang were both granted court rank by the emperor's testamentary edict.

With their sister as regent Dowager the family became still more powerful, and Dou Jing was named a Palace Attendant. The brothers dominated the court and the capital, using official corvée labour to build great mansions and gathering armies of retainers to plunder the people, but Dou Jing was considered the most violent and oppressive of them. After Dou Xian's triumphant campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, his three brothers were enfeoffed and appointed as Palace Attendants, and after the final victory in 91 Dou Jing was appointed Bearer of the Mace, in charge of police within the capital. On this basis he called up elite cavalry from the northern frontier to form a private guard, while inside Luoyang he allowed his slaves, clients and troopers to rob people, free criminals and either rape women or force them into marriage. Traders closed their businesses in fear of him, but no-one dared present an impeachment.

The Excellency Yuan An made repeated protests, both against the illegitimate use of military resources and against the failure of local officials to control the activities of the brothers. At first his memorials had no effect, but the Dowager later removed Dou Jing from office: he maintained his position at court as Specially Advanced, but had no executive power.

In 92, with the aid of the eunuch Zheng Chong, Emperor He carried out a coup against the Dou family. Dou Jing and his brothers were stripped of their offices and sent away to their fiefs, and all except Dou Xiang committed suicide or were killed on the road. -HHS 23/13:813-820, 45/35:1519-20; Ch'ü 72:461-462.

Dou Jing 竇靖; Youfufeng. A nephew of Dou Wu, in 168 Dou Jing was awarded a district fief for his nominal role in bringing Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, to the throne. He was also appointed a Palace Attendant and given command of a troop in the Feathered Forest cavalry. He was presumably killed when the eunuchs destroyed Dou Wu and Chen Fan later that year. -HHS 69/59:2241.

Dou Ke 竇恪; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Wu, he probably died before 168, when his sister the Lady Dou Miao became Dowager. -HHJ 22:259.

Dou Lin 竇林 (d.59); Youfufeng. HHS 23/13 describes Dou Lin as the son of a cousin of Dou Rong. The family genealogy in XTS 71B:2289 says he was the second son of Dou Xiu 秀, who was elder brother to Dou Rong's father Dou Fu 敷, and that he had a brother Dou Pi 丕; the latter two names are not mentioned elsewhere.

Dou Lin was an Internuncio under Emperor Guangwu. In 58 he was appointed by Emperor Ming to the restored position of Protector of the Qiang. Setting his headquarters in Longxi, he established trust among the non-Chinese people and received the surrender of the chieftain Dian'an. Wrongly advised by his officers, he believed Dian'an to be the leader of all the Qiang rebels, and granted him titles accordingly.

In the following year Dian'an's brother Dianyu, who was indeed the chief, came in turn to surrender, and Dou Lin now presented him as the leader. When Emperor Ming asked how there could be two paramount chiefs, Dou Lin claimed they were in fact the same man, and that the different names were caused by confusion in the local dialects. The emperor investigated further, found out the truth, and dismissed Dou Lin from his post. Just at this time, moreover, the Inspector of Liang province accused Dou Lin of bribery; he was sent to prison and died there. The scandal made Emperor Ming suspicious of all the Dou family. -HHS 87/77:880-81, 23/13:808; deC 84:83-84.

XTS 71B says that Dou Lin settled in Wuwei and became the ancestor of the family of that name in that territory.

Dou Miao 竇妙, the Lady (d.172); Youfufeng. Eldest daughter of Dou Wu, she joined the harem of Emperor Huan in 165, perhaps at the time of the regular autumn selection, in which case she would have been some thirteen *sui*. She was promptly appointed an Honoured Lady, highest rank of concubine, and on 10 December 165 she was proclaimed empress in succession to the Lady Deng Mengnü who had been disgraced, imprisoned and had died earlier in the same year.

The arrangement was not so straightforward as the Chinese records indicate. It is clear that the Lady Dou had been forced upon the emperor by his senior ministers, notably the Grand Commandant Chen Fan and the Director of Retainers Ying Feng. Emperor Huan's own preference was for his concubine the Lady Tian Sheng, who shared his bed and his favours with eight companions, while he had shown no interest in the Lady Dou and attended her very rarely, if at all. The argument of his ministers was that it was essential for the dynasty that the emperor take a woman of good family as his consort, and the Dou were presented as a most appropriate alliance.

There seems no doubt the Lady Tian was of humble origin, but the former Empress Deng Mengnü

had been criticised, surprisingly, on the same grounds. Deng Mengnū had been related to the Dowager Deng of Emperor He and the Lady Dou was connected to the Dowager Dou of Emperor Zhang; both families had suffered disgrace and loss of political favour, and the fathers of both women had held only minor official rank. One must assume it was simple prejudice which led contemporary commentators to denigrate the family of the Lady Deng and praise that of the Lady Dou.

From the point of view of the dynasty, moreover, the arguments for a woman of good family are strange. In 159 the emperor had been able to gather supporters among the eunuchs of the harem to overthrow the power of the Liang family, which had dominated the government since the days of his predecessor Emperor Shun [see *sub* Liang Na], while his first empress Liang Nūying had been responsible for the miscarriage or abortion of any children he might have conceived with other women of the harem. One would imagine that the last thing Emperor Huan would wish to inflict upon his lineage was another generation of aristocratic relatives by marriage; it is likely the Lady Tian Sheng and her eight companions were engaged not only for their qualities as sexual partners, but also in the hope that one of the magical number nine might conceive a son.

Emperor Huan, however, was in a weak position. There had been many complaints about the size and expense of his harem, while several of his eunuch favourites had lately been disgraced for corruption. The fall of the Empress Deng gave the reform party at court the opportunity to press for a new influence within the palace, and they evidently regarded Dou Wu as a supporter of their cause. So the emperor was obliged to accept their wishes, though he still showed no interest in his new empress, and seldom if ever visited her. Even more important, though two daughters were born about this time, he acquired no son and heir.

It has been suggested that the Empress Dou had some influence on the emperor's patronage of the cult of Huang-Lao which culminated in a great ceremony of sacrifice at the capital in the summer of 166. It is more probable that his initial interest had been inspired by the Empress Deng and some eunuch officials, and developed further not in association with the Dou but rather in opposition to the Confucianism represented

by Dou Wu and his ministerial allies. It may even be that the emperor was seeking an alternative source of spiritual legitimacy for his personal regime which would be independent of the traditional ideology. See *sub* Deng Mengnū and especially deC 80.

On 25 January 168 the emperor died. From his death-bed he promoted Tian Sheng and her colleagues to be Honoured Ladies, but even as his body lay in state within the palace the Empress Dou, now Dowager, killed Tian Sheng. Through the intervention of the eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang she was obliged to spare the lives of the other eight favourites, but the Dowager and her father Dou Wu now controlled the government.

As the emperor had died without an heir, the customs of Han, confirmed by the recent precedent of the Dowager Liang Na, allowed the Lady Dou a free choice among the cadets of the imperial house. Probably still aged no more than twenty, she consulted her father within the private apartments of the palace. They were chiefly interested in descendants of Liu Kai [or Gong] the King of Hejian, a son of Emperor Zhang of Later Han, and sought the advice of the Imperial Clerk Liu Shu, a member of the Censorate who came from that territory. On his recommendation they chose the village marquis Liu Hong, and on 17 February 168 he was brought to the throne; he is commonly known by his posthumous title as Emperor Ling.

We are told that Liu Shu was asked to propose members of the imperial clan noted for their moral qualities, but it is difficult to see how such criteria should have led necessarily to Liu Hong. The new emperor was twelve *sui* when he was placed upon the throne, so he was little more than ten years old by Western reckoning at the time he was chosen. A great-grandson of Liu Kai, Liu Hong was a member of the same lineage as his predecessor Emperor Huan, but Liu Hong's grandfather, a younger son, had held only a village marquisate, neither he nor Liu Hong's father had shown any personal distinction, and Liu Hong's own later conduct was not exemplary. As in the cases of Liu Zuan and of Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, a generation earlier, one may assume that in the eyes of his sponsors Liu Hong's chief recommendations were that he was old enough to be past the risks of infant mortality, and young enough to require the guidance of a regent, thus ensuring the hegemony of the Dowager's clan for some years to come [see *sub* Liang Na].

The Dowager and her father now arranged enfeoffments and rewards for their relatives and clients and, like the Liang before them, members of the Dou family held significant military and police appointments about the capital. Dou Wu became General-in-Chief, the same position as had been held by Liang Ji, and he established a close partnership with Chen Fan, now Grand Tutor; the two men shared control over the Secretariat, centre of imperial authority. In accordance with the wishes of the Confucian reformers, Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to destroy the power of the eunuchs. Under the influence of Cao Jie, however, the Dowager rejected her father's proposals. As months passed, the frustration of Chen Fan and his party became more obvious and Dou Wu prepared for a coup.

In the autumn of 168 the eunuchs struck first. They persuaded the boy emperor to issue orders to overthrow their enemies, they arrested Chen Fan, and with the aid of the frontier general Zhang Huan they persuaded Dou Wu's men to desert him. Dou Wu committed suicide, others of the family were killed, and remnant relatives and clients were exiled to the far south of the empire in present-day Vietnam. Chen Fan was killed, with many of his supporters, and there was a general Proscription against all the reformist party.

Stripped of her seal and insignia, the Lady Dou was placed under house arrest in the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang. She was not treated well by her eunuch jailers and, though Zhang Huan protested and the emperor himself gave orders, her situation did not greatly improve. At the beginning of winter in 171 Emperor Ling made a special visit and held court to pay respects to her for having brought him to the throne, and the eunuch Dong Meng again raised the matter of her ill-treatment. The emperor gave increasing quantities of supplies and provisions, but Cao Jie and Wang Fu avenged themselves by trumping up charges of Impiety against Dong Meng; he was executed.

Hou Lan succeeded Cao Jie in authority at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager, and in 172, when the Dowager's mother died in exile in the south, it is said that she became ill from grief. She died on 18 July, and may have been assisted to her end. About this time Hou Lan was accused of acting without proper authority; he was dismissed and obliged to kill himself. This may be on account of his harsh

treatment of the Lady Dou, or because he was made a scapegoat for her death, but it is uncertain whether she died before or after he was punished.

The eunuchs, enemies to the last, argued that the Dowager's funerary rites should be carried out with no more ceremony than for an Honoured Lady, but after debate in court between eunuchs and senior ministers, Emperor Ling determined she should receive full honours, and the Lady Dou was placed in the same tomb as her consort Emperor Huan. -*HHS* 10B:445-46*; deC 75B, deC 89:64-126, Seidel 69, Ch'ü 72:484-490.

Dou Mu 竇穆; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Rong, Dou Mu married a grand-daughter of Emperor Guangwu and succeeded his uncle Dou You as Colonel of the City Gates. The Dou family had been honoured and powerful under Guangwu, but Emperor Ming regarded them less favourably. Dou Rong pleaded age and illness and kept in the background, but Dou Mu and other kinsmen showed no such restraint, encouraging favourites and clients and interfering with the regular administration.

In particular, seeking to round out the fief territory which the family had been granted in Lujiang, the Dou group forged an edict as from the Dowager Yin of Emperor Guangwu, ordering Liu Xu the Marquis of Liu'an to divorce his wife, then had him marry a daughter of Dou Mu. The family of the former wife reported this to the throne in 61, and Emperor Ming was furious. He dismissed Dou Mu and his relatives from all their offices, and ordered them back to their homelands in Youfufeng. They were recalled before they had gone far, but because of their record the emperor appointed an Internuncio specifically to supervise the family.

Some ten years later, about 70, the Internuncio Han Yu reported that Dou Mu and his kinsfolk were resentful of their treatment. Emperor Ming again sent them away from the capital, and soon afterwards Dou Mu was found guilty of attempting to bribe a local officer. He and his son Xuan were arrested, and they died in prison in Youfufeng. -*HHS* 23/13:808-09.

Dou Pi 竇丕 see *sub* Dou Lin 竇林.

Dou Pingnian 竇平年 see *sub* Dou Rong 竇融.

Dou Qian 竇潛; Youfufeng. Dou Qian was a son of Dou Jia. -*XTS* 71B:2289.

Dou Rong 竇融 [Zhougong 周公] (15 BC-AD 62); Youfufeng. Dou Rong claimed descent from Dou

Guangguo 廣國, brother of the consort of Emperor Wen of Former Han. The family transferred to the region of Chang'an in the latter part of the first century BC, and Dou Rong's father and grandfather both held senior appointments, but his father died when he was young and the family was comparatively poor. [According to the genealogy in *XTS* 71B:2289, Dou Rong was the third son of Dou Fu 敷, and brother of Dou Pingnian 平年 and Dou You 友. The last is confirmed by *HHS* 23/13, but the other names are not recorded elsewhere.]

Having held junior staff rank, Dou Rong served in the army as a major against rebels in AD 6. He gained a reputation for courage and honesty and received a noble title. His younger sister married the Excellency Wang Yi 王邑 and Dou Rong held high position in the capital, where he was known for family loyalty and good conduct.

In 23 Dou Rong led a contingent to join the army led by Wang Yi and Wang Xun 王尋 against the rebels in the eastern provinces, but they were heavily defeated by Han forces at Kunyang in Yingchuan. The Xin forces withdrew to Chang'an, and as the Han troops entered the passes Dou Rong was made a general and stationed to the east of the capital.

After Wang Mang was killed at Chang'an Dou Rong brought his troops and surrendered to Zhao Meng, the influential minister of the Gengshi regime. Zhao Meng thought well of him, and he had Dou Rong appointed as a colonel and then offered the post of Administrator of Julu. Dou Rong felt that the east was not secure, and since members of his family had held office in the northwest of Liang province he asked for a post in that region. So Zhao Meng had him appointed as Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye, and Dou Rong went there with his family.

Dou Rong established excellent relations with the local people, with the non-Chinese Qiang, and with his neighbouring administrators and commandants: Liang Tong and Zhu Zeng of Jiuquan, She Jun of Jincheng, Shi Bao of Zhangye and Xin Rong of Dunhuang.

When the Gengshi regime was destroyed in 25, Dou Rong persuaded Liang Tong and the others that they should unite for mutual support, and he was recognised in the acting position of Chief General West of the River 河西大將軍. While his colleagues all became administrators, Dou Rong remained at his headquarters in the Dependent State, but exercised

hegemonic authority over the Gansu corridor northwest of the Yellow River. He trained soldiers to maintain defence against the non-Chinese, and many refugees came to the region from Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies.

As Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, took the imperial title and began to extend his power, the warlord Wei Ao in the eastern part of Liang province accepted his calendar and issued seals in the name of Han, but was reluctant to commit himself fully. Dou Rong likewise accepted Han suzerainty and paid respects to Wei Ao as his formal superior. There was, however, a natural hostility between them.

In 29 Wei Ao sent an envoy to argue that the northeast should unite and remain independent, but though various leaders had differing opinions Dou Rong was anxious to return to the east and secure the fortunes of his family under the new dynasty. That summer he sent his officer Liu Jun with a message to Luoyang and a gift of horses, while other chieftains also sent envoys. Guangwu had just sent his own messenger, but he turned back to escort Dou Rong's party. They were welcomed most warmly, and the emperor responded with a gift of gold and a letter which confirmed Dou Rong's position as a chief general in the northwest and also named him Governor of Liang province, in despite of an earlier commission to Wei Ao.

Guangwu made it clear that he sought Dou Rong's support, and Dou Rong replied with a reminder of his family service to the throne and the connection by marriage, while he undertook to send his younger brother You as a hostage. About this time Dou Rong received envoys from King Kang of Suoju [Yarkand] and other rulers of the Western Regions, and he acted on Guangwu's behalf in endorsing their submission.

Dou Rong also sent a letter to Wei Ao, reprimanding him for his failure to accept the Han, and he gathered troops for operations against him. He also attacked the Qiang leader Fenghe, who had taken over Jincheng and was an ally of Wei Ao. He drove the tribesmen away and occupied the territory up to the Yellow River, but when the first imperial attack on Wei Ao was driven back in 30 he withdrew from the border, while Dou You was obliged to turn back and did not come to serve as a hostage at Luoyang.

Guangwu continued to show favour to Dou Rong. He repaired the grave of Dou Rong's father, held a

great sacrifice, and sent valuable gifts, with texts and charts on the connection of his family to the throne. For his part, Dou Rong cut all links with Wei Ao, killed his envoy and returned the seals he had received, then brought troops from the five commanderies of the northwest to support the abortive campaign of 31.

In the summer of 32, as a further imperial offensive was launched, Dou Rong brought another army, with Qiang and Little Yuezhi allies and a supply train of five thousand carts, to meet Guangwu in Anding. He was received with great ceremony and private show of affection and confidence, and his relatives were given positions at court. After the fall of Wei Ao in the following year Dou Rong was enfeoffed as a marquis with revenue from four counties in Lujiang, while his brother You and his attendant administrators received marquises of title. Dou Rong expressed concern at such generosity, but Guangwu assured him that he looked upon their relationship as close as the right hand to the left. One may note that the site of Dou Rong's fief was far to the east of his centre of current power, which must have encouraged his commitment to the central government.

In 36, after the destruction of Gongsun Shu, Dou Rong came to the capital with an enormous cortège. As he reached the gates of Luoyang, he surrendered his office as Governor of Liang province and Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye, together with the insignia of his marquise. An imperial messenger restored them, and added the title Servant at Court, exempting him from the requirement to reside on his fief. Dou Rong was received in audience by the emperor and shown utmost honour and favour. In 37 he was named Governor of Ji province in the east, and was named Excellency of Works a few days later. He expressed embarrassment at being placed above long-term companions of the emperor, and several times asked to resign, but Guangwu refused to listen.

As Excellency, in 37 Dou Rong endorsed the enfeoffment of Guangwu's sons as kings, and in 43 he recommended on arrangements for the Imperial Ancestral Temple. In 44, however, his colleague the Excellency over the Masses Dai She was involved in some wrong-doing, probably a mistaken censorial accusation [see *sub* Xi She] and both he and Dou Rong were dismissed on grounds of collegial responsibility; the third Excellency, Wu Han, was ill and soon to die, so he was spared the penalty.

In 45 Dou Rong's marquise was enhanced by the title Specially Advanced, the most senior rank permitted to remain at the capital, and in 47 he became acting Minister of the Guards and also Court Architect. Dou You was appointed Colonel of the City Gates at about the same time, so both brothers commanded security forces at the capital. Dou Rong asked to resign, but Guangwu gave him presents instead, and when Dou You died soon afterwards he sent messengers with condolences.

By the end of the reign of Emperor Guangwu Dou Rong's son Mu, his grandson Xun and his nephew Gu had all married into the imperial house, while besides his position as Excellency and his own great fief the family had another marquise and four officials ranked at Two Thousand *shi*. They were also extremely wealthy, with mansions at Luoyang and thousands of slaves. The alliance had been valuable twenty years earlier, but Dou Rong had built upon it to a remarkable level.

Guangwu's son and successor, Emperor Ming, was less sympathetic. In 58 Dou Rong's nephew the Protector of the Qiang Dou Lin was dismissed and disgraced, and the emperor reprimanded Dou Rong. Dou Rong was frightened and asked to resign his offices; he was permitted to retire to his residence on grounds of ill health and some months later he returned his insignia as Minister of the Guards and was rewarded with gifts. Now elderly, Dou Rong lived quietly, but younger members of his family were less restrained.

In 61, when his son Dou Mu and the others were disgraced and sent briefly from the capital, Dou Rong was given special permission to remain. He died about his time at the age of seventy-eight and was interred with high honours, but his widow was exiled from the capital in the early 70s after the final fall of Dou Mu.

Bielenstein has discussed the background of Dou Rong's family as one of the national gentries of Former Han, and noted the significance of the faction which he founded in Later Han, rivalling that of Ma Yuan. The disgrace under Emperor Ming was accompanied by the establishment of the Empress Ma, but the Dou regained their power when Dou Rong's great-granddaughter became the empress of Emperor Zhang in 78. Thereafter the family continued as one of the most distinguished in the empire, with clear rights of inter-marriage to the imperial clan. -HHS 23/13:795-

808*; *QHX*:76-77, Bn 59:60-61, 110-112, 163-179, Bn 79:61-68, 87-88, 105-125, Ch'ü 72:212-213, 372-373, 459.

Dou Shang 竇尚; Youfufeng. The genealogy of the Dou family in *XTS* 71B:2289 says that Dou Shang was the son of Dou Xuan and that about 70, following the disgrace and death of his grandfather Dou Mu and his father Dou Xuan, he took refuge in the area of Longxi. He became the founder of a separate lineage in that region.

Dou Shao 竇紹 (d.168); Youfufeng. Eldest son or possibly a nephew of Dou Wu, father of the Lady Dou Miao, Empress of Emperor Huan, during the last years of the reign of Emperor Huan Dou Shao was General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger. When the emperor died in 168 the Empress Dou became regent Dowager for the young Emperor Ling. Dou Shao was made a colonel in the Northern Army and received enfeoffment for his nominal role in the selection of the new ruler. In contrast to the apparent frugality of Dou Wu, Dou Shao was known for his extravagant and wasteful conduct.

In the autumn, as the eunuchs launched their coup Dou Wu took refuge in Dou Shao's camp, and when messengers were sent to call for their surrender they shot and killed them. Summoning the troops of the Northern Army, they gathered several thousand men on the open ground before the Capital Hostel, but when they were faced by palace forces under the frontier general Zhang Huan, their men deserted them. Dou Shao and Dou Wu fled, were chased and surrounded. Both men committed suicide, and their heads were put on display. -*HHJ* 22:259, *HHS* 69/59:2239-44; *deC* 89.99-100.

Dou Shi 竇士; Youfufeng. When Dou Rong brought his troops to join Guangwu for operations against Wei Ao in 32, his cousin Dou Shi was appointed a Palace Counsellor. In the following year Dou Shi held a subordinate command under Geng Yan at the siege of Wei Ao's former officer Gao Jun in Anding. -*HHS* 23/13:806, 16/6:625.

Dou Tang 竇唐; Youfufeng. Second son of Dou Zhang and a man of talent, he became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger. -*HHS* 23/13:822.

Dou Tao 竇陶; Youfufeng. *XTS* 71B:2289 says that Dou Tao was the eldest son of Dou Zhang and brother of Dou Tang.

Dou Tong 竇統 [Jingdao 敬道]; Youfufeng. *XTS* 71B:

2289 says that Dou Tong was the youngest son of Dou Zhang and brother of Dou Tang, that he was appointed Administrator of Yanmen. After the overthrow of Dou Wu in 168, Dou Tong fled to the Xianbi, and held territorial command under the alien state.

XTS further says that Dou Tong's son Bin 賓 inherited his position, and the table continues with an account of his descendants, but it evidently omits some generations.

Dou Wanquan 竇萬全; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Jia, Dou Wanquan inherited the family marquisate. He was exiled to his fief in Lujiang after the coup by Emperor He in 92, but in 109 an edict of the regent Dowager Deng authorised his return to the capital. -*HHS* 23/13:809 & 820.

Dou Wu 竇武 [Youping 游平] (d.168); Youfufeng. Son of Dou Feng and a descendant of Dou Rong, who had been an ally of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, Dou Wu was a collateral relative of the Empress of Emperor Zhang who had been regent for the young Emperor He and whose family controlled the government until the overthrow of their power in 92. Though the family had not recovered its position at the capital, the Dou retained personal influence and considerable wealth in their home country about Chang'an, and Dou Wu's father was a commandery administrator.

Dou Wu became known as a scholar of the classics, living in a marshland with a private academy of a hundred students. He initially took no interest in politics, but in 165 his eldest daughter Miao entered the harem of Emperor Huan and was appointed an Honoured Lady. Dou Wu then came to Luoyang as a cadet gentleman, and when she was proclaimed empress at the end of the year he was made colonel of a regiment in the Northern Army and received a county fief with revenue from five thousand households. On the politics of the enthronement, see *sub* the Lady Dou Miao.

Dou Wu was later promoted Colonel of the City Gates, responsible for the outer defences of the capital. He gave patronage to students and junior clerks, recommending many for promotion and distributing rewards and subsidies, while his own style of life was simple and plain. With a fine reputation and many recipients of his bounty, he confirmed his alliance with Chen Fan and other leading officials and established a substantial position at court. At the time of the First

Faction Incident in 166-167, when the eunuchs had Li Ying and other critics arrested and Chen Fan was dismissed for protesting, Dou Wu made an eloquent submission, threatening to resign his office and his fief, and obtained the release of the prisoners. He also urged the emperor to employ better men as his senior officials, and made specific recommendations. Predictably, Emperor Huan was not pleased at this political activity, and he had no fondness for the empress.

Emperor Huan died on 25 January 168 and the Lady Dou, now Dowager, held authority in the government. Since the emperor had died without an heir, the Dowager could choose his successor from among any cadets of the imperial house; the young woman consulted her father within the private apartments of the palace. Despite his association with the outer court and bureaucracy, Dou Wu did not involve any senior ministers in the selection. He and his daughter were chiefly interested in descendants of Liu Kai the King of Hejian, a son of Emperor Zhang of Later Han, and they sought the advice of the Imperial Clerk Liu Shu, member of the Censorate, who came from that territory. Liu Shu proposed the village marquis Liu Hong and was sent with an escort to bring him to the capital. On 17 February 168 the ten-year-old Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, was placed upon the throne.

With his family established in power, Dou Wu and his daughter arranged enfeoffments and rewards for their relatives and clients and, like the Liang before them, members of the family received significant military and police appointments about the capital. Dou Wu himself became General-in-Chief, the same position formerly held by Liang Ji, brother of the empresses Liang Na and Liang Nüying, which gave nominal command over the Northern Army, the major professional force at the capital. He established a close partnership with Chen Fan, now Grand Tutor, and these two men, with the Excellency Hu Guang, shared control over the Secretariat, centre of imperial authority. Under their aegis Li Ying and other members of the Proscribed Party were brought back to the capital and given high office.

For a few months there was a sense of confidence that the government and the court would be reformed on idealistic Confucian lines, but a major obstacle was the influence of the harem eunuchs who had acquired power through the favour of Emperor Huan. Chen Fan

persuaded Dou Wu that they should be purged, but under the influence of Cao Jie the Dowager rejected her father's proposals and continued to protect her attendants. As time passed the frustration of Chen Fan and the reformers became obvious, and Dou Wu prepared for a coup to bring swift and bloody resolution to the stalemate.

In the autumn of 168 matters came to a head. Through his agents Shan Bing and Yin Xun, Dou Wu recommended the arrest of Cao Jie and Wang Fu, but then he then went back to bed; and during the night the eunuchs ran a counter-coup against him. Persuading the boy Emperor Ling to support them, they seized the Dowager's seal, took control of the palaces, and arrested the elderly Chen Fan as he sought to attack them. Dou Wu and his nephew Dou Shao gathered troops from the Northern Army, but they were faced by imperial orders and by the frontier general Zhang Huan, who had been persuaded to oppose the traitor. Dou Wu's men deserted him and Dou Wu and Dou Shao committed suicide.

As Dou Wu's head and that of his son were exposed at the Capital Hostel, central police station of the city, where the confrontation had taken place, other members of the family were executed and remnant relatives and clients were exiled to the far south. Chen Fan and many of his supporters among the officials were killed, and there was a second Proscription against the reformists throughout the empire. -HHS 69/59:2239-44*, 10B:445-46, XC 4:11a; deC 75A, deC 89:64, 88-102, 121-126, Ch'ü 72:484-490, Bn 76: 95-98.

Dou Wu 竇武, wife of (d.172). The Lady was the mother of Dou Miao, who became Empress and later Dowager of Emperor Huan. When the Dou family was destroyed by the eunuchs in 168, the Lady was exiled to the far south. She died there in 172 and it is said that when her daughter the Dowager heard it she died of grief 以憂死; this latter death may have been assisted. -HHS 10B:446.

Dou Xian 竇憲 [Bodu 伯度] (d.92); Youfufeng. Eldest son of Dou Xun, Dou Xian was left an orphan when his father was disgraced and died about 70, but the family fortunes were restored when his two sisters entered the imperial harem in 77 and the elder became empress to Emperor Zhang in the following year. Dou Xian and his brothers Du, Jing and Xiang were favoured as her male relatives. Dou Xian was first

appointed a gentleman cadet, then Palace Attendant, and then General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger in command of palace guards. His younger brothers received comparable honours, but Dou Xian was leader of the clan.

Within the court, imperial kinsmen and the former consort families Yin and Ma were all intimidated by the Dou, and Dou Xian forced the Princess Liu Zhi, daughter of Emperor Ming, to sell him a pleasure ground at an unfairly low price. Emperor Zhang found out and was furious. He was going to make an example of him, and Dou Xian was terrified. His sister the empress apologised and persuaded her husband not to take the matter so far, but Dou Xian was compelled to return the property and he received no positions of importance.

After the death of Emperor Zhang in 88 Dou Xian's sister became regent Dowager for the young Emperor He, and Dou Xian acted as her agent in dealing with the officers of state. He also had the former Grand Commandant Deng Biao named Grand Tutor for the new reign, and thus held influence both inside and outside the palace. Dou Xian was cruel and impatient, and no-one at court dared withstand him when he was angry. He sent his retainers to kill a son of the former Intendant Han Yu, who had been involved in the interrogation of his father Dou Xun years before, then had the young man's head presented as an offering to Dou Xun's grave.

The marquis Liu Chang, son of Liu Shi the King of Qi, came to Luoyang with a formal message of condolence for the death of Emperor Zhang. A man of depraved character, Liu Chang had visited the capital several times before, and he now gained admission to the palace and to the favour of the Dowager. Concerned that Liu Chang might become a rival for influence with his sister, Dou Xian sent retainers to kill him, then sought to put the blame upon Liu Chang's brother Gang. Through the efforts of the clerical officer He Chang, the whole affair was found out, there was a great scandal and Dou Xian was placed under house arrest in the palace.

Just at this time the Shanyu Tuntuhe of the Southern Xiongnu sent a memorial to the throne, reporting turmoil amongst the Northern Xiongnu and proposing a decisive campaign to take over the steppe. Warmly supported by the general Geng Bing, the plan was opposed by senior ministers, but the Dowager saw

it as a means to cover the family embarrassment by giving her brother an opportunity for military glory. Dou Xian was named General of Chariots and Cavalry to lead the expedition, with Geng Bing as second-in-command.

The army was prepared during the winter of 88. The core of the force was provided by troops from the five regiments of the Northern Army, the professional elite force normally stationed at the capital which formed the central strategic reserve of the empire. To these were added regular troops from the great base and training camps of Liyang in Wei commandery and Yong in Youfufeng, the army commanded by the General on the Liao in Wuyuan, and levies from frontier commanderies. Besides the main force of the Southern Xiongnu there were also auxiliaries from the Qiang and other tribespeople. The total force numbered some forty thousand.

In the summer of 89 four columns passed out from the frontier to gather at Zhuoye Mountain, in the Gurvan Sayhan Uul range, first high ground on the way into Mongolia. From this concentration point a large detachment commanded by the senior colonel Yan Pan was sent northwest. Defeating the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain, they pursued him into the Altai ranges, and it is said that they captured a million head of horses, cattle, sheep and camels, killed over thirteen thousand men, and received the surrender of two hundred thousand people from eighty-one tribal groups. This broke the power of the northern state, and Dou Xian and Geng Bing led the main army north in a triumphal progress. Burning the sacred site of Longcheng, in the autumn they erected a celebratory stele at Mount Yanran in the Hangayn Nuruu range. Composed by the historian Ban Gu, the inscription described how the army of Han had come more than three thousand *li* beyond the frontiers and traversed all the lands of the empire held by the great Shanyu Modun 冒頓 in the early second century BC.

As Dou Xian returned to Wuyuan, he sent two envoys, Wu Si and Liang Feng, to offer the Northern Shanyu gifts of gold brocade and a summons to surrender. The Shanyu agreed, but as he approached he heard the Han troops had withdrawn. Still in the Altai, he decided to wait. He did send a younger brother as envoy and hostage, but Dou Xian insisted he come in person. Even as these negotiations were in train, the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe sent eight thousand cavalry

under the prince Shizi to accompany the Emissary Geng Tan in an attack on the Northern headquarters. Putting the Shanyu to flight, they seized his seal and treasury, his wife and family, and several thousand of his subjects.

Dou Xian had sent Liang Feng and Ban Gu on a second embassy to the Shanyu, but by the time they arrived Geng Tan and Shizi had driven him away. The envoys returned, and Dou Xian recommended that the Shanyu was now too weak to be worth dealing with; he should be finally eliminated. In the autumn of 91 the colonel Geng Kui attacked and destroyed the remnants of the Northern court. The Shanyu fled to the west and was not heard of again.

Dou Xian planned to set up a puppet court for the Northern Xiongnu, parallel to that of the south, with the prince Atong as his preferred candidate. Yuan An and others argued that this would break faith with the Southern Shanyu, long-time ally of Han, and though Dou Xian won the debate he was obliged to accept the prince Yuchujian, younger brother of the recent Shanyu, instead of Atong. The new arrangement lasted only a year.

Dou Xian's victories were generously rewarded. After his initial success in 90 he was greeted by imperial messengers appointing him General-in-Chief and granting him a county marquis with revenue from 20,000 households. Dou Xian refused the fief, but the position of General-in-Chief was raised: in the past it had been below the Excellencies, with staff equivalent to that of the Grand Commandant, but Dou Xian now ranked next only to the Grand Tutor, while the number and salaries of his staff were vastly augmented. At the same time rewards were issued to his troops and appointments given to those heads of commanderies who had supported the great enterprise.

The Dou faction now dominated the court, with Geng Kui and Deng Die in military authority, the clerical officers Ban Gu and Fu Yi controlling the affairs of the Secretariat, and numbers of clients in positions of authority within and outside the capital. Dou Xian's brothers received fiefs of 6,000 households each, Dou Du and Dou Xiang were ministers, and Dou Jing was Bearer of the Mace until his excess of corruption rendered it politic to remove him from executive power. Dou Xian's uncles Dou Ba, Dou Bao and Dou Jia likewise held ministerial rank or its equivalent, and another dozen of the family were appointed to high

office in the court and the administration. Within the palace itself, Guo Ju, Deng Die's brother Deng Lie and other allies held great influence with the Dowager Dou, and there were allegations of sexual and political intrigue.

At this time, while Dou Xian was still with the army in the northwest, the young Emperor He was able to gather support among a group of eunuchs led by Zheng Zhong to free himself from the control of these over-mighty subjects. In the summer of 92, as Dou Xian returned to the capital, he was welcomed by the Minister Herald with an imperial donation for each of his men. As he entered the palace, however, imperial orders called the palace police and the troops of the Northern Army to guard the gates while Deng Die, Deng Lei, Guo Ju and other associates of the Dowager Dou were arrested and executed. The Supervisor of Internuncios was then sent to strip Dou Xian of his insignia as General-in-Chief. Dou Xian's fief was changed, and he and his brothers were sent from the capital.

In a show of respect for the Dowager, Emperor He did not formally order her brothers' execution, but as they arrived at their estates Dou Xian, Dou Du and Dou Jing were compelled to commit suicide. Because of his good reputation, Dou Xiang escaped that immediate fate, but he and other associates of the family were dismissed and likewise expelled. -*HHS* 23/13:813-20*, 43/33:1483; *deC* 84:266-275, *Ch'ü* 72:460-464.

Dou Xiang 竇翔. Administrator of Kuaiji in the 30s, he appointed Zhongli Yi as his Officer of Merit. -*HHSJJ* 41/31:1493 Hui Dong quoting the Secondary Biography of Zhongli Yi.

Dou Xiang 竇瑗 (d.98); Youfufeng. Son of Dou Xun, he was left an orphan by the forced death of his father. In 78 his sister became the consort of Emperor Zhang, and Dou Xiang and his brothers Dou Xian, Dou Du and Dou Jing were favoured as her male relatives. Fond of Confucian scholarship, during the early 80s Dou Xiang was Administrator in Wei commandery and then in Yingchuan.

In 88 Emperor Zhang's testamentary edict recommended Dou Jing and Dou Xiang be granted court rank, and with their sister as regent Dowager for the young Emperor He the family became increasingly powerful. Dominating the court and the capital, the brothers built great mansions and gathered hosts of retainers. All were accused of misusing imperial

property and plundering people, but Dou Xiang was more restrained than his elders.

Following Dou Xian's triumphant campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 89, his three brothers were enfeoffed and Dou Xiang became Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. After the final victory in 91 Dou Xiang was made Minister of the Household, with great authority in the capital.

In 92, with the aid of the eunuch Zheng Chong, Emperor He carried out a coup against the Dou. The brothers were stripped of their offices and sent away to their fiefs, and all except Dou Xiang committed suicide or were killed on the road. Recognised for his previous good conduct, he escaped death, but in the following year he was charged with making grants to the poor, outside the authority of a marquis. His fief was transferred to Changsha, and it was ordered that he should have no authority over any officials of his territory.

In 98, following the death of the Dowager Dou in the previous year, the family of the Lady Liang, natural mother of Emperor He, was restored to favour, and Liang Tang and his brothers, uncles of the emperor, were brought back from their exile in Jiuzhen. On their way through Changsha they called at the estate of Dou Xiang and forced him to kill himself. -HHS 23/13:813-820; Ch'ü 72:462.

Dou Xuan 寶宣; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Mu, he shared in the family loss of favour and exile under Emperor Ming. About 70, Dou Mu was found guilty of attempting to bribe a local officer in Youfufeng. Dou Xuan was arrested with him and they both died in prison. -HHS 23/13:809.

Dou Xun 寶勳; Youfufeng. Son of Dou Mu, he married a daughter of Liu Qiang the son of Emperor Guangwu. When his father and other members of the family were disgraced and sent back to their home country about 70, Dou Xun was permitted to remain at the capital. Soon afterwards, however, the Internuncio Han Yu accused him of a crime, and Dou Xun was sent to prison and died.

The family was sent from Luoyang, but in 77 Dou Xun's two daughters entered the harem of Emperor Zhang, and in 78 the elder became empress. In 82 Dou Xun was granted posthumous honour as a marquis. -HHS 23/13:808-09, 10A:415; Ch'ü 72:213, 459-460.

Dou You 寶友 (15 BC-AD 47); Youfufeng. Younger twin brother of Dou Rong, when Emperor Guangwu

sought Dou Rong's support in 29 and named him Governor of Liang province, Dou Rong undertook to send Dou You to him. The road was blocked by Wei Ao, and though the message got through and the alliance was confirmed, Dou You did not in fact travel to the east at this time.

As Dou Rong brought his troops to join Guangwu for operations against Wei Ao in 32, Dou You was appointed a Commandant of the Equipage, and after the first stage of the campaign proved successful he was granted a marquisate in Hanyang.

In 47 Dou You was appointed Colonel of the City Gates. He died soon afterwards. -HHS 23/13:800, 806-07.

Dou You 寶攸. A conscientious student, in the time of Emperor Guangwu Dou You was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. During a court conference a mouse appeared which looked like a leopard [鼠如豹: presumably spotted]. The emperor asked what it was called, and only Dou You knew that it was a *ting* 鼯 [or *ding*], supporting his claim by reference to *Er ya* 爾雅, where it was checked and proved correct. He was generously rewarded and his colleagues were inspired to study the dictionary. -HQ 2:9a.

Dou Yuan 寶元 [Shugao 叔高]; Youfufeng? According to *Sanfu jue* 三府決, Dou Yuan came to the court of Emperor Xian as Reporting Officer for his commandery. He was extremely good looking, and the emperor insisted he marry one of his daughters. Dou Yuan objected that he already had a wife, but the imperial orders were carried out.

Since the *Sanfu jue* is a history of gentlemen from the commanderies about Chang'an, we may assume that Dou Yuan was a member of the distinguished family of Youfufeng, presumably a kinsman of Dou Fu.

Dou Zhang 寶章 [Boxiang 伯向]; Youfufeng. Younger son of Dou Wanquan, he was a keen scholar as a boy, became skilled at literary composition, and was a close associate of Ma Rong and Cui Yuan.

When the Qiang rebellion broke out in 107, Dou Zhang moved east to Chenliu for refuge from the troubles. Though very poor, he maintained proper modes of conduct and held firm to his scholarship. Deng Kang, who became Minister Coachman about 126, learned of his reputation and sought his acquaintance, but Dou Zhang would not go to visit him. Deng Kang was all the more impressed. He arranged his

appointment as a collator in the Eastern Pavilion, major imperial library and a centre for literary and historical work, and Dou Zhang became a recognised "hermit at court" 朝隱.

A year or so later a young daughter of Dou Zhang was taken into the imperial harem of the young Emperor Shun, received his favours, and both she and the Lady Liang Na became Honoured Ladies. On the basis of this connection to the throne, Dou Zhang was named a commander of the guards of the Feathered Forest and then a colonel in the Northern Army. Despite these appointments and favours, he remained committed to scholarship and took no part in the court intrigues which arose about his daughter and her rival of the Liang family. When the young woman died, the emperor mourned her deeply and commissioned a stele in her memory, with the inscription written by Dou Zhang himself.

Emperor Shun continued to show his regard for Dou Zhang, appointing him Minister Steward in 140 and Minister Herald in 143. In the following year when Emperor Shun died and the Lady Liang Na, now Dowager, took over as regent, Dou Zhang resigned his office. He died at home, but a collection of his works survived to the Sui and Tang periods. -*HHS* 23/13:821-22*; *Vervoor* 90:217.

Douti 兜題 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. In 73 King Jian of Qiuzi attacked the state of Shule [Kashgar], killed its King Cheng and set his own officer Douti on the throne. Later that year, however, the Chinese envoy Ban Chao came to Shule, and Douti was taken by surprise and captured by his officer Tian Lü. The native dynasty was restored and Douti was sent back to Qiuzi. -*HHS* 47/37:1574, 88/78:2926.

Dowager Empress 皇太后 see Empress-Dowager 皇太后.

Dragon Liang 梁龍 see Liang Long 梁龍.

Dry Grub 苦蛭 see Kujiu 苦蛭.

Du 杜, the Lady I. The beautiful wife of Qin Yilu, an officer of Lü Bu, she came into Cao Cao's hands when Lü Bu's capital at Xiapi fell in 198. Cao Cao had promised her to Guan Yu, but then took her into his own harem. -*SGZ* 3:100, *SGZ* Shu 6:939.

Du 杜, the Lady II. A senior concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Lin, Cao Gun and a daughter. This is probably the same person as the Lady Du formerly married to Qin Yilu: see above. -*SGZ* 20:579 & *JJ* 1a-b.

Du An 杜安 [Boyi 伯夷]; Yingchuan. A brilliant scholar, when he attended the Imperial University at the age of thirteen during the 70s Du An was known as the Young Genius 神童. He was recommended by the worthy officer Yue Hui, Zhou Yu the harsh Prefect of Luoyang called upon him and he was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies. A man of high moral standards, he was initially reluctant to take service in the government, and refused all such offers.

Eventually Du An was persuaded by his county magistrate Song Du to become his Officer of Merit, and he later received a special imperial summons and was appointed magistrate of Wan, capital of Nanyang commandery. There he halted a private vendetta among leading families by carrying out a public execution but, concerned that he might be impeached for such strict conduct, he resigned his office on grounds of ill health.

As Emperor Zhang was on tour in Yingchuan in 83, Du An wrote to him, was called to court and appointed an Imperial Clerk, member of the Censorate. Transferred to be Administrator of Ba commandery, he became known for excellent government, guiding people to good conduct by personal example.

In the 80s and early 90s, Du An received letters from several members of powerful families, including relatives of the Empress Dou, but he did not respond to them and hid them in the wall of his house. After the Dou were destroyed in 92, orders were given for the arrest of their associates, but when the officers came to Du An he was able to hand them all the letters, unopened with their seals intact. He was admired for his foresight.

Du An died in office in Ba commandery, leaving only the most frugal possessions, and his sons pulled the funeral carriage. The people honoured him, and a stele was set up at his tomb. -*HHS* 43/33:1478, 57/47:1839, *HQ* 1:18a, *XC* 7:6a, *SGZ* 23:665.

Du Bang 杜邦 [Shaobo 召伯]; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72A:2418 says that Du Bang, a son of Du Dun, became a Consultant.

Du Bao 杜保 [Jiliang 季良]; Jingzhao. In the early 40s Du Bao was an officer in the Northern Army. In a letter from Ma Yuan to his nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun, reprimanding them for their excessive criticism of others, he praised Du Bao for his love of morality, but expressed reservations about his outspokenness, in contrast to the exemplary Long Shu.

An enemy of Du Bao later reported to the throne that he was a rabble-rouser, and that the imperial sons-on-law Liang Song and Dou Gu were friendly with him: the accuser was no doubt a member of the Ma faction, opposed to the Dou group. The emperor called Liang Song and Dou Gu and showed them the document and also Ma Yuan's letter. The two apologised, kowtowing until blood ran from their foreheads. They were pardoned, but Du Bao was dismissed. -HHS 24/14:844-45.

Du Bin 杜賓 [Shuda 叔達]; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72A:2418 says that Du Bin, a son of Du Bang, was nominated as Knowing the Way, but did not accept the invitation.

Du [Bochi] 杜伯持; Jianwei. Perhaps a kinsman of Du Fu, Du Boshi served as Administrator of Wuling. -HYGZ 3:32.

Du [Bodu] 杜伯度. Du Bodu was considered one of the great calligraphers of his day, skilled in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." His treatment of the character *sha* 殺 was considered particularly beautiful.

Du Bodu's work and that of his younger contemporary Cui Yuan, known as the style of Cui and Du 崔杜之法, served as a model for the later master Zhang Zhi. -HHS 64/54:2122, 65/55:2144.

JS 36:1065 refers to this man as Du Du 杜度, ascribes him to the time of Emperor Zhang, in the last quarter of the first century AD, and says that he served as Chancellor of the kingdom of Qi.

Du Chang 杜長. A subordinate commander to Zhang Yan in the 190s, he was sent to assist Gongsun Zan against Yuan Shao but was defeated. -SGZ 8:261.

Du Cheng 杜成 (d.30); Youfufeng. As the capital district fell into disorder after the fall of Wang Mang in 23, Du Cheng accompanied his elder brother Du Lin and other gentlemen escaping to the west. The party joined the warlord Wei Ao, but in 30 Du Cheng died. Du Lin took his death as an excuse to return to Luoyang and join the court of Emperor Guangwu of Han. -HHS 27/17:935-36.

Du Cheng 杜成; Guanghan. About 100 Du Cheng was a citizen of the county ruled by the worthy magistrate Yan Xian. When he found a valuable roll of cloth, he was inspired by Yan Xian's moral example and returned it to its owner. -HYGZ 10C:168.

Du Chong 杜崇 (d.95). Emissary to the Xiongnu in 94, Du Chong was on bad terms with the Shanyu Anguo. Anguo had succeeded to the title in 93 but was

overshadowed by his younger cousin Shizi, who had made a name for himself by enthusiastic co-operation with the Chinese and by energetic attacks upon the Northern Xiongnu.

Anguo wrote to complain of Du Chong, but Du Chong intercepted the letter, then joined the General on the Liao Zhu Hui in reporting that they doubted his loyalty and suspected he was planning to assassinate Shizi and other pro-Chinese chieftains. The court of Emperor He ordered an investigation, but gave instructions that in the mean time Anguo should be subject to a special watch and guard. One night, Du Chong and Zhu Hui led armed men to Anguo's camp. Fleeing in fear, Anguo gathered his personal supporters and some surrendered Northern Xiongnu and went to attack Shizi.

As Shizi took refuge in Zhu Hui's headquarters, Anguo's attack was unsuccessful. Then Chinese troops came up, and when Anguo refused to surrender he was killed by his own followers. Shizi succeeded Anguo as Shanyu, but his enmity for the northerners, and the manner in which he had been placed upon the throne, brought rebellion among the people who had surrendered. Du Chong and Shizi were obliged to take refuge in a herding office, from which they were rescued by the Shanyu's Chinese body-guard.

The rebels now proclaimed the southern prince Fenghou as a rival Shanyu. Killing Chinese officials and burning guard-houses, they made their way towards the frontier. The court sent a large army, but despite heavy defeats Fenghou and many of his people managed to escape and establish a state of their own in the steppe.

The conduct of Du Chong and Zhu Hui had contributed greatly to this major failure of policy. Both men were arrested and died in prison. -HHS 89/79:2955-56; deC 84:278-281.

Du Chong 杜崇 [Boguo 伯括]; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72A:2418 says that Du Chong, a son of Du Bin, held a clerical post under the Excellency of Works. *XTS* also says that he was the father of Du Ji 畿, who held office under Wei. As Du Ji was born about 160, this Du Chong cannot be the same man as in the entry above.

Du Ci 杜慈, the Lady; Hanzhong. The Lady was married to Yu Xian of Ba commandery, but he died young and the couple had no children. Her father Du Ji wanted her to marry again, but she swore to remain loyal to her husband's family, and when he attempted

to force her she hanged herself. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Du Ci 杜慈 [Ziren 子仁]; Guanghan. Commandery officer for water control, in 176 Du Ci was involved in the works carried out at Mianzhu under the Administrator Shen Ziju. -LS 15:8b.

Du Du 杜篤 [Jiya 季雅] (d.78); Jingzhao. Du Du was a descendant of the leading official Du Yannian 杜延年 of the first century BC [XTS 72B:2418 says that he was the son of Du Rang and a brother of Du Dun]. He was already widely learned when he was young, but he was not a courteous man and his neighbours resented him. Du Du went to Youfufeng, where he became friends with the local magistrate, but then they fell out, and in 44 his former friend had him arrested and sent to Luoyang.

About this time the Grand Marshal Wu Han died and Emperor Guangwu asked all scholars at the capital to prepare a eulogy for his old comrade-in-arms. Du Du sent one from his prison cell, with lofty sentiments and fine diction, and the emperor so admired the work that he ordered Du Du be released.

Du Du then composed the rhapsody *Lundu fu* 論都賦 "Rhapsody on the Capitals," urging that the imperial court be moved from Luoyang back to Chang'an: the text occupies the greater part of his biography in HHS 80/70A. His arguments were countered by Wang Jing, and their debate was a forerunner of the great paired works by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng. Many of the older generation appreciated such nostalgia for the old capital and hoped for a change, and though nothing was done, Du Du's literary ability was celebrated. He retired to his home country, however, where he held appointment as Literary Scholar in the commandery, then left office because of an illness of his eyes. He did not return to the capital for over twenty years.

On his mother's side Du Du was connected to the general Xin Wuxian 辛武賢 of Former Han, and he frequently expressed regret at not being a man of such military achievement. His sister, however, had married into the Ma family of imperial consorts, and as the general Ma Fang embarked on a campaign against the Qiang in 78 he gave Du Du a senior position on his staff. Unfortunately Du Du was killed in battle.

Celebrated for his calligraphy, Du Du left eighteen *pian* of literary works, including rhapsodies and eulogies, an essay of advice to women 女誡 *Nu jie* and a discussion of the frontier 邊論 *Bian lun*, together with *Mingshi lun* 明世論, on current affairs, in a further

thirteen *pian*. -HHS 80/70A:2595-2609*, 76/66:2466.

Du Du 杜度 see Du [Bodu] 杜伯度. -JS 36:1065.

Du Dun 杜敦 [Zhongxin 仲信]; Jingzhao. XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Dun, a son of Du Rang, was Administrator of Xihe.

Du Fan 杜繁; Jingzhao. XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Fan was a son of Du Bang.

Du Fang 杜訪; Yingchuan. A student of the Excellency Li Gu, executed in 147, Du Fang was one of the disciples who compiled *De xing* 德行 "Virtuous Conduct," a record of their late master's sayings. -HHS 63/53:2089.

Du Feng 杜奉; Nanyang. Du Feng was a grandson of Du Mao. In 113 the regent Dowager Deng granted him a village marquisate in recognition of Du Mao's service and in replacement of the district fief which had been taken from his uncle [or father] Du Yuan. -HHS 22/12:778.

Du Fu 杜撫 [Shuhe 叔和]; Jianwei. Recognised for his abilities when young, Du Fu studied the classics under the Academician Xue Han, and assisted his compilation of a detailed commentary to the Han interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*. Returning to his home country, he established a private academy which attracted over a thousand students, including Feng Liang, from as far away as Nanyang.

Du Fu was invited to become Officer of Merit by the Administrator Wang Qing, and was also offered appointment at the capital in the office of the Excellency over the Masses. He refused both positions, but when his would-be patron left office he went to pay his respects.

Du Fu later accepted senior clerical office with Liu Cang, brother of Emperor Ming and at that time General of Agile Cavalry. When Liu Cang retired to his estates in 62, his staff were transferred to his royal court. Many of them, seeing limited opportunities for advancement, left his service before their time had expired, but Du Fu was unwilling to do so. When Liu Cang learnt of his loyalty he rewarded him with valuable gifts, including a carriage and horses, and formally approved his departure.

Du Fu later held clerical office under the Grand Commandant, and in 72 he was one of the historians commissioned by Emperor Ming to compile annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu 世祖本紀; this work, initially known as the "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Hanji*.

As Bielenstein observes at 79:121, the project was politically sensitive and the committee delicately balanced: it was chaired by Ban Gu, a member of the Dou faction which had been instrumental in the disgrace of Ma Yuan in 49, but Ma Yuan's daughter was now empress, and Ma Yan and Meng Ji represented that interest. Du Fu and his colleague Chen Zong were probably neutral.

In the late 70s Du Fu was appointed Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages, where memorials to the throne were received. He died soon afterwards.

Du Fu left a major work on the *Classic of Poetry*, *Shi tiyue yitong* 詩題約義通; his tradition of scholarship, the techniques of Lord Du 杜君法, was maintained for generations. -HHS 79/69B:2573*, 40/30A:1334, XC 5:10a, HYGZ 10B:156; Bn 54:10.

Du Gen 杜根 [Bojian 伯堅]; Yingchuan. Son of Du An, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet at Luoyang. At this time, though Emperor An had taken the cap of manhood in 109 and was formally of age, the Dowager Deng still held control of the government. Du Gen and a group of fellow-countrymen from Yingchuan sent in letters of protest. The Dowager was furious: the men were arrested and sentenced to death by bastinado. One of the legal officials, knowing Du Gen's reputation, persuaded the executioners not to beat him with full force, and so he escaped. [The dating of this incident is confused.]

Du Gen then worked several years for a wine-maker near the Yangzi in Nan commandery. When Emperor An came to power after the death of the Dowager in 121, he was told of the loyal concern which Du Gen and his colleagues had shown. Believing they were dead, the emperor issued a call for their sons or grandsons, but Du Gen made himself known and was appointed to the Censorate.

In the time of Emperor Shun Du Gen became Administrator of Jiyin, where he governed with virtue and inspired good conduct by his example. He then retired to his home, dying in his late 70s. For years afterwards, as men came to take office in Yingchuan they first paid respects at the tombs of Du Gen and his father Du An. -HHS 57/47:1839-41*, SGZ 23:665, HHJ 16:190.

Du He 杜合 [Jusun 巨孫]; Nanyang. Described as a former Investigator of the commandery, in 156 Du He was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele of the

eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Du Hong 杜弘; Nanyang. A local leader in the northwest of the commandery, in the summer of 27 he joined the renegade Yan Cen, who had been driven southeast from the capital territory into Nanyang. After capturing a number of cities, they were defeated in Rang county by an imperial army under Geng Yan. Du Hong surrendered. -HHS 19/9:707.

Du Hong 杜宏; Jingzhao. XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Hong was a son of Du Bang.

Du Hui 杜恢 (d.115). Administrator of Anding in 115, from his base in Youfufeng Du Hui was sent with a subordinate command under Sima Jun to attack the Qiang rebels and the renegade leader Du Jigong. They occupied the enemy fortress at Dingxi in northern Beidi, but when Sima Jun sent Du Hui and other officers out to collect grain they ignored his orders, allowed their troops to scatter, and were cut off by the rebels and their Qiang allies. Sima Jun, angry at their disobedience, stayed in the city and refused to send assistance. The Chinese lost over three thousand men, and Du Hui died in the fighting. -HHS 87/77:2889; deC 84:107-108.

Du Ji 杜季 of Hanzhong was the father of the loyal widow Du Ci.

Du Ji 杜畿 [Bohou 伯侯]; Jingzhao. Born in the early 160s, Du Ji gained reputation for the care he showed his mother after the early death of his father. [XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Ji's father was Du Chong.]

Du Ji became a local officer and then brevet magistrate in his home commandery, gaining reputation for the speed and efficiency with which he dealt with those in prison. Recommended Filial and Incorrupt, he became Assistant Administrator in Hanzhong but left office at the beginning of the civil war about 190 and spent some years in Jing province.

When his mother died, Du Ji brought her coffin back to their home country, where he was appointed Officer of Merit by his old friend Zhang Shi, now Administrator of Jingzhao for Cao Cao. Noticed and recommended by Xun Yu, Du Ji was given office by Cao Cao, first on his staff, then as Protector of the Qiang with the Staff of Authority and Administrator of Xiping in the Xining valley, the western part of Jincheng, now set up as a new commandery.

In 205 Du Ji was appointed Administrator of Hedong, which was at that time under threat from Gao Gan of the Yuan family and was controlled by the

local officers Wei Gu and Fan Xian. These attempted to block his entry, but Du Ji had met Wei Gu before and knew that he was indecisive. He went by side-roads, acted humbly and obliged the potential rebels to accept him, then persuaded them to weaken their troops. As Gao Gan attacked the commandery from the east, he was supported on the south by the bandit Zhang Cheng, while there was widespread rebellion in neighbouring Shangdang. Du Ji, however, gathered loyal forces to hold the county cities against the invader and the mutineers, Wei Gu and his fellows were killed and Gao Gan and Zhang Cheng were driven away.

Du Ji remained in Hedong sixteen years, setting up schools and maintaining a good and generous government. When Cao Cao attacked the north-western warlords in 211, Hedong provided supplies to the army. After the victory Du Ji's salary was raised to that of a minister, and he gave support in later campaigns against Hanzhong.

In 220 Cao Pi enfeoffed Du Ji and appointed him to his Secretariat at the capital. He then became Director of Retainers and in 222 he took charge of famine relief in Ji province. When Cao Pi attacked Wu in 223 Du Ji was left in charge at the capital as Deputy Director of the Secretariat. He was drowned soon afterwards, when a ship undergoing trials capsized in the Yellow River. -SGZ 16:493-97*.

Du Ji 杜稷 see Du Mu 杜穆.

Du Ji 杜基; Yingchuan. A grandson of Du Gen, about 230 he was granted minor enfeoffment by Cao Rui, Emperor of Wei, on account of the achievements of his elder brother Du Xi. -SGZ 23:667.

Du Jie 杜楷; Jingzhao. In 188, as the Liang province rebels under Wang Guo approached Chang'an, the Intendant He Xun persuaded Emperor Ling to commission private troops. Du Jie was one of five leaders of local gentry who received title as Commandant to raise their own regiments and join the imperial forces under the command of He Xun. -HHS 58/48:1883.

Du Jigong 杜季貢 (d.117); Hanyang. In the autumn of 111 Du Jigong joined his elder brother Du Qi and Wang Xin in a rebellion allied to the Qiang. Du Qi was assassinated, and the rebels were defeated by the Imperial Clerk Tang Xi in the following year. Wang Xin was killed and Du Jigong fled to join the Qiang leader Dianlian.

When Dianlian died soon afterwards, Du Jigong

was named a general and a member of the regency council for his young heir Lianchang. He established himself at Dingxi city in northern Beidi, and in 115 he inflicted heavy casualties upon an army of levies led by Sima Jun.

Soon afterwards the Chinese commander Ren Shang sent a cavalry raid against Dingxi. They killed four hundred of Du Jigong's men and captured several thousand head of cattle, horses and sheep. Du Jigong did not take an active role again, and two years later he was assassinated by Yu Gui and a group of turncoat Qiang. -HHS 87/77:2888-91; deC 84:107-110.

Du Kuang 都匡 [Zhongying 仲英]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Du Kuang was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Du Kui 杜夔 [Gongliang 公良]; Henan. Because of his ability in the field, Du Kui became Gentleman of the Court Music during the 180s, but he resigned in 188 on account of ill health. His provincial and commandery governments invited him to office, as did the Excellency over the Masses, but when the region of the capital became troubled Du Kui went to take refuge in Jing province. The warlord Governor Liu Biao had Du Kui and Meng Yao compose pieces suitable for the court of Han, and when it was ready he wanted to have it played in his own assembly. Du Kui, however, told Liu Biao that since he was not the Emperor it would not be appropriate to arrange such a performance. Liu Biao duly gave up the idea.

When Liu Biao's son Liu Zong surrendered to Cao Cao in 208, Du Kui was appointed to Cao Cao's staff and became responsible for the music of the puppet court of Emperor Xian. He was expert with bells and pipes, and had an excellent ear for all musical instruments, but was less skilled in singing and dancing. His associates Deng Jing, Yin Qi, Yin Hu Feng Su and Fu Yang, however, complemented his abilities, while Du Kui also carried out wide research in an attempt to reconstruct ancient instruments and their tuning.

In particular, Du Kui conducted an unsuccessful experiment on the traditional pitchpipes 律, which were supposed to blow ashes into the air in accordance with the seasonal changes of *qi* 氣 ethers. He also had the bell-maker Chai Yu prepare a set of tuned bells, but then claimed they did not match and demanded they be melted down and re-cast. Chai Yi objected that Du Kui was being arbitrary, and the quarrel was brought

to Cao Cao. Cao Cao had the bells sounded, and found that Du Kui was correct. Chai Yu and his family were sent away to be horse-herders.

In the time of Cao Pi, Du Kui became Court Musician. Cao Pi, however, had admired Chai Yu and resented his fate, and when a time came that Du Kui was reluctant to perform when requested, Cao Pi became even more annoyed. He found opportunity to dismiss Du Kui, who died soon afterwards. -SGZ 29:806-07*; Needham 62:185, 188.

Du Lin 杜林 [Boshan 伯山] (d.47); Youfufeng. A man of old official family, Du Lin's father Ye 鄴 had been Inspector of Liang province under Emperors Cheng and Ai of Former Han. The family had a major library, and Du Lin was inspired also by his mother's relatives: his great-grandfather Zhang Chang 張敞 had been a leading Old Text scholar of *Zuo zhuan*, and Du Lin himself travelled to study with his senior cousin, Zhang Chang's grandson Zhang Song 張竦. Du Lin became a celebrated Confucian scholar.

Du Lin held local office in the commandery, but after the fall of Wang Mang in 23 the capital district fell into disorder. Du Lin and his brother Cheng, with Fan Qun, Meng Ji and others of their fellow-countrymen, led a group of refugees to the west. They were attacked by bandits, robbed and threatened with death, but escaped through the fast talking of Meng Ji.

Du Lin and his companions became clients of the local warlord Wei Ao, and in 25 Wei Ao made Du Lin a senior official in his separatist government. Du Lin was reluctant, and wanted to return east. In 30 his brother Cheng died and he used the excuse to get away. Soon afterwards Wei Ao regretted he had given approval and sent his retainer Yang Xian to kill Du Lin. When he caught up, however, Yang Xian saw Du Lin hauling a small cart and mourning his brother. Unable to kill such a worthy man, he turned away.

As soon as Emperor Guangwu heard Du Lin had come, he offered him position as an Imperial Clerk and spoke with him about scholarship and, more relevantly, about the situation in the western provinces under Wei Ao and his rival Dou Rong. Delighted with the discussion, he awarded him carriages and robes and later appointed him to the Imperial Secretariat. A friend of the powerful Ma Yuan, Du Lin had a wide reputation, and when other gentlemen of the region saw how well he was treated they also came to join the

court of Han.

While in the west Du Lin obtained a single chapter of the Old Text *Classic of History*, written in lacquer. He treasured it above all else and kept it constantly with him. In Luoyang he showed it to the scholar Wei Hong, praising its teaching and urging the revival of the tradition. Though it never gained favour with the emperor, and those who adhered to it remained isolated, the Old Text revived in energy to rival the dominant New Text.

A conference held in 26 had urged recognition of Emperor Gao of Former Han as coadjutor 配 for sacrifices at the Altar of Heaven, but Guangwu wished to have the legendary Yao 堯, founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty, as coadjutor, and in 31 he called a second meeting. The majority was ready to accept the emperor's preference, but Du Lin argued that the pragmatic and humane dynasty of Han was of recent origin, and that there was no close connection with the distant and doubtful Yao. The emperor was persuaded, and Emperor Gao remained coadjutor.

Du Lin later replaced Wang Liang as Guardian of Honesty under the Excellency over the Masses, and he used this censorial position to recommend his fellow-countrymen Fan Qun, Zhao Bing and Shentu Gang, with Niu Han of Longxi and others, as well as the Old Text scholars Zheng Xing and Xu Xun. All obtained appointments and his choice was widely respected. The office of Director was abolished in 35, but Du Lin then became Minister of the Household, responsible both for guarding the ruler and for supervising gentlemen cadets. The selection of officials was always a major concern and it was of particular importance for the new dynasty. Du Lin encouraged scholarship among his protégés, and quickly brought forward those who showed aptitude and interest.

In 38 the Palace Counsellor Liang Tong urged the introduction of more severe punishments to ensure greater obedience to the law, and Guangwu called a court conference to consider the matter. Du Lin argued for the majority that the lenient policy of the recent past had proven effective, and was appropriate for an enlightened ruler. His view was accepted.

When the former Heir Liu Qiang, son of the disgraced Empress Guo, was deposed to be King of Donghai in 43, Du Lin was made his Tutor, with responsibility for his conduct and for the selection of his attendants. In the autumn he and his royal charge

accompanied the emperor to the south, and though some of the kings wandered and could not be found when their father wanted them, Du Lin ensured that Liu Qiang was always accounted for and available. The other guardians were not punished, but Du Lin was rewarded, and when he sought to refuse because the gifts were too generous, Guangwu added more.

In 44 Du Lin became Minister Steward, and he was later again Minister of the Household. He succeeded Zhu Fu as Excellency of Works at the end of 46, the first to hold that office without enfeoffment. When he died in the following autumn, Guangwu attended his funeral, and he appointed his son Du Qiao as a gentleman cadet and then a magistrate. -*HHS* 27/17: 934-39*; Bn 54:64-65, Bn 67:230, Bn 79:57, 129-130, 166-167, 189-193.

Du Mao 杜茂 [Zhugong 諸公] (d.43); Nanyang. When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came north of the Yellow River in 24, Du Mao went to join him. He was named a general and took part in his campaigns. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 Du Mao was made a chief general and was enfeoffed with a district marquissate, which was raised to a full county in the following year.

Towards the end of 25 Du Mao went with Shu Shou to defeat the Wuxiao bandits in Zhending [near present-day Shijiazhuang, later the eastern part of Changshan], and they also took over Guangping [later the southern part of Julu]. In 26 Du Mao accompanied Wu Han against the Tanxiang and other bandits in Wei and Henei commanderies.

Following the success of these campaigns, in the spring of 27 Du Mao was sent east with Wang Liang against the Wuxiao in Wei, Qinghe and Dong commanderies, either side of the Yellow River. Over-running the enemy camps and settlements, they forced the surrender of Du Meng, Dong Dun and thirty other leaders. All three commanderies were pacified, the roads were cleared to the northern and eastern frontiers, and an imperial messenger brought Du Mao insignia as Chief General of Agile Cavalry.

Du Mao then joined the attack on Liu Yong in Pei commandery and captured Wang city. Early in 29 he was sent with the general Ma Wu to attack Xifang in Shanyang: the city had been taken by He Yan in 28, but then the people rebelled and invited Liu Yong's officer Jiao Qiang, who came from that region, and who was joined by Liu Yong's son and claimant heir Liu Yu.

After a siege of several months Du Mao and Ma Wu recaptured the city and drove Jiao Qiang to refuge with Dong Xian.

The east of the plain was settled in 30, and in the following year Du Mao was sent to establish military colonies in Taiyuan as a defence against the northern pretender Lu Fang and his Xiongnu allies. In the winter of 33/34, after an unsuccessful campaign by Wu Han earlier in the year, Du Mao and Guo Liang, the latter named Administrator of Yanmen, attacked Lu Fang's officer Yin You in that commandery, while Wang Ba advanced from Shanggu. As the defenders were relieved by Jia Lan and some Xiongnu cavalry, however, Du Mao and Guo Liang were heavily defeated and driven back to the south. Raiding by Lu Fang and the Xiongnu continued unabated.

In 36 the Internuncio Duan Zhong was sent with a force of convict labourers to help Du Mao construct a system of border fortifications, with walls, watch-towers and beacons. Soon afterwards treachery in his camp forced Lu Fang to flee to the north, and Guo Liang was able to occupy Yanmen. The threat from the Xiongnu remained, however, and in 37 Du Mao worked with Wang Ba on the strategic "Flying Fox" Road from Shanggu through Dai commandery to the south, while they also constructed 125 kilometres of wall across the border of Yanmen and Dai. The emperor sent gold, silk and brocade to pay the army and to encourage the people on the frontier.

Du Mao was granted a new and more valuable fief, and he remained in the north until 39, when he was found guilty of embezzling supplies of horses, grain and silk, and of allowing his officers to kill people. He was dismissed from his command and his fief was reduced in rank and value to a district marquissate. He died four years later.

Recognising Du Mao as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 22/12:789-91*; Bn 67:108-111, Bn 76:26.

Du Meng 杜猛. A leader of the Wuxiao bandits, he operated in the region of the Yellow River with the title of a chief general, but surrendered to the forces of Du Mao and Wang Liang in 26. -*HHS* 22/12:776.

Du Mi 杜密 [Zhoufu 周甫] (d.169); Yingchuan. During the 140s Du Mi was appointed to the offices of the Excellency Hu Guang, and later became head

of several commanderies, including Dai and Taishan. Many local magistrates were kinsmen of the palace eunuchs, and some governed badly, but Du Mi kept strict control over them. As Chancellor of Beihai he met the scholar Zheng Xuan, recognised his quality, and arranged for him to attend the University at Luoyang.

Du Mi later left office and returned to his home country, but he had regular contact and considerable influence with local officials. On one occasion the Administrator Wang Yu, irritated by his constant stream of advice, praised his fellow-countryman Liu Sheng for his reticence. Du Mi responded that it was a matter of principle to speak out on matters of public policy. [This incident is recounted also in *FSTY* 5:40; Nylan 83:484-487. Ying Shao strongly disapproves of Du Mi's busy-bodying.]

Du Mi later became Director of the Imperial Secretariat, then Intendant of Henan and Minister Coachman. A known supporter of the reform movement, he was listed by the students at the University as one of the Eight Heroes 八俊, second rank of their ideal hierarchy. He does not appear to have played such a leading role as Li Ying, but their surnames were often coupled together in the phrase Li Du 李杜, both because they came from the same commandery and also in echo of the earlier pair Li Gu and Du Qiao at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan.

When the First Faction Incident broke out in 166 Du Mi was dismissed and returned home, but as Chen Fan became Grand Tutor after the death of Emperor Huan he had him reappointed Minister Coachman. Chen Fan was destroyed by the eunuchs in 168 and in the following year Du Mi was arrested in the Second Faction Incident. He killed himself. -*HHS* 67/57:2197-98* & 2187-88.

Du Mou 杜茂 see Du Mao 杜茂.

Du Mu 杜穆 or Du Ji 穆. Administrator of Cangwu in 29, Du Mu held commission from the late Gengshi Emperor but had his own local power. Guangwu's commander in the south, Cen Peng, wrote and urged him to accept the new imperial regime, while the Governor of Jiaozhi Deng Rang led by example. Du Mu duly sent tribute to Han and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -*HHS* 17/7:659; Bn 59:157-158.

Du Pu 杜普. An officer in the service of Liu Bei, about 210 he held an advance position as chief of a

county in Nan commandery facing Cao Cao's garrison commander Yue Jin in Xiangyang. Yue Jin defeated him and drove him away. -*SGZ* 17:521.

Du Qi 杜琦 (d.111); Hanyang. Local leaders south of the Wei, in the autumn of 111 Du Qi and his brother Du Jigong, together with Wang Xin, led a rebellion in alliance with the Qiang. Du Qi took title as a general, but the court put a price on his head, and the Administrator of Hanyang Zhao Bo sent Du Xi, possibly a relative, to assassinate him. -*HHS* 5:218, 87/77:2888; deC 84:106.

Du Qi 杜祺; Nanyang. About 220 Du Qi was appointed an assistant officer of the salt monopoly of Shu-Han under Wang Lian. He later held high rank. -*SGZ* Shu 9.988, 11:1009.

Du Qian 杜遷; Jingzhao. A local staff officer, in 165 Du Qian was sent to prepare a stele celebrating the completion of work on a temple at Mount Hua which the Intendant Yuan Feng had inaugurated in 161. -*LS* 2:3a.

Du Qiao 杜喬; Youfufeng. When his father the Excellency of Works Du Lin died in 47, Emperor Guangwu appointed Du Qiao as a gentleman cadet and then as a magistrate in Nanyang. -*HHS* 27/17:939.

Du Qiao 杜喬 [Shurong 叔榮] (d.147); Henei. A keen scholar, though he was descended from a high official family Du Qiao travelled on foot to seek teachers, and he became an expert in the *Poetry*, the *History*, *Ritual*, *Chunqiu*, the *Book of Changes* and in the teachings of Laozi.

About 121 Du Qiao was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and joined the offices of the Excellency Yang Zhen. He later became Administrator of Nan commandery, and then Chancellor of Donghai.

In the autumn of 142, in response to continuing criticism of the growing power of the empress's brother Liang Ji and their kinsmen, eight scholar-officials were appointed to a special commission of inquiry, with Du Qiao and Zhou Ju as the senior commissioners. They had a wide brief, with authority to report on good officials of every rank throughout the empire, and to impeach those who ruled badly. In Yan province, Du Qiao reported most favourably on Li Gu the Administrator of Taishan, and indicted the officials Fan Gong, Cui Yuan and Liang Rang: all were members of the Liang group; and Liang Rang was Liang Ji's uncle. Some good men gained advancement, but Liang Ji and his associates blocked hostile comments,

and the emperor eventually ordered the investigations ended. In the following year the reformist Li Gu, now a minister, arranged a review of the reports, and some provincial officials were dismissed.

About 144 Du Qiao was Tutor to the Heir Liu Bing. When the eunuch Gao Fan came to take charge of the infant, Du Qiao and his companions were unable to oppose him until the censorial officer Chong Gao turned him back with a drawn sword.

Du Qiao then became Minister of Finance. Liu Junshi, Administrator of Yongchang, sent a golden snake as a present for Liang Ji, but the Inspector Chong Gao reported it, and the ornament had to be placed in the official treasury. When Liang Ji asked for it Du Qiao refused him. Du Qiao was transferred to be Minister Herald, but in a further insult, when Liang Ji ordered senior officials to attend the funeral of his daughter, Du Qiao refused.

Following the death of Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, in 146, Du Qiao supported Li Gu and the other Excellencies in seeking to place Liu Suan the King of Qinghe on the throne. They were over-ridden by Liang Ji, who promoted his own candidate Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan. Du Qiao was appointed Minister of the Household, and in 147 he was promoted Grand Commandant. He promptly presented a memorial objecting to the manner in which members of the Liang family and senior eunuchs had been enfeoffed without good cause but, predictably, nothing was done.

At this time the Lady Liang Nüying, sister of the Dowager and of Liang Ji, was due to enter the imperial harem, and it was proposed to mark the occasion with special ceremony. Based upon precedent, Du Qiao refused his permission, and he also prevented the appointment of Liang Ji's supporter Fan Gong to the Secretariat: as a commissioner in 142 Du Qiao had arranged Fan Gong's dismissal for corruption.

Despite frequent disagreements with Liang Ji, and the fact that he and Li Gu were the only men to stand up to him, Du Qiao had risen to the highest ranks of the bureaucracy: he clearly had considerable influence and support. In the autumn of 147, however, soon after the Lady Liang became empress, he was dismissed on account of an earthquake at the capital.

In the mean time the eunuchs Tang Heng and Zuo Guan told the young emperor how Du Qiao and Li Gu had opposed his accession. Liu Zhi was predictably resentful, and when there was a plot to install Liu Suan

upon the throne in the following year, Liang Ji was able to accuse Li Gu and Du Qiao of involvement, while the eunuchs Tang Heng and now Zuo Guan told the young emperor how Li Gu and Du Qiao had opposed his accession. The Dowager was still reluctant, but Liang Ji offered Du Qiao the opportunity of suicide, and when he refused he sent soldiers to arrest him.

Du Qiao died in prison, Li Gu was executed, and the corpses of both men were displayed at the capital. Du Qiao's former officer Yang Kuang later collected his body for burial. -HHS 63/53:2091-94*.

Du Qin 杜禽. Du Qin was a close friend of Yin Xing, who was a confidant to Emperor Guangwu. Though fond of Du Qin, Yin Xing considered him a man of only superficial ability, and would not recommend him for any official appointment. -HHS 32/22:1131.

Du Qiong 杜瓊 [Boyu 伯瑜] (d.250); Shu. Du Qiong and his colleague He Zong were well known as students of the *Book of Changes* under the scholar Ren An. Du Qiong became an Assistant Officer to the Governor Liu Zhang, and when Liu Bei seized power in 214 he continued as a member of his staff.

In 221 Du Qiong joined the petition citing works of divination to urge Liu Bei to take the imperial title. He later held ministerial office under Liu Shan, and in 234 he bore the imperial edict of mourning to the tomb of Zhuge Liang. He died aged over eighty, leaving a detailed commentary to the New Text Han version of the *Classic of Poetry* in over a hundred thousand characters. -SGZ Shu 12:1021-22*.

Du Rang 杜穰 [Zirao 子饒]; Jingzhao. XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Rang, a son of Du Xiong 熊 [QH:83], became a Counsellor Remonstrant under Later Han. This must have been early in the first century.

Du Shang 度尚 [Boping 博平] (117-166); Shanyang. HHS 38/28 says that Du Shang's family was poor, that he did not study, and so he received no attention from the local authorities. XHS 3:12a, however, says that Du Shang's father died young, but that he was a cultivated man who treated his mother with utmost filial piety, studied the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes* and the *Classic of History* in the Old Text tradition, and was skilled in both civil and military arts. Given his friendship with scholars, the latter account of Du Shang's background appears more likely, but it appears that he was at some time employed as a field guard by the high-ranking eunuch Hou Ba; with this patronage he became Reporting Officer of his

commandery and then a gentleman cadet.

In 151 Du Shang was appointed as a county magistrate in Kuaiji. He governed strictly but wisely, people admired his understanding, and he established a memorial stele for Cao E, the filial and suicidal daughter of the shaman Cao Yu. He made friends with leading scholars such as Chunyu Yi, and he invited good men to take office: among others, the future general and minister Zhu Jun served on his personal staff.

Transferred north to a county in Hejian at a time of plague and famine, Du Shang relieved some distress by opening official granaries for those who cared for the sick. The Inspector Zhu Mu was impressed.

Du Shang retired in mourning for his uncle, but he was later nominated Filial and Incorrupt and then held charge of convict labourers under the Court Architect. As Administrator of Liaodong in 163 he defeated an attack of the Xianbi.

By this time an extensive rebellion in Jing province had extended south into the region of Jiaozhi and defied expeditions led by Sheng Xiu and by Ma Xu. When Liu Du the Inspector of Jing province abandoned his post, Emperor Huan sought recommendations for a replacement. Zhu Mu, now Director of the Imperial Secretariat, nominated Du Shang, and he was transferred to the south.

A great army led by Feng Gun enforced a brief settlement, but after those troops were withdrawn the disturbance was renewed and Du Shang had to deal with it from his local resources. Sharing the hardships of his men, he gathered allies among non-Chinese people and showed good faith in allocating rewards. He defeated the rebels and mutineers and brought tens of thousands to surrender, until by 164 the only major enemies were Bu Yang and Pan Hong, based in the mountains of Guiyang.

As Du Shang advanced against them, his troops refused to attack: they were content with the booty they had gathered and had no wish to go further. Du Shang proclaimed a halt to wait for reinforcements, and gave permission for the men to go hunting. While they were away he had his officers burn the camp and the soldiers' treasure; when they bewailed their losses he encouraged them to take what they needed from the hoards at the enemy camp. Inspired by greed, his men took the bandits by surprise and settled the last of the disorder.

Du Shang was enfeoffed and promoted to be Administrator of Guiyang, but in 165 he was recalled to the capital, and soon afterwards the soldier Zhu Gai led a mutiny and joined the bandit Hu Lan. They drove out the new Administrator Ren Yin, captured the Inspectors of Jing province and of Jiaozhi, then attacked Chen Qiu the Administrator of Lingling. In the summer Du Shang was named a General of the Household and sent to the south with 26,000 men, including levies from You and Ji provinces, Wuhuan auxiliaries and troops from the camp at Liyang in Wei commandery. Aided by militia from Changsha, they raised the siege of Lingling and destroyed the rebels. Du Shang was re-appointed Inspector of Jing province.

Remnants of Hu Lan's following had fled into Cangwu, from where they were driven back by Zhang Pan the Inspector of Jiaozhi province. Embarrassed that the bandits had not been wiped out, Du Shang reported that the incursion came from a new group based in Cangwu. Zhang Pan was arrested, but he demanded a proper enquiry and Du Shang's fault was found out. Though he was pardoned on account of his previous good service, he died soon afterwards.

Admired by the reformers at Luoyang, Du Shang was included in the major list of worthy men which was circulated at the capital, and Cai Yong composed the inscription for a stele in his honour. -*HHS* 38/28:1284-87, 86/76:2834, 67/57:2187, *XC* 2:2b-3b, *LS* 7:10a-13a; *deC* 89:50-51, 60-62, 110.

Du Shi 杜詩 [Jungong 君公] (d.38); Henei. Noted for his ability when he was young, Du Shi became Officer of Merit in his commandery, and in 23 he received clerical appointment in the government of the new Gengshi Emperor.

Transferring his allegiance to Emperor Guangwu, in 25 Du Shi became an officer of the Censorate with particular responsibility for Luoyang. When troops of the general Xiao Guang terrorised the people, and Xiao Guang paid no attention to protests, Du Shi arrested and executed him, sending in a report only after the event. Guangwu called him to audience and granted him insignia to justify the authority he had taken.

Soon afterwards Du Shi was sent to deal with bandits led by Yang Yi in Hedong, and destroyed them in a lightning attack. He then spent three years as a county magistrate in Henan, where his government was commended by the provincial authorities for

Exceptional Quality. From about 29 he served as Commandant in Pei and then in Runan.

In 31 Du Shi became Administrator of Nanyang, where his government was noted for its honesty and authority. He was good at planning and concerned to save people's labour. He developed dykes and canals to extend agricultural land, and he invented a water-power reciprocator for the bellows used to smelt metal: his machinery improved production and saved vast effort by corvée workers. The people named him "Mother Du" 杜母 and compared him to Shao Xinchun 召信臣 of Former Han [QHx:467-468].

Besides local administration, Du Shi was involved in the general policies of the imperial government. About 33, concerned by possibilities for confusion and forgery in the mobilisation of troops, he recommended the restoration of Tiger Tallies 虎符 by which the authority of officials could be checked [Bn 59:209]. He was also interested in recruiting good officials, making several strong nominations, and about 37 he sent in a memorial praising the former Excellency Fu Zhang and urging his appointment to the Imperial Secretariat.

In 38 Du Shi was accused of having sent one of his retainers to kill a man in vengeance for his brother. He became ill and died. The Director of Retainers Bao Yong reported that he was so poor there was no place for the funeral ceremony; an imperial edict ordered it be held in the commandery residence at the capital and gave a grant of silk for the expenses. -HHS 31/21:1094-97*, XC 1:8b; Needham 65:370.

Du Shi 杜碩; Runan. About 80 Du Shi was accidentally killed by Zhang Miao *q.v.* -FSTY 3f:107.

Du Shuo 杜碩; Jingzhao. Son of Du Du, in the latter part of the first century Du Shuo was a man of local power, famous for his wealth. -HHS 80/70A:2609.

Du Song 杜松. About 192 Du Song was a colonel in garrison command in Donghai for Cao Cao. His men mutinied under the leadership of Gui Mu, and Cao Cao sent Lü Qian to take his place. -SGZ 18:540.

Du Taiji 杜泰姬, the Lady; Hanzhong. Wife of Zhao Xuan, she bore him seven sons and seven daughters, whom she brought up according to careful precepts. -HYGZ 10C:171.

Du Tong 杜通. In 220 Du Tong was Administrator of Zhangye when the local leader Zhang Jin arrested him and usurped the position. Zhang Jin was defeated and killed by Su Ze, and Du Tong was restored. -SGZ

16:492, 28:761-62.

Du Wei 杜威. Counsellor Remonstrant in the claimant imperial regime of Wang Lang in 24, Du Wei was sent from the besieged capital of Handan to negotiate terms for surrender with Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. His embassy was unsuccessful and the city fell soon afterwards. -HHS 12/2:493-94; Bn 59:75-76.

Du Wei 杜微 [Guofu 國輔]; Guanghan. Having studied with Ren An, an expert in the *Book of Changes*, during the 190s Du Wei became an Assistant Officer of Yi province under the Governor Liu Zhang, but left office on grounds of ill health. Unwilling to serve Liu Bei, he had it put about that he was dead, but in 224 Zhuge Liang persuaded him to take a position at court. -SGZ Shu 12:1019-20*.

Du Wu 杜吳 or Du Yu 虞: the two characters were interchangeable; Hongnong. Member of an advance guard of Han led Wang Xian or possibly Han Chen, in 23 Du Wu took part in the final assault on Chang'an and killed Wang Mang. He took Wang Mang's imperial seal, but not his head; that was later cut off by Gongbin Jiu.

It appears that Du Wu came from Shang 商 county in Hongnong, though the character *shang* has been understood as meaning that he was a merchant. More probably he was a butcher [*tu'er* 屠兒] by trade; see also *sub* Tu Er. -Dubs 55:465-66; Bn 54:132.

Du Xi 杜習; Hanyang. Formerly a local officer of the commandery, in 111 Du Xi was sent by the Administrator Zhao Bo to assassinate the renegade Du Qi. He was rewarded with a million cash and title as Marquis Who Punishes the Wicked 討姦侯. -HHS 5:218, 87/77:2888; deC 84:106.

Du Xi 杜翕; Jingzhao. XTS 72A:2418 says that Du Xi was a son of Du Bin and brother of Du Chong, who lived in the mid-second century.

Du Xi 杜希. As a senior assistant in the Imperial Secretariat about 170, Du Xi was a close friend of his direct colleague Liu Xin and the more junior Huan Bin. They would often eat and drink together, but they despised Feng Fang, who was son-in-law to the powerful eunuch Cao Jie, and they never asked him to join them.

Resentful at his exclusion, Feng Fang accused the companions of forming a faction. The matter was passed to the Director Liu Meng, and when he took no action Cao Jie, extremely angry, sent in a memorial claiming that he too was implicated in the clique. Liu

Meng was arrested, and although he was soon released he was dismissed and proscribed from office. Huan Bin resigned. -*HHS* 37/27:1262.

Du Xi 杜襲 [Zixu 子緒]; Yingchuan. A grandson of Du Gen, during the 190s Du Xi went south to take refuge with Liu Biao in Nanyang. His friend Po Qin was received with favour, but Du Xi warned him against accepting such a provincial master, and he himself left Liu Biao and went south to Changsha.

After Cao Cao took Emperor Xian into his control and established the imperial capital at Xu city in 196, Du Xi returned north and was appointed magistrate of Xi'e in Nanyang, immediately north of the capital Wan on Cao Cao's frontier with Liu Biao. Because of the uncertainty of the time and the region, the local officials kept the people inside fortified towns and villages, so no-one could work the fields and there was shortage of food. Du Xi ordered that the able-bodied men should be kept under arms in the defences, but that the old and the weak should go out to farm.

Du Xi's rule was well supported by the people, but in 201 Liu Biao's troops attacked in overwhelming force, and though he and his men fought with great courage, the invaders captured the city. Du Xi barely escaped, but he rallied the people outside and brought them back to a new defensive position on the Mo Slope.

Du Xi was then recommended by the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, and became a Consultant and military adviser. Recommended again by Xun Yu, he was taken onto Cao Cao's personal staff. In 213 Du Gong was one of the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and he became a Palace Attendant in the new state. He was later Chief Clerk to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor.

In 215 Du Xi accompanied the campaign against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, and when Cao Cao returned to the east Du Xi was named Commandant of Attendant Cavalry and left to supervise the military administration of the newly-occupied region. He persuaded some eighty thousand people to leave the frontier and colonise the depopulated areas about Luoyang and Ye city in central China.

After Xiahou Yuan was defeated and killed by Liu Bei in the battle at Dingjun Mountain in 219, the Wei forces were leaderless and confused. Du Xi and Zhang He took command and restored order, but even Cao Cao could not regain the lost territory. He abandoned

Hanzhong and appointed Du Xi Area Commander for the region about Chang'an. When Cao Cao planned to attack the renegade commander Xu You, Du Xi defied his anger and persuaded him to treat Xu You generously and gain his surrender.

As Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220, Du Xi was enfeoffed. He was put in charge of military supplies and later joined the Secretariat. During the reign of Cao Rui he was adviser to Cao Zhen and then to Sima Yi in the war against Zhuge Liang in the west. He was raised in fief, but became ill and returned to the capital as a Palace Counsellor. He died about 232 and was posthumously named Minister Steward. -*SGZ* 23:664-67*.

Du Xuan 杜宣; Henan. Early in the second century, Du Xuan was Registrar of his county. During a party at the house of the magistrate Ying Chen he saw in his wine the reflection of a red cross-bow which was hanging on the wall. He believed it was a mysterious snake, and later became ill, and when Ying Chen asked after him he told him about the snake. Ying Chen showed him how he had been deceived, and Du Xuan was cured.

Du Xuan later joined the Imperial Secretariat and was then a successful Administrator in four commanderies. -*FSTY* 9:67; Nylan 83:521-522.

Du Xuan 杜宣; Henei. Formerly Administrator of Kuaiji, about 140 Du Xuan persuaded the local magistrate Cui Yuan that a stele should be set up at the funerary temple of the Grand Duke Lü Wang 太公呂望, founder of the ancient state of Qi 齊. -*SJZ* 9:7a.

Du Yang 杜陽; Henei. An uncle of Han Hao, in 190 he was held by Dong Zhuo in an attempt to persuade Han Hao to change sides. Han Hao paid no attention. -*SGZ* 9:269.

Du Yang 都陽/羊 see Duyang 都陽/羊.

Du Yi 杜愔/憶. An Internuncio, Du Yi was a friend of Ma Yuan. In 48 Ma Yuan left the capital to take command of the campaign against the non-Chinese of Wuling; as they said their farewells he expressed his satisfaction at his own service to the dynasty, but was concerned for the future of his family. -*HHS* 24/14: 843.

Du Yong 杜永 (d.139?). A eunuch, in 139 Du Yong was Supervisor of the Retinue of Emperor Shun. He joined Zhang Kui and others in claiming that the father of the empress, Liang Shang, and the rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben were planning to depose the

emperor. Emperor Shun doubted the story, and when the conspirators had Cao Teng and Meng Ben arrested he became furious and had them killed. -HHS 6:268, 43/24:1176, 101/11:3245 [which last, however, says that some committed suicide and others escaped].

Du You 杜祐; Yingchuan. A local officer under the Administrator Yin Xiu, about 189 Du You was nominated for commissioned appointment. -SGZ 13:392.

Du Yu 杜虞 see Du Wu 杜吳. -DGHJ 23:2b.

Du Yuan 杜元; Nanyang. Son of Du Mao, in 43 Du Yuan succeeded to his father's district marquise. In 71 he was accused of involvement in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and though he escaped the death penalty by one degree, his fief was abolished. -HHS 22/12:778.

Du Yuan 杜瑗 [Zigao 次高]; Nanyang. Described as a private gentleman 處士, in 156 Du Yuan was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele of the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Du Zan 督瓚 became Administrator of Wuyuan. -FSTY 6f:140.

Du Zhen 杜真 [Mengzong 孟宗]; Guanghan. A man of filial piety, Du Zhen was an expert on the *Book of Changes* and *Chunqiu*.

In the late 120s the Court Architect Zhai Fu was accused of conspiracy and threatened with death. Du Zhen's elder brother had served at one time under Zhai Fu, and Du Zhen therefore gathered signatures and presented a petition in his favour. He was himself arrested and suffered six hundred strokes of the bastinado, but Zhai Fu was eventually found innocent and released.

As a result of this, Du Zhen gained a great reputation at the capital, and many invitations to official position. Disgusted with the government, however, he distributed his property amongst his kinsmen and lived in retirement. -HHS 48/38:1605, HYGZ 10B:149.

Du Zhong 杜眾 (d.159); Hongnong. In 159 Du Zhong was Officer of Merit in his commandery when Li Yun, a county magistrate of Dong, sent in a memorial which criticised the favour shown by Emperor Huan to his eunuch associates. The emperor was furious. He had Li Yun arrested, and though several officials pleaded for him the ruler remained adamant.

Though he does not appear to have had any direct relationship with him, Du Zhong so admired Li Yun's stand that he asked to share his fate. His wish was

granted: he was arrested and executed.

The eunuch Guan Ba had argued unsuccessfully to Emperor Huan that Li Yun and Du Zhong were too insignificant to be worth his attention, but the ruler had clearly lost his temper, and the two men's deaths marked the end of any honeymoon period the new regime of his personal rule might have hoped for. Their sad fates were frequently cited by the Confucianist reformers against Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies; by unfortunate coincidence, moreover, their surnames matched those of the worthy Li Gu and Du Qiao in an earlier generation. -HHS 57/47:1852; deC 89:18-20.

Du [Zhongchang] 杜仲長; Nanyang. Evidently a local gentleman, in 153 Du Zhongchang set up a stele at the temple to Mount Peng 彭山廟, in the border hill country near present-day Pingdingshan in Henan. -SJZ 31:3b.

Du Zhoufu 杜周甫; Yingchuan. About 140 Du Zhoufu maintained a private academy in his home commandery. When he was a young man, Guo Liang was one of his pupils. -HHSJJ 63/53:2276 Shen Qinhan.

Du [Zichun] 杜子春; Henan. A former student of the celebrated Liu Xin 劉歆, about 60 Du Zichun compiled a commentary to the Old Text *Zhou li*. -Yao Zhenzong:2317.

Duan 段 [surname] see also Yin 殷 *passim*: the two characters are sometimes confused.

Duan Bo 段勃 (d.110); Hanzhong. Son of Duan Chong, he died fighting the Qiang with him. -HYGZ 10C:169.

Duan [Bosheng] 段伯生 (d.110); Hanzhong. Nephew of Duan Chong, he died with him fighting the Qiang. -HYGZ 10C:169.

Duan Chen 段郴. In 50, as the Xiongnu prince Bi sought agreement with Han, the General of the Household Duan Chen was sent to present him with a seal as Shanyu, but also to enforce upon him the humiliation of a kowtow. Duan Chen then had him take up residence in Yunzhong, and soon afterwards transferred his court to Meiji in Xihe. He became the first Emissary.

When the Shanyu Bi died in 56, Duan Chen presented condolences and offerings on behalf of Han. -HHS 1B:78, 89/79:2943-48; deC 84:237-238.

Duan Cheng 鍛成; Ji'nan. A member of the Imperial Secretariat about 75, Duan Cheng was awarded an inscribed sword by Emperor Zhang. -XC 2:11b.

Duan Chong 段崇 [Ligao 禮高] (d.110); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Duan Chong became Registrar to the Administrator Zheng Qin. When rebel Qiang came to attack in 110, Duan Chong warned Zheng Qin to stay on the defensive, but Zheng Qin took the commandery militia out and was heavily defeated. Duan Chong, his son and his nephew, with the officers Wang Zong and Yuan Zhan, fought to protect their master, but all of them were killed.

Duan Chong's heroism was later reported to the throne, and in 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to his family. -HHS 87/77:2887, HYGZ 10C:169.

Duan Gong 段恭 [Jieying 節英]; Guanghan. When he was young Duan Gong travelled in search of learning. In the course of thirteen years he visited over seventy commanderies and studied under a wide variety of teachers. He became skilled in astronomy and astrology, and he received the scholar Yu Shuya from distant Dongping.

About 130 Duan Gong was sent by his commandery as Reporting Officer for the annual assembly at the imperial court. The Grand Commandant Pang Can was at that time suffering accusations from factional enemies, and sent apologies for his absence on grounds of illness. Duan Gong, however, told of Pang Can's wide reputation for honesty and fair dealing. As a result Pang Can was restored to favour: palace eunuchs were sent to enquire about his health and the Court Physician was sent with wine and meat. -HHS 51/41:1691, HYGZ 10B:148.

Duan Gong 段頰 see Duan Jiong 段頰.

Duan Guang 段光 [Shixian 世賢]; Wei. As a county magistrate in Runan in 160, Duan Guang had a dream in which he saw Sun Shu'ao 孫叔敖, a celebrated minister of the ancient state of Chu 楚 [SJ 119:3099]. He set up a shrine for his worship and searched out his lineal descendants to maintain the sacrifices. -LS 3:4b-9b; Ebrey 86:627-628.

Duan Gui 段珪 [Ziyin 子殷] (d.189); Jiyin. A eunuch, in 160 Duan Gui was an Attendant at the Yellow Gates and held property in his home country. His retainers and those of his colleague Hou Lan, who had estates close by in Shanyang, robbed and plundered the neighbouring territory. Teng Yan the Chancellor of Jibei caught them and killed them, but Hou Lan and Duan Gui reported Teng Yan to the throne and he was dismissed from office.

In the time of Emperor Ling Duan Gui was promoted to be a Regular Attendant and was enfeoffed as a marquis. On 22 September 189, as He Jin called upon his sister the Dowager and urged her to destroy the eunuchs, Duan Gui joined Zhang Rang in gathering a group to waylay and kill him. They sought to have the Imperial Secretariat draw up orders so they and their supporters could seize power, but the plan failed and He Jin's former troops attacked the palace compounds. Duan Gui led the Dowager He, together with the young emperor and his brother Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, along the Covered Way from the Southern to the Northern Palace. Lu Zhi accosted the party, and though Duan Gui escaped he was compelled to let the Lady He go.

Two days later Zhang Rang and Duan Gui fled the capital with the imperial children and went north to cross the Yellow River. They were chased and caught by Lu Zhi and a small posse led by Min Gong; the eunuchs were either killed or drowned. -HHS 78/68:2522, 2534, 67/57:2251-52; deC 96:14-16.

Duan Jian 段建 or Yin Jian 殷建; Yingchuan. In 23 Duan Jian was recommended by his fellow-countryman Feng Yi and joined the staff of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. He accompanied him to Luoyang, but is not mentioned again. -HHS 17/7:639.

Duan Jiong 段頰 or Duan Gong, also as Duan Ying 穎 [Jiming 紀明] (d.179); Wuwei. Duan Jiong's great-grand-uncle Duan Huizong 段會宗 had been Protector-General of the Western Regions in the time of Former Han [QHX:86-87]. As a young man, Duan Jiong became an expert archer and horseman, and prided himself on military virtues and rejection of property. He later became involved in Confucian learning, and about 150 he was recommended Filial and Incorrupt. He served competently in some minor posts at the imperial tomb parks, and was then sent out as Commandant of the Dependent State of Liaodong.

A group of Xianbi raided the frontier and Duan Jiong led troops in pursuit. Concerned that the enemy might escape, he forged orders for his withdrawal, halted his men and went back. The Xianbi believed that he was retreating and came after him, but Duan Jiong had prepared an ambush and heavily defeated them. He was charged with having forged an imperial document and was sent to convict service, but because of his success he was required to serve only two years. When his sentence was finished he returned to the

court as a Consultant.

Some thirty thousand bandits of Taishan and Langye, led by Dongguo Dou and Gongsun Ju, had ravaged the region. Several expeditions had been sent against them without success, and in 156 the government called for nominations of commanders who might deal with them. The Excellency Yin Song recommended Duan Jiong, and he was given command as a General of the Household. His operations were completely successful: he is said to have killed ten thousand of the enemy, and the remainder scattered and fled. Duan Jiong was enfeoffed and awarded fifty thousand cash, and one of his sons was granted entry to the imperial service as a gentleman cadet.

In 159 Duan Jiong was sent to his home region of the northwest as Protector of the Qiang. Just at this time there were raids along the borders of Jincheng and Longxi led by the Shaodang, Shaohe, Dangjian and Lejie tribes of the west. Duan Jiong led out his troops, with twelve thousand horsemen of the Huangzhong Auxiliary, and set a trap for the raiders. He defeated them, pursued them along the Yellow River beyond the frontier, and inflicted heavy losses.

In the spring of the following year the Shaohe attacked north into Zhangye and gathered the local non-Chinese to mount an attack on Duan Jiong's camp. Though heavily out-numbered, Duan Jiong fought the enemy hand-to-hand and forced them to withdraw. Following up this success, he led his men in a remarkable pursuit, maintaining continuous contact for six weeks, harrowing them for a thousand kilometres across the mountains south to the Yellow River, and finally bringing them to bay at Jishi Mountain south of the Koko Nor, well outside the Chinese frontier. He killed their chieftains and thousands of their men, then raided and slaughtered the neighbouring tribes.

Despite this demonstration of power and range, in the winter the Lejie and Lianyu tribes attacked Yuanjie, capital of Jincheng, and killed several Chinese officials. Duan Jiong again drove them away, but the frontier was obviously very unstable.

In 161 further groups of Qiang caused trouble in Longxi, while in the summer the Lianyu and the Xianlian tribes joined up within Chinese territory to raid as far as Chang'an. As Duan Jiong led the Auxiliary into Longxi, however, the Inspector Guo Hong interfered and caused him to halt. The Auxiliary troops, anxious to return home, mutinied, and Guo

Hong put the blame on Duan Jiong. Duan Jiong was brought back to the capital and again sent to convict labour.

Duan Jiong's successor Hu Hong proved unable to deal with the situation, and in the winter Huangfu Gui was appointed in his place. He restored the situation, then investigated and impeached Guo Hong. Duan Jiong was released, and he was admired for the manner in which he had accepted his wrongful punishment.

After a short period as a Consultant, Duan Jiong returned to the frontier as Inspector of Bing province. In 163 the Dianna and other tribes of the Qiang ravaged Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan, and although they were defeated there were fears the whole territory could be lost. In the winter Duan Jiong was reappointed Protector, and his reputation was such that by the spring of 164 more than three hundred chieftains of the Dianna had come to submit.

The Dangjian and Lejie continued recalcitrant, however, and Duan Jiong led ten thousand men against them. After initial success in the winter of 164, he forced the Lejie to surrender in the spring of 165, and in the summer he attacked the Dangjian base region in the Xining valley. This proved more difficult: his first attack was driven back and he and his men were besieged for three days. Then he sent a detachment to take the enemy from the rear, and as they broke up in confusion Duan Jiong embarked on another of his ferocious pursuits. From spring to autumn he harried the Qiang to starvation, and drove them to seek refuge in the north of Wuwei, far from their former home.

In his campaigns against the Western Qiang Duan Jiong had killed 23,000 people, captured tens of thousands more, seized millions of horses, cattle and sheep, and forced the surrender of over ten thousand camp-fire groups 落. He was granted a greater fief than before, with revenues from five hundred households. There was a last raid from the Dangjian tribe into Wuwei in 167, but Duan Jiong defeated them, and the Western Qiang, the people of the frontier lands and the Gansu corridor, were settled.

There remained, however, the Eastern Qiang, and particularly the Xianlian tribes. These people inhabited Chinese territory inside the Yellow River, notably Anding and Hanyang in Liang province and Beidi and Shang in the south of Bing province, and they had several times troubled the region about Chang'an. In the same year as Duan Jiong finished his dealings

with the west, the Xianlian made successive rebellions and raids, and though they were defeated by Zhang Huan they were obviously a continuing problem. The government of Emperor Huan asked Duan Jiong's opinion, and one may assume both parties had prepared question and answer: Duan Jiong's recommendation was for a campaign to exterminate the aliens, and in particular the Xianlian tribe. He criticised Huangfu Gui and Zhang Huan for their mistaken leniency, asked for five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, with three thousand baggage carts, and undertook to destroy the enemy at a cost of less than 5.5 million cash. The court approved, and he began his operations in the winter of 167.

In the spring of 168 Duan Jiong attacked the main force of the Xianlian at Fengyi Mountain in Anding. Though faced with heavy odds, he rallied his men for a charge, sent cavalry against the enemy flanks, and completely defeated them. Emperor Huan had died, but the Dowager Dou, regent for the young Emperor Ling, issued an edict of approval and rewarded Duan Jiong with gold and appointment as a general.

In summer Duan Jiong embarked on another attack, this time beginning further north and east to drive the Qiang in flight across the Ordos. Harrying them south through Anding, by the winter he had driven them into the hill country to the north of Hanyang.

The experienced Zhang Huan now questioned the ferocity of the campaign, but when his comments were sent to Duan Jiong he replied indignantly that his operations were ahead of schedule and well below budget, and asked to be left alone without distraction. The court did send the Internuncio Feng Shan to give the non-Chinese people some opportunity to surrender, but those who failed to do so were left to Duan Jiong's mercies.

In the spring of 169 he approached the enemy at Fanting Mountain. The Qiang launched a fierce attack, but the Chinese and the Huangzhong Auxiliary held firm, and the tribesmen retreated once more south into Hanyang, where they took a defensive position at Shoot-Tiger Valley, south of the Wei. Duan Jiong set an abatis to block further escape into the Qin Ling ranges, then occupied the heights and surrounded the enemy. In a final massacre he killed almost twenty thousand and took all their goods and chattels.

The Eastern Qiang were now "pacified" – the whole campaign had taken just four hundred Chinese

lives and less than 4.5 million cash. Duan Jiong was awarded a county fief and the revenue from ten thousand households. We are told that he always treated his troops well, cared for them in sickness and shared their hardships; in ten years campaigning he never slept in a comfortable bed. His men were devoted to him.

Early in 170 Duan Jiong came in triumph to the capital, leading fifty thousand non-Chinese troops, with ten thousand captives and some of the celebrated "blood-sweating thousand-*li* horses" 汗血千里馬 in his train. He was welcomed by the Minister Herald, and as the army reached Luoyang he was appointed a Palace Attendant, Bearer of the Mace, and then Intendant of Henan.

Henan brought trouble, for when the tomb of an Honoured Lady Feng was broken into and robbed Duan Jiong was formally responsible. He was demoted to be a Counsellor Remonstrant, but as a supporter of Wang Fu, one of the eunuchs who dominated the government of Emperor Ling, he had no difficulty in retaining his fief and his wealth.

In 172 slogans opposed to the eunuchs appeared on a gate of the capital, and after the Director of Retainers Liu Meng had failed to pursue the matter Duan Jiong was appointed in his stead. He promptly ran a purge of the students at the University, and when Wang Fu arranged false accusations against the eunuchs Zheng Li and Dong Teng, Duan Jiong had them arrested and executed. The value of his fief was increased by four thousand households.

In the summer of 173 Duan Jiong became Grand Commandant, highest office in the bureaucracy, but was taken ill and resigned in the winter of that year. He was later re-appointed Director of Retainers, then became Administrator of Yingchuan. [In 177 his former lieutenants Xia Yu and Tian Yan launched a major attack on the Xianbi. Though Duan Jiong was an energetic exponent of the offensive, it is probable that he was in Yingchuan and was not consulted. Certainly the campaign was a disaster.]

Returning to court as a Palace Counsellor, in the third month of 179 Duan Jiong was again appointed Grand Commandant. When there was an eclipse of the sun on the first day of the fourth month Duan Jiong took formal responsibility for the omen, but other senior officials used the occasion to present real complaints against him: the emperor ordered him to hand in his

seal and attend the prison of the Minister of Justice. Yang Qiu, Director of Retainers at this time, accused Wang Fu of extortion and implicated Duan Jiong in the charge. As he was about to be interrogated Duan Jiong took poison.

Duan Jiong's family and retainers were banished to the frontier, but the eunuch Lü Qiang wrote to recall Duan Jiong's achievements and Emperor Ling gave permission for his wife and children to return to their home.

The energy with which Duan Jiong pursued his beaten enemies, and his campaign of extermination against the Eastern Qiang in 168 and 169, gained a brief period of peace along the frontier. Many, however, were appalled by his cruelty, and the results of his success were soon overwhelmed by the realities of Chinese weakness on the ground. In his own lifetime, Duan Jiong saw the destruction of a major expeditionary force against the Xianbi, commanded by his former officers Xia Yu and Tian Yan, and five years after his death the rebellion in Liang province raised by Beigong Boyu largely removed that territory from the control of Han. -*HHS* 65/55:2145-54*, 87/77:2897-98; Young 84, deC 84:126-149, deC 89:62, 89-95, 107-109, 127, 154-155.

Duan Jiu 段舊; Guanghan. Duan Jiu was the elder son of Duan Liaoshu. The Administrator Wu Shigong, a friend of his father, nominated Duan Jiu for office. Local officers advised him that Duan Jiu was dull, and of limited ability, while his brother Kun was a far more promising candidate. Wu Shigong nonetheless confirmed his decision, explaining that to choose the younger man would damage proper relationships within the family. -*FSTY* 4:30-31.

Duan Kui 段馗; Liaodong. A noted astrologer and soothsayer, about 150 Duan Kui explained the appearance of a yellow dragon in the southeast of the empire as a sign that a Perfect Man 真人 would emerge from that region fifty years later. The prophecy was said to be fulfilled by Cao Cao's triumph over Yuan Shao in 200 and his effective hegemony over the empire thereafter. -*SGZ* 1:22.

Duan Kun 段髡; Guanghan. Duan Kun was the younger son of Duan Liaoshu. The Administrator Wu Shigong, a friend of his father, nominated Duan Kun's elder brother Duan Jiu for office. Local officers advised him that Duan Kun was a far more promising candidate, but Wu Shigong explained that choosing the

younger man would harm the family. -*FSTY* 4:30-31.

Duan [Liaoshu] 段遼叔; Guanghan. Chief Clerk under the Excellency over the Masses about 140, Duan Liaoshu was the same age as the Administrator Wu Shigong, who nominated his son Duan Jiu for office. -*FSTY* 4:30-31.

Duan Peng 段彭. Administrator of Jiuquan in 75, Duan Peng was sent to aid the besieged garrison at Liuzhong in Nearer Jushi. With seven thousand commandery troops and support from the state of Shanshan he relieved the defenders in the following year and restored Nearer Jushi to its allegiance. Despite this success Emperor Zhang ordered a withdrawal and ended the military colonies in that region. -*HHS* 2:130-133, 88/78:2909.

Duan Su 段肅 see Yin Su 殷肅.

Duan Wei 段煨 [Zhongming 忠明] (d.209); Wuwei. In 191, as Dong Zhuo withdrew from Luoyang to Chang'an, Duan Wei was left in charge of defences at Huayin in Hongnong, south of the Wei by its junction with the Yellow River. Taking title as a general, he established a local command, encouraged farming and set up a stele to commemorate his repair work at a local temple to Mount Hua.

As Emperor Xian fled from Chang'an in 195, Duan Wei prepared provisions to receive him. Yang Ting and others of the escort had a quarrel with Duan Wei. Claiming that he was planning treachery, they asked to attack him and then did so without leave. Duan Wei defended himself, but rejected the assistance offered by Li Jue and Guo Si and maintained his support for the emperor's escape. Emperor Xian ordered the factions to make peace, and the journey continued to the east.

In 198 Duan Wei and other leaders about Chang'an, on instructions from Cao Cao's officer Pei Mao, joined to destroy Li Jue. Duan Wei was enfeoffed and named Administrator of Beidi; he was later Minister Herald at the Han court under Cao Cao. He died of old age. -*HHS* 72/62:2338-42 & *JJ* at 2551 Hui Dong, *SGZ* 10:328, *SJZ* 19:35a.

Duan Xi 段禧 (d.110). Early in 107 Duan Xi was Commandant of Cavalry in the Western Regions when the Protector-General Ren Shang was recalled. Duan Xi was appointed as his successor and set his base at the fortress of Tuogan in Qiuzi [Kuqa]. As the Senior Colonel Liang Qin arranged for the army to move into the capital city, however, the people of the state rebelled

against their king Boba and his Chinese allies. The trouble was suppressed, but the imperial government was now concerned at the costs and dangers of the whole enterprise in the Western Regions.

That summer the office of Protector-General was ended and all troops and colonists were recalled. In the following year, 108, early in the great Qiang rebellion, Duan Xi was named Protector of the Qiang. He died of illness two years later. -HHS 47/37:1591, 87/77:2886-87.

Duan Xiao 段孝. In 24 Duan Xiao was officer responsible for discipline under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who at that time held title as Grand Marshal under the Gengshi Emperor. The new arrival Jia Fu held equivalent office on Liu Xiu's staff in his capacity as a general. Duan Xiao objected to Jia Fu receiving the same precedence as he did, arguing that his position under the Grand Marshal should rank higher. Jia Fu argued that their ranks were irrelevant, for they were both concerned to serve Liu Xiu. -HHS 17/7:665, DGHJ 8:5a.

Duan Xun 段訓 or Yin Xun 殷訓. In 193 Duan Xun was sent from Chang'an to the northeast with awards for Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan. Gongsun Zan had just fought and captured Liu Yu; he now charged him with treason and obliged Duan Xun to have him executed. He then named Duan Xun as Inspector of You province. -HHS 73/63, 2357, SGZ 8:243; deC 96:121-122.

Duan Yi 段翳 [Yuanzhang 元章]; Guanghan. A scholar of the *Book of Changes* and expert at divination by the wind, Duan Yi was noted for his knowledge of visitors well before they arrived. He lived in retirement and never accepted office.

One of his students believed he had learnt all he needed and prepared to leave. Duan Yi told him he would be involved in a fight as he was returning home, and provided ointment to heal his wounds. The fracas took place just as he said, and the young man returned to seek further instruction. -HHS 82/72A:2719*, HYGZ 10B:144; Ngo 76:98, DeWoskin 83:60-61, Vervoorn 90:190.

Duan Ying 段穎/穎 see Duan Jiong 段穎.

Duan Zhi 段志 also as Yin Zhi 殷志 (d.42). As General of Agile Cavalry in 41, Duan Zhi was sent with Ma Yuan to deal with the religious rebel Li Guang in Lujiang.

In the following year, he was again despatched to assist Ma Yuan in his attack on the rebel Zheng/Tr'ung

sisters in Jiaozhi. With title as General of Towered Ships 樓舟將軍, he was responsible for the fleet of some 2,000 ships to accompany the invasion force by sea. As Ma Yuan brought his levies from Jing province to the coast at Hepu, however, Duan Zhi died. -HHS 1B:68-69, 24/14:838, 86/76:2836-37; Bn 67:64.

Duan Zhong 段忠. In 36 Duan Zhong was sent as an Internuncio in charge of a labour force of reprieved convicts to assist the general Du Mao construct defence works against Lu Fang and the Xiongnu in the region of Yanmen, Dai and Shanggu. -HHS 22/12:777; Bn 67:110.

Duan Zhu 段著. Scholars of the mid-first century, Duan Zhu and others lived near Zhang Ba at Luoyang to benefit from his learning. -HHS 36/26:1241, HYGZ 10A:133.

Dugan 都紺; Xiongnu. Dugan was a king of the Xiongnu royal house in 166, when the Shanyu Juche'er made an alliance with the Xianbi and the Wuhuan and raided Chinese positions. Dugan evidently remained loyal to Han.

When the general Zhang Huan returned to the north, the Xiongnu and Wuhuan surrendered. Zhang Huan recommended Juche'er be dismissed for disloyalty and lack of authority, and suggested Dugan replace him, but Emperor Huan permitted Juche'er to keep his position. -HHJ 22:265.

Duguan 杜灌 see Duhu 杜濩. -SGZ 8:264.

Duhu 杜濩; non-Chinese. Towards the end of the second century the Zong people of Ba commandery, naturally superstitious, were attracted by the teachings of Zhang Lu, and during the period of confrontation between Zhang Lu and Liu Zhang they and other tribespeople were able to establish a measure of independence from Chinese administration. Duhu was one of their leaders.

When Cao Cao attacked in the summer of 215, Zhang Lu went to take refuge with Duhu and Fuhu of the Banshun clans. In the autumn Duhu and Fuhu, with their colleague Yuan/Ren Yue, went to submit to Cao Cao. They received titles as marquises and were sent back as administrators: Duhu was named to the western territory of Baxi. In the winter Zhang Lu followed his allies' example and surrendered.

Soon afterwards the non-Chinese forces were defeated by Huang Quan, officer in the service of Liu Bei, and the various groups fled north to Cao Cao's territory in the Wei valley. -SGZ 1:46, 8:264, SGZ Shu

13:43, *HYGZ* 6:83; *deC* 96:495-498.

Dumo 都末 of Yutian [Khotan] (d.60). A man of noble family, in 60 Dumo led his kinsmen to assassinate Junde, the oppressive governor who had been appointed by the hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand].

Soon afterwards Dumo and his associates were themselves killed by the chieftain Xiumoba and the Chinese Han Rong. -*HHS* 88/78:2925.

Dun Zixian 頓子獻. A former commandery Investigator, Dun Zixian became ill but then recovered. He went to the doctor Hua Tuo, who took his pulse and advised him that the sickness was still present and that he must avoid any exertion, including sexual intercourse, as a relapse could kill him. The fatal moment would be known by a protrusion of his tongue for several inches.

When Dun Zixian's wife heard he was cured, she travelled a hundred *li* to care for him. The couple had intercourse, however, and Dun Zixian died three days later, just as Hua Tuo had foretold. -*SGZ* 29:800.

Duo Feng 祲諷 see Dai Feng 祲諷.

Duo Zheng 鐸政 became Minister of Justice. -*FSTY* 6f:149.

Duogui 咄歸; Wuhuan. In 132 the Protector Geng Ye sent the chieftain Duogui under the command of Rongzhuhui on a raiding party against the Xianbi. They were successful, returning with many heads, and Duogui and others were granted titles by the Han court. -*HHS* 90/80:2898, *SGZ* 30:833; *deC* 84:391.

Duyang 都陽/羊 (d.43); Jiuzhen. Presumably non-Chinese, in 43 Duyang was a leader of rebels in loose alliance with the Zheng/Tr'ung sisters of Jiaozhi. After the Han general Ma Yuan had destroyed the sisters' forces in that year, he advanced to the south and eliminated Duyang and his fellows. -*HHS* 1B:70, 24/14:839, 86/76:2837.

E

Emperor An 安帝 (*reg.* 106-125) see Liu You 劉祐 and *sub* Deng Sui.

Emperor Chong 沖帝 (*reg.* 144-145) see Liu Bing 劉炳.

Emperor, the Gengshi 更始 (*reg.* 23-25) see Liu Xuan 劉玄.

Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (*reg.* 25-57) see Liu Xiu 劉秀.

Emperor He 和帝 (*reg.* 88-106) see Liu Zhao 劉肇.

Emperor Huan 桓帝 (*reg.* 146-167) see Liu Zhi 劉志.

Emperor Ling 靈帝 (*reg.* 168-189) see Liu Hong 劉宏.

Emperor, the Little 少帝 (*reg.* 125) see Liu Yi 劉懿.

Emperor, the Little 少帝 (*reg.* 189) see Liu Bian 劉辯.

Emperor Min 愍帝 see *sub* Liu Xie 劉協, Emperor Xian 獻帝.

Emperor Ming 明帝 (*reg.* 57-75) see Liu Zhuang 劉莊.

Emperor Shang, [the Young] 殤帝 (*reg.* 105-106) see Liu Long 劉隆.

Emperor Shun 順帝 (*reg.* 125-144) see Liu Bao 劉保.

Emperor Xian 獻帝 (*reg.* 189-220) see Liu Xie 劉協.

Emperor Zhang 章帝 (*reg.* 75-88) see Liu Da 劉烜.

Emperor Zhi 質帝 (*reg.* 145-146) see Liu Zuan 劉纘.

Empress 皇后 see below:

Cao 曹 of Emperor Xian (consort 215-220) see the Lady Cao Jie 曹節;

Deng 鄧 of Emperor He (consort 102-106) see the Lady Deng Sui 鄧綏;

Deng 鄧 of Emperor Huan (consort 159-165) see the Lady Deng Mengnü 鄧猛女;

Dou 竇 of Emperor Zhang (consort 78-88) see the Lady Dou 竇;

Dou 竇 of Emperor Huan (consort 165-168) see the Lady Dou Miao 竇妙;

Fu 伏 of Emperor Xian (consort 195-215) see the Lady Fu Shou 伏壽;

Guo 郭 of Emperor Guangwu (consort 26-41) see the Lady Guo Shengtong 郭聖通;

He 何 of Emperor Ling (consort 181-189) see the Lady He 何;

Liang 梁 of Emperor Huan (consort 147-159) see the Lady Liang Nüying 梁女瑩;

Liang 梁 of Emperor Shun (consort 132-144) see the Lady Liang Na 梁嬪;

Ma 馬 of Emperor Ming (consort 60-75) see the Lady Ma 馬;

Song 宋 of Emperor Ling (consort 171-178) see the Lady Song 宋 IV;

Yan 閭 of Emperor An (consort 115-125) see the

Lady Yan Ji 閭姬;

Yin 陰 of Emperor Guangwu (consort 41-57) see the Lady Yin Lihua 陰麗華;

Yin 陰 of Emperor He (consort 96-102) see the Lady Yin 陰 IV.

Empress-Dowager 皇太后 see below:

Deng 鄧 of Emperor He see the Lady Deng Sui 鄧綏;

Dong 董, mother of Emperor Ling, see the Lady Dong 董;

Dou 竇 of Emperor Huan see the Lady Dou Miao 竇妙;

Dou 竇 of Emperor Zhang see the Lady Dou 竇;

He 何 of Emperor Ling see the Lady He 何;

Liang 梁 of Emperor Shun see the Lady Liang Na 梁嬀;

Ma 馬 of Emperor Ming see the Lady Ma 馬;

Yan 閭 of Emperor An see the Lady Yan Ji 閭姬;

Yin 陰 of Emperor Guangwu see the Lady Yin Lihua 陰麗華.

Enclosure of the Left 左校 see Zuoxiao 左校.

Er 兒 [surname] see Ni 兒 *passim*.

Er Hong 兒宏 see Ni Hong 倪宏.

F

Fa Du 法度 (d.124). Administrator of Taiyuan in 124, Fa Du was appointed General on the Liao. He died in that office a few months later. -HHS 89/79:2959.

Fa Miao 法邈; Youfufeng. Son of Fa Xiong, after his father's death in 220 Liu Bei enfeoffed Fa Miao as a secondary marquis. Fa Miao was later Commandant of the Equipage and titular Administrator of Hanyang, a territory to which Shu-Han laid claim but did not in fact control. -SGZ Shu 7:961.

Fa Shi 法氏 [sobriquet?]. A leader of rebels in Jing province in 162, Fa Shi may have been a non-Chinese of Wuling. In 162 he and other chieftains surrendered to the great imperial army led by Feng Gun. -HHSJJ 38/28:1364 Hui Dong quoting the stele honouring Feng Gun, LS 7:13b.

Fa Xiong 法雄 [Wenqiang 文彊]; Youfufeng. Fa Xiong's family claimed descent from the ancient royal house of Qi 齊, transferred to the capital district in the time of Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and many members had held high office.

Fa Xiong became Officer of Merit in his

commandery, then entered the offices of the Grand Tutor Zhang Yu at the capital in 106 or 107. He was graded First Class and became a magistrate in Nanyang. Noted for excellent administration and the good order he brought to the territory, he was recommended by the Administrator Bao De and transferred to the chief county of Danyang.

In 109 the pirate chieftain Zhang Bolu ravaged the commanderies of the east, and in the following year Fa Xiong was appointed Inspector of Qing province and sent to support the Censorate official Wang Zun in operations against them. Just as they gained the upper hand there was an edict for a general pardon, and Wang Zun called a council to consider what the army should do. Most commanders wanted to maintain the attack, but Fa Xiong argued that it would be better to treat the raiders leniently and persuade them to submit. Wang Zong agreed, and the pirates did surrender and returned the prisoners they had taken. The Administrator of Donglai failed to disband his troops, however, and the bandits took fright: they fled to the islands of the Gulf of Zhili and resumed their raiding. In 111 Fa Xiong led local troops to defeat them and drive them across the sea to Liaodong. The remnants were destroyed there and the province was settled.

As Inspector, Fa Xiong made regular circuits of the territory, interviewing prisoners and reviewing their convictions and sentences, and he ensured the dismissal of any official who had acted unlawfully. After four years he was transferred as Administrator to Nan commandery. He again reduced the number of criminal convictions, and increasing numbers of people came to the territory.

For several years the commandery had been troubled by tigers and wolves from the wild country of the rivers and the Yunmeng marshland. The previous Administrator had tried to hunt them out, but the casualty rate only increased. Fa Xiong issued a proclamation ordering a halt to this policy and an end to trapping and hunting. As the animals were left in peace their harm to humans was greatly reduced.

Fa Xiong's years in Nan were marked by excellent harvests, reflecting his virtuous government. He died in office about 120. -HHS 38/28:1276-78*.

Fa Yan 法衍 [Jimou 季謀]; Youfufeng. Son of Fa Zhen, Fa Yan was appointed to the offices of the Excellency over the Masses at Luoyang and was then a senior official under the Minister of Justice. -SGZ

Shu 7:957.

Fa Zhen 法真 [Gaoqing 高卿 or Qiaoqing 喬卿] (100-188); Youfufeng. Son of Fa Xiong, when he was still a boy Fa Zhen went to visit his father, who was then Administrator of Nan commandery. His father arranged for him to observe the morning assembly of his officers from behind a screen and asked him to comment upon them. Fa Zhen remarked that Hu Guang had the air of a man who could reach for the highest office, and Hu Guang indeed became one of the long-serving Excellencies of Han.

Fa Zhen studied the Confucian classics, the apocrypha and the works of Laozi, but he did not follow any particular school or teacher. A quiet man with few desires, he was recognised as the leading scholar of the west and received hundreds of students. He rejected all offers of nomination and office at the capital, including a personal approach from the Administrator, and even refused four specific invitations from Emperor Shun.

Isolating himself in marshlands, Fa Zhen died at the age of eighty-nine. His friend Guo Sheng eulogised him as the Master of Hidden Virtue 玄德先生. -HHS 83/73:2774*, 44/34:1505, XC 6:7b, SGZ Shu 7:957; Vervoorn 90:186-187.

Fa Zheng 法正 [Xiaozi 孝直] (176-220); Youfufeng. Son of Fa Yan, Fa Zheng was a man of distinguished family. In the late 190s he and his fellow-countryman Meng Da abandoned the devastated region about Chang'an and travelled south to join Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province.

Fa Zheng became a county magistrate and then a colonel on Liu Zhang's staff, but he was disappointed at his lack of recognition and resentful at the insults he suffered from his fellow-refugees. The Attendant Officer Zhang Song, a friend of Fa Zheng, was likewise unhappy with Liu Zhang, and after an abortive embassy to Cao Cao he had come to regard Liu Bei as an alternative. Following the battle of the Red Cliffs Zhang Song persuaded Liu Zhang to send Fa Zheng on embassy to Liu Bei and to take him support troops. Fa Zheng also transferred allegiance, so he and Zhang Song were now secret agents of Liu Bei.

In 211 the two men persuaded Liu Zhang to call Liu Bei to assist him against Zhang Lu and the threat from Cao Cao in the north. Fa Zheng was again the envoy, and he encouraged Liu Bei to come into Yi province and then seize it from Liu Zhang. As Liu Bei did this Fa Zheng gave regular advice and support,

culminating in an eloquent letter to Liu Zhang urging him to surrender.

When Liu Bei took control of government at Chengdu in 214 Fa Zheng was made Administrator of Shu, the capital commandery, with title as a general and continuing influence in council. He worked with Zhuge Liang and others to compile the administrative code *Shu ke* 屬科, and though he and Zhuge Liang disagreed on a number of occasions they respected each other's abilities.

It is said that Fa Zheng made use of his new powers to pay back old favours and scores, killing several people without authority. When Zhuge Liang was asked to intervene he observed that Liu Bei owed his good fortune to Fa Zheng, and it was pointless to try to restrain him. Another account says that Zhuge Liang introduced strict government; Fa Zheng urged him to be more humane and pay attention to local custom but Zhuge Liang replied that it was first necessary to be firm so as to establish good order and make the people appreciate leniency. The two stories are contradictory.

In 217 Fa Zheng urged Liu Bei to attack Hanzhong, where Cao Cao had left his general Xiahou Yuan on guard. He then accompanied the army, and gave critical advice at the battle of Dingjun Mountain in 219. As Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong later that year, Fa Zheng was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor, with title as a general. He was then named Director of the royal Secretariat and General Protector of the Army, formally responsible for discipline.

When Fa Zheng died in the following year Liu Bei wept and gave him posthumous rank as a marquis, and after the disastrous attack on Sun Quan in Jing province in 222 Zhuge Liang sighed that, "If Fa Zheng had been here he would have dissuaded [Liu Bei], or arranged that things turned out differently." -SGZ Shu 7:957-62*.

Fan 樊, the Lady I; Nanyang. Daughter of a leading local family, she was a cousin of the mother of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. She married Liu Hong, also a kinsman, and bore him two sons, Liu Guo and Liu Min.

Liu Hong died at an early stage of the rebellion against Wang Mang, and the Lady Fan followed the Gengshi Emperor to Chang'an. In 26, after he was destroyed, she came east with her sons to join Emperor Guangwu at Luoyang. Both young men were enfeoffed

as marquises. -HHS 14/4:567.

Fan 樊, the Lady II. One of the celebrated beauties of the empire, the Lady married an elder brother of Zhao Fan. When her husband died she joined the household of her brother-in-law.

As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, he sent Zhao Fan south as Administrator of Guiyang. After Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs a few months later, Zhao Fan was compelled to surrender to Liu Bei, who sent his own officer Zhao Yun to take his place. Presumably seeking a useful alliance, Zhao Fan proposed that he marry the Lady, but Zhao Yun observed that they were men of the same surname, so if he married the Lady it would be like wedding the widow of his own brother. He refused the offer. -SGZ Shu 2:879.

One may compare the punctilious attitude of Zhao Yun with the more relaxed advice given by Fa Zheng to Liu Bei when he was considering marriage to the Lady Wu, widow of his fellow-clansman Liu Mao. The Lady Wu duly became Liu Bei's consort and empress.

Fan 范 [personal name unknown]; Lujiang. In 185 he was Administrator of Wu. The celebrated scholar Gao Biao, who came from that commandery, had died in the previous year and Fan arranged for leaders of the community to set up a stele in his honour. LS 10:25b.

Fan 汎 of Weili (d.94). King of Weili, Fan was a long-term ally and dependent of the state of Yanqi [Karashar]. In 94 the Protector-General Ban Chao brought a large army against the territory and Fan and many officers, accompanied by King Guang of Yanqi, came to surrender.

The two kings were executed at the same place as the former Protector-General Chen Mu had met his death in 73. Their heads were sent to Luoyang. -HHS 47/37:1581-82.

Fan A 樊阿; Pengcheng. An expert in acupuncture, Fan A specialised in deep penetration. Where other doctors inserted the needle barely a fraction of an inch, Fan A would enter one or two inches, sometimes even five or six, and his patients were all said to recover.

About 200 Fan A studied under the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo, who taught him the preparation of medicines, advising him on those which guarded against the three worms of mortality 三蟲 and which improved bodily health. Fan A followed his instructions and is said to have lived over a hundred years. -HHS 82/72B:2739-40; SGZ 29:804; Ngo 76:123-126, DeWoskin 83:148-149.

Fan An 樊安 [Zizhong 子仲 or Ziyou 子佑] (103-158); Nanyang. A eunuch, Fan An held a series of appointments in the palace and rose to be a Regular Attendant. Members of his family gained high office, and when Fan An died he received posthumous appointment as a Commandant of Cavalry.

Fan An's adopted son had a stele in his memory set up in his home country in 165. The inscription provides him with an impressive genealogy, praises his fine qualities and describes how he was well read in history and skilled in the *Classic of Poetry*, in the *Analects* and in the *Book of Filial Piety*. -LS 6:21a-23a, SJZ 29:20a.

Fan Bin 范邠. Commandant of Juyan about 121, Fan Bin was found guilty of bribery and proscribed from office. There was question whether the penalty should be extended to his family, but the Excellency Liu Kai urged that punishment for ill-doing should be applied to the individual, not to his descendants, and Emperor An accepted his argument. -HHS 39/29:1308-09.

Fan [Bodi] 范伯第. After the high minister Chen Fan was dismissed from office in 163, he went back to his home in Runan. As his party was travelling through a village some of his followers caused trouble and the local headman seized them. He wanted to arrest Chen Fan too, but Chen Fan claimed that his rank entitled him to deal directly with the most senior officials. He was accordingly released, and the local magistrate Fan Bodi killed the troublesome headman soon afterwards. -FSTY 7:56.

Fan Can 樊参 or Fan Shen (d.25). In 25 Fan Shen was a chief general in the service of the Gengshi Emperor. Deng Yu, general of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, had laid siege to Anyi the capital of Hedong. Fan Shen brought a large force north across the Yellow River to relieve the city, but Deng Yu sent a detachment from his army which defeated Fan Shen and killed him. -HHS 15/5:601.

Fan Changsun 樊長孫. About 110 Fan Changsun wrote to the scholar Liu Qianqiu proposing the compilation of a comprehensive guide to the offices of Han. -HHS 114/24:3555-56.

Fan Chen 樊郴; Nanyang. Second son of Fan Shu, Fan Chen became a gentleman cadet, but probably died soon afterwards. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan Chong 樊崇 I [Xijun 細君] (d.27); Langye. Chief of a band of a hundred men in Ju county of Langye, Fan Chong styled himself Thrice Venerable,

traditional title of a village elder. About 15 AD he crossed into Taishan commandery and set his base in the area of Youlai Mountain, present-day Cilai Shan in the Taishan massif. As Qing and Xu provinces suffered from famine, there was increasing unrest, and within a year Fan Chong had ten thousand people under his command, while other bands, led by Pang An of his own commandery and by Xu Xuan, Xie Lu and Yang Yin of Donghai, also came to join him.

Discussing the origins of the group later known as the Red Eyebrows, and their influence on the fall of Wang Mang, Bielenstein emphasises that these were people of commoner, peasant origin, not inevitably opposed to the government, and not basically influenced by religious beliefs, still less by fanaticism. He has argued that the source of the movement was popular distress brought by massive flooding of the Yellow River: in the time of Emperor Ping, the first years AD, the river broke its dykes in the region of the Bian Canal by present-day Zhengzhou, and later breaches opened a vast area of uncontrolled streams, marshes and meanders southeast as far as the Huai River and the sea. Effectively the Yellow River had now two courses to the sea, one north and one south of the Shandong peninsula, and of these the southern route was quite uncontrolled. In human terms, the consequence was a vast displacement of people, driven north and south by flood and starvation, and these migrants in turn disrupted the economy and government across the whole eastern plain. The argument is well presented by Bielenstein in 54:147-149, who points out also that by about 20 AD several waves of migrants who had travelled south and west from the troubled area had reached the middle Yangzi and were involved in the disruption and discontent which inspired the bandits of Jiangxia, the Troops from Xinshi and the Troops of the Lower Yangzi, later allies of the gentry Han rebellion in Nanyang. See *sub* Wang Chang, Wang Kuang *et al.*

The full effect of these floods took time to work its way through the region, but the government of Wang Mang proved quite unable to cope with the work required to address the problem, and by 15 to 18 AD Fan Chong and his colleagues were at the head of a great horde of dispossessed and desperate people. Some members of the bands were of gentry origin, but the vast majority, including the leaders, were of poor and illiterate background, and even the titles of their chieftains, Thrice Venerable 三老, Assistant Officer

從事 and Clerk 卒史, reflect the low-ranking officers with which such humble people would deal.

About 18, or soon afterwards, Fan Chong felt strong enough to attack the county city of Ju. He was unsuccessful, but he ravaged the country of northern Langye, and the local forces of the counties and commanderies were unable to bring them under control. The marquis Tian Kuang 田況 had raised levies for self-defence and kept the bandits out of his territory; he argued to the court that the problem had been greatly under-estimated and the correct solution was to co-ordinate a proper local response. In 21 Tian Kuang was given command over the combined forces of Qing and Xu provinces, but he was then defeated with heavy losses and was dismissed.

Fan Chong and his fellows extended their depredations into Qi, by the northern course of the Yellow River, then moved south into Donghai. They dominated the eastern part of the North China plain, and about this time, to distinguish themselves from the imperial forces which opposed them, they marked themselves with red colouring across the forehead: they thus became known as the Red Eyebrows 赤眉.

In the summer of 22 Wang Mang sent a large army under Wang Kuang 王匡 and Lien Dan 廉丹. Moving very slowly, and causing great distress in the countryside through which they passed, the imperial forces came up with the enemy only in the winter of that year. After successfully recapturing a county city in Dongping which had been seized by an internal revolt, they attacked a detachment of Red Eyebrows under Dong Xian in Liang commandery, but were utterly defeated. Lian Dan was killed and Wang Kuang fled back to the capital.

About this time Fan Chong again attacked Ju city, but broke off the operation, either because many of his men had relatives in Ju or, more probably, because the citizens paid a ransom. With further reinforcements, notably from the division of the band of pirates controlled by Mother Lü 呂母 who died about this time, he invaded Donghai, but he was defeated by local levies under the commandery Administrator.

By this stage, it appears that the depredations of the vast horde had all but exhausted the resources of the region, or certainly those easily accessible. During 22, in separate bands and waves the Red Eyebrows moved gradually westwards, first south into Chu and Pei, then north through Runan, Yingchuan and Chenliu towards

the Yellow River. By the latter part of the year some groups were approaching Nanyang commandery, and it is again Bielenstein's argument that part of the inspiration for the revolt of Liu Bosheng and his associates in the name of Han came from the pressure of these approaching hordes.

The bulk of the Red Eyebrows, however, did not move so far west at this stage. With no direct goal, they were concerned to search for supplies wherever they might find them, and by the latter part of 23 they had turned north into Dong commandery. They may well have been seeking to return by a roundabout route to their homelands in the east, but found the floods of the region barring their way.

By this time Wang Mang had been overthrown, and in the winter of 23 the Gengshi Emperor invited Fan Chong and his fellows to his new capital at Luoyang. They offered submission and were rewarded with titles, but the honours they received from the new regime were accompanied by no useful income or formal influence, and they soon heard that their troops, deprived of their leadership, were beginning to disperse. Without opposition from the imperial government, Fan Chong and his colleagues left Luoyang and rejoined their men, but they now turned their minds to the wealth and power of the west.

Early in 24 the Red Eyebrows began to move. Fan Chong and Pang An went southwest into Nanyang, where they attacked Wan city, killed the magistrate in battle, but then crossed the Wu Pass into Hongnong. Another group, led by Xu Xuan, Xie Lu and Yang Yin, advanced through Henan, where they killed the Administrator, then journeyed south and west through the Luhun Pass into Hongnong. A third horde sought first to cross the Yellow River to the north, but was defeated by Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu; it too then travelled west, by-passing Luoyang but moving through the Hangu Pass. By the end of the year all had reached Hongnong, and the Gengshi Emperor, who had mistakenly transferred his capital to Chang'an, was isolated and trapped.

At the beginning of 25 the three columns regrouped, and they established a basic organisation of thirty divisions, each said to number 10,000 men, commanded by a Thrice Venerable and an Attendant Officer. In the first month they defeated the Gengshi Emperor's general Su Mao, and in the third month, still in Hongnong, they defeated another army under

Li Song. In the summer they entered the valley of the Wei, and in the sixth month, at Zheng county in Jingzhao, they chose their own emperor, Liu Penzi.

In the autumn the Red Eyebrows crossed the Wei River and made their final attack on Chang'an from the north. They were joined by Wang Kuang, Zhang Ang and other chieftains of the commoner Troops who had joined the Han cause in Nanyang but now abandoned the Gengshi Emperor. Defeating the last Gengshi army under Li Song, the bandits entered the city and installed Liu Penzi in the palace. Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor fled north, but was arrested by one of his former officials. His loyal follower Liu Gong, brother of Liu Penzi, negotiated terms of surrender, but soon afterwards Liu Xuan was killed by Xie Lu.

The leaders of the Red Eyebrows now awarded themselves official positions, and though Fan Chong, like most of his colleagues, could neither read nor write, he was named Imperial Secretary; Xu Xuan, who had been keeper of a county jail and had an amateur's knowledge of the *Book of Changes*, took title as Imperial Chancellor.

These illiterate leaders of peasant insurgents were quite incapable of forming a government and showed no interest in doing so. They plundered Chang'an and its surroundings, but any pretence at ceremonial was meaningless, and court gatherings broke down in a chaos of rivalry, quarrelling and fighting.

By the beginning of 26 the Red Eyebrows had exhausted the available supplies of the capital region and, having sacked and burned the city and looting the imperial graves as they passed, they moved out to the south. Turning west as they came to the Qin Ling mountains, they climbed the Long Slope into the upper Wei valley. The journey made no strategic sense, and was evidently an extended foraging expedition, as the group still hoped to maintain a presence in the area of the capital. When they came into the territory of Wei Ao in the upper Wei, the bandits were twice defeated by his armies, and by autumn they had been forced to retreat; as they encountered heavy snowfalls on the passes, many died of the cold.

So the Red Eyebrows' military power was weakened, and as they returned to the lower Wei valley they were attacked by Deng Yu, general of Liu Xiu, now Emperor Guangwu. Deng Yu, however, was defeated and abandoned Chang'an, so the Red Eyebrows returned once more to the city. By now the morale and

military strength of the disorganised masses were in critical decline. Once more quitting the capital, the bandits came down the Wei, and at the beginning of 27 they returned east into Hongnong.

Though they had gained success against Guangwu's generals Feng Yi and Deng Yu, great numbers began to surrender. One party went through the Hangu Pass, but was defeated near the Yellow River and disappeared. The main group returned through the Luhun Pass, but were met at Yiyang in Hongnong by Guangwu and his main army. With Feng Yi's troops behind them, and overwhelming forces in front, the Red Eyebrows asked to surrender. Granted their lives, they capitulated on 15 March.

Fan Chong and the other leaders were ordered to settle in the neighbourhood of the new imperial capital, Luoyang, where they could be kept under observation. Within a few months Fan Chong and Pang An again planned to rebel, possibly hoping to return to banditry in the east. They were found out, and in the summer they were executed. -HHS 11/1:478-86; Bn 54:137-162, Bn 59:40, 78-96, 120.

Fan Chong 樊崇 II (d.25). When Deng Yu was ordered west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he chose Fan Chong to be a general under his command. In the summer of 25 Wang Kuang and other chieftains came with a large army to break the siege of Anyi, capital of Hedong. Deng Yu's men had the worst of the initial encounter, and Fan Chong was killed. -HHS 16/6:601.

Fan Chong 范充; Nanyang. As Administrator of Wu and of Guiyang, Fan Chong taught people to cultivate silkworms and to make cloth. -XC 8:2a.

Fan Chou 樊條/條 see Fan Shu 樊條/條.

Fan Chou 樊稠 (d.195); Longxi? After Dong Zhuo was assassinated in 192 his follower Fan Chou joined Li Jue and Guo Si to capture Chang'an, taking third place in their ramshackle regime with titles as a general and a marquis. In the spring of 194 he joined Guo Si to defeat Ma Teng and Han Sui, and in autumn they repelled rebel Qiang from Youfufeng.

Fan Chou then agreed a truce with Han Sui and the two men spoke privately in sight of their armies. Fan Chou, however, had earlier abused Li Jue's nephew Li Li for not fighting hard enough, and Li Li now reported Fan Chou's dealings with Han Sui to his uncle.

Li Jue was already jealous of Fan Chou's popularity among the men. In the spring of 195 he invited Fan

Chou to a meeting, killed him as he sat, and took over his troops. The murder marked the final falling out amongst the leaders at Chang'an. -HHS 9:375-77, 72/62:2333-36, SGZ 6:181-83.

Fan Dan 樊丹; Nanyang. Son of Fan Zhong and a maternal uncle of Emperor Guangwu, Fan Dan was enfeoffed as a county marquis in 37. -HHS 32/22: 1120.

Fan Dan 范丹 or Fan Ran 冉 [Shiyun 史雲] (112-185); Chenliu. As a young man Fan Dan became Officer of Merit to the county magistrate Niu Shu, and he was made a commandery Investigator at the age of eighteen. Ashamed to act as a spy, he left his post.

About 130 Fan Dan travelled to Nanyang to study under Fan Ying, then went to Fa Zhen and Ma Rong near Chang'an, returning after several years as an expert in the Confucian classics. He enjoyed eccentric and sometimes offensive behaviour, modelling himself upon Liang Hong and Min Gong, scholarly recluses of the first years of Later Han, and he intensely disliked receiving gifts or favours. He despised Jia Biao and Guo Tai, leaders of the students in the 160s, but was a friend of the officials Li Gu and Wang Huan. He fell out with Wang Huan, however, complaining that he paid more attention to his official duties than to his friends.

The Administrator Feng Dai, advised by Fu Rong, appointed Fan Dan as Officer of Merit for the commandery. He was then named a county magistrate in Taishan, but did not go because of his mother's death. He later joined the office of the Grand Commandant at the capital, and wore a leather girdle in court to remind himself not to speak too hastily. He was proposed for a position in the Imperial Censorate, but again avoided an investigative role and fled in disguise. He then made a living as a fortune-teller while his wife spun cloth.

From the late 160s Fan Dan was barred from office in the Great Proscription. He journeyed in the wilderness with his wife and children, dressed in shabby clothes to tell fortunes in market-places, gleaning for food but refusing help even from his own kin. His poverty was made proverbial by a popular chant, but he steadily maintained his countenance. When the Proscription ended in 184 all three Excellencies invited him to join their offices. He served briefly but then sought to resign. Because of the Yellow Turban rebellion and the emergency in the northwest anyone who left the clerical offices at the capital was liable to impeachment, but

Fan Dan received special dispensation.

Invited once more, he refused on grounds of illness, and died in 185. His testament to his son Fan Xiang described his sense of failure and resignation in dealing with confused and turbulent times. Two thousand people, including representatives of the Excellencies, attended his funeral, the General-in-Chief He Jin had him honoured as "Gentleman of Pure Qualities" 貞節先生, and both the provincial and commandery authorities set up stele and offered memorials in his honour. -HHS 81/71:2688-90*, 68/58:2233, XC 6:2a-3a, YSS:19b-20a, Cai 2:7; Bn 81:573.

Fan Deng 樊登 (d.125). A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates, in 125 Fan Deng was an associate of the Dowager's brother Yan Xian, General of Chariots and Cavalry. As Sun Cheng led a coup against the Yan, Fan Deng urged Yan Xian to call up the regiments of the Northern Army, and to use the authority of the Dowager to summon Feng Shi and Yan Chong. Yan Xian sent Fan Deng and Feng Shi to gather reinforcements, but Feng Shi killed Fan Deng, returned to his own camp, and took no further part in the affair. -HHS 78/68:2515.

Fan Diao 樊調 see Fan Tiao 樊調.

Fan Duan 樊端; Nanyang. A grandson of Emperor Guangwu's associate Fan Hong, though his uncle Fan Shu was a leading Confucian, Fan Duan was attracted to Huang-Lao beliefs. He lived simply and frugally. -HHS 32/22:1125.

Fan E 樊阿 see Fan A 樊阿.

Fan Fan 范汜; Shanyang. Son of Fan Ji, Fan Fan was the grandfather of Fan Shi. -LS 19:17b.

Fan Fan 樊梵 [Wen'gao 文高]; Nanyang. Third son of Fan Shu, Fan Fan served as an officer of the Imperial Secretariat for more than twenty years. He was noted for his extreme punctiliousness, never doffing his official robes even when he was off duty. He was extremely wealthy, but gave all his goods to the children of an elder brother, probably Fan Chen, who died before him.

Fan Fan was later Minister Herald. -DGHJ 11:2b-3a, HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan Fang 范方. In 192 Fan Fang was a cavalry officer of Gongsun Zan seconded to support Liu Dai in Yan province. Liu Dai had taken in the wife and children of Yuan Shao, and when Gongsun Zan quarrelled with Yuan Shao he asked him to send his family away and abandon the alliance. Liu Dai refused, and Fan Fang returned to Gongsun Zan. -SGZ 14:425-26.

Fan Feng 樊豐 (d.125). A eunuch Regular Attendant, Fan Feng was a favourite of Emperor An and an associate of his uncle Geng Bao. Early in 124 he and some others took advantage of the emperor's absence from Luoyang to enhance their mansions in the city. The Excellency Yang Zhen acquired proof of their corruption, but before he could present the documents to the emperor, Geng Bao and Fan Feng levied accusations which brought his dismissal and death.

A few months later Fan Feng aided the Lady Wang Sheng to destroy her rivals the Lady Wang Nan and Bing Ji, then joined the slander against Liu Bao which caused him to be dismissed as Heir.

In 125 Fan Feng assisted the Empress Yan and her brother Yan Xian to conceal the death of Emperor An until his body had been returned to the capital. Soon afterwards, however, as the Yan group turned on Geng Bao and his party, Fan Feng was sent to prison and died there. -HHS 5:242, 10B:437, 15/5:590-91.

Fan Feng 樊豐, wife of: XC 7:13a says that Fan Feng's titular wife killed a maid-servant and hid the body in a well. Zhu Liang the Prefect of Luoyang discovered the crime and the Lady was executed. A similar story involving Zhu Liang is attributed to the wife of Pang Can.

Fan Gong 范宫. An associate of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Fan Gong became Administrator of Jiyin. In 142 he was impeached for corruption by the special commissioner Du Qiao.

In 147 Liang Ji wanted to have Fan Gong appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, but Du Qiao, now Grand Commandant, stopped him. -HHS 63/53:2092-93.

On the Fan surname, see QHX:93 *sub* Fan Shengzhi.

Fan Guidu 樊歸都, the Lady, see Fan Xiandu 樊嫺都. -HHJ 1:1.

Fan Heng 范横. Administrator of Wei commandery about 25, Fan Heng recommended Feng Qin, a future Excellency for office. -DGHJ 13:6a.

Fan Hong 樊宏 [Miqing 靡卿] (d.51); Nanyang. Son of Fan Zhong, Fan Hong was a brother of the Lady Fan Xiandu and thus a maternal uncle of Liu Bosheng and of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, while his daughter married the wife of their kinsman Liu Ci. At the beginning of the Han rebellion in 23 Liu Ci attacked Huyang, the home city of Fan Hong. He and his family were in some danger on account of their connection to the insurgents, but the rebel forces became so strong that the Wang Mang loyalists were

afraid to act.

Fan Hong warned Liu Bosheng about the threat from the Gengshi Emperor, but without effect, and when the emperor offered him a military command he explained that he was only a scholar and was able to return to his estates. Having inherited vast property when his father died in 22, he established a defensive encampment for his clan and the local people, and he bribed the Red Eyebrows to stay away.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he appointed Fan Hong a Household Counsellor with status as Specially Advanced and rank next to the Excellencies. After the death of Peng Chong in 29 he was sent to award honours to the successful commanders Geng Kuang and his son Shu. That year Fan Hong was enfeoffed as a county marquis, and in 37 his younger brother Dan, his nephew Xun and his cousin Zhong were also granted fiefs.

Despite, or perhaps because of, his great wealth, Fan Hong urged his dependents and heirs to restraint, and he was reluctant to accept gifts and honours on the ground that he had not earned them. His funerary testament prescribed a simple burial, and Guangwu held it as a model for his kinsmen and for other officials. He nonetheless contributed ten million cash and thousand of bolts of cloth to the expenses, and he attended the ceremony in person. -HHS 32/22:1119-22*; Bn 54:57-58.

Fan Huai 樊淮 see Fan Zhun 樊準.

Fan Ji 范暨; Shanyang. Chancellor of Changshan during the first century AD, Fan Ji was great-grandfather of Fan Shi. -LS 19:17b.

Fan Jian 樊建; Nanyang. Son of Fan Shi, he succeeded to the family marquisate. Fan Jian died without heirs, and the fief was ended: see, however, *sub* Fan Pan. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan Jin 范津 [Wenyuan 文淵]; Nanyang. Well-known for his judgement of character, when he was Administrator of Beidi Fan Jin recommended Fu Xie as Filial and Incorrupt. In 186, as Administrator of Hanyang, he was succeeded by his former nominee. -HHS 58/48:1877.

Fan Jing 范荊. Appointed as Administrator of Dongping for the Gengshi Emperor about 24, he held that office until 28, when he was brought to surrender to Guangwu's officer Geng Chun. -HHS 21/11:764.

Fan [Jugong] 樊巨公; Nanyang. Fan Jugong was a kinsman of the Lady Fan Xiandu, who died in 22 just

as her son Liu Bosheng was planning to rebel against the government of Wang Mang. None of her sons could attend to her funeral, so Fan Jugong arranged it. -HHS 14/4:556; Bn 54:103.

Fan [Juqing] 范巨卿. XC 7:4a describes the close friendship between Fan Juqing and his fellow-countryman Wang Ying as proverbial. It seems likely that this was the same man as Fan Shi *q.v.*

Fan Kai 范愷; Chenliu. When Fan Dan was building a hut to live in during his time of poverty, his nephew Fan Kai brought wood to help him. Fan Dan was away at the time, but when he returned he was angry and had his son Fan Xiang take the gift back. -YSS:20a.

Fan Kang 范康 miswritten for Yuan Kang 苑康.

Fan Ling 樊陵 [Deyun 德雲] (d.189); Nanyang. Grandson of Fan Ying, Fan Ling was Intendant of Jingzhao in 182. Cai Yong wrote praises of his good government there, notably the canal work which he carried out in 182.

Fan Ling later became Steward of the Yongle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling. In 188 he paid cash to become Grand Commandant, but left that office after only a month.

When Zhang Rang and his fellow eunuchs assassinated He Jin in the following year, they named Fan Ling as Director of Retainers. As the eunuchs were massacred, Fan Ling was killed by Yuan Shao and Yuan Wei. -HHS 8:355, 82/72A:2724, 69/59:2251-52, Cai 6:1, 12:9.

Fan Mao 樊茂; Nanyang. A younger son of Fan Hong and a cousin of Emperor Guangwu, when Fan Hong died in 51 Fan Mao's elder brother Fan Shu succeeded to his marquisate, while Fan Mao was granted a separate county fief. -HHS 32/22:1121.

Fan Meng 樊萌; Nanyang. A memorial stele was set up in his home country for Fan Meng, who had been a magistrate in Chenliu. -SJZ 29:20a.

Fan Min 樊敏 [Shengda 升達] (120-203). A worthy gentleman of Yi province, expert in *Chunqiu*, Fan Min was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He was sent out as Chief Clerk of Yongchang commandery in the far southwest, and was then a county magistrate in Ba commandery. He left office to care for his mother.

During the 180s Fan Min received several invitations to join the offices at the capital, but refused on grounds of ill health. When Liu Yan became Governor of Yi province, however, Fan Min was

appointed Administrator of Ba commandery, with acting authority as Colonel Who Rewards Honour 褒義校尉. He was evidently respected as an elder statesman of the west, for he continued in that appointment under Liu Zhang, and he was over eighty when he died.

Two years after Fan Min's death, a stele was set up in his honour. -*LS* 11:9a-12b, Nagata 94:262.

Fan Mou 樊茂 see Fan Mao 樊茂.

Fan Neng 樊能. In 195 Fan Neng was an officer of Liu Yao based at Niuzhu in Danyang, south of the Yangzi by present-day Dangtu in Anhui. He was attacked and defeated by Sun Ce. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1102-03; deC 90:161-165.

Fan Pan 樊盼; Nanyang. Son of Fan Shi, Fan Pan was a younger brother of Fan Jian, who succeeded to the family marquissate. When Fan Jian died without heirs the fief was ended, but in 120 the regent Dowager Deng revived it in favour of Fan Pan. -*HHS* 32/22:1124.

Fan Pang 范滂 [Mengbo 孟博] (137-169); Runan. Son of Fan Xian, Fan Pang was admired by his neighbours for his strict morality even when he was young. He became Officer of Merit for the commandery, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and at the end of his period of probation at Luoyang the Minister of the Household certified him with the Four Types of Virtuous Conduct: simplicity, sincerity, generosity and good behaviour. There was famine and associated banditry in Ji province at this time, and Fan Pang was sent there as a Commissioner against Corruption. It is claimed that his mere appearance in the territory frightened bad officials into fleeing their posts.

About 160 Fan Pang became a senior assistant to the Minister of the Household Chen Fan, but when Chen Fan rejected his advice he resigned in disgust and returned home. Guo Tai rebuked Chen Fan for having lost such a worthy official, and Chen Fan recognised his error. [It is said that the Excellency Sheng Yun offered to arrange an appointment for Fan Pang's father Fan Xian, but Fan Pang rejected the approach as he did not wish to be beholden to Sheng Yun. Ying Shao disapproved of his conduct [*FSTY* 5:36; Nylan 83:455-458].

Soon afterwards the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong appointed Fan Pang to his offices, and in response to an edict he reported more than twenty senior officials of Ji province whom people believed to have abused their power. The Imperial Secretariat questioned such zeal, and suggested he had some

personal malice. Indignantly denying the charge, Fan Pang said this was only the beginning, he had presented only the most serious cases, and he was planning further investigations. There were no more complaints, but Fan Pang recognised that his reports had no effect and again left office.

Back in Runan the Administrator Zong Zi chose Fan Pang as his Officer of Merit and accepted his judgement on all personnel. In one case Zong Zi was anxious to appoint Li Song, who was related to Fan Pang by marriage, but Fan Pang believed Li Song to be a man of bad character and refused to issue the orders. Though the commandery was well governed, Fan Pang had such authority that popular ditties claimed he was the real Administrator and Zong Zi no more than a cipher.

Fan Pang was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University, and when the First Faction Incident broke out in 166 he was arrested and brought to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, under eunuch control. He and his colleagues maintained their innocence, and in the following year the senior palace eunuch Wang Fu recommended their release.

The Minister Huo Xu was among those who had pleaded the cause of the prisoners. Fan Pang went to pay a courtesy call upon him, but did not offer formal thanks. Questioned about this, he observed that Huo Xu had behaved as duty demanded, so personal gratitude was inappropriate.

As he returned home Fan Pang was welcomed by thousands of local leaders, but he turned away and went into strict retirement. When the Second Faction Incident broke out in 169 orders were issued for his arrest. The local officials were most reluctant to obey, but Fan Pang went readily to prison and was duly executed. -*HHS* 67/57:2203-08* & 2187-88, *XC* 4:7a, *ZF*:11a-b, *SGZ* 6:211, *XTS* 74A:3153; deC 89:15, 85, 111-112, Mather 76:519.

Fan Qian 范遷 [Zilü 子間 or Zilu 子廬] (d.65); Pei. When he was Administrator of Yuyang, Fan Qian's wise policies kept the Xiongnu quiet. He became Intendant of Henan, where he was noted for his honesty, and in 61 he was appointed Excellency over the Masses.

On one occasion Fan Qian's wife complained that despite all his official positions his family was poor and his sons had no land. Fan Qian replied that if he used his power for his own profit he would be ashamed

before his descendants. He held the Excellency post four years, and when he died in office his family still had nothing. -HHS 27/17:941.

Fan Qiang 范羌. In 75 Fan Qiang was an officer under the Wu Colonel Geng Gong in Further Jushi, north of the Bogda mountains to the east of present-day Urumqi. Their small force was attacked by a great army of the Xiongnu, and Geng Gong and his companions defended themselves fiercely for a year. As winter approached, Fan Qiang was sent back to Dunhuang for supplies.

Early in 76 a relief force was sent out which broke the siege of the garrison in Nearer Jushi and restored that state's allegiance to Han. The commanders, however, considered that Geng Gong was too far away to get help to him. Fan Qiang had accompanied the expedition as it set out from Dunhuang and he pressed most urgently to be allowed to take reinforcements. He was eventually given a detachment of two thousand men.

In the mountains he and his men encountered heavy snow, with drifts ten feet deep, and could barely get forward. As they approached the city, the defenders sounded the alarm, but Fan Qiang called out to them, and they were greeted with cheers and tears of joy.

Next day the combined force began to withdraw. Followed closely by the enemy, they fought as they marched, and reached the frontier at Dunhuang with only twelve of the rescued garrison, not counting Fan Qiang himself. The ferocious defence and gallant rescue were widely admired, but the heroes were not treated with great generosity. Fan Qiang became an assistant magistrate in Henei. -HHS 19/9:722-23

Fan Qiang 范疆. In 221 Fan Qiang was an officer of the guard with Zhang Fei at Langzhong 閬中 on the Jialing River. Zhang Fei was notorious for his cruelty, and Fan Qiang and his colleague Zhang Da evidently suffered harsh treatment. As Zhang Fei was about to go south to join Liu Bei's expedition down the Yangzi against Sun Quan, Fan Qiang and Zhang Da killed him. Taking his head, they sailed down the river to the junction with the Yangzi, avoided Liu Bei's men, and went to join Sun Quan. -SGZ Shu 6:944.

Fan Qin 繁欽 see Po Qin 繁欽.

Fan Qun 范逵; Youfufeng. After the fall of Wang Mang in 23 Fan Qun fled west into Tianshui, where he became a client of the local warlord Wei Ao. In 25 Wei Ao made him a senior official in his separatist

government, but about 30 Fan Qun left and returned to the east. On the recommendation of his friend and fellow-countryman Du Lin he was given office under Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 27/17:935-37, 13/3:522.

Fan Ran 范冉 see Fan Dan 范丹.

Fan Rong 樊融; Nanyang. Son of the stern official Fan Ye, Fan Rong was a man of talent but followed the doctrines of Huang-Lao and would take no official position. -HHS 77/67:2492.

Fan Rong 范容 or Fan Yao 突 (d.145); Jiujiang. Both men of bandit families, in 144 Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng joined in a rising which affected all the region of the lower Yangzi and the Huai. The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Feng Gun, head of the Censorate, was sent with authority to lead troops from Yang and Xu provinces against them, but his army was defeated, two senior officials were killed, and the disorders grew worse.

In the following year Teng Fu was appointed Commandant of Jiujiang, and he joined Feng Gun and the General of the Household Zhao Xu to attack the rebels. This time they achieved a complete victory, killing both Zhou Sheng and Fan Rong. -HHS 6:275-77, 38/28:1279.

Fan Shang 樊賞; Nanyang. Son of Fan Wei, in the late 60s Fan Shang's father arranged his marriage to a daughter of Liu Ying the King of Chu. His uncle Fan Shu warned against the project, but we may assume the match was consummated. After allegations of treason were raised against Liu Ying in 71, however, this proved to have been a very bad idea. -HHS 32/22:1123.

Fan Shang 樊尚; Nanyang. Son of Fan Pan, he succeeded to the family marquissate. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan Shao 樊紹 [Mengjian 孟建]; Runan. In 161 Fan Shao and his fellow-countryman Hu Yin were clerks in the offices of the Excellency Yu Fang. When Yu Fang left office at the end of that year they too returned home. When the Administrator of the commandery invited Hu Yin to local appointment, he was reluctant to take a local position. Fan Shao encouraged him to accept, on the basis that a gentleman should always be willing to serve.

The Excellency Huang Qiong disapproved of this advice, which confused the responsibilities of office at the capital and in the provinces, and he sent orders that Fan Shao should not be nominated for commissioned

office. Fan Shao, however, did later become a county magistrate. -*FSTY* 5:39; Nylan 83:468.

Fan Shen 樊參 see Fan Can 樊參.

Fan Sheng 范升 also as Fan Shu 叔 [Bianqing 辯卿]; Dai. Orphaned as a child, Fan Sheng was brought up in his mother's family. By the age of nine he had studied the *Analects* and the *Book of Filial Piety*, and when he was older he became an expert on the *Laozi* and the *Book of Changes*. Recruited to the staff of Wang Mang's cousin Wang Yi about 20, Fan Sheng argued unsuccessfully against the regime's extravagant military adventures. He was later sent to Shangdang, and remained there as the Han rebellion broke out.

In 26 Fan Sheng was appointed a Consultant by Guangwu and soon afterwards, though he demurred on the grounds that there were better-qualified scholars, he was appointed Academician for the *Book of Changes* according to the New Text school of Liangqiu. He also maintained the Meng interpretation of the text, and no doubt controlled the other versions of the classic.

Fan Sheng regularly took part in debates at court, and he criticised those who had refused invitations from the restored regime of Han, accusing Zhou Dang and others of insolence and ingratitude. Emperor Guangwu, however, not only approved the recusants' stance, but even rewarded them.

In 27 the Director of the Imperial Secretariat Han Xin proposed that chairs be established for the study of *Zuo zhuan* and the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, both in the Old Text tradition. At the New Year assembly of 28 Fan Sheng took a leading role in opposition on behalf of the New Text. After oral argument all morning he presented a memorial with selected quotes from Confucius, urging on grounds of precedent that the Old Text be rejected. The Old Text scholar Chen Yuan presented a memorial in reply, and debate continued until the emperor approved an Academician for *Zuo zhuan*. After the death of the first appointee Li Feng, however, the post was not renewed, and New Text scholarship maintained its supremacy.

When the general Zhai Zun died in 33 Fan Sheng composed a eulogy which was incorporated into the official mourning.

Fan Sheng was married three times, and at one time he was accused of a crime by his most recently divorced wife. He was sent to prison, and though his student Yang Zheng obtained his release, Fan Sheng left the court and returned to private life. About 60 he

became a county magistrate in Dong commandery, but was dismissed for some fault and died at home. -*HHS* 36/26:1226-29*, 79/69B:2587, 79/69A:2552 & 2554; Tjan 49:150-151, Bn 79:191-192, 141.

Fan Sheng 繁勝. In 42 Fan Sheng was Administrator of Yizhou when there was a rebellion of the local non-Chinese led by Dongcan. Fan Sheng fought them but was defeated and driven back into Jianwei. -*HHS* 86/76:2846; Bn 67:66.

Fan Shi 范式 also Fan Si 汜 [Juqing 巨卿]; Shanyang. Grandson of Fan Fan, Fan Shi travelled to study at the capital and became a close friend of Zhang Shao of Runan. When they were due to leave, Fan Shi agreed to visit him exactly two years later. As the day approached, Zhang Shao asked his mother to prepare a meal to welcome Fan Shi. His parents were doubtful anyone could be so accurate, but Zhang Shao assured them that his friend was trustworthy, and Fan Shi came exactly at the appointed time.

Fan Shi became Officer of Merit in his home commandery, but Zhang Shao later became mortally ill, and told his companions that he regretted not seeing Fan Shi, whom he described as his "death friend." He died, but then spoke to Fan Shi in a dream. When Fan Shi awoke, he asked permission to travel to the funeral. The Administrator was sceptical, but he respected Fan Shi's concern. In fact, the funeral was due to begin before Fan Shi arrived, but the coffin of Zhang Shao became so heavy it could not be moved, and only when he appeared did it become light enough for the ceremony to proceed. Fan Shi planted a tree by the burial mound and then left again.

Fan Shi later returned to the capital and completed his studies. This time he became a close friend of Chen Pingzi from Changsha, but he too contracted a fatal illness. Chen Pingzi wrote to Fan Shi and told his wife to entrust his body to him, for he was known to be a man to care for the dead. Fan Shi indeed carried out ceremonies for his friend and escorted his family back to their home country, but left before anyone could thank him. The Reporting Officer sent from Changsha told of his good deeds, and Fan Shi was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies, but he would not accept.

Recommended as Abundant Talent by his province, Fan Shi was graded First Class, served in the Imperial Censorate and then became Inspector of Jing province. Kong Song of Nanyang, an old friend of humble

family, had changed his name and gone to another county to become a local policeman, and when Fan Shi came on tour he was ordered to hold his horse. Recognising Kong Song, Fan Shi asked for someone to take his place, but Kong Song, fortified with noted examples from the past, insisted on doing his duty with no feeling of embarrassment.

Fan Shi was later a successful Administrator of Lujiang. In 235, after his death, a memorial stele was set up in his home country. -HHS 81/71:2676-79*, XC 5:13b-14b, LS 19:16b-18b, 20:5a-b. See also XC 7:4a referring to Fan Juqing.

Fan Shi 樊時; Nanyang. Son of Fan Si, he succeeded to the family marquisate. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan [Shizi] 範士則 see Deng Ai 鄧艾.

Fan Shu 樊儵/儵 [Changyu 長魚] (d.67); Nanyang. [The personal name can also be transliterated as You, Chou or Tiao; I have followed the style used by Tjan Tjoe Som.] Son of Fan Hong and a cousin of Emperor Guangwu, when Fan Hong died in 51 Fan Shu succeeded to his marquisate. He cared for his father's second wife with great affection, and when she died he mourned so deeply that he became ill. Emperor Guangwu sent frequent messengers with gifts.

Fan Shu studied the *Chunqiu* according to the New Text Gongyang school of Zhuang/Yan Pengzu under Ding Gong. He compiled an enormous commentary to the classic, which became known as *Fanhou xue* 樊侯學 "Teachings of the Marquis Fan" [cf. *sub* Fan Ying], and at one time or another he had three thousand students; among them were Li Xiu and Xia Jin, both of whom became Excellencies. His *magnum opus* was later abridged to 200,000 characters by his student Zhang Ba.

Unlike other imperial relatives, Fan Shu did not maintain a large following of clients and retainers, and when a crack-down followed the excesses of Liu Fu the King of Pei and his friend Liu Li in 52 he escaped any involvement.

When Emperor Guangwu died in 57 Fan Shu was in charge of the funeral, then became a colonel in the Northern Army. He was involved in arrangements for state ceremonies and in 58 he received approval for a meeting of scholars to determine the meaning of the classics in accordance with the apocrypha: it appears that this became a series of discussions on the sacred texts [see *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming]. He also recommended the scholars Cheng Gong and Zhou Ze,

who were his colleagues in the study of *Chunqiu*.

More generally, he urged the new ruler to ensure that the traditional custom, of delaying all legal punishments until at least the months of autumn, was enforced; so that such affairs of state accorded with the flow of the seasons. He also complained that heads of commandery units were choosing younger men as Filial and Incorrupt nominees on the expectation that they would be repay the favour later. This was obviously introducing a patron-client relationship into the imperial service – a problem which became very much more significant towards the end of the dynasty – but it also meant that older men were being passed over. He urged that orders be given that only the best men should be chosen. Both these recommendations were followed. [The modern commentator Zhou Shouchang notes that the concern to recruit mature men was taken up by Zuo Xiong in the time of Emperor Shun.]

In 67 Liu Jing the King of Guangling was found guilty of treasonous conduct. Fan Shu recommended his execution, and despite the anger of Emperor Ming he stood his ground in open court. Liu Jing committed suicide.

Fan Shu died soon afterwards. His testament expressed sympathy for the people of a county in Henan, who had been driven to despair by harsh application of collective punishment, and those of a county in Henei who had seen their offerings embezzled by local officers. He had intended to memorialise on these matters, but died before he had done so. An official reported this to the emperor, however, and Fan Shu's wishes were carried out.

Shortly before his death, Fan Shu had urged his brother Wei not to seek a marriage for his son Fan Shang with the daughter of King Liu Ying of Chu. Five years later, when accusations of treason against Liu Ying brought a purge and persecution of gentry and officials, Emperor Ming learnt of his cautious advice, and as a result Fan Shu's three sons escaped any involvement in the affair. -HHS 32/22:1122-24*, DGHJ 11:2b; Tjan 49:6, 154-155.

Fan Shu 范叔 see Fan Sheng 范升.

Fan Si 樊汜; Nanyang. Eldest son of Fan Shu, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in 67. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Fan Si 范汜; Shanyang: see Fan Shi 范式.

Fan [Tezu] 范特祖. A junior officer in local government, he was taken up by Guo Tai and became well

known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Fan Tiao 樊調 or Fan Diao; Nanyang. Member of a great clan and descended from the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu's associate Fan Hong, Fan Tiao married Liang Yi, daughter of Liang Song 竦 and eldest sister of the Honoured Ladies Liang, of whom the younger became the mother of Emperor He. In 83 Liang Song was executed and the Honoured Ladies died, but Liang Yi's marriage to Fan Tiao meant that she was regarded as a member of his clan and thus escaped exile.

In 97, after the death of the Dowager Dou, Liang Yi sent a letter to Emperor He, giving the facts about his parentage and the intrigues of the Dou family which had brought about the deaths of his mother and her relatives. As a result of her petition the family was restored to favour, and Fan Tiao became an officer in charge of military cadets. -HHS 34/24:1172-73.

Fan Tiao 樊條/條 see Fan Shu 樊條/條.

Fan Wei 樊鮑; Nanyang. A younger son of Fan Hong and a cousin of Emperor Guangwu, when Fan Hong died in 51 Fan Mao's elder brothers Fan Shu and Fan Mao received marquises; in the following year Fan Wei and seven other brothers were awarded gifts of cash.

In the late 60s Fan Wei wanted his son Shang to marry a daughter of Liu Ying the King of Chu. Fan Shu warned him against stretching the privileges of the family too far, but Fan Wei paid no attention. We may assume the match was consummated, but when allegations of treason were raised against Liu Ying in 71, this proved to have been a very bad idea. -HHS 32/22:1121-23.

Fan Xian 樊顯; Shu. About 46 Fan Xian was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer for his commandery. During audience with him and his colleagues, Emperor Guangwu asked their opinion of officials they had known. Fan Xian praised the former Administrator Zhang Kan for his scrupulous honesty in cataloguing the treasures left by Gongsun Shu at the time of conquest in 36. The emperor was impressed; he appointed Fan Xian as a county magistrate in Ba commandery and called Zhang Kan to court for reward. -HHS 31/21:1100-01.

Fan Xian 范顯 [Shuju 叔鉅]; Runan. After Fan Xian's mother died, it was found that the family property was exhausted and there was no food. Though the principles of mourning would have discouraged such

activity, Fan Xian persuaded his brothers to migrate to Jiujang. Accompanied by their household and clients, they farmed and herded animals, living in the plainest fashion, and eventually paid off their debts.

When the three-years of mourning was over, his brothers embarked on official careers, but Fan Xian maintained his simple life, personally constructing an altar to his parents' memory, and living as a hermit to maintain the ritual beyond the customary time. The commandery nominated him as Extremely Filial.

Fan Xian later became a county magistrate in Lujiang, but left office due to ill health. He was later called to appointment as an Academician, but could not take the post because his elder brother died. There is a story that the Excellency Sheng Yun offered to arrange an appointment for him, but Fan Xian's son Fan Pang rejected the approach. He said that Fan Xian was determined to remain in private life; but he also remarked later that he did not wish to be beholden to Sheng Yun. -HHS 67/57:2207, FSTY 5:36; Nylan 83: 453-454.

Fan Xian 范顯, wife of. Mother of Fan Pang, as her son went to execution at Luoyang in 169 for his involvement in Faction, the Lady farewelled him with inspiring words. -HHS 67/57:2207, deC 89:112.

Fan Xian 范先 (d.205); Hedong. Member of a leading local clan, in 205 Fan Xian and his colleague Wei Gu secretly supported Gao Gan of the Yuan family and sought to resist Du Ji, the Administrator appointed by Cao Cao. He outmanoeuvred them, and when fighting broke out Fan Xian was killed. -SGZ 16:494-95.

Fan [Xiandu] 樊嫺都 or Fan Guidu 樊歸都, the Lady (d.22); Nanyang. Daughter of Fan Zhong, wealthy member of a leading local clan, she married Liu Qin and bore him three sons, including Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and three daughters. The Lady died in 22, just as Liu Bosheng was planning to rebel against the government of Wang Mang. Because of the urgency and tension of the time, none of her sons were able to carry out her funeral, so the burial was arranged by the Lady's kinsman Fan Jugong. -HHS 14/4:555-56; Bn 54:98, 103.

Fan Xiang 蕃嚮 see Pi Xiang.

Fan Xiang 范馨; (d.222); Chenliu. Son of Fan Dan, he shared his poverty during the Great Proscription. Fan Dan left him a moral testament on his death in 185, and as Fan Xiang died he passed his ink-stone to his two-year-old grandson Fan Qiao 喬. -HHS 81/71:

2689-90, *JS* 94:2432-33.

Fan Xie 范協; Chenliu. Fan Xie was a younger brother of Fan Dan. -*HHS* 81/71:2689.

Fan Xun 樊尋; Nanyang. A cousin of Emperor Guangwu, in 37 Fan Xun was enfeoffed as a district marquis. -*HHS* 32/22:1120.

Fan Xun 范訓. When Fan Xun's mother died he carried baskets of soil to build her tomb-mound. -*XC* 8:12a.

Fan Yan 樊嚴 (d.125). Fan Yan married a daughter of the Lady Wang Yong, daughter of Wang Sheng the former wet-nurse of Emperor An. After the death of the emperor in 125, the family of the Dowager Yan accused their rival party, including the senior minister Geng Bao, the Wang and a number of eunuchs, of faction and conspiracy. Fan Yan escaped the death sentence but was sent to convict labour. -*HHS* 10B:437.

Fan Yan 樊演. In 137 Fan Yan was Inspector of Jiaozhi when the non-Chinese chieftain Oulin attacked Han positions in Rinan. Fan Yan led troops from Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen commanderies to attack the insurgents, but his men mutinied, and although that trouble was put down the banditry continued to spread. -*HHS* 86/76:2837-39. [*LS* 27:3b lists a stele to a Fan Yan who held title as an Administrator.]

Fan Yao 范突 see Fan Rong 范容. -*HHSJJ* 38/28:1362 citing a stele.

Fan Ye 樊曄 or Fan Yu 煜 [*Zhonghua* 仲華]; Nanyang. Before Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, had gained any position, he was arrested in Xinye county in Nanyang. Fan Ye was at that time a local officer in the market, and he visited Liu Xiu and took him a box of cakes. The incident presumably took place in 22, when Liu Xiu's brother Liu Bosheng was stirring trouble against the regime of Wang Mang and Liu Xiu took refuge with his brother-in-law Deng Chen.

Liu Xiu remembered Fan Ye's kindness, and when he claimed the throne in 25 Fan Ye was named an Imperial Clerk. Soon afterwards Deng Yu conquered Hedong, and Fan Ye was named Commandant there. The emperor called Fan Ye to a meal at the palace, granted him horses and chariots, robes and other goods, then joked, "A Commandant's position in exchange for a box of cakes – not bad?" Fan Ye bowed and thanked him.

When Fan Ye arrived in Hedong he executed the local leader Mashi Kuang and others. The local bandits became peaceable and all the officers and people held

him in awe. He was transferred to be Inspector of Yang province, where he encouraged the people in farming and silkworm cultivation, and reformed their family relationships. He stayed there ten years, but was then found guilty of some fault and demoted to a county magistracy in Henei.

Soon afterwards Fan Ye was sent as Administrator of Tianshui to deal with the region of the upper Wei, which was still unsettled after the destruction of Wei Ao and his followers in 33/34. Delighting in the Legalistic techniques of Shen Buhai 申不害 and Han Feizi, he ruled with the utmost ferocity and was rigid in his application of the law. Anyone who offended was lucky to leave prison alive, and both Chinese and non-Chinese people were frightened of him. On the other hand, it is said that Fan Ye was admired for the fact that when he arrived in the commandery as funeral rites were being carried out for his predecessor, the mourners offered to cede him the main hall of the residence, but Fan Ye insisted that the casket of the former Administrator must take precedence.

Fan Ye's regime was so successful that it was claimed even goods dropped by the roadside were left untouched, while a popular song observed that it was better to meet a tigress defending her young than be taken into Fan Ye's prison.

After fourteen years in Tianshui, Fan Ye died in office about 50. Some years later Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming considered Fan Ye's administration to be unmatched by any who came after him, and he awarded his family a million cash. The historian Fan Ye, however, classed him as a Stern Official 酷吏, and placed his biography in the relevant chapter of *Hou Han shu*. -*HHS* 77/67:2491-92*; Bn 59:180.

The given name of this man appears as Ye 曄 in *HHS* 77/67, and this is the accepted reading. *DGHJ* 15:6b-7a, however, has Yu 煜. Both characters have the meaning of a bright light, and the *DGHJ* edition has evidently chosen to avoid taboo. See also *sub* Huan Ye.

Fan Yi 樊毅 [*Zhongde* 仲德]; Henan. Appointed Administrator of Hongnong in 178, in the following year Fan Yi sent in a memorial asking permission to restore a temple near Mount Hua at public expense. This was approved, and the work was commemorated by stele. -*LS* 2:4a-10b.

Fan Yi 汜疑 (d.194). When Lü Bu invaded Yan

province to seize it from Cao Cao, he sent Fan Yi to occupy Fan county in Dong commandery. The magistrate Jin Yun had his whole family held hostage by Lü Bu, but Cheng Yu persuaded him to remain loyal, and Jin Yun killed Fan Yi in an ambush. -SGZ 14:426-27.

Fan Ying 樊英 [Jiqi 季齊 or Jigao 季高]; Nanyang. As a young man, Fan Ying travelled to study in the region of Chang'an. He became expert in the Confucian canon and the apocrypha, with particular ability in the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. He was also skilled in divination by the wind and the stars and the calendar, and in the interpretation of portents.

Fan Ying lived in retirement among the mountains, and many people came to receive instruction. On one occasion he observed that there was a great fire in the city of Chengdu in Sichuan, and he spat a mouthful of water towards the west. Some time later a report came of how there had indeed been such a conflagration, but then clouds gathered and heavy rain put it out. Another time, as his disciple Xi Xun was travelling abroad, Fan Ying learned by magical arts that he was in danger from bandits and miraculously went to save him.

Commandery and provincial authorities sent repeated invitations, but Fan Ying would not accept. In the time of Emperor He he was nominated as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, and as Knowing the Way, but still refused appointment. Under Emperor An he was twice offered position as an Academician, and in 121 a special carriage and escort were sent, again without success.

In 127, partly by force, the government of the young Emperor Shun managed to get Fan Ying to the capital, but he refused to attend court on grounds of ill health, and when he was compelled to come he would not make the kowtow and firmly declared his independence. After treatment by the imperial physician, in 129 he was at last engaged in audience, received with gifts and favour, and was named a General of the Household in charge of gentleman cadets. A few months later Fan Ying again claimed to be ill and asked to retire. He rejected a further promotion to Household Counsellor, but was permitted to return home. He was still asked for opinions on portents and received regular gifts of food.

As an exercise in propaganda, the invitation to Fan Ying appears to have been successful, for we are told that many other scholars were now pleased to attend

the imperial court. It was generally agreed, however, that Fan Ying had shown no great distinction, nor presented any remarkable thoughts on government. He gave some useful interpretations of portents, but otherwise, as the senior official Li Gu observed, there was nothing exceptional about him, and in some respects the whole affair had been unsatisfactory and embarrassing.

Li Gu went on to note that there was contradiction between the imperial court's pursuit of hermit scholars, and common opinion amongst the people that such men were little more than charlatans. While not agreeing with the general judgement, Li Gu used the example of Fan Ying to warn the emperor against showing too much enthusiasm for men of ostentatiously reclusive morality.

Relying heavily upon the apocrypha, Fan Ying compiled a commentary to the *Book of Changes*, commonly known as *Fanshi xue* 樊氏學 "Teachings of Mr Fan" [cf. *sub* Fan Shu], and also *Shibi wen* 石壁文. He died at home aged over seventy. -HHS 82/72A: 2721-24*, 61/51:2032, XC 6:5b, HYGZ 10B:149; Yao Zhenzong:2443, Ngo 76:100-104, DeWoskin 86:62, Vervoor 90:157-163, 189-190.

Fan You 樊儵 see Fan Shu 樊榘/儵.

Fan You 樊友. In 219 Fan You was Administrator of Yidu, by the Yangzi Gorges, in Liu Bei's service. As Sun Quan's troops attacked Guan Yu, Lu Xun came against Yidu, and Fan You fled. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Fan Yu 樊煜 see Fan Ye 樊曄.

Fan Zeng 范曾 [Zimin 子閔]. A major under the General-in-Chief He Jin, in 184 Fan Zeng defeated a group of Yellow Turbans in Nanyang. -SJZ 31:10b.

Fan Zhizhang 樊志張; Hanzhong. A man of wide learning, Fan Zhizhang lived in retirement and refused all invitations to office. When Duan Jiong was attacking the Qiang in 165, he invited Fan Zhizhang to visit him, but while he was there the enemy came and surrounded the Han camp. On the third night of the siege Fan Zhizhang told Duan Jiong of a gap in the enemy lines, and encouraged him to send out a detachment in counter-attack. Duan Jiong followed his advice and scored a complete victory.

Duan Jiong recommended Fan Zhizhang in the strongest terms, and he received a special summons to office. He died, however, soon afterwards. -HHS 82/72B:2732-33*; Ngo 76:113-114, DeWoskin 83:72.

Fan Zhong 樊重 [Junyun 君雲]; Nanyang. A man

of family with extensive landed property, and also a prosperous merchant, Fan Zhong was celebrated for his energy and his generosity and became Thrice Venerable in his local community. Over eighty years old when he died, he left a testament to cancel all loans outstanding in his favour.

Fan Zhong's daughter the Lady Fan Xiandu married Liu Qin, so Fan Zhong was the grandfather of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. When he travelled to Nanyang in 42, Guangwu made sacrifice at Fan Zhong's tomb, granted him posthumous title as a marquis, and established a temple in his honour. Thereafter he visited the tomb on each journey to the south, and in 164 Emperor Huan also paid his respects. -HHS 32/22:1119, SJZ 29:18b; Bn 54:95, 98, QHX:94-95.

Fan Zhong 樊重; Shandong. Leader of the Datong bandits, he was possibly a kinsman of Fan Chong. The group came originally from Shandong, but in 24 they joined the Red Eyebrows north of the Yellow River. After their combined force was defeated by Liu Xiu, most of the Datong were absorbed by the Red Eyebrows. -HHS 1A:16; Bn 59:81-84.

Fan Zhong 樊忠; Nanyang. A kinsman of Fan Zhong 重, grandfather of Emperor Guangwu, in 37 Fan Zhong was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 32/22:1120.

Fan [Zhongbo] 范仲博; Runan. As Fan Pang went to execution at Luoyang in 169, he entrusted his mother to the care of his younger brother Fan Zhongbo. -HHS 67/57:2207.

Fan [Zhongli] 范仲禮 (d.184); Runan. In 184 Fan Zhongli was a member of the staff of the Administrator Zhao Qian. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out, the commandery militia was defeated. Fan Zhongli and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though they were all killed he was able to escape. An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527.

Fan Zhou 樊卣 (d.219); Wuling. In 219, after Sun Quan had taken Jing province, Fan Zhou raised local troops loyal to Liu Bei. His fellow-countryman Pan Jun knew that Fan Zhou was incompetent, told Sun Quan, and was sent with a small force to deal with him. He destroyed Fan Zhou. -SGZ Wu 16:1398.

Fan Zhun 樊準/准 [Youling 幼陵] (d.118); Nanyang. Son of Fan Duan, though his father had been committed to Huang-Lao beliefs, and Fan Zhun was influenced

by such teachings, he maintained family tradition as a Confucian. When his father died he gave his property away to his orphaned nephews.

As Emperor He came on a tour of inspection to Nanyang in 103, Fan Zhun was Officer of Merit in the commandery. He impressed the emperor at an audience, and was made a gentleman cadet. He then accompanied the imperial party back to the capital and received special appointment into the Secretariat.

When the Dowager Deng took power as regent in 106, Confucian scholarship was in decline. Fan Zhun presented a memorial urging the promotion of learning, praising the patronage shown by previous rulers, and particularly the splendid age of Emperor Ming, when the *Book of Filial Piety* was well-known even to military men, and the Xiongnu King Dajuququ came to study at Luoyang. On the other hand, Fan Zhun deplored the empty formality of official Confucianism, and while recognising the value of its teaching to law and political affairs, he urged the importance of individual morality, which was better fostered by Huang-Lao and other private beliefs. Citing the example of Emperor Wen of Former Han and his Empress Dou, who encouraged such teachings and thus paved the way for the prosperity of emperors Jing and Wu, Fan Zhun asked that the new government should seek out those scholars who maintained themselves and their virtues in retirement, and invite them to appointment at court. Impressed by his recommendations, the Dowager inaugurated a number of calls for nomination as Sincere and Upright, Plain and Honest, and Kind and Worthy.

In the following year, 107, Fan Zhun was appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate. When the great rebellion of the Qiang broke out, he recommended the convict Pang Can as a man of quality, suitable for command; he also presented a memorial on the problems in the heartland of the empire. Noting a series of floods, droughts and other natural disasters over several years, he urged thrift and economy at court, putting an end to the extravagant items used for the imperial table, for ceremonies and for decoration.

About this time there were reports of distress and unrest in the eastern provinces of Ji and Yan, with people abandoning their homes in aimless and uneasy wandering. Fan Zhun proposed a number of measures, including the distribution of resources from

government land, and recommended a commission of enquiry to the east to investigate the causes of local distress and means by which it might be alleviated. His policy was adopted, and in 108 Fan Zhun was named an acting Household Counsellor and sent out to Ji province, while the Consultant Lü Cang went to Yan. By establishing public granaries and arranging relief, Fan Zhun was able to settle a number of the homeless migrants.

Having returned to Luoyang, Fan Zhun was again sent to Ji province, this time as Administrator of Julu. The territory was ravaged by famine, with many wanderers, and Fan Zhun was faced with the need for a longer-term policy than had been required for his earlier tour of inspection. He encouraged resettlement of abandoned lands, and within a single year grain production multiplied. The neighbouring territories of Zhao and Wei, closer to the Taihang ranges, were raided by rebel Qiang, but Fan Zhun protected his commandery and kept the people at peace.

Transferred to Henei in 111, a region also vulnerable to raiding by the Qiang, Fan Zhun led local troops to drive them back, then developed a system of guard-posts. His reputation kept the enemy at a distance.

About 114 Fan Zhun became ill and retired from the commandery, but he soon returned to the imperial service, and after further appointments he became Director of the Secretariat. Because of his knowledge of precedent, Fan Zhun held great influence in that office; in 116 he was appointed Minister of the Household, remaining in that position until his death two years later. Ch'en Ch'i-yün cites Fan Zhun as one of the leading protagonists of reform in the early second century, relying upon personal morality and the recruitment of good men rather than strict enforcement of the laws. -HHS 32/22:1125-29*; Loewe 86C:299-301, Ch'en 86:787.

Fan [Zizhao] 樊子昭; Runan. Formerly a hat merchant, he was recommended for office by the judge of character Xu Shao and was noted for his concern to keep a high reputation. He could be fierce in debate, but always maintained composure and was generous in his public dealings. -HHS 68/58:2234, SGZ Shu 7: 954; Mather 76:519.

Fanchen 潘辰 see Panchen.

Fang Chong 房充 see Qu Chong 屈充.

Fang Chu 方儲 [Shengming 聖明]; Danyang. After his father died when he was young, Fang Chu cared for

his mother. He became a gentleman cadet, but left that appointment when his mother died, built the tomb with his own hands, and planted pines and poplars there. In honour of his filial devotion, a magical red *luan* 鸛 bird came to roost above it, and white rabbits gathered below.

Fang Chu then travelled to the region of Chang'an to study. It was said that he knew every skill, he was expert in astrology, and he compiled a detailed commentary on the art of divination by the wind. On one occasion a peasant left some grain and tools in the fields and they were gone when he returned. He suspected his neighbour, but Fang Chu promptly accused a local officer, and the man confessed.

When Emperor Zhang had gentleman cadets choose whether they were more suited to military or civil affairs, Fang Chu claimed that he was equally adept at both. The emperor gave him a tangled skein of silk to unravel, and Fang Chu drew his sword and cut it like a Gordian knot, explaining that it was sometimes necessary to defy the natural order.

Fang Chu became Prefect of Luoyang. His Officer of Merit Shi Xian had one of his retainers kill a man. When the head was found in the stables, Fang Chu spoke to it, and announced that Shi Xian was responsible. Put to the question, Shi Xian confessed his guilt.

Later, as Emperor Zhang was preparing to carry out sacrifice at the Altar of Heaven, Fang Chu warned that there would be fierce wind and rain and urged that the cortège should not go. The emperor thought he was mad, and ordered him to take poison. After his death, the weather behaved just as he had foretold. -XC 7:1a-2a.

Fang Dan 芳丹 or Mao Dan 茅丹; Jingzhao. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Fang Dan became warlord in his home county of Xinfeng near Chang'an. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi in 27. -HHS 17/7:647.

Fang Guang 方廣; Guangling. About 50 Fang Guang killed a man in vengeance for his father. He was arrested and imprisoned, but when his mother died the county magistrate Zhongli Yi let him go to carry out the funerary rites. When Fang Guang duly returned to the prison, Zhongli Yi petitioned on his behalf and he was

sentenced to death less one degree. -HHS 41/31:1407.

Fang He 方賀 is mentioned in *FSTY* 5f:120.

Fang Wang 方望 (d.25); Youfufeng. A man of influence and authority in the northwest, in 23 Fang Wang was invited to become an adviser to Wei Ao, and persuaded him to proclaim his support for the Liu family against Wang Mang. When Wei Ao actually offered allegiance to the Gengshi Emperor in 24, however, Fang Wang opposed the move and left his service: rather than support a new imperial regime, he evidently saw the Han cause as an opportunity to set up an independent government

Later that year Fang Wang and Gong Lin gained control of the Young Prince Liu Ying, nominal heir to Former Han, who had been held at Chang'an since Wang Mang took the throne. Foreseeing the troubles awaiting the Gengshi Emperor, they took the young man into Anding and proclaimed him as emperor at the beginning of 25. Fang Wang was named Imperial Chancellor and Gong Lin Grand Marshal. They raised a few thousand supporters, but were attacked and defeated by troops of the Gengshi Emperor. The pretender and his party were killed. -HHS 1A:18, 11/1: 473; Bn 59.91.

Fang Zhen 房楨 *i.e.* Fang Zhi 房植. *Cai* 12:2 has the text of a funerary inscription for Fang Zhen, described as Excellency of Works. No-one of that name is recorded by *Hou Han shu*, however, and the only Excellency of Works with the Fang surname is Fang Zhi: see immediately below. It appears that the two characters 楨 and 植 have been confused in transmission.

Fang Zhi 房植 [Bowu 伯武]; Qinghe/Ganling. Having been recommended by Li Gu in 143, Fang Zhi was Intendant of Henan in 146 when Zhou Fu, also from Ganling, entered the Imperial Secretariat at Luoyang. Zhou Fu had been the private tutor of Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, and gained his appointment when Liu Zhi was brought to the throne. Many people of their home country believed that Zhou Fu owed his advancement only to his connection to the new ruler, and they compared him unfavourably to Fang Zhi. A ditty was circulated, composed from two seven-character phrases, each with an internal rhyme: A model for the empire, Fang Bowu; Grasping appointment through his tutoring, Zhou Zhongjin. The gentry of Ganling were divided into "northern" and "southern" parties, opponents and supporters of Zhou

Fu and Fang Zhi. See further *sub* Zhou Fu.

Fang Zhi was later Minister Steward and Minister of the Household. In 153 he became Excellency of Works, leaving that office in 155. -HHS 7:298-301, 67/57:2185-86.

Fangqian 放前 of Yutian [Khotan]. King of Yutian, in 129 Fangqian attacked his neighbouring state of Jumi [present-day Yutian], killed its king, Xing, and placed one of his own sons on the throne.

In 131 Fangqian sent a son to the Han court as a hostage with tribute, and sought recognition of his conquest. On the advice of the Administrator of Dunhuang Xu You, this was refused, and though Fangqian was pardoned he was ordered to restore the state. When he refused, in 132 Xu You had King Chenpan of Shule [Kashgar] attack Yutian. Fangqian was defeated, his capital was plundered, and the state of Jumi was restored. -HHS 88/78:2915-16.

Faqi 發崎 [Korean: Palgi] see *sub* Yiyimo of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

Fei 邳 [surname] see Pi 邳 *passim*.

Fei 費 [surname] see also *sub* Bi 費. There were apparently two different clans, who wrote their surname the same but pronounced it differently: see *LS* 11:19a-b, discussing Bi Fan.

Fei [Boren] 費伯仁; Jiangxia. Fei Boren's aunt was the mother of Liu Zhang, who sent messengers about 200 to invite him to the west. See also Fei Guan. -SGZ Shu 14:1060.

Fei Changfang 費長房; Runan. As a guard in the local market, Fei Changfang encountered an old man who sold medicine, and who went each night into a large gourd. Fei Changfang introduced himself and was invited into the magical gourd. The old man then introduced himself as an exiled immortal, and as his exile was ended he invited Fei Changfang to accompany him. They hung up a piece of bamboo which his family took to be Fei Changfang's dead body, and after the funeral Fei Changfang left with his mentor. He passed two magical tests, but when he failed to eat a pile of worm-eaten dung he was obliged to return home.

The immortal nonetheless gave Fei Changfang a magical staff to ride, which turned out to be a dragon, and also granted him a spell to control earthly spirits. Though his absence had seemed only ten days, it was in fact as many years, and his family accepted him only after they had opened the grave and found the

bamboo they had buried.

Fei Changfang cured many illnesses and engaged in feats of magic, including long-distance instant travel and the ability to be in several places at once. He also exorcised and punished many demons, one of them a remarkable tortoise which had impersonated the local Administrator. Later, however, he lost his powers and was killed by resentful spirits. -HHS 82/72B:2743-45; Ngo 76:128-134, DeWoskin 83:77-81.

Fei Deng 費登 (d.41). Disciples of the religious leader Wei Si, who had been executed about 40, in 41 Fei Deng and Li Guang raised a rebellion in Lujiang. They were defeated and killed by the general Ma Yuan. -HHJ 7:82 [and see *sub* Li Guang].

Fei Gan 費敢. A general under the eastern warlord Zhang Bu in 29, Fei Gan was sent by his brother Fei Yi to garrison the village of Juli in Ji'nan against Guangwu's general Geng Yan. Geng Yan made ostentatious preparations to attack, but left only a small force to watch it while he laid an ambush for Fei Yi's main army as it came to bring relief. As Fei Yi was defeated and killed, Fei Gan abandoned his position and went back to Zhang Bu. -HHS 19/9:708-09.

Fei Guan 費觀 [Binbo 賓伯]; Jiangxia. Fei Guan was a kinsman of Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, by Liu Zhang's mother the wife of Liu Yan; Liu Zhang also had Fei Guan marry his daughter.

In 213 Fei Guan was a staff officer to Li Yan, a commander of Liu Zhang's troops opposed to Liu Bei. When Liu Yan surrendered, however, Fei Guan also changed sides.

Liu Bei appointed Fei Guan as a major-general, Administrator of Ba commandery, and then Area Commander at Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing. In 223 he was granted a village marquisate, but he died a few years later at the age of thirty-seven. -SGZ Shu 15: 1081-82.

Fei Qin 肥親; Henan. In 82 Fei Qin was a local officer under the Intendant Yuan An. A plague of locusts destroyed crops, but it was reported that the county ruled by the virtuous magistrate Lu Gong had been spared. Yuan An sent Fei Qin to check the story. Fei Qin found Lu Gong sitting under a tree with a wild pheasant nesting beside him. There was a boy nearby, but when he asked why he did not catch the bird, the boy replied that it was about to hatch and so it would be wrong to harm it. Fei Qin remarked to Lu Gong that he was amazed at his influence for good: not only had

his territory escaped the locusts, but he could set wild creatures at ease and tame a boy's natural instincts of cruelty. He reported all this to Yuan An. -HHS 25/15: 874.

Fei Shi 費詩 [Gongju 公舉]; Jianwei. In 213 Fei Shi was magistrate of Mianzhu in Guanghan for the warlord Governor Liu Zhang. As Liu Bei advanced to the south, Fei Shi gave refuge to several officers whom he had driven back, but he was later obliged to surrender the city. Joining Liu Bei's staff, he served for a time as Administrator of Zangke, then returned to headquarters.

In 221, following the forced abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in favour of Cao Pi of Wei, Liu Bei planned to take the imperial title for himself. Members of the court encouraged him, and favourable portents were found, but Fei Shi argued that the move was premature and even immodest, for Liu Bei still controlled no more than a single province. Liu Bei was predictably unimpressed, and Fei Shi was sent as Assistant Officer to the distant commandery of Yongchang.

Fei Shi took part in Zhuge Liang's southern campaign in 225, then returned to the north as an adviser and courtier. He died about 240. -SGZ Shu 11: 1015-16*; Fang 52:44, 65.

Fei Sui 費遂. Inspector of Jing province under the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Fei Sui was sent to Linhuai with the Internuncio Hou Sheng to call the Administrator Hou Ba to appointment at the capital. The local people protested so earnestly that the emissaries did not present Hou Ba with his invitation, and he remained at his post. -DGHJ 13:1b.

Fei Sui 費遂 [Ziji 子奇]; Jiangxia. When Fei Sui became Inspector of Yang province, he found that his predecessor had planted garlic and wheat at the residence. He gave the produce to his local officers. -XC 8:2b.

Fei Wei 費禕 see Fei Yi 費禕.

Fei Yi 費邑 (d.29). An officer of the eastern warlord Zhang Bu, he was given title as King of Ji'nan and held command of defences along the Yellow River. In 29 Guangwu's general Geng Yan came to the attack. He tricked Fei Yi into marching to relieve his brother Zhang Gan, then took his column by surprise. Fei Yi was defeated and died in the battle. -HHS 19/9:708-09.

Fei Yi 費貽 [Fengjun 奉君]; Jianwei. When Gongsun Shu took the imperial title in 25 he invited many local

leaders to join his regime. Unwilling to serve, Fei Yi painted himself with lacquer, pretended to be mad, and escaped into the mountains. He remained in hiding for more than ten years.

After Gongsun Shu was destroyed by the armies of Han, Fei Yi took service under Emperor Guangwu and became Administrator of Hepu. -*HHS* 81/71:2668, *HYGZ* 10B:156; Vervorm 90:143.

Fei Yi 費禕 [Wenwei 文偉] (d.253); Jiangxia. Orphaned when he was young, Fei Yi was brought up by his father's kinsman Fei Boren. Fei Boren's aunt was the mother of Liu Zhang, who sent messengers to invite him, and so the family travelled to the west. He was a friend of Dong Yun [q.v.], whose father Dong He admired his conduct.

When Liu Bei established his son Liu Shan as Heir to his kingdom of Hanzhong in 219, Fei Yi was appointed to his suite, and when Liu Zhan succeeded his father in 223, Fei Yi obtained rank at court and later held senior appointments under Zhuge Liang, who also commended him. After Zhuge Liang's death he served Jiang Wan, and when Jiang Wan retired in 243 Fei Yi succeeded him to the dominant position in the state. After ten years he was assassinated at a banquet by a captive officer of Wei. -*SGZ* Shu 14:1060-62*; Fang 52:436-437, 655, 65:124-126.

Fei Zhan 費禕; Danyang. A local rebel against Sun Quan about 217, he raised troops from the non-Chinese of the hills 山越 and received a seal of office from Cao Cao. Lu Xun was sent against him, defeated him and settled the area. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1344.

Fei Zhangfang 費長房 see Fei Changfang 費長房.

Fei Zhi 肥谿 [Changhua 菴華] (d.169); Henan. A stele found in a tomb at Yanshi in present-day Henan in 1991 tells how this man held office in the Lateral Courts under Emperors Zhang and He. As the authors of the report in *Wenwu* observe, this would mean he was born about 54, and would have been some 115 years old when he died. The Lateral Courts were the harem apartments of the emperor, so Fei Zhi would probably have been a eunuch.

The circumstances of the stele's discovery are not fully convincing, and its authenticity is doubtful. -*WW* 1992/9.

Feng 逢 or Pang 逢. These two characters are sometimes confused by the texts, and it is not possible to determine the correct reading in every case. As surnames, I transcribe both versions as Pang; the modern

p and *f* initials were very close during Han. See, for example, Bn 54: 137 note 4 on Feng/Pang An.

Feng 馮 [personal name unknown]; Longxi. Appointed Chancellor of Changshan in 117, he carried out ritual ceremonies, including sacrifice to the Three Excellencies Mountain in the Taihang ranges. He received credit for favourable conditions after the disruption of the Qiang rebellion, and his local officers set up a stele in his honour. -Nagata 94:56.

Feng 馮, the Lady I. She was an Honoured Lady in the harem of Emperor He when he died in 105. It was expected that the concubines of a dead emperor should reside at his funerary park as notional guardians of his tomb, but the Dowager Deng, who now took regency control of the government, ordered that the Lady Feng and the Honoured Lady Zhou be excused this exile. Explaining that the two women had been her companions for more than ten years, and that she could not bear to part with her old friends, she allowed them to remain at the capital. They were granted gold, brocade and fine cloth, with carriage and horses fit for a king, and the Lady Feng also received special insignia and head-gear.

A story in the *Lieyi zhuan* 列異傳 "Chronicle of Strange Events" compiled by Cao Pi in the third century, says that the Honoured Lady Feng of Emperor Huan [*sic*] died and was buried, and that seventy years later, in the reign of Emperor Ling, her tomb was broken into by thieves who found the body intact and well preserved. The tale is anachronistic, for Emperor Ling was the direct successor of Emperor Huan, but the Lady Feng of Emperor He would indeed have died some seventy years before the reign of Emperor Ling. Cf. the Lady Feng II below. -*HHS* 10A:421; deC 89: 464-465.

Feng 馮, the Lady II. At the time of the disgrace and death of the Empress Deng in 165 the Lady Tian Sheng and eight other women were taken to the bed of Emperor Huan; they continued to share his favours even after the appointment of his Empress Dou. It is probable they were engaged not only for their qualities as sexual partners, but also in the hope that one of the magical number nine might conceive a son.

As Emperor Huan was on his death-bed in the winter of 167/168, he promoted Tian Sheng and her companions to be Honoured Ladies. After he was dead the Empress Dou, now regent Dowager, killed the Lady Tian Sheng, though the eunuchs Guan Ba and Su

Kang obliged her to spare the lives of the other eight favourites.

Of the nine concubines, only Tian Sheng is named by the texts, but there is a possibility that one of the others was a woman of the Feng surname. The biography of Chen Qiu in *HHS* 56/46, tells how the eunuchs argued that the Dowager Dou, who died in 172, should be buried in a separate tomb to Emperor Huan and that the place normally given to the consort's funerary tablet should be awarded not to her but to the Honoured Lady Feng. It was eventually resolved that the Dowager should receive full honours and share the emperor's tomb, but in the course of debate the minister Chen Qiu noted that the Lady Feng's tomb had been robbed and desecrated, and her spiritual soul [魂 *hun*] contaminated: it was believed that the spiritual soul journeyed to the next world, leaving the earthly soul [魄 *po*] with the body; if the robbery was to affect the spiritual soul, therefore, it should have taken place very soon after the interment.

HHS 65/55:2153 also refers to the robbery of the tomb of the Honoured Lady Feng: it took place in 170 or 171, and the Intendant of Henan, Duan Jiong, was found responsible and demoted. Leaving aside the magic surrounding the grave of the Honoured Lady of Emperor He, discussed above and below, a recent grave was more likely to attract robbers.

The only Honoured Lady Feng specifically referred to in the histories was a member of the harem of Emperor He: see the entry above, and particularly the confused anecdote about the robbery of her grave and her well-preserved body. There was no reason for anyone to propose that the tablet of that Lady Feng should be placed in any relation to the tomb of Emperor Huan.

So it appears Emperor Huan also had an Honoured Lady Feng, presumably a colleague of the Lady Tian Sheng. If there was justification for placing her tablet in a high position it may have been because she was the mother of one or both of the two princesses born about that time: see Liu Jian and Liu Xiu. -*HHS* 10B:445-46; deC 89:124-125, 464-467.

Feng 馮, the Lady III. Daughter of Feng Fang, the Lady was one of the great beauties of the empire. In the early 190s she took refuge from the disorders at Chang'an and went to Yang province. Yuan Shu saw her there, and took her as his concubine.

The Lady was treated with great favour, and the

other women of the harem became extremely resentful. They told her that if she wanted to become his principal wife she should occasionally weep at Yuan Shu; he would pity her and she would gain even more influence over him. The Lady did this, and Yuan Shu did feel sympathy for her, but then the other women combined to kill her, hanging her body from a beam in the lavatory as if she had committed suicide.

Believing that she had killed herself because he had not given her the status she wanted, Yuan Shu carried out her funerary rites most generously. -*HHS* 75/65:2443, *SGZ* 6:210.

Feng 豐 or **Li 豐** [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -*LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Feng An 逢安 see Pang An 逢安. -Bn 54:137 note 4.

Feng Bao 馮豹 [Zhongwen 仲文] (d.102); Jingzhao. Son of Feng Yan 衍, Feng Bao was twelve years old when his father sent his wife the Lady Ren away from the family home. She was angry and attempted to kill Feng Bao, but he managed to escape. He refused to make any accusation against her, claiming only that she was ill, and he was admired for his filial piety.

A noted scholar of the *Poetry* and *Chunqiu*, Feng Bao maintained a private academy and held a high reputation among the local people. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he joined the Imperial Secretariat, where he was noted for the speed and accuracy with which he drafted even the most confusing memorials. Emperor Zhang admired his work and gave him generous gifts.

Probably during the 80s, as Ban Chao established a Han presence in the Western Regions, Feng Bao was made Senior Colonel for the West of the Yellow River, presumably based in Dunhuang. In the time of Emperor He he gave advice on frontier policy, and in the early 90s he recommended the re-establishment of the system of Wu and Ji Colonels and garrisons at Jushi, near Turfan.

Feng Bao served two years with success as Administrator of Wuwei, then returned to the Secretariat. He died in that office. -*HHS* 28/18B:1004.

Feng Chen 馮晨; Yingchuan. Grandson of Feng Yi, Feng Chen's father Feng Pu lost the family marquissate because he killed a man. In 112 the government of Emperor An under the regent Dowager Deng issued an edict honouring the twenty-eight generals, Feng

Yi and his colleagues, who had aided the founding Emperor Guangwu, and the family fief was revived in favour of Feng Chen. -HHS 17/7:652.

Feng Cheng 馮承; Nanyang. Son of Feng Shi 石, in 121 Feng Cheng was appointed a gentleman cadet. He became a colonel of the Northern Army, and after the death of his elder brother Dai [or Shi? *q.v.*] he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 33/23:1149-50.

Feng Cheng 逢盛 see Feng Sheng 逢盛.

Feng Dai 馮代; Nanyang. Son of Feng Shi 石, in 121 Feng Dai was appointed a gentleman cadet, and after his father's death he succeeded to his fief. See also *sub* Feng Shi 馮世. -HHS 33/23:1149-50.

Feng Dai 馮岱 [Deshan 德山]. As a clerk in the offices at the capital in the early 160s, Feng Dai took part in regular discussions with colleagues on the affairs of the frontier. Energetic and competent in both military and civil matters, he became Administrator of Chenliu, where he took the advice of Fu Rong and appointed Fan Dan, Han Zhuo and Kong Zhou as senior assistants. -HHS 68/58:2233, XC 7:16b.

Feng Ding 馮定; Nanyang. Elder son of Feng Zhu and the Princess Liu Yi, daughter of Emperor Ming, Feng Ding succeeded to his father's fief and became General of the Household of the Feathered Forest. He died without heirs and the fief was ended. -HHS 33/23:1149.

Feng Fang 馮魴 [Xiaosun 孝孫] (1-85); Nanyang. A man of local family, during the disorders of the early 20s Feng Fang gathered retainers for self-defence; he was admired for protecting Shentu Ji 申屠季 from his enemies Yu Duwei 虞都尉 and Yu Changqing 長卿. Unlike other chieftains, Feng Fang was not a trouble-maker. Emperor Guangwu heard well of him and in 27 he made him a county magistrate in Liang. While quite prepared to resort to violence in order to maintain firm government, Feng Fang was also admired for his honesty and reliability. He was later transferred to Yingchuan.

As Guangwu was attacking Wei Ao in 32, there was rebellion in the commandery, and the local leader Yan Bao brought three thousand men against Feng Fang's city. Though vastly outnumbered, Feng Fang and his men defended themselves for some time, but as ammunition was exhausted the city was taken. Feng Fang escaped, and when the imperial army arrived soon afterwards he went to apologise for his failure. Guangwu knew of his heroic defence and when the

rebels surrendered he gave them into his charge. Their leaders were due to be executed, but Feng Fang spoke on their behalf: they all received a pardon and so the territory was peaceful.

In 37 Feng Fang was appointed Administrator of Wei commandery and after several years of excellent government, regularly graded First Class, he became Minister Coachman in 51. In 56 he acted as Minister of the Guards on tour to Taishan for the imperial Feng and Shan sacrifices; when the cortège returned he was made Excellency of Works and granted a secondary marquissate. Towards the end of the year he attended the Temple of the Eminent Founder to report the demotion of the Empress Lü 呂 from the imperial pantheon.

When Guangwu died in 57 Feng Fang was formally responsible for the imperial tomb, and as Emperor Ming came to the throne Feng Fang and his Excellency colleagues were awarded district marquissates: see also *sub* Li Xin.

In 61 Feng Fang and his colleague Guo Dan were dismissed for having supported the false allegations against Deng Rong; Feng Fang also lost his fief.

Two years later Feng Fang again acted as Minister of the Guards on an imperial tour, and in 64 he became Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital. Known for his plain speaking, he frequently took part in debate and many of his opinions were approved. In 71 his fief was restored, and in the following year, as Emperor Ming again went on tour, he left Feng Fang in charge of the guard of the Southern Palace.

In 78 Emperor Zhang approved Feng Fang's request to retire on grounds of old age. That winter he was honoured as the Five-fold Experienced in the ceremony of Serving the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat. He died in 85 at the age of eighty-six. -HHS 33/23:1147-49*, XC 1:10b-11a.

Feng Fang 馮放 miswritten for Feng Gun 馮緄. -HHJ 19:230.

Feng Fang 馮方/芳. Married to the adopted daughter of the powerful eunuch Cao Jie, in the early 170s Feng Fang was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. His colleagues Liu Xin, Du Xi and Huan Bin, men of strict Confucian standards, would have no dealings with him. They often drank and ate together, but never invited Feng Fang to join them. Resentful at this exclusion, Feng Fang accused Huan Bin and his companions of faction, and when the Prefect Liu Meng took no action Cao Jie alleged that he too was involved in the clique.

Liu Meng was briefly arrested and then proscribed from office, while Huan Bin retired.

Feng Fang later became Director of Retainers and Minister of Finance, and in 188 he was one of the colonels of the Western Garden, the personal army established by Emperor Ling.

Feng Fang's daughter became a favourite concubine of the warlord Yuan Shu. -HHS 8:356, 37/27:1262.

Feng Fen 馮奮; Wei. Second son of Feng Shun and his wife the Princess Liu Nu, daughter of Emperor Ming, in 83 Feng Fen was made Marquis of Pingyang in Hedong in right of his mother. When he died without sons the fief was ended, but it was later revived through his elder brother Feng Jing. -HHS 26/16:911.

Feng Fu 馮敷; Kuaiji. Investigator for the commandery about 120, Feng Fu recognised the quality of the impoverished scholar Shi Yan and gave him food and clothing. -HHS 46/36:1558.

Feng Fu 馮孚 see Li Fu 李孚.

Feng Gao 封告 [Junda 君達]. A member of staff under the Excellency over the Masses Yu Yan, Feng Gao was involved in the release of the wrongly convicted Administrator Deng Rong. -XC 6:15b.

The *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye has no mention of this man, and there is anachronism in the story: Deng Rong was found innocent in 61, and two Excellencies were punished for the error [HHS 27/17:941, 33/23:1149], but Yu Yan did not become Excellency over the Masses until 65.

Feng Guan 封觀 [Xiaoqi 孝起] (d.184); Runan. A loyal man, Feng Guan was due to be nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but was concerned that his elder brother had not yet received a recommendation. He therefore claimed to be unable to speak: when a fire broke out in his house he made his escape but did not call for help. When his brother did gain the nomination a few years later, Feng Guan said that he was cured and joined the local staff of the commandery, becoming Officer of Merit to the Administrator Zhao Qian.

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out the commandery militia was defeated. Feng Guan and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though they were all killed he was able to escape. An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527, XC 2:10b, XHS 5:18b. LS 27:8b lists a stele set up at his tomb.

Feng Guang 馮珣; Nanyang. Son of Feng Zhu and

the Princess Liu Yi, daughter of Emperor Ming, Feng Guang was made Marquis of Huojia in Henei in right of his mother. As his brother Feng Shi became a favourite of Emperor An, Feng Guang was appointed Colonel of the City Gates. -HHS 33/23:1150.

Feng Guang 馮光; Ba? A gentleman cadet in 175, Feng Guang joined the junior officer Chen Huang in a proposal to alter the base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") of the current official calendar so as to accord with the apocrypha. Their arguments were strongly opposed, however, by the great scholar Cai Yong. -HHS 92/2:3037-42.

In HHSJJ 92/2:3412, Hui Dong suggests that Feng Guang may be the same person as Feng Yun/Yuan 允/元, brother of Feng Gun. All three characters are similar, but Feng Guang appears to belong to a different generation to Feng Gun.

Feng Gun 馮緄 [Hongqing 鴻卿 or Huangqing 皇卿] (d.167); Ba. Son of Feng Huan, as a young man Feng Gun followed his father's example in studying the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Art of War* ascribed to Sima Rangju 司馬穰苴兵法.

In 122 Feng Huan was Inspector of You province when a forged edict was sent for his arrest. He was going to kill himself, but the youthful Feng Gun suspected the document and persuaded him to petition the throne. The forgery was discovered, and though Feng Huan had died in prison the family was recompensed with 100,000 cash and the right to an appointment as a gentleman cadet.

Feng Gun thus gained a reputation, but he left the cadetship to hold a series of offices in his commandery, then returned to the commissioned imperial service through nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. He held appointment in the offices of the Excellencies and was then a county magistrate in Yi province, where he controlled the powerful local clans. After a period in retirement he was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat and the Censorate. He went west once more as Commandant of the Dependent State of Guanghan, then returned to the capital as Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate.

In 144 there was widespread rebellion in the southeast, inspired by Zhou Sheng and Fan Rong of Jiujiang, and Feng Gun was sent with authority to command the combined forces of Yang and Xu provinces against the bandits. His first assault was

defeated with heavy losses, but in the following year, aided by Teng Fu the Commandant of Jiujiang, a new attack was completely successful and the rebel leaders were killed. Feng Gun was nonetheless charged with lack of energy, his commission was removed, and he spent some time as a clerk in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses.

In 155 Feng Gun was sent west as Administrator of Longxi, and when Xianbi raided the northeast in 158 he was transferred to that front as Administrator of Liaodong. He returned to the capital district as Intendant of Jingzhao and was then Director of Retainers. Noted for his strict authority and experience in the law, he was made Minister of Justice and later became Minister of Ceremonies.

For some years there had been rebellion in Jing province, and by 162 the trouble extended from Changsha south into Jiaozhi province. The insurgents were joined by non-Chinese of Lingling, while the non-Chinese tribes of Wuling attacked Nan commandery. Two campaigns led by the censorial officer Sheng Xiu and by the Internuncio Ma Mu both failed, local officials fled, and the greater part of the territory was out of control. Then Feng Gun was named General of Chariots and Cavalry, one of the highest military posts, and sent south with an army claimed to be over a hundred thousand men.

At this time the empire and the government were seriously short of food and supplies; each time there was a campaign the ministers were required to contribute from their salaries and the kings and marquises from their pensions. Furthermore, the eunuchs accused each general of embezzlement: they were invariably convicted. As a result, though his commission was accompanied by an inspirational and exhortatory edict, Feng Gun asked that a eunuch Regular Attendant take charge of his supplies, so that there could be no question of them being stolen; or at least to ensure that the blame would not fall upon him. Zhu Mu of the Imperial Secretariat argued that he lacked the true spirit of a high commander, but Emperor Huan ordered no action be taken.

As Feng Gun's great army appeared, aided by the Banshun people of Yi province, the insurgents surrendered, and Feng Gun went forward against the Wuling tribes. He took more than four thousand heads, and received the surrender of a hundred thousand rebels. The whole region appeared to be settled, and

Feng Gun returned in triumph to the capital. Refusing a reward of a hundred million cash, he asked to be allowed to retire on grounds of age; this was not approved.

Following the army's return, Feng Gun's subordinate Zhang Chang accused him of having taken two female slaves with him in military garb, and also of having had a stele set up by the Yangzi to record his achievements. Huang Jun, Director of the Secretariat, found that the alleged offences were not specified by the codes, so there was no need for a formal enquiry.

In the following year the rebels in Changsha rose again and attacked Guiyang and Wuling. Since this trouble had arisen so soon after he had withdrawn his army, Feng Gun resigned his office.

Soon afterwards Feng Gun was appointed Court Architect and then Intendant of Henan. He wrote to object to the appointment of eunuch relatives to official positions, but Emperor Huan would not accept the protest.

Feng Gun was later transferred again to be Minister of Justice. In 165 he urged leniency for the anti-eunuch Administrators Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi, and for the unfortunate Inspector of Jing province Li Kui. On the other hand, when Shan Qian the Administrator of Shanyang was arrested for various crimes, Feng Gun ordered the death penalty.

Shan Qian was a brother of the eunuch Shan Chao, and though Shan Chao was dead his colleagues joined to present accusations against Feng Gun. At the same time, Li Ying and Liu You had sent in protests about other matters, and Emperor Huan became angry at the interference. All three officials were sent to convict labour, though with reduced punishment 弛刑.

The Director of Retainers Ying Feng, a former officer of Feng Gun whom he had recommended for that post, argued in his favour and that of his colleagues, and after some months Feng Gun was released. He was later appointed a colonel in the Northern Army, and then became Minister of Justice for a third time. He died at the end of 167.

There were mysterious occurrences associated with Feng Gun's tomb in Ba commandery, and local people worshipped there. -HHS 38/28:1280-84*, XC 2:2b, HYGZ 12:218, SJZ 29:12a, LS 7:13a-15b; deC 89:35, 39, 58-59, 64-65.

Feng Han 馮含; Ba. As Administrator of Longxi, in 154 Feng Han endorsed the report of Dan Wang the

Administrator of Ba commandery, his homeland, on the difficulty of maintaining government control over long distances. It was recommended that Ba commandery be divided into smaller units, but the court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:6.

Feng Hao 馮顥 [Shuzai 叔宰]; Guanghan. As a young man Feng Hao studied under Yang Ban and Zhang Guangchao in Shu commandery; he learned magical arts and divination from Yu Shuya of Dongping.

After service as an Internuncio at Luoyang, about 140 Feng Hao returned to the west as magistrate of Chengdu, where he reported the unlawful conduct of the Administrator Liu Xuan. He encouraged learning and opened new areas for agriculture, and his government was graded as Exceptional Quality. He later became a successful and influential Administrator of Yuexi, but then fell foul of Liang Ji and left office.

In retirement Feng Hao conducted himself according to the principles of Huang-Lao. He compiled a commentary to the *Book of Changes* and also *Cishe shuo* 刺奢說, an essay against extravagance. -HHS 86/76:2854, HYGZ 3:354, 10B:145; Yao Zhenzong: 2310, 2385.

Feng Heng 封衡 [Junda 君達]; Longxi. Having eaten the *huanglian* 黃連 *coptis* plant for fifty years, followed by a hundred years in the mountains on a diet of mercury 水銀, Feng Heng returned to his home country with the appearance of a twenty-year-old. He is commonly referred to by his style, Junda, but he was known as the Taoist Master of the Green Ox 青牛道士, from the beast that he rode, a symbol of the spring and of youth.

Feng Heng is said to have healed many people with drugs or by acupuncture, never giving his name. Like many claimants to long life, he nourished his vital essence by controlled breathing, by drinking urine and by coupling with a number of different women and failing to ejaculate.

Feng Heng acquired a copy of *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽眞形圖 "Veritable Images of the Five Sacred Peaks" from Lu Nüsheng, and he passed it to his student Zuo Ce. The mystical diagrams, also known as *Wuyue tu* 五岳圖, served as a talisman against misfortune, particularly for travellers, and modern copies may still be seen [see Ngo 76:112]. -HHS 82/72B:2750, SGZ 29:805; Ngo 76:142, DeWoskin 83:179, Chavannes 10:415-424.

Feng Huan 馮煥 [Pinghou 平侯] (d.121); Ba. Feng

Huan's family was admired by local people for the generosity with which they shared their wealth, and Feng Huan was a noted scholar of *Chunqiu*, the *Classic of Poetry* and the laws. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a gentleman cadet and was later Inspector of Yu province. His service there was commemorated by an imperial edict of 119, recorded on a stele [LS 15:1b-3a].

Feng Huan was then transferred to You province, where he faced incursions by the Xianbi. After some success, early in 121 he led Yao Guang and Cai Feng, administrators of Xuantu and Liaodong, on a punitive expedition against King Gong of Gaogouli [Koguryo], who had raided Xuantu. They killed several chiefs of the allied Hui and Mo people and captured weapons, horses and treasure, but then Yao Guang was deceived by a false surrender of King Gong's Heir Suicheng, and enemy infiltrators burned Chinese settlements and killed many people. Though Feng Huan called up provincial troops from Zhuo and Yuyang on the North China plain, by the time they arrived the raiders had gone.

Following this debacle, local enemies of Feng Huan and Yao Guang forged an edict for their arrest and execution; Pang Fen the Commandant of Liaodong killed Yao Guang and arrested Feng Huan. Feng Huan was going to kill himself, but his son Feng Gun suspected the orders and persuaded his father to write to the throne. The forgery was discovered, but by the time the matter was determined Feng Huan had died of illness in prison. Pang Fen was punished, while the emperor gave money to the families of both victims and had their sons made gentlemen cadets. [On the dating of the conspiracy, see also *sub* Yao Guang.] -HHS 5:232, 38/28:1280, 85/75:2814-15, HYGZ 12:218, LS 13:3b-5a, Nagata 94:60; Gardiner 69B:171-182.

Feng Ji 封岌 [Zhongshan 仲山]; Bohai. During Later Han, Feng Ji was Inspector of Liang province and a Palace Attendant. -XTS 71B:2341.

Feng Jie 馮楷 see Feng Kai 馮楷.

Feng Jing 馮勁; Wei. Eldest son of Feng Shun and his wife the Princess Liu Nu, daughter of Emperor Ming, Feng Jing became an officer of the Feathered Forest corps of guards. His younger brother Feng Fen had been made Marquis of Pingyang in Hedong in right of their mother, but when he died without sons the fief was ended. In 95 an imperial letter of Emperor He

restored the marquissate for Feng Jing in order that he might maintain sacrifices for the late princess. -HHS 26/16:911.

Feng [Jizai] 馮季宰; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Li Er, he died young. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Feng Jun 馮駿. Commandant to Liu Xing the King of Changsha, in 29 Feng Jun brought his troops to join Cen Peng, Guangwu's commander in the south, and was made a general. He accompanied the attack which drove the warlord Tian Rong up the Yangzi to take refuge with Gongsun Shu, then remained on guard at the western entrance to the Gorges.

In 30 Gongsun Shu sent Tian Rong in a counter-attack. Feng Jun's position was overrun and the enemy broke into the middle Yangzi. They were turned back without permanent effect, and Feng Jun was able to resume his post.

In the spring of 33 Tian Rong and other commanders again attacked. This time they occupied the course of the Yangzi well into Nan commandery, and established a position which defied the imperial army for two years. In the summer of 35 Feng Jun accompanied Cen Peng in the attack which broke Tian Rong's defences and forced him to take refuge in Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing. Cen Peng then left Feng Jun to hold him in that city while he advanced against Gongsun Shu's capital Chengdu. Feng Jun maintained the siege until the autumn of 36, when his men took the place by storm and killed Tian Rong. -HHS 17/7:659-62, 1B: 57-59.

Feng [Junda] 封君達 see Feng Heng 封衡.

Feng Kai 馮楷. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 Feng Kai commanded one of seven divisions in Nanyang under the Area Commander 都督 Zhao Yan. -SGZ 23:668.

Feng Li 馮禮 also miswritten as Feng Zha 札 (d.204). An officer under Shen Pei at Ye city, as Cao Cao came to attack he opened a sally-port to let in three hundred of the enemy. The commander Shen Pei found out, blocked the gate and killed all who had entered. -SGZ 6:202.

Feng Liang 馮良 [Junlang 君郎 or Junqing 君卿]; Nanyang. Feng Liang's parents died when he was young, and he later held junior office in the county. As an attendant to the local Commandant at the age of thirty, he was sent to receive the commandery Investigator, but suddenly felt ashamed of his mean position: he threw off his official robes, overturned

his carriage, killed the horses and went away to the southwest, where he studied under Du Fu of Jianwei.

When the wreckage of the carriage was found, it was thought that Feng Liang had been taken by wolves or a tiger or bandits, and his wife and children held mourning for him. After more than ten years, Feng Liang returned home, but treated his family and his neighbours very formally.

At the instigation of the official Chen Zhong, in 123 Feng Liang and the hermit scholar Zhou Xie of Runan received special invitations from Emperor An. Though the matter was courteously pressed, both men pleaded ill health and abandoned the journey.

Feng Liang lived to be more than seventy. -HHS 53/43:1742-43; Vervorn 90:194-195.

Feng Liang 馮諒; Dong. A commandery officer about 210, he arrested Guo Zhen and his female cousin for the murder of the woman's husband Cheng Tuo. Both Guo Zhen and the woman withstood the flogging which was intended to force the truth from them, and Feng Liang became distressed at the pain he was inflicting. He came to believe that he had made a false accusation and that he should himself be punished. The new county magistrate Hu Zhi, however, noted the sexual relationship between the two, examined the affair in more detail, and found out the truth. -SGZ 27: 741.

Feng Liu 馮留; Wei. Son of Feng Mao, he inherited his fief. -HHS 26/16:911.

Feng Luan 馮鸞; Ba. Son of Feng Gun, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet, but appears to have had no further official career. -HHS 38/28:1284.

Feng [Manci] 封曼慈; Taishan. Feng Manci was a distant cousin of Feng Ziheng the Chancellor of Pingyuan. When Feng Ziheng's mother died about 178, Feng Manci took part in her mourning, and his example, as a remote relative, was taken by numbers of gentlemen from Taishan as justification to do the same. -FSTY 3:22; Ying Shao categorises this as Inappropriate 愆禮.

Feng Mao 馮卯; Wei. Son of Feng Jing, he inherited the family marquissate, and about 122 he was a Palace Attendant. -HHS 26/16:911.

Feng Meng 逢萌 see Pang Meng 逢萌. -Vervorn 90: 282, 301.

Feng Pu 馮普; Yingchuan. Son of Feng Zhang and grandson of Feng Yi, he inherited the family marquis-

ate, but was later found guilty of killing a traveller in an affray. Because of an amnesty, Feng Pu suffered only the loss of his fief; it was later restored to his son Feng Chen. -HHS 17/7:652, DGHJ 9:4a.

Feng Qi 封祈 [Wuxing 武興]; Runan. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Li Zhang 張 [or better Li Chang 儻], probably during the 150s, Feng Qi later became Administrator of Yuzhang. -FSTY 5:37-38 and see also *sub* Zhou Cheng.

Feng Qiang 馮姜, the Lady; Jingzhao. Daughter of Feng Yan 馮衍 and his wife the Lady Ren *q.v.*, whom he later sent away, she is mentioned in a letter from her father to her uncle Ren Wuda. -HHS 28/18B:1003.

Feng Qin 馮勤 [Weibo 偉伯] (d.56); Wei. Feng Qin was the son of Feng Kang 伉. Feng Kang's father Feng Yan 儼 had tall brothers, but was himself less than seven feet. He arranged for Feng Kang to marry a tall woman, and Feng Qin grew to eight foot three inches Chinese measure [192 cm], one of the tallest men recorded for his time.

By the age of eight Feng Qin was already skilled in calculations. About 25 he became Officer of Merit to the Administrator Yao Qi, a commander for Emperor Guangwu. He was recognised for his ability, and when Yao Qi went on campaign outside the commandery he left Feng Qin in charge.

Feng Qin and his fellow-countryman Feng Xun raised local troops, but before they were ready there was an insurrection by the local chieftain Qiao Qian, and Feng Qin was obliged to take his household, including his aged mother, to seek refuge with Yao Qi. Yao Qi recommended him to Guangwu, but he gained no appointment. Then Yao Qi's successor Fan Heng also recommended him, and Feng Qin was made a gentleman cadet with responsibility in the Imperial Secretariat. He impressed the emperor with his planning for military supplies, and became a close associate. When marquises were awarded, he calculated the value of each fief based upon its distance from the capital and the quality of its land, and his advice became essential for any such grant. Moreover, when the Excellency Hou Ba incurred Guangwu's wrath for recommending the satirist Yan Yang, Feng Qin explained the matter and resolved the difference.

He was then appointed Deputy Director of the Secretariat, and after fifteen years in that office he was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis and promoted

to be Director. In 44 Feng Qin became Minister of Finance and in 47 he was appointed Excellency over the Masses.

Guangwu had quarrelled with several earlier holders of that high office, and when he appointed Feng Qin he removed the prefix 大 "Grand" from the Excellency's title, and also warned him of the need for loyalty. Feng Qin was appropriately cautious, he was treated with great favour, and when his aged mother came to court audience, she was excused the kowtow and was escorted to a high place in the hall.

Following an imperial visit to Chang'an in 56, Feng Qin became ill. The emperor sent the court physician to attend him but he died soon afterwards. Guangwu provided funerary items and paid generously for the ceremony. -HHS 26/16:909-11*; Bn 67:18, Bn 79:63.

Feng Ren 封仁. About 215 Feng Ren was Chancellor of Pei when Cao Cao told him of his confidence in the loyalty of Jiang Ji. -SGZ 14:450.

Feng Shan 馮禪. Early in 169 Feng Shan was sent as an Internuncio to invite tribes of the Eastern Qiang to return to their allegiance before the final attack of the general Duan Jiong. A few thousand took advantage of his offer, and they were resettled in Anding, Hanyang and Longxi. -HHS 65/55:2152-53.

Feng She 馮赦 miswritten for Feng Gun 馮緄. -HHS 6:274.

Feng Sheng 逢盛 [Bomi 伯彌] (170-181). Eldest son of a local officer, Feng Sheng was intelligent and well-read, but he died young. His father's colleagues subscribed to a stele in his memory. -LS 10:8a-10b.

Feng Shi 馮石 [Zichu 資初]; Nanyang. Younger son of Feng Zhu, in right of his mother the Princess Liu Yi, daughter of Emperor Ming, Feng Shi was enfeoffed with that county and named a Palace Attendant. He became Bearer of the Mace, then Minister of the Guards and later Minister of the Household.

In 121 Emperor An visited his office, feasted there for several days, and distributed gifts and honours. Feng Shi's three sons received appointments at court, and a special edict was issued to maintain the revenues of his fief, making up for the losses which all marquises had suffered on account of the costs of military operations against the Qiang and other groups.

In 124 Feng Shi became Grand Commandant, and in 125, when the Little Emperor Liu Yi was placed upon the throne by the Dowager Yan, he was named

Grand Tutor. He and the Grand Commandant Liu Xi shared control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal command of the government.

When Emperor Shun was brought to the throne by the eunuch coup at the end of the year, Feng Shi continued as Grand Tutor, but in 126 he and other officials were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu for their earlier support of the Yan clan. There was some opposition to raking over old wrongs, and suggestions that the men had simply accorded with the situation at the time, but Yu Xu pressed the question of personal responsibility, and Feng Shi and his colleagues were dismissed.

Feng Shi later returned to office as Minister of the Guards. -HHS 5:234-42, 6:252, 33/23:1149, 58/48:1870.

Feng Shi 馮世; Nanyang. Son of Feng Shi 石, in 121 he was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 33/23:1149.

HHS 33/23:1150 says that when Feng Shi 石 died his son Feng Dai 代 succeeded to his fief. The Song commentator Liu Bin 劉攽 argues that this actually refers to Feng Shi 世: the character was changed to respect taboo on the personal name of Li Shimin 李世民, Emperor Taizong of Tang 唐太宗, but was treated inconsistently. It is also possible that Feng Shi 世 was the eldest son, but died before his father, so the younger brother Feng Dai 代 succeeded to the fief, which later went in turn to the third brother Feng Cheng.

Feng Shi 馮詩. In 125 Feng Shi was a colonel in the Northern Army. As Sun Cheng led a coup against the Yan family to place the former Heir Liu Bao on the throne, Yan Xian the General of Chariots and Cavalry called Feng Shi and Yan Chong to the Northern Palace. He took Feng Shi to audience with the Dowager, who gave him a seal and promised great fiefs for anyone who captured Liu Bao and/or the eunuch Li Run.

Yan Xian was concerned that Feng Shi had too few troops with him, so he sent him with the eunuch Fan Deng to gather reinforcements. Feng Shi, however, killed Fan Deng, returned to his own camp, and took no further part in the affair. -HHS 78/68:2515.

Feng Shi 馮碩 (d.196). In 196 Feng Shi was a member of the Secretariat at the remnant imperial court in Luoyang. As Cao Cao took over he executed him for wrongdoing. -HHS 9:380, HHJ 29:344.

Feng Shu 馮述 (d.168). In 168 Feng Shu was appointed a colonel of the Northern Army by the government of

the regent Dowager Dou and her father Dou Wu; it was evidently intended that he would be a source of support in the purge planned against the eunuchs.

In the autumn, however, the eunuchs struck first, and as the troops of the Northern Army abandoned Dou Wu and his party, Feng Shu and many members of his family were killed. -HHS 69/59:2241-44; Ch'ü 72:486-490.

Feng Shun 馮順; Wei. Second son of Feng Qin, he married the Princess Liu Nu, daughter of Emperor Ming. He became Minister Herald. -HHS 26/16:911, 10B:459.

Feng Shuo 馮碩 see Feng Shi 馮碩.

Feng Su 馮肅; Nanyang. Son of Feng Guang, he succeeded to his fief and held office as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 33/23:1150.

Feng Su 馮肅. In the early third century the court dancer Feng Su and his colleague Fu Yang preserved the traditions of Han under Cao Cao. -SGZ 29:806.

Feng Ta 封塌 (d.179). A eunuch Regular Attendant, Feng Ta was an associate of Wang Fu. In 179 he and others of their party were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu. They were tortured and died in prison. -HHS 77/67:2499-2500.

Feng Ti 馮趯 [Gongxiang 公向]; Yingchuan. Inspector of Xu province, Feng Ti lived very frugally. -XC 6:12a.

Feng Xi 馮奚. Minister of Ceremonies in 64, Feng Xi explained to Emperor Ming why Han Chong the Administrator of Runan would not allow his wife to attend the tomb of the emperor's mother the Dowager Yin. -HHSJJ 29/29:1397-98 Hui Dong quoting Tao Hongjing 陶弘/宏景 of the sixth century.

Feng Xi 馮禧; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Feng Xi was a senior member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous, and a warrant was issued for the members' arrest. This was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Feng Xi 馮習 [Xiuyuan 休元] (d.222); Nan. In 212 Feng Xi accompanied Liu Bei into Yi province and became a senior officer in his army. In 221 he held command of the main force of Liu Bei's attack down the Yangzi against Sun Quan, but in the following summer

he was defeated and killed. -SGZ Shu 15:1088, 2:980, SGZ Wu 10:1300; Fang 52:100-102.

Feng Xi 馮熙 [Zirou 子柔]; Yingchuan. A member of the leading family of Yingchuan descended from Feng Yi, Feng Xi took refuge in the south from the civil war at the end of Han and joined the staff of Sun Quan.

When Liu Bei died in 223 Feng Yi was sent to present condolences, and was then given appointment at Sun Quan's court. He was later sent on embassy to Wei, was held there by Cao Pi and died in that territory. -SGZ Wu 2:1130-31.

Feng Xian 馮羨. Formerly Inspector of Qing province and a senior and distinguished Confucianist, in 142 Feng Xian was given acting position as a Household Counsellor at the court of Emperor Shun and joined the special commission of eight sent out to observe the conduct of the empire. Little came of the project, however, and government remained in the hands of the Liang kinsmen of the empress.

Feng Xian was subsequently appointed Director of Retainers; years later he was named by Kou Rong as one of the corrupt officials who had persecuted him and his family. -HHS 6:272, 61/51:2029, 16/6:628.

Feng Xiao 馮孝; Yingchuan. An elder cousin of Feng Yi, who was an officer of Wang Mang, he joined Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, in 23. In the summer of that year the Han forces captured Feng Yi, but Feng Xiao arranged that Feng Yi met Liu Xiu, and Feng Yi became one of Guangwu's leading military commanders. -HHS 17/7:639.

Feng Xin 馮信 [Jicheng 季誠]; Guanghan. Celebrated in his region, at the end of Former Han and in the time of Wang Mang Feng Xin was repeatedly nominated for office by the commandery and provincial authorities, was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies at court, and had a special carriage sent to bring him to the capital. He rejected all such offers.

When Gongsun Shu took the imperial title in 25, he too wanted Feng Xin to join his government. Feng Xin followed the example of his neighbour Ren Yong and pretended to be blind; on one occasion his servants copulated in his presence, but he acted as if nothing was happening.

In 36, after Gongsun Shu was destroyed, the two men ended the pretence, and those who had acted badly before them now killed themselves. Emperor Guangwu heard of this conduct and invited them to court, but Feng Xin was now too old to travel, while

Ren Yong died of illness. -HHS 81/71:2670, HYGZ 10B:147; Vervoor 90:143.

HHS describes Feng Xin as a fellow-countryman of Ren Yong, who came from Jianwei, but HYGZ says that he came from Qi 鄆 county in Guanghan. Qi was in the south of Guanghan, close to the border with Jianwei.

Feng Xin 馮訢; Yingchuan. A younger son of Feng Yi, after his father's death in 34 his elder brother Feng Zhang inherited his county fief. In the following year, in recognition of Feng Yi's great service, Emperor Guangwu awarded Feng Xin a district marquise. -HHS 17/7:652.

Feng Xu 封諤 (d.184). Though favoured palace eunuchs, the Regular Attendants Feng Xu and Xu Feng were members of the religious sect led by Zhang Jue; in the early 180s they joined his agent Ma Yuanyi in plans for a coup at the capital to coincide with rebellion throughout the empire. Some weeks beforehand, however, the renegade disciple Tang Zhou sent a message to the court to tell of the conspiracy. Ma Yuanyi was killed and a purge of Zhang Jue's followers in Luoyang brought another thousand to execution.

Emperor Ling was furious at this disloyalty among his attendants, but Zhang Rang and Wang Fu managed to reconcile him.

It appears that Feng Xu was a close associate of Emperor Ling's mother the Dowager Dong, for in 189 He Jin and the Excellencies claimed that he had assisted her to receive money from provincial authorities for her own private treasury -HHS 71/61:2299-2300, 78/68:2535, 10B:447.

Feng Xuan 封囧; Bohai. Feng Xuan was a son of Feng Ji. -XTS 71B:2341.

Feng Xun 馮巡; Wei. A fellow-countryman of the Officer of Merit Feng Qin about 25, he joined him in attempting to raise local troops and hold Wei commandery for Emperor Guangwu. They were attacked and defeated by the local chieftain Qiao Qian. -HHS 26/16:909.

Feng Xun 馮巡. About 175 the Attendant Officer Feng Xun joined the Registrar Hua Cao and other senior colleagues in erecting a stele in honour of their master Xue Jixiang, Inspector of Yan. -SJZ 8:22a.

Despite the similarity of name and date, this Feng Xun should not be the same man as in the entry below, for an Attendant Officer was appointed locally and Nanyang commandery was not in Yan province.

Feng Xun 馮巡 [Jizu 季租] (d.184); Nanyang. *HHS* 107/17:3345 and *FSTY* 4f:113 say that in 178 Feng Xun was Chief Clerk under the Excellency over the Masses when his horse gave birth to a child of alien appearance; the non-Chinese slave who looked after the animal was assumed to be involved. The portent is interpreted as a sign of disorder for the empire.

LS 3:15a-25a, 22:6a-b and Nagata 94:238-40 preserve the text of several inscriptions recording how Feng Xun, Chancellor of Changshan, with approval from the court, set up stele to important peaks along the edge of the Taihang Mountains. These are dated from 181 to 183, and in 181 Feng Xun also offered a prayer for rain in time of drought.

HHS 107/17 says that Feng Xun became Chancellor of Ganling, and was killed by Yellow Turbans in 184.

Feng Xun 馮恂. In 174 Feng Xun held probationary appointment as a member of the Suite of the Heir, but was evidently attached to the Bureau of Astronomy. When the commandery official Liu Hong sent in a proposal to correct the calendar of lunar eclipses, Feng Xun and his colleague Liu Gu were ordered to test his system against observations, but they also devised another set of calculations. It was agreed that the rival methods would be tested in 179, when the official calendar forecast an eclipse in the fifth month, Liu Hong had the third month, and Liu Gu and Feng Xun the fourth month. When the time came, however, two of the full moons were overcast and could not be observed; in fact there was no eclipse that year until the ninth month.

In 175 the former astronomical official Zong Zheng, a grandson of the calendrical scholar Zong Gan, sent in a proposal to revise the system of forecasting solar eclipses by calculating the course of the moon in relation to the ecliptic, and Feng Xun was ordered to check his workings against observations. They proved correct, but the Astronomer Shan Yang found little improvement over the current system.

In that same year Zong Zheng's younger brother Zong Cheng also presented revisions to Zong Gan's method of forecasting eclipses of the moon. The revised system was found superior to that of the official bureau and was put into effect. In 179 the Astronomer Xiu accepted the method of Feng Xun [surname probably miswritten as Zhang: see below], and recommended that Zong Cheng's system be abandoned. In the following year Zong Zheng complained that Feng

Xun's calculations had been wrong, and by imperial order the Minister of Ceremonies set up a committee of enquiry. After acrimonious debate Zong Cheng's method was found to be slightly the better and it was restored. It was explained that astronomy was an inexact science and no system was perfect, and because of the trouble they had caused Zong Cheng and Feng Xun were each fined two months salary and Zong Zheng suffered two months convict service. [In this incident, the name of Feng Xun is given as Zhang 張, but I believe the character has been miswritten for Feng 馮: see *sub* Zhang Xun.] -*HHS* 92/2:3030, 3041-42; Sivin 69:60.

Feng [Wudian] 封武典; Runan. Though nominated and invited to office at the imperial capital, when their patron the Administrator Li Chang died, Feng Wudian and other nominees remained to carry out his mourning. This is very likely a reference to Feng Qi, whose style was Wuxing 武興: see *sub* Li Chang 佖.

Feng Yan 馮衍 [Jingtong 敬通]; Jingzhao. Son of Feng Zuo 座, Feng Yan was a grandson of a great-uncle of the infant Emperor Ping [*QHX*:104; *HQ* 1:7a has Feng Zuo's personal name as Man 滿]. Showing early talent, he knew the *Classic of Poetry* by the age of nine and was widely learned by the age of twenty. He refused several invitations to office, but in 22 he joined the staff of Wang Mang's general Lian Dan 廉丹, opposed to the Red Eyebrows in Yan province. When Wang Mang sent Lian Dan orders to defeat the enemy or die, Feng Yan urged him to abandon the lost cause of Xin. Lian Dan, however, died in battle, and Feng Yan then fled to refuge in Hedong.

As the Gengshi commissioner Bao Yong came to the region in 24, Feng Yan made himself known. Bao Yong was aware of his reputation and was impressed with his eloquent letter of presentation. He gave him title as a general and sent him as a magistrate to Taiyuan, where he was to co-operate with Tian Yi the Administrator of Shangdang in raising and training men to defend Bing province.

After the fall of Luoyang in 25 the armies of Emperor Guangwu attacked Shangdang, and though Tian Yi held them off for a time, when he learnt of the death of the Gengshi Emperor he surrendered to the new regime. Bao Yong and Feng Yan did not believe the news, and Feng Yan wrote to criticise Tian Yi. He replied in turn, and their exchange was preserved as a model of literary debate.

Believing that the Gengshi Emperor was still alive with the Red Eyebrows, Feng Yan and Bao Yong maintained their troops in Taiyuan and attempted to stir up trouble in Shangdang. At the beginning of 26, however, having confirmed that their leader was dead, they disbanded their forces and surrendered.

Guangwu was annoyed at their long resistance and that they had brought no troops with them. Bao Yong was soon employed, but Feng Yan remained for some time without any position. He was then sent as a county magistrate to Changshan, where he put down bandits so successfully that he was proposed for enfeoffment. People spoke against him, and nothing came of it. Again, in 30 or 31, there was an eclipse of the sun and Feng Yan sent in a memorial urging eight points of reform. Guangwu intended to summon him for audience, but Linghu Lue and others were concerned about what he might say of them, and they successfully quashed the idea.

Later, perhaps in the mid-40s, Feng Yan was sponsored by the emperor's brothers-in-law Yin Xing and Yin Jiu, and with this support he became popular with other feudal lords. He was appointed to the staff of the Director of Retainers but then Guangwu became worried about the potential of imperial relatives by marriage to take over power as they had in Former Han, and purged the bureaucracy of their clients. Feng Yan spent some time in prison, and though he was released on an amnesty he went back to his home, lived in seclusion, and had no more contact with the court.

Some time in the 50s Feng Yan made a last appeal to the throne for some useful appointment, but was again ignored on account of his unfortunate record. He expressed frustration at his failed career in the rhapsody *Xianshi fu* 顯士賦 "Revealing my Aspirations," describing a journey through earth and heaven in which he looks for a world more in tune with his ideals. This major piece, which occupies the bulk of *HHS* 28/18B, had considerable influence thereafter. On the other hand, though there was a possibility of employment by Emperor Ming in the late 50s, presumably through support of the Yin family, it was still felt that Feng Yan was better at literature than in dealing with the real world.

Feng Yan had great problems with his wife the Lady Ren and eventually sent her away, writing a long letter to his brother-in-law Ren Wuta to explain himself.

Otherwise he was a man who had high ambition but no concern for his personal fortunes. He died in poverty.

Feng Yan's collected writings amounted to fifty *pian*, including rhapsodies, essays, inscriptions and official documents. In later years his work was admired by Emperor Zhang. -*HHS* 28/18A-B:962-1003*; *QHX*: 102, Bn 79:128, Knechtges 82:32, 504-505.

Feng Yan 馮衍, wife of: see the Lady Ren 任 of Beidi.

Feng Yan 馮晏 (d.25). In 25 Feng Yan was magistrate of Huangcheng in Shangdang for Emperor Guangwu. Bao Sheng and Zhang Shu, officers of the Gengshi regime, captured the city with the aid of an internal rising, and Feng Yan was killed. -*HHS* 28/18A:976.

Feng Yi 馮異 [Gongsun 公孫] (d.34); Yingchuan. Fond of reading, Feng Yi had good understanding of *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, and of the *Art of War* ascribed to Sun Wu 孫子[武]兵法.

In 23 Feng Yi was a local commandery officer responsible for supervision of five counties. That summer the Han rebels under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, defeated Wang Mang's army at Kunyang, and Feng Yi joined Miao Meng the magistrate of his home county to hold the city for the Xin dynasty. Liu Xiu attacked without success, but as he left the city to make contact with other counties Feng Yi was captured. His cousin Feng Xiao and two men of Yingchuan, Ding Chen and Lü Yan, had already joined Liu Xiu, and they arranged for Feng Yi to meet him. Feng Yi argued that he personally was of no great value to the Han cause, but asked to return home to his mother, and undertook to persuade his colleagues to change sides. Liu Xiu agreed, and Feng Yi did persuade Miao Meng to accept Liu Xiu.

About this time the Gengshi Emperor had Liu Xiu's brother Liu Bosheng killed. Liu Xiu returned to Nanyang, and when the Gengshi Emperor sent troops to take over the city Feng Yi and Miao Meng refused them. A few months later Liu Xiu was given acting appointment as Director of Retainers and sent to restore order in Luoyang. He travelled by Fucheng and was welcomed by Feng Yi and Miao Meng. He appointed Feng Yi as his Registrar, and Feng Yi recommended Yao Qi and other members of the local gentry to Liu Xiu; this Yingchuan group never obtained factional importance.

At Luoyang Feng Yi played a role in arranging for Liu Xiu to be sent as commissioner north of

the Yellow River. Though the Gengshi Emperor had considered the appointment, many of his party opposed the idea, but Feng Yi urged Liu Xiu to make amicable and generous contact with the Excellency Cao Chang and his son Cao Xu, and their influence secured the decision. As they travelled north Feng Yi observed to Liu Xiu that the Gengshi Emperor was losing the confidence of the people, and recommended he consider seeking the throne himself. It is said that as Liu Xiu came to the north he sent Feng Yi on an ostensible tour of inspection, with instructions to find officials who might support his cause. This would have been a dangerous move, and premature, but Feng Yi was evidently a confidant.

Soon afterwards Wang Lang rebelled and Liu Xiu fled from Ji city in Guangyang to Xindu. Feng Yi was a close companion, and as they took refuge along the way he gathered firewood to cook bean-porridge and a shoulder of hare. From Xindu Feng Yi was sent out to gather troops in Hejian. He took part in the campaigns against Wang Lang as a lieutenant-general, and after the final victory he received title as a marquis, with a district fief which was apparently in his own homeland. Quiet and reluctant to compete for precedence, Feng Yi would withdraw his chariot before any other that he met upon a road. He was known for the good order in his camps, and was nicknamed the "Big-Tree General" 大樹將軍 for his custom of sitting apart under a tree when the army came to a halt, rather than joining the other officers. He was well-liked by his men, and when surrendered soldiers of Wang Lang were shared among Liu Xiu's commanders, the majority applied to join his troop.

Feng Yi was then sent on a separate expedition to the north, where he defeated a group of bandits about present-day Beijing and forced the surrender of a Xiongnu king. For the time being, the frontier was settled. Returning south, he advised Liu Xiu how to gain the surrender of Han Xin the Gengshi Administrator of Henei.

The Gengshi Emperor had set Zhu Wei and Li Yi to hold Luoyang against the threats from Liu Xiu and the Red Eyebrows in the east. Liu Xiu had still to deal with resistance and banditry in the north, so he left Kou Xun as Administrator of Henei and Feng Yi as General of the Meng Crossing to hold the line of the Yellow River, supported only by the forces of Wei commandery and Henei. Early in 25 Feng Yi wrote a

secret and eloquent letter inviting Li Yi to surrender. An early associate of Liu Bosheng, Li Yi had later turned against him and been instrumental in his death. Concerned that the Gengshi regime was doomed, however, Li Yi replied that he wished to make peace with Liu Xiu, and he halted operations. Relieved of that threat, Feng Yi established a defensive position to the north, then crossed the Yellow River to occupy territory to the east. The Gengshi Administrator of Henan, Wu Bo, made a sortie but was defeated, and Li Yi closed the gates of Luoyang so that he was isolated and killed. Feng Yi now told Liu Xiu of the agreement, but Liu Xiu would not forgive the betrayal of his brother: he published the correspondence and Li Yi was killed by his fellows.

Zhu Wei attempted a counter-attack against Feng Yi at the Meng Crossing, while he sent his subordinate Su Mao to outflank him downstream. Kou Xun, however, gathered his commandery troops, and with reinforcements from Feng Yi he defeated Su Mao. Feng Yi then crossed the River with his main army, defeated Zhu Wei, drove him back into Luoyang, and marched triumphantly around the city walls.

Feng Yi now joined other commanders urging Liu Xiu to claim the imperial title, and he took part in the enthronement on 5 August 25. Early in the following year he was awarded a county fief.

Feng Yi was withdrawn from the final stages of the campaign about Luoyang and sent to deal with local bandits in his home commandery of Yingchuan. He drove them away, and a palace official was then sent with offerings to assist him carry out sacrifices at his family tombs, while the administrators, imperial officials and kinsmen for hundreds of *li* around were ordered to attend the ceremony.

In the latter part of 26 Feng Yi joined Wu Han in putting down the Five Towers bandit group in Ji province north of the Yellow River, and they went on to eliminate the Bronze Horses and Five Banners groups. In the winter Feng Yi was recalled to the main army under Guangwu and sent west, with detailed instructions, to replace Deng Yu in operations against the Red Eyebrows. Moving through Hongnong commandery, he had small difficulty in dealing with local leaders and bandits, but he was then held for two months in a series of engagements with the Red Eyebrows by the junction of the Wei and the Yellow River. Early in 27 the immediate enemy surrendered

with five thousand men, and Feng Yi was promoted from lieutenant-general to a chief general.

Ashamed at his own lack of success, Deng Yu now sought to return to the campaign, but was again defeated. Feng Yi came to the rescue and urged a pincer movement against the bandits, but then Deng Yu's officer Deng Hong attacked on his own, and both Deng Yu and Feng Yi were drawn into the fight. Deng Yu was defeated in a foolhardy sortie, while Feng Yi lost his horse and escaped by climbing the side of a ravine. Regrouping his men, he returned to face the Red Eyebrows and agreed with them on a day to renew the battle. This time, he had some of his men dress in enemy costume and hide. He gained early success, and as the bandits withdrew the men in ambush attacked them. The Red Eyebrows were thrown into confusion and heavily defeated.

Having thus regained the initiative, Feng Yi forced great numbers of the enemy to surrender and harried the bulk of the horde east to Yiyang in Hongnong. As they came face-to-face with the main army under Guangwu, Feng Yi blocked the rear, and on 15 March the Red Eyebrows capitulated.

The lands about Chang'an, long disrupted by the bandits, were still beyond the control of the new Han regime. A number of local gentry had seized power in the counties and held title as generals. Each claimed command of several thousand men, and each fought the other. Feng Yi was sent to establish order, and he set his base at the Shanglin Park south of Chang'an. In the summer he was attacked by the *condottiere* Yan Cen and the local warlords Zhang Han and Ren Liang. Feng Yi defeated their combined army, forced the surrender of Ren Liang, and drove Yan Cen away into Hongnong and then into Nanyang.

The territory was short of food, but Feng Yi's position was relieved by Zhao Kuang the new Administrator of Youfufeng, who brought reinforcements and supplies. They attacked the remaining local leaders, killed those who would not submit and sent the others to Luoyang. For the time being the Han had a tacit agreement with the warlord Wei Ao of the upper Wei valley, so it was possible to return the followers of the former warlords to their homes and encourage the resettlement of the land.

In 28, a last attempt at resistance saw Cheng Yan/Wu, general of Gongsun Shu, come north to support the surviving warlords Zhang Han, Lü Wei and Jiang

Zhen. Feng Yi defeated this allied force at Chencang in Youfufeng, and Cheng withdrew across the Qin Ling. He was followed by Lü Wei, while Jiang Zhen and Zhang Han are not heard of again. By the end of the year the territory was well under Han control, though Feng Yi was obliged to repel a number of exploratory raids by Gongsun Shu's forces across the mountains.

At this time Feng Yi asked leave to return to the east, but Guangwu refused. Later it was reported that Feng Yi was usurping authority, that he had killed the magistrate of Chang'an, that he was unduly popular among the people, and that he was known as the King of Xianyang 咸陽王. The emperor had him shown the report, Feng Yi sent in a most apologetic and eloquent memorial to assure Guangwu of his loyalty, and an edict in reply confirmed his trust and favour.

In 30 Feng Yi came to court at Luoyang, where Guangwu received him most generously, recalling his loyalty in the difficult times against Wang Lang. Feng Yi, for his part, remembered the favour he had received at the time of his initial capture. Having joined in the plans for attack against Gongsun Shu, after a few weeks he was sent back to the west, now accompanied by his wife and family. That summer, as Wei Ao refused to support the campaign against Gongsun Shu, the Han forces attacked him up the Long Slope. Surprisingly, Wei Ao's men defeated them and counter-attacked towards Chang'an. Ordered to hold the northern flank, Feng Yi took Wei Ao's general Xing Xun by surprise and defeated him, while his colleague Zhai Zun achieved similar success further south.

As the enemy retreated, Feng Yi was sent into Beidi with additional title as Acting Administrator to compel the allegiance of the local chieftains. He also forced the surrender of the non-Chinese people of the Qing Shan 青山 hills and drove away the troops of the pretender Lu Fang and his Xiongnu allies. With Beidi and Shang commandery largely free of hostile forces, Feng Yi was named Acting Administrator of Anding to press on Wei Ao's position from the north.

In 32, however, unexpected rebellions broke out in the east, Wei Ao briefly recovered his position, and Anding and Beidi rebelled once more. Feng Yi had his hands full to regain control, but early in 33 Wei Ao died. Wei Ao's officers Wang Yuan and Zhou Zong set up his son Wei Chun and received support from Gongsun Shu, who sent his general Zhao Kuang to assist them. Feng Yi, who had taken over the troops

of his late colleague Zhai Zun, was now named Acting Administrator of Tianshui, and was actively engaged with the enemy, frequently at the forefront of the imperial army. After a year of fighting in Tianshui, he captured Zhao Kuang and killed him.

In the summer of 34, on campaign outside the capital of Tianshui commandery, Feng Yi was taken ill and died. He was awarded a posthumous title, and his eldest son Feng Zhang succeeded to his fief. In 35 Guangwu gave further recognition by awarding a district fief to his younger son Feng Xin.

In recognition of Feng Yi as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. Feng Yi's grandson Pu lost his fief because he killed a man, but in 112 the government of Emperor An under the Dowager Deng issued an edict to commemorate the twenty-eight generals of Guangwu, Feng Yi and his colleagues, and Feng Pu's son Chen was granted a district fief. -HHS 17/7:639-52*, 16/6:601; Bn 54:71, Bn 59:63, 117-119, 160, Bn 67:103, 115, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:80, 103.

Feng Yi 馮翊 [Xiuyuan休元] (d.222); Nan. Having joined Liu Bei when he was in Jing province, Feng Yi went with him to the west in 211.

As Liu Bei attacked down the Yangzi against Wu in 221, Feng Yi was commander of the main army. He was killed in the rout which followed. -SGZ Shu 15: 1088, SGZ Wu 10:1300.

Feng Yin 馮愷. When Deng Yu was ordered west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he appointed Feng Yin as a general under his command. In the autumn of 25 Feng Yin and the minister Liu Yan led troops into Shangdang, where they were opposed by the Gengshi officer Tian Yi. Though they captured Tian Yi's wife and family they could make no progress, and Tian Yi later sent envoys to surrender directly to Emperor Guangwu at Luoyang.

In the winter, Deng Yu left Feng Yin and his colleague Zong Xin in Youfufeng to face Chang'an while he took the main army to mop up in the north. As the two generals quarrelled about their respective authority, Feng Yin killed Zong Xin and then turned against Deng Yu. Deng Yu was defeated and asked Guangwu for advice; the emperor enquired which was Feng Yin's favourite officer. Told it was Huang Fang, Guangwu assured Deng Yu he would deliver Feng Yin

into his hands.

Feng Yin moved into Anding, but was defeated by troops of the warlord Wei Ao, who captured his baggage. Deng Yu sent Zong Guang, an officer of the Imperial Secretariat, with the Staff of Authority to invite the rebels to surrender, and a few weeks later Huang Fang arrested Feng Yin and came to submit. As Feng Yin was brought to Luoyang, he received an amnesty and escaped execution.

Though the affair had been quickly settled, Feng Yin's defection and his embarrassing defeat of Deng Yu weakened the newly-established position of Han in the northwest. -HHS 16/6:601-04, 13/3:522.

Feng You 馮由; Wei. A younger son of Feng Shun, he married the Princess Liu Wang, daughter of Emperor Zhang, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 10B:460, 26/16:911.

Feng You 馮尤; Hongnong. Though he came from outside the commandery, about 150 Feng You was a local officer on the staff of Dan Wang, Administrator of Ba. In 154 he and his colleagues persuaded Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Feng Yun 馮允 or Feng Yuan 元 [Gongxin 公信]; Ba. Younger brother of Feng Gun, Feng Yun was known for honesty and filial piety. A scholar of the *Classic of History*, he was also an expert in divination and astronomy. He served as a colonel, perhaps under his brother's command. -HHS 38/28:1284, HYGZ 12:218.

HHS has the personal name as Yun 允 but HYGZ has Yuan 元. In HHSJJ 92/2:3412 Hui Dong suggests that Yun/Yuan may be the same person as Feng Guang 光, who was a junior officer in 175 with views on the calendar. Though the three characters are similar, Feng Guang appears to belong to a different generation to Feng Gun.

Feng Ze 馮則. In 208 Feng Ze was a cavalry trooper under the command of Sun Quan against Huang Zu. As the enemy was defeated Huang Zu fled, but Feng Ze chased him and took his head. -SGZ Wu 2:1117.

Feng Zha 馮札 miswritten for Feng Li 馮禮. -HHS 74/64B:2416.

Feng Zhan 馮湛; Ba. Registrar of the commandery, Feng Zhan was celebrated for his loyalty. -HYGZ 12: 220.

Feng Zhang 馮彰/璋; Yingchuan. Eldest son of Feng

Yi, after his father's death in 34 he inherited his county marquisate in Chen. In 37 the fief was transferred to Shanyang, with revenue from three counties. In 62 Emperor Ming changed it to Julu, with revenue drawn from Yulin in the far south. -HHS 17/7:652, DGHJ 9: 3b-4a.

Feng Zhi 馮直. Inspector of Ji province about 130, Feng Zhi was recommended for military appointment by Zuo Xiong, Director of the Secretariat, who had at one time served under Feng Zhi's father. It was later found that Feng Zhi had been guilty of a crime and that he had limited military ability. Zhou Ju, another protégé of Zuo Xiong, reported this and criticised Zuo Xiong. -HHS 61/51:2022.

Feng Zhou 馮冑 [Shiwei 世威]; Shangdang. A disciple of Li He, when his master died about 130 Feng Zhou maintained three years full mourning for him, and was much admired for his devotion. Following the examples of Zhou Dang and Min Gong, he went to live as a hermit among the hills and marshes, and would accept no invitations or offers of appointment. -HHS 82/72A:2718.

Feng Zhu 馮柱; Nanyang. Son of Feng Fang, Feng Zhu succeeded to his father's fief and married the Princess Liu Ji, daughter of Emperor Ming. Known for his courtesy and modesty, he became a Palace Attendant and was then a colonel in the Northern Army.

In 94, Feng Zhu commanded a column in the army of Deng Hong which was sent to pursue the renegade Xiongnu prince Fenghou. The army gained a victory and Feng Zhu's division followed and caught a group of the enemy, but the main body escaped across the frontier and in the following year Deng Hong abandoned the pursuit and withdrew.

In 96, as the Chinese faced the threat from Fenghou now established across the frontier, Feng Zhu took command of troops drawn from the Tiger Tooth Camp near Chang'an, reinforcing the General on the Liao Pang Fen on the frontier of Wuyuan. Later that year a major group of Fenghou's people came back to China, and in the autumn Feng Zhu and Pang Fen combined with commandery troops to attack and kill the renegade Xiongnu chieftain Wujuzhan. Wujuzhan's followers surrendered and were brought back to settle in Anding and Beidi.

Soon afterwards Feng Zhu was recalled to the capital as Court Architect. -HHS 33/23:1149, 89/79: 2956-57, 4:179-81, 10B:459; deC 84:282.

Feng [Ziheng] 封子衡. Feng Ziheng was Chancellor of Pingyuan about 178. When his mother died, though he had himself only marginal contact with the commandery of Taishan, numbers of gentlemen from that territory put on mourning as a sign of respect. -FSTY 3:22; Ying Shao categorises this as Inappropriate 愆禮.

Feng Zong 馮宗; Wei. Eldest son of Feng Qin, he inherited his father's secondary marquisate at his death in 56. He became Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye. -HHS 26/16:911.

Feng Zun 馮遵 [Wenheng 文衡]; Ba. Son of Feng Yun/Yuan, he became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. -HYGZ 12:218.

Fenghe 封何; Qiang. A leader of the Xianlian tribe of the Qiang, about 24 he attacked Jincheng commandery, killed the Administrator and occupied the territory. He formed an alliance with Wei Ao, and about 30 Wei Ao was proposing to use him against the north-western warlord Dou Rong. Dou Rong attacked Fenghe, heavily defeated him and drove him from Jincheng. -HHS 23/13:804.

Fenghou 逢侯; Xiongnu. A son of the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe, in 94 Fenghou was a middle-ranking king. The new Shanyu Shizi, who had been brought to the throne with Chinese support, was known for his hostility to the Northern Xiongnu, and the many northerners who had lately been forced to surrender and submit themselves to the southern court were seriously concerned for their future.

In the autumn some fifteen tribal groups of Northern Xiongnu, numbering more than 200,000 people, rose in rebellion and named Fenghou as their Shanyu. Killing the officials who had been set over them and burning the guard stations, they attacked Shizi and the Emissary Du Chong in a herding office near the Xiongnu capital at Meiji in Xihe. In this last the rebels gained no success, and they then sought to move northwest across the Ordos to Shuofang and escape into the steppe.

The Han government named Deng Hong Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, gave him an army of forty thousand men, including regiments of the Northern Army and Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries, and sent him to deal with Fenghou. He achieved one substantial victory, and separate columns under Ren Shang and Feng Zhu also gained success, but Fenghou and his people were primarily anxious to escape and

they did not stand to fight. By good fortune the Yellow River had frozen, so the fugitives could cross to the northern shore, and early in 95 the imperial army abandoned the pursuit and withdrew to the frontier line.

In aftermath of the campaign, Deng Hong was sent to prison for his failure and died there, while Du Chong and the General on the Liao Zhu Hui, held responsible for the initial trouble through their support of Shizi against the previous Shanyu Anguo, shared Deng Hong's fate. Faced with a new enemy, the Han were obliged to reinforce their garrisons in Wuyuan, but once outside the frontier the escapees divided into two. Fenghou was based at Zhuoye Mountain, north of Wuyuan in the Gurvan Sayhan Uul range, the first notable high ground in present-day Outer Mongolia; the other group was more than a hundred kilometres away, northwest of Shuofang. In the winter of 96 this western group, including four thousand fighting men and over ten thousand of their families, returned to the Chinese frontier to surrender.

Though Fenghou's territory was close to the old centre of the Xiongnu state, he was isolated on the steppe. He not only suffered raiding from the Southern Xiongnu and their Chinese allies, but was also under pressure from the Xianbi to the east. Increasingly distressed, he and his people were driven steadily to the west, and in 104 he sent messengers to offer himself as a tributary. Emperor He sent generous gifts, but did not authorise his envoy to negotiate a formal peace.

After Emperor He's death in the following year, Fenghou again sought terms from the new regime controlled by the Dowager Deng. He sent a hostage, and apologised for the meagre tribute, which was all he could offer from his impoverished people. Once again the court rejected his advances, and Fenghou abandoned his position to withdraw further into the steppe.

In 118, with barely a hundred followers, Fenghou entered the Shuofang frontier and surrendered unconditionally to the Han general Deng Zun. On Deng Zun's recommendation, the group was resettled into Yingchuan commandery, in the heart of the empire, where they were presumably introduced to the techniques of farming in place of the wandering pastoral life they had led in the past. They are not heard of again.

Besides his personal experience, the career of Fenghou demonstrates the failure of Chinese policy toward the Xiongnu. Though he was a member of the royal clan of the Southern Shanyu, Fenghou became leader of northerners who felt threatened by their southern cousins led by Shizi and quite inadequately protected by Chinese officials such as the Emissary Du Chong. On the other hand, when he was able to reach the lands beyond the frontier, Fenghou proved unable to maintain an independent state there. After twenty years in the steppe, almost all of his people had left him and called themselves Xianbi. By sheer attrition and the loss of authority, a Xiongnu state and its nominal subjects had been absorbed into the growing, albeit unorganised, power of the Xianbi. -HHS 89/79:2955-58; deC 84:280-295.

Fengli 封離. A clan chieftain of the Qiongnu people in Yuexi, in 118 he led a rebellion which first killed a county magistrate and then obtained support in the neighbouring commanderies of Yongchang, Yizhou and Shu.

In the following year the Inspector Zhang Qiao sent his Assistant Officer Yang Song against them, and though at first the enemy were too numerous to attack, Yang Song raised further troops by impressment and bounties, then heavily defeated the rebels. Great numbers were killed, some prisoners taken, and quantities of booty were taken. Fengli and his fellows then killed a number of their senior associates, claimed that these men had been the ring-leaders, and went to Yang Song to surrender. -HHS 86/76:2853-54.

Filial 孝: prefix to the posthumous title of all emperors of Former and Later Han other than the two founders Gao and Guangwu and the Gengshi Emperor. See *sub voce*.

First Sovereign 先主 of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han 屬漢 see Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 2.

Five Deer 五鹿 see Wulu 五鹿.

Floating Clouds 浮雲 see Fuyun 浮雲.

Flying Swallow Zhang 張飛燕 see Zhang Yan 張燕.

Fu 伏, Empress of Emperor Xian: see the Lady Fu Shou.

Fu 傅 [personal name unknown]; non-Chinese of Zangke. Head of the clan of that name in the middle 20s, he and other leaders supported the Chinese Xie Xian, Officer of Merit of the commandery, in maintaining allegiance to Han rather than acknowledging the imperial claim of Gongsun Shu. They sent messengers

by the south-eastern route through present-day Guangdong, and Guangwu rewarded them with ceremonial robes. -HHS 86/76:2845, HYGZ 4:54.

Fu 伏 [personal name unknown]; Langye. Son of Fu Li 理 and elder twin of Fu Zhan, he was the natural father of Fu Gong. -HHS 79/69B:2571.

Fu 扶 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 this man was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. It is possible that his personal name was Zhong 仲. -LS 17:16a.

Fu 福 [surname unknown] see [Liu?] Fu 劉福. -HHS 42/32:1443.

Fu 福 [surname unknown] see Ren Fu 任福. -LS 19:4b.

Fu, Old Man 涪翁 see Old Man of the Fu River.

Fu An 伏黯 [Zhiwen 稚文]; Langye. Son of Fu Li 理, Fu An was younger twin brother of Fu Zhan. A noted Confucian scholar, in 15 he was chosen by Wang Mang to accompany an embassy to the Xiongnu, evidently to assist in debates with the Shanyu, and on their return he and his colleagues were enfeoffed.

Fu An later became Minister of the Household to Emperor Guangwu. As he died without children, his nephew Gong was adopted to maintain the lineage.

An expert on the *Classic of Poetry* according to the school of Qi, Fu An composed a *Jieshuo* 解說 "Explanation of Terms" and left also a revised detailed commentary. His adopted son Gong summarised the latter, massive, work to 200,000 words. -HHS 79/69B: 2571-72; Dubs 55:352-353 [transcribing the personal name as Yan], Tjan 49:148-149.

Fu An 傅安. An officer in the Bureau of Astronomy about 90, Fu An devised the ecliptic ring 黃道 or 日道 for the armillary sphere. His work was reported to the throne by Jia Kui. -HHS 92/2:3028; Needham 59:343-349.

Fu Bao 傅保/寶 [Jitu 紀圖]; Zangke. Known for his virtues, Yin Gong joined the Imperial Secretariat and was later Administrator of Ba commandery. -HYGZ 4: 54, 12:237, HYGZJBTZ:260.

Fu Chang 傅昌; Yingchuan. Son of Fu Jun, he succeeded to his fief, but the territory was later transferred from Yingchuan to Danyang. About 75 Fu Chang's mother died, and he petitioned the throne that, because the revenues were small and his family was poor, he wished to relinquish his full county fief and be granted a secondary marquise, together with

500,000 cash. Angry at such insensitivity, Emperor Zhang reduced Fu Chang's rank but gave no money in compensation. -HHS 22/12:782.

Fu Chen 伏湛 see Fu Zhan 伏湛.

Fu Chen 伏晨; Langye. Son of Fu Guang and a scholarly, generous man, Fu Chen succeeded to his father's fief and married the Princess of Gaoping in Shanyang. When his grand-daughter became an Honoured Lady of Emperor Shun, Fu Chen was named Specially Advanced, a senior title which allowed him to remain at Luoyang rather than residing at his fief. -HHS 26/16:897-98.

Fu Cheng 伏盛 or Fu Sheng [Boming 伯明] i.e. Fu Long 伏隆. -DGHJ 13:1b.

Fu Chong 傅充; Beidi. Son of Fu Rui, he held court office at Luoyang, and his son Fu Jia 赧 gained high office under Wei. -SGZ 21:623.

XTS 74A:3154 has the personal name as Yun 允, with a style including the character *gu* 固, and says that he was Administrator of Hongnong.

Fu Chou 傅稠 [Gong? 公?]; Nanyang. Described as a private gentleman 處士, in 156 Fu Chou was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele of the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Fu De 伏德; Langye. Eldest son of Fu Wan and the Princess Liu Hua, daughter of Emperor Huan, Fu De became a Consultant at Chang'an.

In 195 Fu De accompanied his father and his sister the Empress Fu Shou in the escape of the imperial court to the east. After the defeat at the hands of Li Jue and his associates in Hongnong, Fu De assisted Emperor Xian to climb down the cliffs of the Yellow River and escape by boat. [For a different account, see *sub* Sun Hui.] As the court came under Cao Cao's control in 196 Fu De was enfeoffed for his services.

Fu De was probably killed by Cao Cao in 214, when the empress's attempted plot against Cao Cao was discovered and the family was destroyed. -HHS 26/16:898, HHJ 28:334; deC 96:166-167.

Fu Dian 伏典 or Fu Xing 興 (d.214); Langye. Son of Fu Wan and the Princess Liu Hua, daughter of Emperor Huan, Fu Dian succeeded to his father's fief in 209. In 214 Fu Dian and many of his kinsmen were killed by Cao Cao when the failed plotting of his half-sister the Empress Fu Shou was discovered.

Fu Fu 傅福 (d.139?). A eunuch, in 139 Fu Fu was head of the Palace Workshop for Emperor Shun. He joined Zhang Kui and other colleagues in claiming that

the father of the empress, Liang Shang, and the rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben planned to depose the emperor. The emperor doubted the story, and when the conspirators had Cao Teng and Meng Ben arrested he became furious and had them killed. -HHS 6:268, 43/24:1176, 101/11:3245 [which last, however, says that some committed suicide and others escaped].

Fu Fu 輔服 [Xiangong 顯公]; Hanzhong. A junior official, Fu Fu was responsible for construction work to repair the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. His contribution was recorded in a stele inscription of 148. -LS 4:5a.

Fu Gan 傅幹 [Yanlin 彥林 or Yancai 彥材] (b.175); Beidi. In 187 Fu Gan was thirteen years old and was living with his father Fu Xie the Administrator of Hanyang. The rebels of Liang province came to attack Ji city, capital of the commandery, but they offered Fu Xie the chance to escape. Fu Gan urged him to accept, then withdraw to their homeland in the north and wait for a real leader to bring order to the empire. Fu Xie, addressing him by his childhood style Biecheng 別成, explained that he was honour bound to fight and die.

Fu Gan did escape, and in 202 he was a member of the staff of the north-western warlord Ma Teng. He persuaded Ma Teng that his best policy was to assist Cao Cao's agent Zhong Yao against the attack by Guo Yuan of the Yuan family, and Ma Teng sent a contingent under his son Ma Chao.

It seems likely that Fu Gan remained with Ma Tang, and he was probably involved in his decision to attend the Han court under Cao Cao in 208. When Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang in Yi province in 212, some believed that such a consistently unsuccessful *condottiere* could never win, but Fu Gan argued that Liu Bei now had excellent followers and would be successful.

As a military adviser to Cao Cao in 214, he argued against a proposed attack against Sun Quan across the Huai on the grounds that the enterprise was unlikely to succeed and that it would be better policy to attract Sun Quan by diplomatic means. Cao Cao did not accept his advice, but the offensive gained no result and was very short-lived.

Fu Gan was later a senior clerk on Cao Cao's staff as Imperial Chancellor, and then became Administrator of Youfufeng under Wei. He left a number of literary and scholarly writings, and he was the father of the scholar Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278), author of *Fuzi* 傅子.

-HHS 58/48:1877-79, SGZ 1:43-44, 13:393-94, Shu 2: 882, JS 47:1317; deC 89:202.

Fu Gong 伏恭 [Shuqi 叔齊] (5 BC-AD 84); Langye. Nephew of Fu Zhan by his elder twin brother An, Fu Gong was adopted across to maintain the lineage. With a strong sense of filial piety, he showed great respect to his step-mother and maintained Fu An's scholarship, later editing and abbreviating his vast commentary on the *Classic of Poetry*.

Entering the imperial service through the *ren* privilege, Fu Gong was appointed as a magistrate in Beihai in 28. He remained there for thirteen years, and was recommended by the provincial government for the Exceptional Quality of his administration. He was later examined by the Minister of Ceremonies, graded Number One in classical scholarship, and became an Academician at the Imperial University.

Fu Gong was later Administrator of Changshan, but maintained his scholarly activity and taught many men in the north of the empire. In 59 he became Minister Coachman, and as Emperor Ming held ceremony at the Hall of the Circular Moat in 61 he named Fu Gong as Excellency of Works; this was seen as a major endorsement of Confucian scholarship.

When Fu Gong retired on grounds of ill health in 69 he was granted an annual stipend of a thousand *shi* for life, and when the emperor made a tour to Langye in 72 he received Fu Gong with the ceremony of an Excellency.

In 77 Fu Gong was honoured by Emperor Zhang as Thrice Venerable of the state, and when he died in 84 at the age of ninety it was ordered that he be buried in the tomb park of Emperor Ming. -HHS 79/69B:2571-72*.

Fu Gongming 傅公明; Runan. About 165 Fu Gongming was offered an [adoptive] daughter of the court eunuch Tang Heng in marriage. He rejected the alliance. -HHS 70/60:2281, SGZ 10:308.

Fu Guang 伏光; Langye. Son of Fu Xi, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 26/16:897.

Fu Han 傅韓 see Fu Gan 傅幹.

Fu Jian 傅堅; Ba. In the autumn of 167 some people of Ba commandery told the commandery office that there was a dragon in a local pond. The Attendant Officer Fu Jian advised that this was nothing but a hoax, made up because the water looked muddy. The Administrator reported the falsely favourable omen to the throne. [Emperor Huan died four months later.] -

HHS 107/17:3344; deC 89:86-87, MBeck 90:151.

Fu Jin 扶禁. As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in 213, Liu Zhang's generals Fu Jin and Xiang Zun attacked his base at Jiameng in Guanghan. Though heavily outnumbered, the garrison commanded by Huo Jun held out for several months and eventually drove the enemy away with a sortie. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1007.

Fu Jun 傅俊 [Ziwei 子衛] (d.31); Yingchuan. Fu Jun was a village chief when the army of Han rebels against Wang Mang came to Yingchuan in 23. He welcomed the insurgents and was appointed a colonel under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. The local magistrate, still loyal to Wang Mang, seized Fu Jun's mother, younger brother and other kinsmen, and killed them.

Fu Jun became a personal attendant of Liu Xiu, and took part in the battle of Kunyang which destroyed one of Wang Mang's armies. Named a lieutenant-general, he was sent with a detached force to occupy southern Henan, then returned to his home country to inter his slaughtered relatives. When Liu Xiu was sent north as commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor in 24, Fu Jun brought a dozen followers to join him; he was appointed commander of all the men from Yingchuan. He took part in the campaigns in the north, and when Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he named Fu Jun a Palace Attendant and sent him to escort his Empress Yin to Luoyang. In the following year Fu Jun was enfeoffed as marquis of Kunyang: since this battle had been one of the great triumphs of the future emperor, it was a remarkable courtesy for him to allocate the title to his follower.

Appointed a general in 27, Fu Jun was sent with Cen Peng, first to secure the final defeat and surrender of the rebel Deng Feng, and then south to drive the warlord Qin Feng from Nanyang. After Qin Feng was surrounded and besieged in his base in Nan commandery, Fu Jun went on to the south of the Yangzi to take over the further commanderies of Yang province.

Fu Jun died in 31, and he was granted a posthumous title. When Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Fu Jun was one of those who were honoured. -*HHS* 22/12:782*; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:86.

Fu Jun 伏均; Langye. Son of Fu Wan, he was a younger brother of the Empress Fu Shou of Emperor

Xian. He was probably killed by Cao Cao in 214, when the empress's attempted plot against Cao Cao was discovered. -*HHS* 26/16:898, *HHJ* 28:334.

Fu Kang 傅抗/亢. Director of Retainers under Emperor Guangwu, in 32 Fu Kang was sent to prison and died there. -*HHS* 1B:53.

Fu Kuan 傅寬. As Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was engaged against Wang Lang in 24, he appointed Fu Kuan, Yao Qi and Lü Yan as officers under Deng Yu. Deng Yu considered Yao Qi to have the greater ability, so he promoted him to be lieutenant-general with command of two thousand men, and placed Fu Kuan and Lü Yan under him with a few hundred soldiers each. Fu Kuan was later a protégé of Guangwu's brother-in-law Yin Shu, and he rose to high rank at court. -*HHS* 20/10:731, 32/22:1130.

Fu Kuang 輔匡 [Yuanbi 元弼]; Nan. Having joined Liu Bei when he was in Jing province, Fu Kuang went with him to the west in 211 and became Administrator of Ba commandery.

Fu Kuang was with Liu Bei's army in the attack down the Yangzi against Wu in 221, but escaped the debacle which followed. He took part in Zhuge Liang's conquest of the south in the mid-220s, was promoted and enfeoffed. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1084, *SGZ* Wu 10:1300, *HYGZ* 7:95.

Fu Kui 府攄. He was a clerk in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses. -*FDTY* 126.

Fu Lang 伏朗; Langye. Son of Fu Wan, Fu Lang was a younger brother of the Empress Fu Shou of Emperor Xian. He was probably killed by Cao Cao in 214, when the empress's attempted plot against Cao Cao was discovered. -*HHS* 26/16:898, *HHJ* 28:334.

Fu Liqing 傅栗卿/立卿; Longxi. A local bandit, he was attacked and defeated by Guangwu's general Lai Xi in 34. -*HHS* 15/5:588.

Fu Long 伏隆 [Bowen 伯文] (d.27); Langye. Elder son of Fu Zhan, Fu Long established a reputation for upright conduct while still young, and served as an Investigator in the commandery.

In 26 Fu Long went to join Guangwu in Henan. The emperor was impressed with him; at the end of that year he named him a Palace Counsellor and sent him east with the Staff of Authority as his agent in Qing and Xu provinces. In a proclamation, Fu Long listed Guangwu's success against Wang Mang, his victories in Henan and the recent defeat of Liu Yong in Liang. Most of the Huosuo group of bandits surrendered to

him, and an envoy from the local warlord Zhang Bu accompanied him back to Luoyang with tokens of submission.

In 27 Fu Long was promoted to Household Counsellor and sent back to the east. He was accompanied by new governors for Qing and Xu together with administrators and commandants for the various commanderies, and he had authority to appoint all lesser magistrates. The new regime was an initial success, and most of the territory turned to Guangwu. Zhang Bu was appointed only as Administrator of Donglai, and just at this time Liu Yong re-established himself in Liang and offered him the title of King of Qi. Bound by Han tradition against royal enfeoffments from outside the house of Liu, Fu Long could only promise a great marquisate, and Zhang Bu changed sides. He invited Fu Long to join him against Guangwu, but Fu Long remained loyal.

Aware of the fate which awaited him, Fu Long sent in a final report before he was taken and killed. The emperor mourned him, and his son Fu Yuan was made a gentleman cadet. When Zhang Bu surrendered again in 29 Fu Long's body was entombed with gifts from the state and an escort of officials. -HHS 26/16:898-900*; Bn 59:135-138.

DGHJ 13:1b has the personal name as Sheng/Cheng 盛 and the style as Boming 伯明; the personal name was no doubt changed in the texts to avoid taboo on the name of Liu Long, the Young Emperor (reg.106).

Fu Qian 服虔 [Zishen 子慎]; Henan. Fu Qian's original personal name was Zhong 重, and he was also known as Zhi 祗, but he later changed it to Qian. A young man of scholarly ambition, Fu Qian attended the University at Luoyang and acquired a fine literary style. His *Chunqiu Zuoshizhuanjie* [yi] 春秋左氏傳解 [詁] "Explanation of *Zuo zhuan*" was in circulation for several hundred years, and he also compiled *Chunqiu Hanyibo* 春秋漢議駁 to supplement the *Chunqiu Hanyibo* 春秋漢議 of He Xiu: where He Xiu had analysed six hundred items of the history of Han according to the "praise and blame" style of Gongyang, Fu Qian applied the technique of *Zuo zhuan*.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Fu Qian held a number of official positions. About 189 he was Administrator of Jiujiang, but then left that office and became a refugee among the troubles of the civil war. In 192 he joined a petition organised by Tao Qian,

Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal.

Fu Qian died of illness about 195. Besides scholarly works, he left a dozen *pian* of literary compositions, including rhapsodies, essays and inscriptions. -HHS 79/69B:2583*; Mather 76:520.

Fu Qun 傅羣. About 210 Fu Qun was Cao Cao's Inspector of Jing province. -SGZ Shu 10:1004.

Fu River, Old Man of the 涪翁老父 see Old Man of the Fu River.

Fu Rong 符融 [Weiming 偉明]; Chenliu. As a young man Fu Rong held a censorial office in the provincial government, but he was ashamed of such mean work and resigned. About 160 he went to the Imperial University at Luoyang and studied under Li Ying, who admired his ability in conversation and made him a trusted client. Fu Rong recommended Guo Tai to Li Ying, and he later urged Li Ying to investigate the pretensions of Jin Wenjing and Huang Zi'ai.

As Fu Rong became increasingly well known, he was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and was offered positions both in his province and in the offices at the capital. He refused all of these, but when the newly-appointed Administrator Feng Dai invited him to call and give advice he recommended Fan Dan, Han Zhuo and Kong Zhou; he excused himself on grounds of illness.

Fu Rong was later barred from office during the Great Proscription, presumably because of his association with Li Ying. Now very poor, when his wife died he had no means to pay for her funeral. Refusing all offers of help, he insisted that he would follow ancient practice and provide her with a simple tomb of earth in the wilderness. The gentleman Zhang Yuanzu persuaded him to accept the loan of his ox-cart for the cortège. -HHS 68/58:2232-33*, XC 7:16a-b.

Fu Rui 傅睿; Beidi. Father of Fu Chong and Fu Xuan 選, he was Administrator of Dai. -SGZ 21:623.

Fu Sheng 伏盛 or Fu Cheng [Boming 伯明] i.e. Fu Long 伏隆. -DGHJ 13:1b.

Fu Shipu 傅石甫. Otherwise unknown, he was the husband of the literate Lady Kong. -Sui shu 35:1058.

Fu Shou 伏壽; Langye. Son of Fu Gong, Fu Shou became Administrator of Dong commandery. -HHS 79/69B:2572.

Sui shu 34:1032 lists a study of the Jing Fang version of the *Book of Changes* compiled by Fu

Wanshou 萬壽; Yao Zhenzong:2403 suggests that this is the same man.

Fu Shou 伏壽, the Lady (d.214); Langye: Empress of Emperor Xian. Daughter of Fu Wan and his concubine the Lady Ying, and thus step-daughter of the Princess Liu Hua, daughter of Emperor Huan, Fu Shou entered the harem of Emperor Xian in 190 as an Honoured Lady and was made empress in 195. She accompanied the emperor in his travels from Chang'an to Xu city under Cao Cao's control in 196.

After Cao Cao killed the Honoured Lady Dong in 200, the empress was concerned for her own life, and she urged her father to act against Cao Cao. Fu Wan did nothing, but after his death in 214 the empress's proposal was found out. Cao Cao sent officers to break into the palace and put her in prison where she died. Two children she had borne to the emperor were killed, together with over a hundred of her kinsmen, while her mother and others were sent into exile. -HHS 10B:452-54*.

XHS 1:19a claims that Emperor Xian himself found her guilty of Impiety and ordered her death. This seems unlikely, for HHS 10B describes his distress at her fate and how he remarked, as she called to him for help, "I do not even know when my time will come," and appealed to her escort Chi Lü.

Fu Tie 傅鐵; Yingchuan. Son of Fu Chang, he inherited his secondary marquissate: see *sub* Fu Chang. In 113 the regent Dowager Deng raised it to a village fief. -HHS 22/12:782.

Fu Tong 傅彤 (d.222); Nanyang. A divisional commander under Liu Bei, as the army retreated from the disastrous invasion of Jing province in 222, Fu Tong was cut off. Refusing offers of surrender, he died in battle. -SGZ Shu 15:1088-89.

Fu Wan 伏完 (d.209); Langye. Son of Fu Zhi, he succeeded to his fief, gained reputation at court and married the Princess Liu Hua, daughter of Emperor Huan. He was made a Palace Attendant.

In 195 the Lady Fu Shou, daughter of Fu Wan by his concubine the Lady Ying, became empress. Fu Wan was appointed Bearer of the Mace, and as the court came to Xu city under Cao Cao in 196 he was named General Who Supports the State 輔國將軍, ranking with the Excellencies. Anxious to avoid a high profile under Cao Cao's regime, he took a lesser position as a colonel and kept out of politics. In the early 200s his daughter the empress urged him to a plot against

Cao Cao, but he took no action. The proposal was discovered after his death, however, and the family was destroyed: see *sub* Fu Shou. -HHS 10B:452-53, 26/16:898.

Fu Wanshou 伏萬壽 see Fu Shou 伏壽. -Yao Zhenzong:2403.

Fu Weng 涪翁 see Old Man of the Fu River.

Fu Wuji 伏無忌; Langye. Son of Fu Chen 晨, Fu Wuji succeeded to his father's fief and maintained the family tradition of wide learning and scholarship. In the time of Emperor Shun he became a Palace Attendant and colonel in the Northern Army, and in 136 he was commissioned with Huang Jing to edit the imperial collections of Confucian classics and philosophical writings, together with works on art, mathematics, archery and chariot-driving, medicine and divination. No further detail is given of the project, and one must imagine that it entailed cataloguing rather than detailed copy-editing.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, about 151, another edict ordered Fu Wuji, Huang Jing, Cui Shi and others to work in the Eastern Pavilion on a third instalment of *Han ji*, official history of the Later Han dynasty, known later as *Dongguan Hanji*. The compilation included annals, tables of kings, marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, while Fu Wuji and Huang Jing also compiled a Treatise of Geography 地理志, which was edited by Sima Biao to compose the Treatise of Administrative Geography 郡國志 for his *Xu Han shu*.

Fu Wuji's *Fuhou gujin zhu* 伏侯古今注 "Notes of the Marquis Fu on Things Ancient and Modern" was a historical encyclopaedia, beginning in earliest times, but relying on the archives of the Han and continued up to 146. Entries discussed astrological and earthly portents, population, official salaries, imperial taboo names and tombs. The work survives only in quotations, many of which are cited in the commentary of Liu Zhao to the treatises of portents compiled by Sima Biao for his *Xu Han shu*, now combined into HHS. -HHS 26/16:898; Bn 54:11, MBeck 90:19-27, 129-130, 187-189.

Fu Xi 伏翕; Langye. Youngest son of Fu Zhan, he succeeded to his fief in 37. -HHS 26/16:897.

Fu Xian 伏咸; Langye. Second son of Fu Zhan, in 29 an imperial edict granted him assistance in carrying out the funeral of his elder brother Long. -HHS 26/16: 900.

Fu Xian 傅賢 [Zhongshu 仲舒]. As Minister of Justice for four years, Fu Xian brought experience and impartiality to his office, and maintained the prisons in excellent order. Sensitive to his responsibilities, he wept each winter as he approved the seasonal executions.

Fu Xian later became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, and was again widely respected. -*XC* 7:2a-b.

Fu Xie 傅燮 [Youqi 幼起 then Nanrong 南容] (d.187); Beidi. Eight feet tall [185 cm], with an imposing demeanour and Confucian virtue, Fu Xie was a student of the Grand Commandant Liu Kuang. He was recommended as Filial and Incorrupt, but when the Administrator who had nominated him died he resigned his office and held mourning for him.

In 184 Fu Xie was sent as a major responsible for discipline to serve under Huangfu Song against the Yellow Turbans of Yingchuan. He had long disapproved of the eunuchs at court, and as he was about to leave he sent in a memorial urging Emperor Ling to purge the court of his favourites. When the troop he commanded in the field killed three rebel leaders, Fu Xie was recommended for enfeoffment, but the eunuchs slandered him, and although he was not punished he was likewise not rewarded.

Fu Xie then served as Commandant of Anding, but resigned on grounds of illness, and later became a Consultant at the capital. About 186, following the initial rebellion in Liang province, the Excellency Cui Lie suggested the northwest be abandoned. Fu Xie spoke heatedly against the proposal in open court, claiming that the region was of essential strategic value against the barbarians, and that withdrawal would just bring the danger closer: "If Cui Lie cannot see the consequences of his policy, he is a fool. If he understands what he is proposing, he is a traitor." The emperor accepted his arguments, Fu Xie was now recognised as an expert in strategy, and was consulted regularly by the highest officials.

Soon afterwards the eunuch Zhao Zhong was commissioned to re-examine the rewards and enfeoffments due to those who had served against the Yellow Turbans. Fu Xie's merits were raised once more, but when he was invited to offer a sweetener to ensure his favour he indignantly refused. Zhao Zhong was furious, and though he dared not attack him directly, he had Fu Xie transferred to be Administrator

of Hanyang.

In his new position Fu Xie encouraged the non-Chinese to surrender with promises of good treatment; he also set up a large number of military colonies to defend the territory. When the new Inspector Geng Bi proposed an attack against the rebels, Fu Xie urged him to establish a good civil regime before embarking on military ventures. Geng Bi rejected his advice, and in 187 he was killed in a mutiny by his own troops.

The rebels then came east and laid siege to Fu Xie in his capital at Ji, by present-day Gangu in Gansu. Fu Xie had few troops and limited supplies, but when the enemy leader Wang Guo asked him to join them, he rejected the offer in fury. Then some non-Chinese from Beidi, whom he had treated well in the past, gave him a chance to escape; his young son Fu Gan urged him to accept the offer, withdraw to their homeland in the north, and wait for a real leader to bring order to the empire. Fu Xie explained that he was honour bound, and his courageous speech, with references to classical heroes, is recorded in his biography and in *Zizhi tongjian*. He led a sortie and died fighting. -*HHS* 58/48:1873-78*, *XC* 3:9a-b; deC 89:182-183, 194, 201-202.

Fu Xing 伏興 see Fu Dian 伏典.

Fu Xuan 伏瑗; Langye. Son of Fu Long, about 29 Fu Xuan was appointed a gentleman cadet in honour of his father's loyal death. -*HHS* 26/16:900.

Fu Xuan 傅選 [Gongti 公悌]; Beidi. Son of Fu Rui and noted for his judgement of men, Fu Xuan joined the offices of the Excellencies and was then a member of the Imperial Secretariat of Han. He later took refuge in Jing province and became a senior member of staff to the warlord Governor Liu Biao. In 208 he was one of those who persuaded Liu Zong to surrender to Cao Cao, and he was rewarded with a secondary marquise.

In 213 Fu Xuan was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei; he later joined the Secretariat of the new state.

As a Cavalier Regular Attendant in 220 Fu Xuan joined the debate which encouraged Cao Pi to take the imperial throne, and soon afterwards, with title as a general, he was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. He became a Palace Attendant and died about 230. -*SGZ* 6:213-14, *LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:107, 197 [as Fu Xun].

This Fu Xuan must be distinguished from his

distant kinsman Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-276), son of Fu Gan, who became a senior official under the Sima family, founders of the Jin dynasty, and was the author of *Fuzi* 傅子: JS 47; Fang 519-520; Paper 87.

Fu Ya 伏雅; Langye. Son of Fu Wan, he was an elder brother of the Empress Fu Shou of Emperor Xian. He probably died at Cao Cao's hand in 214, when the empress's attempted plot against Cao Cao was discovered. -HHS 26/16:898, HHJ 28:334.

Fu Yan 伏黯 see Fu An 伏黯.

Fu Yang 服養. In the early third century the court dancer Fu Yang and his colleague Feng Su preserved the traditions of Han under Cao Cao. -SGZ 29:806.

Fu Yi 傅毅; Beidi. Son of Fu Yu, after his father's death in battle in 87, Fu Yi was enfeoffed as a marquiss by Emperor Zhang. -HHS 87/77:2882.

Fu Yi 傅毅 [Wuzhong 武仲]; Youfufeng. Widely learned as a young man, during the time of Emperor Ming Fu Yi made intensive study of the classics. He composed a series of poems on his work, while his *Qi feng* 七諷 "Seven Incitements" criticised scholars who stayed aloof in retirement even when the emperor was seeking worthy men. According to Wang Chong, when a flock of strange birds appeared at the imperial palace, the emperor ordered his officials to present hymns to the magical creatures, but the composition of Fu Yi was one of the few considered to be of high quality [Lun heng 37; Forke 11:274. In another reference Forke 07:469 has the surname mistakenly as Zhuhan 傳].

In the late 70s the new Emperor Zhang issued a general call for Literary Scholars. Fu Yi was appointed to the library of the Orchid Terrace, named a gentleman cadet and worked on collation. Feeling that the achievements of the late Emperor Ming had been insufficiently appreciated, he presented a set of hymns for his temple ritual, and his abilities were now recognised by the court. The general Ma Fang, member of the consort clan, invited Fu Yi to join his staff and treated him as a personal friend. As the Ma family fell from favour in the early 80s, their clients also suffered and Fu Yi lost his post.

In 89 the imperial kinsman Dou Xian, who had succeeded to Ma Fang's position as General of Chariots and Cavalry, also appointed Fu Yi, together with the scholar Cui Yan. It is not known whether Fu Yi accompanied the campaign against the Northern Xiongnu, but he did compose a hymn to celebrate the

victory and when Dou Xian became General-in-Chief in 90, Fu Yi continued on his staff and was joined by Ban Gu. The literary and scholarly skills in that office were the best of that time.

Still comparatively young, Fu Yi died about 91, leaving almost thirty *pian* of rhapsodies, poems, essays, eulogies and other compositions. -HHS 80/70A:2610-13*.

Fu Yi 服宜 see Fu Zhi 服直.

Fu Ying 傅嬰. In 204 Fu Ying was an officer under Sun Yi the Administrator of Danyang, when Sun Yi was murdered and Gui Lan and Dai Yuan seized power in the commandery. Sun Yi's widow the Lady Xu IV recruited Fu Ying and other loyalists to trap and kill Gui Lan and Dai Yuan. Sun Quan rewarded Fu Ying with appointment to his own headquarters. -SGZ Wu 6:1214-15; deC 90:232-234.

Fu Yu 傅育; Beidi. As a county magistrate in Jincheng in 58, Fu Yu gained a fine reputation in Ma Wu's campaign against the Qiang chieftain Dianyu. He later became Administrator of Wuwei, where he was respected by the Xiongnu, and in 77 he was appointed to replace Wu Tang as Protector of the Qiang. He joined the general Ma Fang in the campaign against the frontier raider Miyu.

In 86 Miyu and his brother Haoyu again attacked the frontier. They were persuaded to restore peace, but in the following year, though he formally kept the truce in good faith, Fu Yu stirred up trouble indirectly. He then gained approval for a joint campaign, with contingents from five commanderies, to deal with Miyu and his followers. Without waiting for the other troops, however, Fu Yu led his men too far and was ambushed by Miyu. Killing a dozen of his opponents, Fu Yu died a hero's death.

Fu Yu was admired for the fact that he used his official salary to support his friends, while his wife and children were obliged to do the work of the household. He was posthumously honoured by Emperor Zhang, who enfeoffed his son Fu Yi as a marquiss. -HHS 87/77: 2881-82.

Fu Yuan 伏援/媛; Langye. Son of Fu Long, when his father was killed in 29 Emperor Guangwu had Fu Yuan appointed as a gentleman cadet. -HHS 26/16:900.

Fu Zhan 伏湛 [Huigong 惠公] (d.37); Langye. Fu Zhan's family claimed descent from Fu Sheng 伏勝/生, scholar of the Qin and early Han, and source of the New Text of the *Classic of History*. Fu Zhan's

ancestors maintained the tradition; his father Li 理 was a noted scholar who taught the *Classic of Poetry* to Emperor Cheng and maintained a distinctive school in the tradition of Qi [Tjan 49, Table IV]. He became Tutor to the king of Gaomi.

An agreeable and filial man, Fu Zhan took over his father's teaching while he was still young, and had several hundred students. Through his father's *ren* privilege, he was appointed to the Imperial University and then embarked on an official career. In the time of Wang Mang he was a special commissioner of the Censorate and later held office in Henei.

When Wang Mang was destroyed, Fu Zhan transferred his allegiance to the Gengshi Emperor and was named Administrator of Pingyuan. Despite the troubles, he maintained a regime of peace and scholarship, distributing food and using his own money to relieve the people. More than a hundred families came as dependents, but when one of his officers sought to conscript them for military service Fu Zhan killed him and displayed his head as a sign of his good will. The territory of Pingyuan remained quiet.

As Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, took the imperial title he called Fu Zhan to join his Secretariat so that he might re-establish the administrative structure of Han. Fu Zhan became Guardian of Honesty, a censorial position under the Excellency over the Masses Deng Yu, but as Deng Yu was engaged on campaign in the west for the whole of his appointment Fu Zhan acted in his stead, and when the emperor was also in the field Fu Zhan held charge at Luoyang.

In 26 Fu Zhan was named Acting Excellency over the Masses, and early in 27 he formally succeeded Deng Yu and was enfeoffed as a marquis. Later that year he urged Guangwu not to go in person to attack Peng Chong: his military reputation was well-established and it was time to attend to the affairs of government rather than embark on a campaign in a poor region far away to the northeast. As Bielenstein observes, the respite gave Peng Chong time to cause serious trouble. On the other hand, the bandit Xu Shao [or Xu Yiqing], leader of the Fuping group in Pingyuan which had been allied to Peng Chong, surrendered personally to Fu Zhan because of his fine reputation in the region.

A stickler for scholarship and ritual, even in the turmoil of civil war, in 29 Fu Zhan persuaded the emperor to reinstate the local ceremonies of Winter

Wine to honour the aged [Bodde 75:362]. At the end of the year, as Guangwu was on campaign against Zhang Bu and Fu Zhan was again in charge at Luoyang, a disruptive quarrel broke out during the winter sacrifice at the Temple of Emperor Gao between the Intendant of Henan, Ouyang Xi, and the Director of Retainers. Fu Zhan failed to report the incident, but it was found out and he was dismissed. His fief was shifted to his home country of Langye and he was sent to take up residence there.

Du Shi, Administrator of Nanyang, later sent in a memorial on Fu Zhan's good service and urged that he be appointed once more to the Imperial Secretariat. In the summer of 37 Fu Zhan was recalled, but he died of heat exhaustion on the journey. Emperor Guangwu mourned him, and sent envoys to escort his funeral. -HHS 26/16:893-97*; QHX:105 [as Fu Chen], Bn 59:126, Bn 79:62.

Fu Zhen 傅鎮 (d.43). Disciples of the former cult leader Wei Si, in 43 Fu Zhen and his colleague Dan Chen rose in rebellion and seized the county city of Yuanwu in the east of Henan. The imperial general Zang Gong was sent to deal with them, but though his force included troops from the Northern Army, strategic reserve of the empire, the rebels were well supplied and entrenched, and they drove back his assaults with heavy casualties.

On the advice of his son Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, Emperor Guangwu sent instructions for Zang Gong to ease the pressure. Seeing a chance to escape, the rebels broke out from their lines and were defeated in detail. Fu Zhen and Dan Chen were both killed. -HHS 18/8:695.

Fu Zhen 傅楨. Fu Zhen's name appears in the colophon to the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the Stone Classics engraved in the early 180s. He is described there as a Gentleman of the Palace, which may be only a cadet appointment but may represent a more substantive rank. -LS 14:8b.

Fu Zhi 服直 or Fu Yi 宜; Ba. About 147 he gathered a group of followers and styled himself King of Heaven 天王. The Inspector of Yi province Chong Gao and the Administrator Ying Cheng attacked him but were defeated. Fu Zhi is not mentioned again. -HHS 56/46:1827.

Fu Zhi 伏質; Langye. Son of Fu Wuji, he succeeded to his fief. He was Minister of Finance under Emperor Huan or Emperor Ling. -HHS 26/16:898.

Fu Zhi 服祗 see Fu Qian 服虔.

Fu Zhong 傅眾 (d.125). Administrator of Hanyang in 125, Fu Zhong was appointed General on the Liao, but died later that same year. -HHS 89/79:2959.

Fu Zhong 服重 see Fu Qian 服虔.

Fu [Zhong?] 扶仲? see Fu [personal name unknown]. -LS 17:16a.

Fu [Zifang] 傅子方; Chen. When the false apparition of Zhang Hanzhi *q.v.* appeared to his sister in a dream, it mentioned money which had been sent by Fu Zifang. -FSTY 9:71.

Fu Zong 富宗. In the mid-20s Fu Zong became Administrator of Chenliu. A man of extravagant tastes, he ignored the warnings of his Officer of Merit Yu Yan: he was eventually arrested and executed for disobeying the sumptuary laws. -HHS 33/23:1151.

Fu Zun 伏尊; Langye. Son of Fu Wan, he was a younger brother of the Empress Fu Shou of Emperor Xian. He was probably killed by Cao Cao in 214, when the empress's attempted plot against Cao Cao was discovered. -HHS 26/16:898, HHJ 28:334.

Fuhu 朴胡; non-Chinese [the pronunciation *fu* rather than *pu* follows the reading of Sun Sheng of the fourth century in SGZ 1:46 PC]. A chieftain of the Banshun people early in the third century, Fuhu was leader of seven clans. When Cao Cao attacked in the summer of 215, Zhang Lu went to take refuge with Fuhu and the Zong people led by his associate Duhu. In the autumn Fuhu and Duhu, with their colleague Yuan/Ren Yue, went to Luoyang to submit to Cao Cao. They received titles as marquises and were sent back as administrators: Fuhu was named to the eastern territory of Badong. In the winter Zhang Lu also went to surrender.

Soon afterwards the non-Chinese were defeated by Huang Quan, officer in the service of Liu Bei, and the various groups fled north to Cao Cao's territory in the Wei valley. -SGZ 1:46, 8:264, Shu 13:1043, HYGZ 6: 83; deC 96:495-498.

Fujiu 腹久 of Yanqi [Karashar]. Chief minister to King Guang in 94, as the king surrendered to the Protector-General Ban Chao, Fujiu and many others fled into the lake country for fear of execution. -HHS 47/37:1582.

Fuluohan 扶羅韓 (d.218); Xianbi. A grandson of Tanshihuai, Fuluohan was the younger brother of Kuitou and the elder brother of Budugen. When Kuitou died about 205, Fuluohan was passed over for the succession, and he set up a state of his own.

Following Cao Cao's defeat of the Wuhuan at

White Wolf Mountain in 207, and through the agency of the Protector of the Qiang Yan Rou, Fuluohan and other Xianbi leaders paid tribute and received royal titles.

In 218, the Wuhuan chieftain Nengchendi was planning an alliance against China and Fuluohan accepted his invitation to join. When Fuluohan arrived for the meeting, Nengchendi considered his people ill-disciplined and unreliable, so he also called in Fuluohan's rival Kebineng, and Kebineng killed Fuluohan at the oath ceremony. -SGZ 30:835-36; Fang 52:179-180.

Fushen 夫沈; Xiongnu. A king of the Southern Xiongnu, in 133 Fushen was sent by the Emissary Wang Chou on a punitive expedition against the Xianbi. The attack was successful, and the court rewarded Fushen and his associates with seals and ribbons and various gifts. -HHS 90/80:2988-89.

Fushi Ren 傅士仁 see Shi Ren 士仁.

Fushuguan 扶漱官; Wuhuan. In the time of Emperor Shun Fushuguan and Rongzhuhui were leaders of Wuhuan people allied to Han. With the Protector Geng Ye, they distinguished themselves on several campaigns against the Xianbi led by Qizhijian, and received titles from the court. -HHS 90/80:2988; deC 84:303, 391.

Futai 夫台 of Fuyu. King Futai of Fuyu attacked Xuantu in 167, but was defeated by the Administrator Gongsun Yu. -HHS 85/75:2812.

Fuyun 浮雲 [Floating Clouds] was the sobriquet of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. -HHS 71/61:2310, SGZ 8:261.

G

Gai 蓋 [surname] see He 蓋 *passim*. Pronunciation of this surname varies, but I have standardised it to He rather than to Gai. On the other hand, HHS 7:316 TC gives the pronunciation of the surname of the pirate chieftain and religious pretender 蓋登 as Gai.

Gan 干 [surname] see Yu 于 *passim*.

Gan 甘, the Lady; Pei. A woman of humble family from a poor village, the Lady Gan was extremely beautiful. Aged eighteen in the early 190s, when Liu Bei was in Yu province, she came to his attention and he took her as his concubine. She played a leading role in his household during the several disruptions and losses of

Liu Bei's campaigns, and though Liu Bei's family was captured by Cao Cao in 201, the Lady Gan was able to make her way to join him in Jing province.

In 207 the Lady Gan gave birth to Liu Bei's son Liu Shan, who became the Later Sovereign of Shu-Han. As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, the Lady accompanied Liu Bei to the south. She and her son were almost captured, but they were rescued by Zhao Yun.

The Lady died about 210 and was buried near Liu Bei's headquarters in Nan commandery. After Liu Bei's death she was granted posthumous title as an empress and was reburied with him at Chengdu. -SGZ Shu 4:905-06*; C/C 99:115-116.

Gan 甘 [personal name unknown]; Danyang. Former Administrator of Cangwu, he admired Tao Qian and, though his wife thought him immature and frivolous, gave him their daughter in marriage. -SGZ 8:248.

Gan Ding 甘定. Administrator of Cangwu in 162, when rebels from Changsha invaded his territory Gan Ding abandoned his post and fled. -HHS 7:309.

Gan Gong 甘公 see Gan 甘 [personal name unknown]: Gong was probably a title of respect, not a personal name.

Gan Gui 甘瑰 or Gan Xiang 瓌; Nanyang. Son of Gan Ning, he was exiled for some fault to Kuaiji and never held an official position. -SGZ Wu 10:1195.

Gan Ji 干吉 or Yu Ji 于吉 (d.200); Langye. Many texts and modern scholars have the surname of this man as Yu, which is certainly the more common character in such a context. Fukui 52/58:63, however, argues that the correct reading is Gan, and I have accepted that.

A teacher and adept, in 200 Gan Ji was operating in Yang province south of the Yangzi, the territory controlled by the young warlord Sun Ce. He was extremely popular among the people, and Sun Ce found that his prestige rivalled his own. There are varying stories about the causes of Sun Ce's final exasperation: one account says that Gan Ji went by when Sun Ce was addressing his troops, and many of his men turned to Gan Ji; another that he accompanied Sun Ce's army and produced rain for his barge transports, but again Sun Ce was angry at the veneration which his men showed. In any event, Sun Ce killed Gan Ji.

Gan Ji's followers claimed that he had not in fact been killed but had taken immortal form; we are told also that Sun Ce was wounded soon afterwards and then, whenever he looked in a mirror he saw the face

of his victim: in his rage and despair, his wounds broke open and he died.

The teachings and practices of Gan Ji, including charms to cure illness, were similar to those of Zhang Jue, chief of the Yellow Turbans rebellion, and Zhang Ling the theocratic warlord of the west. An extended tradition links him to the origins of the celebrated *Taiping jing* 太平經.

According to the second memorial of Xiang Kai, presented to Emperor Huan in 166, a sacred book had been presented to the throne of Emperor Shun by a certain Gong Chong, a disciple of Gan Ji. It is possible that Xiang Kai was involved in the presentation, and he may have acted on Gong Chong's behalf. The biography of Xiang Kai says that the book was called *Taiping qingling shu/dao* 太平清/青領書/道, which may be understood as "The Way [or Book] of Great Peace, with Dark Green Headings," and that it comprised 170 *juan* 卷 chapters written on pale-green silk, with vermilion borders, dark green headings and vermilion titles – green and vermilion being colours of magical significance. It was said that the book had been found by Gan Ji and Gong Chong at the Quyang Spring in Xiapi, and that its text relied heavily upon *yin-yang* and the Five Powers 陰陽五行, with many references to shamanism 巫覡. The work had been rejected by the court, on the grounds that it was heretical and inappropriate; Xiang Kai's later recommendation proved no more fruitful. It is also claimed that the work was later used by Zhang Jue.

There are a number of other accounts, notably in the *Shenxian zhuan* of the fourth century, of how Gan Ji and Gong Chong obtained or created the *Taiping jing*, including claims that one or the other acquired it from an immortal, and that the transmission took place in the time of Emperor Yuan of Former Han. [A work entitled *Baoyuan taiping jing* 包元太平經 had been presented to Emperor Yuan's successor Emperor Cheng by a certain Gan Zhongke 甘忠可: see Loewe 74:278-280, and *QHX*:113.] Even if we discount the attempts of later Taoists to add antiquity to their tradition, it would appear Gan Ji was already old when he encountered Sun Ce.

Petersen argues that the association between Gan Ji and the *Taiping jing* is fictitious, and all attempts to involve him with the book are later interpolations and/or forgeries. -HHS 30/20B:1084, SGZ Wu 1:1195; Seidel 69/70, Kaltenmark 79, Kandel 79, MBeck 80,

Petersen 89-90, deC 90:200-208, Vervoorn 90:188-189.

Gan Ning 甘寧 [Xingba 興霸]; Nanyang. As a young man Gan Ning led a band of local fighting men, noted for their armament of bows and cross-bows, with bone ornaments on their heads and bells about the waist. In the manner of Robin Hood, Gan Ning would feast officials who received him well, but ravaged the territories of those less generous. He later ceased his depredations and read the works of philosophers.

Moving to the west, Gan Ning became an officer under Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province. After Liu Yan's death in 194 Gan Ning fought his son Liu Zhang in support of Hu Mao, the new Inspector appointed by the government at Chang'an, who was sponsored by Liu Biao from Jing province. The insurgents were defeated, and Gan Ning led his personal following of eight hundred men to refuge with Liu Biao.

Disappointed by Liu Biao's lack of initiative, Gan Ning joined his subordinate Huang Zu, who held the middle Yangzi against Sun Quan of Wu, but over three years he received no recognition or favour.

When Sun Quan's forces came to attack in 203, Gan Ning led the rear-guard. He shot and killed the enemy leader Ling Cao and broke up the attack. Huang Zu still refused to reward him, and even sought to transfer his followers to other chieftains. Eventually, in 207, with the aid of Huang Zu's officer Su Fei Gan Ning led his men across to the enemy. Zhou Yu and Lü Meng both recommended him, Sun Quan received him well, and Gan Ning told him of Liu Biao's weakness and the need to seize Jing province before Cao Cao did. When Huang Zu was destroyed in the following year, Gan Ning spoke to save the life of Su Fei, guaranteeing his loyalty with his own head.

Later that year Gan Ning took part in the defeat of Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs, then accompanied Zhou Yu to attack Jiangling on the Yangzi. At first the army could not cross, but Gan Ning led a detachment to seize Yiling city near the Yangzi Gorges, establishing a bridgehead to the north. Cao Ren sent men to attack, but though Gan Ning was outnumbered five to one he maintained defence until relief arrived and Cao Ren was forced away to the north.

In 214 Gan Ning led the scaling party which stormed Huan city in Lujiang, in 215 he commanded a defence post which halted Guan Yu's counter-attack in Jing province; he was then named an Administrator

and given charge of two cities controlling the Yangzi at the border of Jing and Yang provinces.

Later that year Gan Ning joined the attack on Hefei, maintaining the rearguard which saved Sun Quan after that debacle. In 217 he took a raiding party to disrupt Cao Cao's attack on the Ruxu fortress. He died about 220.

A close friend and associate of Lü Meng, Gan Ning was brave, erratic and dangerous, generous to his men, fond of extravagant display and conduct, and capable of killing at a whim. He was probably somewhat mad. -SGZ Wu 10:1292-95*, SGZ Shu 1:868.

Gan Shi 甘世; Ganling. At the end of the second century, Gan Shi and his associates Zuo Ce and Dongguo Yannian were noted for their long life while still retaining a youthful appearance. All three nourished their vital essence by coupling with a number of different women without ejaculation. They also drank urine and hung themselves upside down in order to emulate vegetables, whose growth comes from below.

Cao Cao gave appointment to Gan Shi and other adepts, and he may have been interested in possibilities of longevity. In *Biandao lun* 辯道論, however, his son Cao Zhi asserted that such patronage was intended only to keep these men and their wild teachings under control, and he and his family gave them no credence.

Cao Zhi recorded a conversation with Gan Shi, in which he described himself as an alchemist and magician who had been alive in the time of the First Emperor of Qin, over four hundred years earlier, and had recipes which enabled him to ride on clouds and dragons. When asked for a demonstration, however, he explained that he did not have the necessary medicines with him, and they were a long way outside the borders of China. -HHS 82/72B:2750*, SGZ 29:805-06; Ngo 76:141-142, DeWoskin 83:151-152.

Gan Shu 甘述; Nanyang. Son of Gan Ning, he became a member of the Secretariat of Wu. -JS 70:1862.

Gan Tu 甘菟 see Gan Ying 甘英.

Gan Xiang 甘瓊 see Gan Gui 甘瑰.

Gan Ying 甘英. A staff officer under the Protector-General of the Western Regions Ban Chao, in 97 Gan Ying was sent on embassy to Daqin 大秦, identified as the Roman empire. It appears that he reached only as far as the head of the Persian Gulf, but his report on the countries of the far west became the basis for Later Han knowledge of that region; in 101 King Manqu of Anxi [Parthia] sent an embassy to Han. -

HHS 88/78:2910, 2916, 2931.

Gao An 高安. In the late 80s Gao An was Administrator of Shu. As the imperial general Dou Xian prepared to attack the Xiongnu he asked Gao An to send him a copy of *Bingyun tu* 兵雲圖, a table for predicting the course of warfare from the appearance of clouds, which was in the possession of the commandery's literary officer Yang You. Yang You objected that Dou Xian lacked virtue and would come to a bad end, but it is probable that Gao An sent the document. -*HYGZ* 10A:134, *HHSJJ* 82/72A:2985 Hui Dong quoting *Yibu qijiu zhuan*.

Gao Bao 高褒; Chenliu. Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital, Gao Bao was honoured with a stele. -*LS* 27:1a.

Gao Bao 高褒 [Xuanren 宣仁]; Bohai. *XTS* 71B:2387 says that Gao Bao, a great-grandson of Gao Hong 洪, became Senior Tutor of the Heir. Even if this is correct, it is doubtful whether he served Later Han, for in the second century only Liu Bao, the future Emperor Shun, briefly held formal position as Heir, and Gao Hong would have been a man of the first century: the dates do not fit.

Gao Biao 高彪 [Yifang 義方] (d.184); Wu. Descended from a poor and undistinguished family, Gao Biao was the first to become a scholar and attend the Imperial University. Though affected by a stammer, he had fine ability. On one occasion he called upon the celebrated Ma Rong, who was not feeling well at the time and was unwilling to see him. Gao Biao left a note of criticism, expressed in most elegant terms, and Ma Rong felt quite ashamed. He sent after him with apologies, but Gao Biao would not turn back. [For a similar story, see *sub* Zhao Yi.]

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery, Gao Biao took first place in the examinations on the Confucian classics and was appointed to the Eastern Pavilion, where he composed rhapsodies, hymns and other works for suitable occasions, very much to the taste of Emperor Ling. One of his pieces, an exhortation 箴 composed for a farewell ceremony in honour of the official Diwu Yong, was greatly admired by Cai Yong and other leading men of letters.

Later, as Gao Biao left the capital to become a county magistrate in Chenliu, Emperor Ling came with attendants to farewell him in person, and ordered that his portrait should be placed in the Eastern Pavilion as an inspiration to others.

Gao Biao governed his county most virtuously, and he recommended Shentu Pan and other worthy men. He died in office in 184, and in 185 the Administrator of Wu commandery, surnamed Fan, arranged for leaders of the community to set up a stele in his honour.

Most of Gao Biao's literary and scholarly works were lost soon after his death. -*HHS* 80/70B:2649-52*, *XC* 11b, *LS* 10:24a-27a; Bn 81:574.

Gao [Botong] 高伯通; Wu. Gao Botong was the head of a powerful local family. When Liang Hong first came to Wu about 80 took him as a servant, but when he saw how respectfully Liang Hong's wife the Lady Meng Guang behaved towards him, Gao Botong realised his quality and received him as a guest in his household. -*HHS* 83/73:2768.

Gao Chang 高昌; Chenliu. Second son of Gao Shen, he became an Inspector and an Administrator. -*SGZ* 24:683.

Gao Cheng 高承; Kuaiji. Local officers under Sun Ce in 197, Gao Cheng and his colleague Liu You were sent with tribute gifts to the Han court controlled by Cao Cao. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1105.

Gao Ci 高賜; Chenliu. Third son of Gao Shen, he criticised the ministers Liu Jia and Zhao Shi for failing to attend a court assembly.

Administrator of Nanyang about 140, he was reported by the Inspector Li Gu for corruption, but bribed the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and had Li Gu transferred.

Gao Ci later became Director of Retainers. -*HHS* 115/25:2352-53, 63/53:2080, *HYGZ* 10C:165, *SGZ* 24:683.

Gao Dai 高岱 [Kongwen 孔文]; Wu. Son of Gao Biao, Gao Dai was celebrated as an expert in *Zuo zhuan*. About 190 the Administrator Sheng Xian made him his Reporting Officer and recommended him as Filial and Incorrupt. When Xu Gong came to take over the territory about 193, Gao Dai took Sheng Xian to the encampment of the local leader Xu Zhao for refuge from the troubled times, and he went to seek help from Tao Qian in Xu province. His tears and pleas induced Tao Qian to offer some nominal support, and Gao Dai returned with a letter for Xu Gong, who had in the mean time arrested Gao Dai's mother. Gao Dai managed to persuade him to let her go, then fled to Kuaiji to lead the life of a hermit scholar.

The young warlord Sun Ce, who controlled the lower Yangzi in the late 190s, was interested in *Zuo*

zhuan and wanted to discuss it with Gao Dai. Some unkind person told Gao Dai that Sun Ce hated to be contradicted, so he should accept everything he said; he also told Sun Ce that Gao Dai did not regard him as worthy of debate, and would simply agree with him. When Gao Dai followed the advice he had been given, Sun Ce was furious at the apparent contempt. Despite many public protests – and even perhaps because of them, for he resented such rival popularity – Sun Ce killed Gao Dai. -HHS 80/70B:2652, SGZ Wu 1:1109; deC 90:207.

Gao Dan 高丹. Gao Dan and Man Yin are described as clients of Dou Xian about 90. Both were Administrators of Nanyang. -HHS 45/35:1520.

Gao Fan 高梵. A eunuch, in 124 Gao Fan was a member of the staff of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. As Liu Bao was dismissed by his father Emperor An, Gao Fan was exiled on a false charge to the northern frontier. In the following year a coup by the eunuch Sun Cheng and his associates restored Liu Bao to the succession; Gao Fan returned and was appointed a Regular Attendant.

In 126, when the Director of Retainers Yu Xu accused the eunuch Zhang Fang of conspiracy and extortion, Gao Fan was persuaded by Yu Xu's son Yi to support the accusations. His intervention was critical: Zhang Fang was exiled and others of his associates were killed, convicted or dismissed. The Treatise of Astronomy says that Gao Fan, Zhang Fang and several associates were punished, but HHS 58/48 is clear on the role Gao Fan played in the affair, and the Treatise is surely mistaken. [It is possible, but unlikely, that Zhang Fang was soon reinstated, then involved in a second conspiracy, this time associated with Gao Fan.]

In 144, despite a flurry of confusion with the official Chong Gao, Gao Fan was authorised to take charge of the infant Heir Liu Bing, future Emperor Chong. -HHS 15/5:591-93, 58/48:1871, 78/68:2518, 101/11:3243.

Gao Fan 高蕃. Administrator of Wei commandery for Yuan Shang in 203, Gao Fan was sent to occupy a position on the Yellow River in order to break the water transport of supplies for Cao Cao's army as he was attacking Yuan Tan. He was defeated by Li Dian and Cheng Yu. -SGZ 18:533.

Gao Feng 高鳳 [Wentong 文通]; Nanyang. Though a man of peasant family, Gao Feng was devoted to scholarship from the time he was young, and was

known for his total concentration. When his wife went to the fields, she asked him to look after some wheat that was spread out to dry in the courtyard, but when rain came Gao Feng was too absorbed to notice.

Gao Feng had a wide reputation, he maintained a school in the hill country, and on one occasion he ended a feud among his neighbours, but he resolutely refused to take any office. Under pressure from the Administrator, he falsely claimed that members of his family had been shamans and that he was currently involved in a court case about land: both criteria should disqualify him from appointment. In the late 70s the Court Architect Ren Wei recommended him as a man of Direct Speech. He was obliged to attend at the capital, but then pleaded illness, returned to his home, gave all his property to a nephew, and hid in the wilderness.

Fan Ye adds a note to the biography of Gao Feng, remarking that his own father Fan Tai 范泰 had generally disapproved of extreme eremitism, but that he admired Gao Feng's devotion to principle and his acceptance of the poverty which his stance entailed. -HHS 83/73:2768-69*, XC 6:7b; Vervorn 90:149, 286.

Gao Gan 高幹 [Yuancai 元才] (d.206); Chenliu. Son of Gao Gong and a nephew of Yuan Shao, Gao Gan was a man of high ambition. In 191 he persuaded Han Fu to hand over Ji province to Yuan Shao, who later named him Governor of Bing province.

In 202, now in the service of Yuan Shang and supported by his officer Guo Yuan, Gao Gan joined the Southern Shanyu Huchuquan in an attack on Hedong. They were defeated, Guo Yuan was killed and Huchuquan surrendered to Cao Cao's officer Zhong Yao.

Following the defeat of Yuan Shang in 204, Gao Gan surrendered to Cao Cao and was reappointed, but as Inspector rather than Governor of Bing. Unsatisfied and uncertain at this treatment, while Cao Cao was in the north in 205 Gao Gan seized Shangdang, invaded Hedong, and attempted a raid on Ye city. He was driven away by Yu Jin and Li Dian, supported by Ma Teng, and in 206 Cao Cao came himself to the attack. Gao Gan attempted to escape, first to the Xiongnu and then south into Jing province, but he was caught and killed. -SGZ 1:28, 6:203-07, 16:494-95, XC 8:8a.

Gao Gong 高躬; Chenliu. Son of Gao Ci, Gao Gong was Administrator of Shu about 170. -SGZ 24:683.

Gao Hong 皋閔 [Fengqing 奉卿]; Wu. Member of a leading local family, at the end of Former Han Gao Hong was a pupil of Zhu Pu 朱普 at Chang'an, studying the New Text of the *Classic of History* in the Ouyang tradition. He became a close friend of Huan Rong.

In 44 Gao Hong was a local official in his native Yang province when a vacancy appeared for an Academician at the Imperial University in Luoyang. Emperor Guangwu intended to appoint Huan Rong, but Huan Rong recommended Gao Hong and another former colleague, Peng Hong, as the more accomplished scholars. Though Guangwu gave Huan Rong the post, he appointed Peng Cheng and Gao Hong as Consultants. -HHS 37/27:1250 commentary quoting XC 6:10b.

Gao Hong 高洪. XTS 71B:2387 says that Gao Hong became Administrator of Bohai under Later Han, and that he moved the family there from its earlier residence in the region of the Yangzi. This was no doubt very early in the first century AD

Gao Hong 高弘. In 73 a raiding party of Northern Xiongnu entered the frontier. They were driven back by Lian Fan the Administrator of Yunzhong, but the court also sent Gao Hong with a commission to raise troops from three northern commanderies and pursue the enemy. He achieved no success. -HHS 89/79:2949.

Gao Hong 高弘; Chenliu. Son of Gao Shi, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but no more is told of his career. -SGZ 24:682. Though the name is identical with that of the military commissioner mentioned above, it does not appear that this was the same man. Gao Shi, father of this Gao Hong, was active in 106, while the other Gao Hong was of full age a generation earlier.

Gao Hong 高弘 [Bowu 伯武]; Henei. Appointed Chancellor of Langye, Gao Hong first travelled there in the guise of a travelling student in order to assess the customs of the people. When he took up office he cleared out the official residence, refused to allow his family to live there, and made a point of sitting on plain planks in summer and on a sheep-skin in winter, taking simple food from wooden bowls. -XC 8:4a-b.

Gao Hu 高扈. A leader of the Wuxiao group of bandits, after their defeats in the west of the North China plain he led his remnant forces to the southeast to join Su Mao and other local warlords. In the autumn of 29 they were again defeated at Changlü in Donghai, and he

and his men took refuge with Dong Xian and Liu Yu at Tan. As that city fell to Guangwu's forces, Gao Hu killed Liu Yu and surrendered. -HHS 12/2:497.

Gao Hui 皋徽/誨; Wu. Son of Gao Hong 閔, about the middle of the first century he became Chief Clerk to the Excellency over the Masses. -HHS 37/27:1250 commentary quoting XC 6:10b [personal name as Hui 徽], FSTY 5b.133 [personal name as 誨].

Gao Hui 高恢 [Bota 伯達]; Jingzhao. A friend of Liang Hong, Gao Hui studied the *Laozi* when he was young, then lived as a hermit in the hills south of the Wei and the Yellow River. As Liang Hong left for the east in 80, Gao Hui wrote a poem to bid him farewell. -HHS 83/73:2768.

Gao Huo 高獲 [Jingong 敬公]; Runan. As a young man about 20 AD, Gao Huo studied the *Classic of History* at Chang'an under the future Excellency Ouyang Xi, and he became a friend of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. He had a distinguished physiognomy and was skilled in astrology and in the control of ghosts and spirits.

When Ouyang Xi was imprisoned in 40, Gao Huo was among many former students who pleaded unsuccessfully for his pardon. Guangwu received Gao Huo at that time, and urged him to mend his ways, but Gao Huo replied that his nature came from his parents, and he could not change. He went away, and though he was several times invited to office at the capital he always refused.

The Administrator Bao Yu also sent him an invitation and ordered his Registrar to welcome him; as the Registrar sent a junior officer to the gate instead, Gao Huo took offence and went away. When a drought affected the commandery, however, Bao Yu asked advice. Gao Huo told him to dismiss his three Investigators and then go out to a particular post-house in the north. The rain fell as Bao Yu arrived, and thereafter Bao Yu regularly paid respects at Gao Huo's gate.

Gao Huo later went away and died in Danyang south of the Yangzi. The people there set up a shrine in his honour. -HHS 82/72A:2711*, XC 6:4a; Ngo 76:85-86, DeWoskin 83:51-52. [XC 6 has the surname as Zhou 周, but this is probably an error.]

Gao Ji 高吉; Chenliu. Local commandery officers in the late 160s, Gao Ji and others mourned the death of their Administrator-elect Hu Shuo. -Cai 5:5.

Gao Jin 高進; Jingzhao. Gao Jin was an adoptive

son of the eunuch Gao Wang, who was a favourite of Liu Bian the son of Emperor Ling. Encouraged by the influential eunuch Jian Shi, in 188 or 189 Liu Bian proposed Gao Jin for nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. He Xun the Intendant of Jingzhao, however, who controlled the procedure, rejected Gao Jin as unworthy. -HHS 58/48:1882.

Gao Jing 高靖; Chenliu. Son of Gao Hong, he became Commandant of Shu. He died about 195. -SGZ 24:682.

Gao Jun 高峻; Anding. A general of Wei Ao, in 31 he was defeated in his home territory by the imperial commander Wang Chang. In the following year Ma Yuan persuaded him to defect, thus opening the road to Dou Rong in the northwest. Guangwu's officer Lai Xi used his authority to enfeoff Gao Jun as a secondary marquis and give him office as a general; he then joined Wu Han to attack Wei Ao.

Soon afterwards the imperial forces were forced to withdraw and Wei Ao staged a recovery with assistance from Gongsun Shu. Gao Jun returned to Wei Ao, and though the tide changed against them once more he stayed with him during his final defence in Longxi.

When Wei Ao died early in 33, Gao Jun returned to Anding, where he defended himself with several thousand men. An army under Geng Yan came to lay siege to him, but he held out for a year, and refused to surrender even when Guangwu came himself. Before ordering Geng Yan to make a full attack, Guangwu sent his officer Kou Xun with a letter to obtain Gao Jun's submission.

As Kou Xun arrived Gao Jun sent his staff officer Huangfu Wen out to him, but he refused to bow before the imperial envoy. Furious, Kou Xun beheaded Huangfu Wen and sent his second-in-command back to tell Gao Jun that this was the fate of anyone who refused to submit: "If you intend to surrender, do it quickly; otherwise, look out!" Gao Jun was frightened and opened the gates. He was sent back to Luoyang and is not heard of again. -HHS 16/6:625-26, 1B:56, 24/14:832.

Gao Jun 高峻; Chenliu. *LS* 27:1a lists a stele to this man as [a clerical officer under the] Grand Commandant.

Gao [Kuanfang] 高貫方 see *sub* Gao Yi 高頤.

Gao [Kuan'guang] 高貫光 see *sub* Gao Yi 高頤.

Gao Lan 高覽. A commander under Yuan Shao, at the final stage of the Guandu campaign in 200 he was sent

with Zhang He to attack Cao Cao's camp. When they heard that Cao Cao had destroyed Yuan Shao's main supply train, both officers surrendered. -HHS 74/64A: 2401, SGZ 6:199.

Gao Lü 高呂. Administrator of Guanghan, Gao Lü encouraged learning. -XC 7:6b.

Gao Lun 高倫. As Administrator of Yingchuan about 160, Gao Lun followed the advice of his Officer of Merit Chen Shi on appointments and other policy. Gao Lun was later appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, and at his farewell function he emphasised the advice and good influence he had received from Chen Shi. -HHS 62/52:2065.

Gao Pei 高沛 (d.212). In 212 Gao Pei was a general of Liu Zhang in Ba commandery. As Liu Bei prepared to turn against Liu Zhang he arrested Gao Pei and his colleague Yang Huai, charged them with a lack of courtesy, and killed them. -SGZ Shu 7:955.

Gao Ping 高平 see Gao Wu 高午.

Gao Rou 高柔 [Wenhui 文惠] (174-263); Chenliu. Son of Gao Jing, in 194 he warned his neighbours that Yan province would become the scene of conflict between Cao Cao and Zhang Miao. They did not listen to him, but Gao Rou took his family to join his cousin Gao Gan in Ji province.

Soon afterwards Gao Jing died in Shu. Gao Rou went to bring back his father's body, but because of the troubles it was three years before he returned.

About 204, when Cao Cao took over in the north, he appointed Gao Rou a county magistrate in Ji'nan, where he reformed corrupt officials by his generous conduct. When Gao Gan rebelled in Bing province in 205 Gao Rou remained loyal. He was nonetheless imprisoned, and Cao Cao even considered killing him. Then, however, he appointed him as a clerk in his offices.

In 211, when Cao Cao sent Xiahou Yuan to the northwest, Gao Rou warned that this would cause the local warlords to join forces against him, and they did indeed do so.

In 214 Gao Rou became Senior Clerk in the Department of Justice for the new kingdom of Wei in 214, and he persuaded Cao Cao not to apply the death penalty to the families of deserters. After serving briefly as Administrator of Yingchuan, he returned as Senior Clerk in the Department of Law. He protested about the Examiners Lu Hong and Zhao Ta interfering with and corrupting the administration of justice; Cao

Cao later killed them.

When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he appointed Gao Rou as Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents, a senior member of the Imperial Censorate with responsibility for legal matters, and enfeoffed him as a marquis. In 223 Gao Rou became Minister of Justice, a post which he held for twenty-two years, often arguing for leniency and opposing extravagance.

In 245 Gao Rou became an Excellency, and during the coup by Sima Yi in 249 he acted as General-in-Chief to seize Cao Shuang's headquarters. In 254 he took part in the deposition of Cao Fang, and in 256 became Grand Commandant, steadily in the service of the Sima family. He died in 263. -SGZ 24:682-90*.

Gao Shen 高慎 [Xiaofu 孝甫]; Chenliu. Son of the Former Han loyalist Gao Gu 固, who was executed for refusing office under Wang Mang, Gao Shen became known for his generous care of the orphaned children of his elder brother. He Ying, Chancellor of Langye, gave him his daughter in marriage.

Gao Shen was a county magistrate and then Administrator of Donglai. After long service he retired to a simple home. When his wife asked why he had accumulated no property for his descendants, he replied that a reputation for honesty was the best heritage. -SGZ 24:682-83.

Gao Shen 高慎; Chen. An officer in Chen about 100, he protested when the king, Liu Jun, held archery ceremonies like those of the emperor. -HHS 50/40: 1668, XC 2:14b.

Gao Sheng 高勝 (d.218); Guanghan. In 218 Gao Sheng and Ma Qin led a great bandit force into Jianwei. The Administrator Li Yan brought commandery militia against them, and both leaders were killed. -SGZ Shu 10:998-99.

Gao Shi 高式; Chenliu. Eldest son of Gao Shen, he was a man of the utmost filial piety, and when a plague of locusts came to the county about 110, Gao Shi's fields were spared. The local magistrate reported this and the Administrator recommended him for office. Gao Shi at first refused, but later became a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 24:683.

Gao Shi 高碩. A partisan of Guo Si, in 195 Gao Shi tried to prevent Emperor Xian escaping east from Chang'an. -HHJ 28:339.

Gao Shu 高舒. In 123 Gao Shu was an officer under the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen. Arresting a clerk of the Court Architect and putting him to the

question, he obtained forged documents which had been prepared by the eunuchs Fan Fang and others to justify the requisition of public materials for their private mansions. He reported this to Yang Zhen, who prepared charges against the offenders, but early in 124, before the matter could be submitted to the throne, Yang Zhen was slandered, dismissed and driven to suicide. Gao Shu was also involved in Yang Zhen's disgrace, and barely escaped the death sentence, but after the accession of Emperor Shun in 125 Yang Zhen was posthumously honoured and Gao Shu shared in his rehabilitation.

Appointed to the Imperial Censorate, Gao Shu was later Inspector of Jing province. -HHS 54/44:1766-68.

Gao Shun 高順 taboo writing for Gao Shen 高慎.

Gao Shun 高順 (d.198). As Lü Bu was camped by Xiapi city in 196, Hao Meng led a mutiny and attacked him in the night. Lü Bu fled to his officer Gao Shun, who restored control.

An honourable, sober man, Gao Shun commanded an elite force of seven hundred men, trained to break the enemy line. By favouritism, Lü Bu gave these troops in peacetime to Wei Xu, leaving the fighting to Gao Shun. Gao Shun remained loyal, but he criticised Lü Bu for his erratic and mistaken policies, and he did not get on well with Lü Bu's counsellor Chen Gong.

As Cao Cao attacked Lü Bu in 198, Gao Shun defeated his generals Xiahou Dun and Liu Bei, but Lü Bu was nonetheless driven back and besieged in Xiapi city. Gao Shun and Chen Gong were then kidnapped by the renegade Hou Cheng and others and taken to the enemy camp. When Lü Bu surrendered, Gao Shun and Chen Gong were executed with him. -SGZ 7:226-27, 1:16, HHS 75/65:2450.

Gao Shun 高眈; Chenliu. Administrator of Shu commandery in the late 180s, Gao Shun was a patron of learning. He restored the lecture hall known as the Stone House or Jade House in Chengdu after it was damaged by fire, and he arranged for the scholar Zhao Ning to prepare *Xiangsu ji* 鄉俗記 "Record of Local Customs." -HYGZ 3:34.

Gao Tanglong 高堂隆 see Gaotang Long 高堂隆.

Gao Wang 高望 (d.189); Jingzhao. A eunuch associate of Zhang Rang in the 180s, Gao Wang was an Attendant at the Yellow Gates, then a Regular Attendant enfeoffed as a marquis. As an officer for medicines he became a favourite of Liu Bian the son of Emperor Ling. Liu Bian proposed Gao Wang's adopted son Gao Jin for

nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, but He Xun the Intendant of Jingzhao, who controlled the process, would not approve.

In 189 Gao Wang was killed in the massacre of eunuchs led by Yuan Shao and Wang Kuang. -HHS 58/48:1882, 74/64A:2385.

Gao Wu 高午 or Gao Ping 平. A cavalry officer under Wu Han at Chengdu in 36, Gao Wu was one of the commanders of the elite reserve which broke the troops of Gongsun Shu during his final sortie. Gao Wu chased Gongsun Shu and gave him his death wound with a blow to the head from his lance. -HHS 18/8:682, HYGZ 5:69.

Gao Xiang 高相 [or Gaoxiang; a sobriquet?]. Probably a non-Chinese of Wuling, associated in rebellion with Huang Jiashao, in 162 he and other chieftains surrendered to the great imperial army led by Feng Gun. -LS 7:13b.

Gao Xiang 高翔; Dongping. As Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shang in alliance with Yuan Tan in 203, Gao Xiang and Lü Kuang, officers of Yuan Shang, prepared to join him. Yuan Tan secretly invited them to join his own service and gave them seals as generals. They reported his approach to Cao Cao, who enfeoffed both men; he now had an excuse to turn against Yuan Tan. -HHS 74/64B:2414, SGZ 1:24, 6:202. [SGZ has the surname mistakenly as Lü 呂].

Gao Xiang 高詳. An officer under Liu Bei in Hanzhong in 219, Gao Xiang was defeated by Cao Zhen and Xu Huang. Serving under Zhuge Liang in 228, he was defeated by Guo Huai. -SGZ 9:280, 26:734. Despite the similarity of name, it is unlikely this is the same man as immediately above.

Gao Xu 高詡 [Jihui 季回] (d.37); Pingyuan. Gao Xu's ancestors had held office, and Gao Xu's father Rong 容 was a Counsellor at court towards the end of Former Han. Gao Xu became a gentleman cadet through the *ren* right of his father, but when Wang Mang took power both father and son refused to serve the usurper. The family was noted for scholarship in the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Old Text school of Mao, and Gao Xu maintained the tradition.

Respected for his honesty, in the late 20s Gao Xu was recommended by the Excellency Song Hong and became a county magistrate in Pei. He left that office, but was then named an Academician at the Imperial University; though family tradition was in the Old Text, Gao Xu's chair was for the study of *Poetry*

according to the New Text school of Lu.

In 35 Gao Xu was appointed Minister of Finance. When he died in that office two years later the emperor gave money and land to his family. -HHS 79/69B:2569*; Bn 79:188.

Gao Ya 高雅. An officer of Lü Bu operating in Dongping in 193, Gao Ya was defeated by Cao Cao's officer Yu Jin. -SGZ 17:522.

Gao Yan 高焉. When Gongsun Zan declared war against Yuan Shao in 191, he presented a formal memorial to the court listing his enemy's wrongdoings. One of the allegations was that Yuan Shao had killed Gao Yan, a former Administrator of Shanggu, and Yao Gong the former Chancellor of Ganling because he was greedy for their property. -HHS 73/63:2360.

Gao Yi 高頤 [Kuanfang 貫方 or Kuan'guang 貫光: see below] (d.209); Dependent State of Shu commandery. LS 11:12b-13a preserves the text of an inscription entitled *Yizhou taishou Gao Yi bei* 益州太守高頤碑, which tells how Gao Yi, whose style was Kuanfang, served the warlord Governor Liu Zhang as Assistant in the northern region of Shu commandery, as a magistrate, as acting Commandant of the Dependent State of Guanghan, and finally as Administrator of Yizhou commandery. He died in that office in 209.

In commentary to this text, at LS 11:13b-14a, Hong Kuo refers to two additional fragmentary inscriptions, at LS 13:2a, and discusses the problems they raise. The inscriptions are also transcribed by Nagata 94:264: they were on opposite sides of a pillar, and Nagata provides a photograph of the site as it appeared in 1914. The pillar itself was/is in present-day Ya'an 雅安 county in Sichuan, which during Later Han was part of the territory of the Dependent State of Shu commandery. The paired texts are fragmentary, but appear to refer to different people.

On the western side of the pillar we are told of Gao Kuan'guang 貫光, who had been Administrator of Yizhou but had previously served as magistrate of Wuyang 武陽 county in Jianwei and as Commandant of Yinping 陰平, headquarters of the Dependent State of Guanghan.

On the eastern side, the inscription is dedicated to Gao Kuanfang. He too had been Administrator of Yizhou, but there is no reference to his appointment as a Commandant, while he had earlier been magistrate of a county named Wuyin 武陰: no place of that name appears in other records; it may have been a short-lived

local establishment, or perhaps there is confusion with Wuyang and Yinping above.

Despite contradictions and possible dittography, it seems there were two brothers, both of whom became Administrators of Yizhou commandery. And despite *LS* 11, it is likely that Gao Yi, who died in 209, had the style Kuan'guang, not Kuanfang, and that it was he who is commemorated on the western side of the pillar.

Gao You 高誘; Zhuo. A student of Lu Zhi, Gao You became a noted scholar, compiling commentaries to *Zhanguo ce*, *Lüshi chungiu* and *Huainan zi*. He held a number of middle-range appointments under Cao Cao. -*SKQSCM*:117, Yao Zhenzong:2320-21.

Gao [Yuanlü] 高元呂. An expert physiognomist, about 217 Gao Yuanlü reassured Cao Pi about his prospects as a future ruler. -*SGZ* 2:57.

Gao Zhen 高朕; Chenliu? A commandery Administrator in the service of Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, in 195 Gao Zhen arranged the reconstruction of a ceremonial hall in honour of the legendary sage Duke of Zhou 周公禮殿. -*LS* 1:13a-14b.

The title of the stele describes Gao Zhen as Administrator of Yizhou 益州, but the Song commentary of Hong Kuo says that the hall was in Chengdu, capital of Shu commandery and a considerable distance from Yizhou commandery. The text of the stele, moreover, refers to the educating work of Wang Weng 王翁, Administrator of Shu in Former Han [*QHZ* 582-583], to the shrine which was erected in his honour, and also to damage inflicted by fires in the city.

Though the hall in question may have been in Yizhou commandery, it is more likely to have been in Chengdu. In that case, either Gao Zhen was contributing to work on a building well outside his own territory, or else he was in fact Administrator of Shu: awkwardly and unusually, the term Yizhou here would thus indicate not the commandery of that name but the province as a whole.

Gao Zhi 高直 [Wenyu 文玉]; Shu? *LS* 13:8b records a fragment of a stele from the Spirit Road 神道 of this man's tomb.

Gao Zuo 高祚. In 215 Gao Zuo was an officer under Cao Cao in the campaign against Zhang Lu. The army suffered an initial set-back at the Yangping Pass defended by Zhang Wei, but then Gao Zuo's troop met by chance with a group of the enemy, drove them back

and began a rout. -*SGZ* 8:265; deC 96:491.

Gaoding[yuan] 高定[元] (d.225); Yuexi. A king of non-Chinese people, in 218 Gaoding led an attack on a county city in Jianwei, but was driven away by the Administrator Li Yan.

Gaoding caused trouble again in 223, but Zhuge Liang killed him during his Southern Expedition in 225. -*SGZ* Shu10:999; Fang 52:195.

Gaotang Long 高堂隆 [Shengping 升平] (d.237); Taishan. Though his family had evidently achieved no distinction for several generations, Gaotang Long claimed descent from the classicist Gaotang Sheng 高堂生 of early Han, and as a young man he was a serious scholar. About 210 the Administrator Xie Ti appointed him as an Investigator.

The local military commander had some dispute with Xie Ti, and in the course of the argument he addressed him insultingly by his personal name when he should have used his formal title. Gaotang Long drew his sword and threatened the officer, who was terrified, while Xie Ti, equally startled, persuaded him to calm down.

Gaotang Long later left office and went to Ji'nan, but in 213 he was called up to an advisory post on Cao Cao's staff as Imperial Chancellor. In 217 he became a Literary Scholar in the household of Cao Hui, and was then Chancellor of his county marquisate in Ji'nan. When Cao Cao died in 220, Cao Hui failed to show appropriate grief but spent his time hunting and horse-racing. Gaotang Long brought him to order.

Gaotang Long served for a time as Court Astronomer of Wei, in which capacity he was involved, with his Assistant Han Yi, in presentation of the *Huangchu* 黃初 [Yellow Beginning] calendar, named from the first reign period of the new dynasty. Transferred to a county magistracy, he was soon afterwards made Tutor to Cao Rui, at that time King of Pingyuan. When Cao Rui succeeded Cao Pi as Emperor in 226 Gaotang Long received appointments at court, in the provinces and in the Imperial University. He was recognised as a loyal and valuable official and rose to ministerial rank. -*SGZ* 25:708-19*, *JS* 17:498; Fang 52:531-533.

Gaotang Zhi 高堂芝. Director of the Secretariat under Emperor Shun, in 126/127 Gaotang Zhi was accused of conspiracy with the eunuch Zhang Fang, other members of the Secretariat, and a number of provincial officials. Two of their colleagues were executed, but Gaotang Zhi and others were able to

purchase relief. -HHS 48/38:1605, 101/11:3243 and see *sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Gaoxiang 高相 see Gao Xiang 高相.

Ge 蓋 [surname] see He 蓋 *passim*.

Ge Gong 葛龔 [Yuanfu 元甫]; Liang. A man of spirit and unusual strength, in the time of Emperor He Ge Gong was known for literary work and scholarship.

During the reign of Emperor An Ge Gong received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt and became Assistant Court Provisioner. He put forward several advantageous proposals 上便宜 and was made a county magistrate in Henei. He was later invited to join the offices of the Grand Commandant, but was unable to accept because of illness.

Later Ge Gong received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent and was again appointed a magistrate, this time in Hedong. He received high praise in both the counties where he had held office.

Ge Gong compiled twelve *pian* of literary works, including rhapsodies, inscriptions and eulogies, and he is mentioned by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -HHS 80/70A:2617-18* & JJ at 2870 Hui Dong.

Ge Xing 葛興. Some time in the 50s, Ge Xing was Administrator of Yingchuan. Unable to attend to affairs because of illness [中風: possibly a mental incapacity], he should have left his post, but his Officer of Merit Han Leng concealed the problem and managed the government on his behalf. After two years Ge Xing's son quarrelled with Han Leng. He reported the situation and Han Leng was punished. -HHS 45/35:1534.

Ge Zhi 葛祗. Inspector of Jiaozhi, in 165 Ge Zhi was captured by the rebel Hu Lan. He was freed by the general Du Shang, but was later executed for his military failure. -HHS 102/12:3257; MBeck 90:128.

General of the Peaceful Heaven 平天將軍 [or General Who Pacifies Heaven] see Guan Gu 觀鵠.

General Who is Pillar of Heaven 柱天將軍 was the sobriquet of a rebel leader in Jiao province in 186. The trouble was settled by the Inspector Jia Cong. -HHS 31/21:1111-12.

Geng 耿 [surname] see also *sub* Jian Yong 簡雍.

Geng 耿, the Lady. Wife/widow of Deng Chang 昌, and a woman of high moral principle, she was saddened at the fall of the Deng clan after the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, and at the early death of her son Deng Zhong. She adopted Deng Si, a son of Deng Bao 豹, as

heir to her late husband, and personally tutored him in classical learning. Deng Si became a fine scholar, took part in continuation of the *Dongguan Hanji*, and was a colonel in the Northern Army. -HHS 16/6:618.

Geng Ai 耿艾; Julu. Administrator of Jiyin commandery, then known as Jiping 濟平, for Wang Mang, at the end of 23 he surrendered to Li Yi, general and commissioner of the Gengshi Emperor, and was appointed Administrator of Ji'nan. -HHS 21/11:761; Bn 59:34-37, QHX:116-117.

Geng Ba 耿霸; Youfufeng. When Geng Kuang died in 36, his son Geng Guo was due to inherit his fief. Geng Guo, however, asked that it be passed to his youngest brother Ba, who had been their father's favourite. The emperor approved. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Bao 耿寶 [Junda 君達] (d.125); Youfufeng. Son of Geng Xi and the Princess Liu Ying, daughter of Emperor Ming, he succeeded to his father's fief. His younger sister the Lady Geng Ji married Liu Qing, King of Qinghe, and was thus titular mother to Liu You, Emperor An. When the emperor took personal power after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121 he showed respect and favour to Geng Bao as his senior maternal uncle. Geng Bao was given command of a corps of palace guards and then appointed Minister Herald.

Geng Bao had close associates among the eunuchs, notably Fan Feng and Li Run, and was also allied to the emperor's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng. In 123 he recommended for office an elder brother of Li Run, but the nomination was rejected by the Excellency Yang Zhen. In 124, as Yang Zhen suffered accusations from Fan Feng and his eunuch colleagues, Geng Bao claimed he had been insubordinate when faced with the charges; this brought Yang Zhen's dismissal and subsequent suicide.

In the summer of that year Geng Bao was named General-in-Chief, a post which had hitherto been reserved for the senior male of the consort clan; the empress's brother Yan Xian was evidently regarded as too junior. Geng Bao was obviously a close associate of the Yan family, and a few weeks later, when Fan Feng and Jiang Jing presented accusations against the emperor's only son Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, he successfully argued in court that Liu Bao should be dismissed as Heir.

In 125, as Emperor An was taken ill on his progress to Nanyang, Geng Bao was named Acting Grand

Commandant while still holding office as General-in-Chief. It would appear he was aware of the early death of the emperor, for his ally Fan Feng is said to have been involved in the deception, but after the cortège had returned to Luoyang Geng Bao played no role in the decision to place the Little Emperor Liu Yi upon the throne, which was taken privately by the Dowager Yan and her brother Xian.

A few weeks later the Yan turned against Geng Bao, for his high rank and long standing made him a rival to their position. Accused of factionalism, he was dismissed by the regent Dowager and degraded to a village fief. Geng Bao committed suicide, while other associates were killed or exiled. -HHS 19/9:714.

Geng Bao 耿苞/包 (d.199). Following the destruction of Gongsun Zan, Yuan Shao had his Registrar Geng Bao suggest that he take the imperial title. When the proposal was raised in open council, however, Yuan Shao's officers protested so fiercely that he was obliged to repudiate Geng Bao and kill him. -SGZ 6:195, HHS 74/64A:2390.

Geng Bi 耿鄙 (d.187). In 186, after the first assault of the rebels from Liang province against the region of Chang'an had been driven back, Geng Bi was sent as Inspector. As he was planning a counter-attack, Fu Xie the Administrator of Hanyang warned him that the troops' loyalty was uncertain, but Geng Bi ignored him. In 187 he led an army from the eastern commanderies into Longxi and Jincheng.

Geng Bi had Cheng Qiu, a man notorious for corruption and extortion, as his personal assistant, and when the army came to Didao, capital of Longxi by present-day Lintao in Gansu, the troops mutinied and killed both men. -HHS 58/48:1877; deC 84:152-153.

Geng Bing 耿秉 [Bochu 伯初] (d.91); Youfufeng. Son of Geng Guo, Geng Bing was a man of great stature and enormous girth. A keen student of strategy, he had broad knowledge of the histories and could recite by heart from the *Art of War* ascribed to Sima Rangu 司馬[穰苴]兵法. Through the *ren* right of his father, Geng Bing became a cadet gentleman at court, and from that position he made a number of suggestions on military affairs, with the general theme that money spent on the inner territories of China was wasted so long as the frontier was unstable, that the major threat came from the Xiongnu, and that the emperor should demonstrate his authority by proper military means.

By the early 70s, as raids from the Northern

Xiongnu became an increasing nuisance and source of concern, Geng Bing and Dou Gu became leading spokesmen for a war party, and Emperor Ming, who secretly agreed with the policy, invited Geng Bing to consultations in his private apartments and treated him with great favour. Geng Bing was appointed Supervisor of Internuncios, and his views on frontier policy were received in court conference with the highest ministers.

In 72 Geng Bing was named Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, and in 73 he led one of four columns against the Northern Xiongnu: as Geng Bing advanced from Juyan/Edsin Gol, his colleague Dou Gu moved north from Jiuquan, while further to the east two armies under Zhai Tong and Lai Miao came from Shuofang in the Ordos and the Sanggan valley at Yanmen. Of the four commanders in this enterprise, only Dou Gu achieved real success, defeating a Xiongnu king and occupying the region of present-day Hami. Geng Bing went two hundred kilometres across desolate country, but the enemy retreated and though he planned a raid with light horsemen to bring them to bay, his second-in-command Qin Feng dissuaded him and they returned without any real contact.

In the following year Geng Bing joined Dou Gu and Liu Zhang to lead a combined force of over 14,000 horsemen against Turfan. In the two major kingdoms of that region, Ande the ruler of Further Jushi, north of the Bogda range, was father of the [unnamed] king of Nearer Jushi, which lay south of the mountains. Because of distance and the difficulty of the passes, Dou Gu planned to concentrate upon Nearer Jushi, but Geng Bing argued that if they obtained the submission of Further Jushi the nearer state would fall into their hands. As Dou Gu was undecided, Geng Bing volunteered to make the expedition, and left without further ado. Crossing the mountains, he defeated the Xiongnu and their allies at the Pulei Lake and captured over a hundred thousand head of horses and cattle.

King Ande now came to submit, but Su An, a major in the service of Dou Gu, hoping to gain credit for his master, told the ruler he should surrender to Dou Gu as supreme commander. So Ande sent some of his officers to Geng Bing while he himself waited for Dou Gu and the main army. Furious at such interference, Geng Bing rode with an armed escort to Dou Gu's camp, demanding Ande's head for having reneged on his agreement to surrender. Dou Gu urged him not to

confuse the negotiations, but Geng Bing would not be dissuaded. Ande was frightened: he came out from his capital bare-breasted and on foot, was received by Geng Bing and led to Dou Gu. Nearer Jushi also surrendered, and Later Han, having regained control of the approaches to the Western Regions, restored the protectorate which had been maintained by Former Han.

In 75, however, the Xiongnu returned in force. The Protector-General Chen Mu was killed, and his Wu and Ji Colonels Geng Gong, a cousin of Geng Bing, and Guan Chong were besieged in Further and Nearer Jushi. After a hiatus following the death of Emperor Ming, the new government of Emperor Zhang despatched a rescue force. Geng Bing was given command as General Who Subdues the West 征西將軍, though he remained in reserve in Jiuquan while the Administrator Duan Peng led the expedition early in 76.

Later that year Geng Bing became General on the Liao, based in Wuyuan to supervise the Southern Xiongnu and the northern borders. He held that post for seven years and kept the Xiongnu at peace by goodwill and honest dealing. Returning to Luoyang as Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital, he was treated with great favour, and always held command of the guard when the emperor was on tour or visiting an outlying residence. All three of his sons were appointed gentleman cadets.

In 88 a memorial from the Southern Shanyu asked for the support of an imperial army for a campaign of reconquest in the north. The regent Dowager Dou asked Geng Bing's advice, and he was predictably enthusiastic, for the new plan was very close to the proposals he had made in 73. There were protests from senior ministers, including all the Excellencies, but the Dowager was determined and her brother Dou Xian was named General of Chariots and Cavalry for a grand campaign to destroy the Northern Xiongnu. Geng Bing, again holding title as General Who Subdues the West, was second in command.

When the expedition was launched in 89, the major victory over the Northern Shanyu was achieved at Jiluo Mountain by a detachment under the senior colonel Yan Pan, while Dou Xian, Geng Bing and the main army were largely unopposed. In triumphal progress through the heartland of the enemy, they burned the sacred capital of Longcheng and set a commemorative

stele at Mount Yanren in the Hangayn Nuruu range. Geng Bing was awarded a county marquisate with revenue from three thousand households.

Strong and brave, Geng Bing was a man of simple taste and conduct. On all campaigns he rode in full armour at the forefront of the fighting, and when there was a halt he would not stay in camp but kept watch at a distance. The army was thus prepared for any emergency, and officers and men were glad to risk their lives for him. He returned to the capital in 90 as Minister of the Household, but died in the summer of the following year, a little over fifty years old. He was granted a vermilion coffin and a shroud of jade armour, his tomb was prepared by the Court Architect, and the funeral was accompanied by official musicians and an escort from the Northern Army. When the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu heard of the death he proclaimed state mourning, and some of his people cut themselves in grief until blood flowed. -HHS 19/9:716-18*; deC 84:258-271, Chavannes 07:221-225.

Geng Bo 耿伯. While Geng Bo was a student of Du Qiao, he had shared lodgings with Liu Wen of Wei commandery.

In 147 Liu Wen planned a coup to place Liu Suan the King of Qinghe upon the imperial throne. The attempt failed, but the General-in-Chief Liang Ji used the tenuous connection through Geng Bo as a means to implicate Du Qiao and the former Grand Commandant Li Gu in the conspiracy. -HHS 63/53:2093, XHS 4: 15b.

Geng Cheng 耿承. A nephew of Geng Bao, in the early 120s Geng Cheng became a Palace Attendant and was granted the marquisate of Linlü 林慮 in Henan in succession to his grandmother the Princess Liu Ying. [The fief of Liu Ying had been Longlü 隆慮, but the name had been changed to avoid taboo on the personal name of the Young Emperor (*reg.* 106).]

When Geng Bao was destroyed by the Yan group in 125 Geng Cheng was dismissed and sent away to a village fief, but in 134, at the urging of Geng Cheng's aunt the Honoured Lady Geng Yi, Emperor Shun restored the family to favour and Geng Cheng became a General of the Household. When the Lady Geng died during the 140s, however, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji asked for her jewellery. Geng Cheng refused, and Liang Ji had him stripped of his fief.

Geng Cheng fled to hiding in Nanyang, but a few years later Liang Ji found him and killed him, together

250 Geng Chong

with a dozen of his family and household. -HHS 19/9: 714.

Geng Chong 耿种/冲; Youfufeng. Geng Chong was the eldest son of Geng Bing. He and his two brothers became gentlemen cadets through the *ren* right of their father, and at Geng Bing's death in 90 Geng Chong succeeded to his fief. Because of the association between the Geng and Dou families, however, when Dou Xian was overthrown by Emperor He in 92, the marquisate was abolished.

In 109 Geng Chong was Emissary at the court of the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu. In the summer the Shanyu rebelled and besieged Geng Chong's camp. Despite intense pressure Geng Chong maintained his defence for several months. Relieved by Liang Qin early in 110, he accompanied the army on the pursuit which compelled the Shanyu to surrender.

Geng Chong was later Administrator of Hanyang, and in 122 he received the surrender of the chieftain Manu and his followers of the Shaodang Qiang, granting them imperial rewards. -HHS 19/9:718, 5: 213, 47/37:1592-93, 89/79:2957-58, 87/77:2892; deC 84:285-286.

Geng Chun 耿純 [Boshan 伯山] (d.37); Julu. The Geng family had local authority, and had married into the lineage of the kings of Zhending, descended from Emperor Jing of Former Han who ruled in the second century BC. Geng Chun's father Geng Ai, Administrator of Ji'yi under Wang Mang, surrendered in 23 to Li Yi the commissioner for the Gengshi regime, and was appointed Administrator of Ji'nan.

Geng Chun studied at Chang'an and then held office in the ministry of Finance. Following the fall of Chang'an he returned to Julu, and after several attempts he met the commissioner. Impressed with his personal qualities and his family influence, Li Yi appointed him a Commandant of Cavalry and sent him with a Staff of Authority to settle Zhao and Wei.

Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came as commissioner to the north soon afterwards and set his headquarters at Handan in Zhao. When Geng Chun called upon him he was well received, was impressed by the discipline he saw, and presented horses and silk as sign of allegiance. As Liu Xiu went north into Zhongshan, Geng Chun remained at Handan. When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, he attempted to take Geng Chun prisoner, but he made his escape, raised a clan army, including his

three cousins Geng Xin, Geng Su and Geng Zhi with two thousand followers, and went to join Liu Xiu, who had returned to Julu. Having arranged the surrender of his home city of Songzi, Geng Chun joined the fighting against Wang Lang with title as General of the Van.

In joining Liu Xiu, Geng Chun had been accompanied not only by fighting men, but also by the old and the weak of his clan. He was concerned that his kinsmen might be influenced by the popular support of Wang Lang, so he sent his cousins Xin and Xiu to burn the family properties. When Liu Xiu asked why, Geng Chun explained that he wished to ensure that any of his family who had doubts would have no place for refuge or as a stronghold. Like burning bridges, he thus committed his people to the imperial cause. Liu Xiu was duly impressed by such display of loyalty.

As the army advanced through Changshan they halted at He city. The head of the Su family opened the gates of the city and called Wang Lang's officer Li Yun to surprise the Han camp. Geng Chun discovered the plot, fought Li Yun and killed him. Later, he was severely wounded, fell from his horse and broke his shoulder. While he was out of action his cousin Geng Zhi took command of his troop, but Geng Chun continued in office as General of the Van.

After the destruction of Wang Lang Geng Chun went east to defeat the Bronze Horse bandits, then joined the main army to face the Red Eyebrows and their allies at Shequan in Henei. Geng Chun's troop was forward of the main body, and the enemy attacked their isolated camp by night. Many defenders were killed or wounded by the hail of arrows, but Geng Chun and his personal followers held firm, and he sent two thousand volunteers [敢死 *gansi*: "dare-to-dies"], armed with cross-bows, to circle the enemy and surprise them from the rear. Demoralised by the unexpected assault and the war-cries of the attackers, the bandits fled. The success was reported on the following day, and a general advance brought complete victory. Geng Chun was praised by Liu Xiu, and his kinsmen were rewarded with appointments.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he enfeoffed Geng Chun as marquis of a county in Zhuo, then sent him against the pretender Liu Yong. Geng Chun captured the city of Dingtao, capital of Ji'yi, but early in 26 the former ally Liu ["Goitre"] Yang, King of Zhending, resentful at apparent neglect, turned

against Guangwu and barred the gates of his capital. Geng Chun was sent with the Staff of Authority to the north, ostensibly to issue an amnesty and restore peace, but in fact to arrest the rebel. Liu Yang was prepared to trust him, for Geng Chun belonged to the leading clan of a neighbouring territory and was also a kinsman. Initially hesitant, he eventually agreed to visit, though he came to the meeting with an escort. Geng Chun received him with courtesy, but as Liu Yang, his brother Liu Rang and their cousin Liu Xi entered the reception hall, he seized them and closed the gates. The soldiers outside made no move, and Geng Chun had Liu Yang and his associates executed.

Returning to the capital, Geng Chun asked leave to retire from active service and take a more settled position. Guangwu teased him for seeking to change from military to civilian life, but named him Administrator of Dong commandery. The territory was only partly under control, but Geng Chun established a degree of order within a few months.

In 28 he was ordered to bring levies to support operations against Zhang Bu. He obtained the surrender of Fan Jing, who had been Administrator of Dongping for the Gengshi Emperor, then turned into Ji'nan and came back to join the settlement of Taishan.

In 29 Geng Chun was dismissed. A local magistrate had committed some crime, Geng Chun reported it to the throne and sought approval to punish him, but in the mean time he laid siege to the county city. Before imperial authority to take action arrived the magistrate killed himself. Geng Chun was found to have acted prematurely and was recalled to the capital without appointment. On the other hand, though a marquis was normally expected to reside at his fief, he was granted the title Servant at Court, excusing him from that requirement.

Soon afterwards Geng Chun accompanied the imperial forces to attack Dong Xian. As the army passed through Dong, thousands of people came to escort their former Administrator, crying that they wanted him back. Guangwu was amazed at the way in which Geng Chun, brought up as a soldier, had been so successful and popular in civil government; he did not, however, restore him to his post.

In 30 Geng Chun was given final enfeoffment as a marquis in Bohai. He had asked to be transferred from his fief in Zhuo because while he was in Dong he had executed a number of followers of Zhu Ying.

Zhu Ying was now Administrator in Zhuo, and Geng Chun feared he would take revenge. When Guangwu agreed, Geng Chun left for his territory. As he passed through Wei, he was awarded quantities of grain, and when he arrived in his fief he impressed the people by the manner in which he enquired about those who were sick and mourned those who had died.

In 32 there was a rebellion in Dong and Jiyn commanderies. The Excellency Li Tong and the chief general Wang Chang were sent to deal with it but Guangwu, recalling Geng Chun's popularity in the region, named him Palace Counsellor and ordered him to accompany the army. As soon as he was heard to have come, nine thousand rebels came to surrender and the army withdrew without need for a battle. An imperial letter restored Geng Chun as Administrator of Dong, and the officials and people were content and obedient thereafter.

Geng Chun died in office in 37. Recognising him as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 21/11:761-65*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 59:37, 69-73, 122-123, 132, 140, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:84.

Geng Dan 耿玘; Youfufeng. Grandson of Geng Yuan/Shou, he was the only survivor when the Geng family was destroyed by Cao Cao after the failed plot of Geng Ji 紀 in 218. -HHS 19/9:714, Bn 54:34.

Geng Feng 耿馮; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Zhong and grandson of Geng Yan, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Fu 耿阜; Julu. Son of Geng Chun, at his father's death in 37 he inherited his marquissate, but it was transferred south from Bohai to a county in Jiuijiang and later changed to a district fief.

In 71, during the crisis over the alleged conspiracy involving Liu Ying the King of Chu, Geng Fu and others were implicated by confessions from Yan Zhong and Wang Ping and were liable to execution. The censorial officer Han Lang persuaded Emperor Ming to doubt the accusation. Geng Fu's fief was abolished, but after his death Emperor Zhang restored the honour, though at lower rank, for his son Geng Xu. -HHS 21/11:765, 41/31:1417, HHJ 10:123.

Geng Gong 耿恭 [Bozong 伯宗]; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Guang, who died young, Geng Gong was an ambitious man and a talented military commander.

After Dou Gu's success against the Xiongnu in 73 he was sent out from Dunhuang on another expedition in the winter of 74. Liu Zhang and Geng Gong's cousin Geng Bing held command of two additional columns, and Liu Zhang asked for Geng Gong as his major. The Chinese forced the surrender of the kingdoms of Jushi [Turfan] and the imperial government re-established the office of Protector-General of the Western Regions.

Geng Gong was appointed as Wu Colonel, with his camp at Jinpu city in Further Jushi, north of the Bogda range and west of Lake Barkol. His colleague Guan Chong was stationed south of the mountains at Liuzhong oasis in Nearer Jushi. Each had some five hundred men. As he took up his post, Geng Gong sent messengers to the Wusun tribes of the Tian Shan, proclaiming the authority of Han and recalling past exchanges, when they had sent fine horses to the Han court in the first century BC and had received generous gifts and imperial princesses for marriage. The chieftains sent hostage sons to China, and Geng Gong rewarded them with gold and brocade.

In the spring of 75 the Northern Shanyu sent twenty thousand horsemen, led by a king, to attack Jushi. Geng Gong sent reinforcements of three hundred men under a major, but they were overwhelmed by the Xiongnu, who then defeated and killed King Ande of Further Jushi. Following this success they turned to attack Geng Gong in Jinpu. As Geng Gong and his men defended the walls, he prepared poisoned arrows and had word spread amongst the Xiongnu that the Han had magical powers on their side to ensure that any who were wounded would surely die. Fired from crossbows, the arrows caused suppurating wounds and the enemy was struck with panic. Then Geng Gong took advantage of a rain-storm to make a sortie, his men killed or wounded great numbers, and the Xiongnu abandoned the siege.

Geng Gong took advantage of the respite to shift his camp to the neighbouring city of Shule, defended by a river [though the name is the same, this was not the oasis state by present-day Kashgar, far to the west]. He also raised several thousand more men, and when the Xiongnu returned to the attack in the autumn they were scattered by the new auxiliaries, caught amongst the streams below the fortress, and suffered heavy casualties. Once the siege had begun, however, though his men dug a well 150 feet deep they found no water,

and they were obliged to drink the sweat and urine of their horses. Geng Gong then told the story of how the general Li Guangli 李廣利 of Former Han had found water by striking a rock with his sword. Dressed in his best uniform, he bowed to the well and prayed, and soon afterwards water poured out. As the men cheered, Geng Gong had them throw water about to show the enemy they had plenty to spare; the Xiongnu, disheartened, withdrew once more.

At this time the people of Yanqi and Qiuzi, two states further west along the Northern Road, killed the Protector-General Chen Mu, while the Xiongnu were besieging Guan Chong in Liuzhong. Emperor Ming had just died, and the new Emperor Zhang sent no assistance, so the local states joined the Xiongnu against Geng Gong. He drove off one attack, and was secretly aided by the queen of Further Jushi, whose family was originally Chinese and who sent information and some supplies. Nonetheless, after a few months the men's food was exhausted and they were reduced to boiling leather coats, horn crossbows and leather quivers. Geng Gong had established complete faith with his followers, and they were determined to hold out together to the end, but they were killed one by one until only a few dozen remained. The Northern Shanyu, knowing their straits, sent messengers to invite surrender, offering Geng Gong enfeoffment and a marriage alliance. Geng Gong took their leader to the top of the walls, killed him with his own hand and burned his body; the other envoys wept and went away. The Shanyu was furious and increased the pressure, but could not overcome the defence.

By this time Guan Chong in Nearer Jushi had sent a message calling for help. There was debate at court whether any further commitment should be made, but it was eventually agreed it would be bad for morale to abandon the troops, while it would enhance the prestige of the empire to rescue them. Geng Bing was therefore sent to Jiuquan to secure the rear, while the Administrator Duan Peng and two Internuncios, Wang Meng and Huangfu Yuan, gathered commandery troops and auxiliaries from the state of Shanshan. Early in 76 a force of seven thousand men advanced along the Northern Road, collected the remnant garrison of Liuzhong in Nearer Jushi and attacked the state's capital. They killed four thousand of the enemy, took three thousand prisoners and captured almost forty thousand head of camels, horses, cattle and sheep.

The Xiongnu fled back to the north, and Nearer Jushi returned to allegiance.

With this success, Wang Meng and his fellows planned to return to China, but Geng Gong's officer Fan Qiang, whom he had sent to get supplies from Dunhuang, had followed the army and now sought leave to aid his master. The leaders of the main army would not go forward, but Fan Qiang was allowed to take two thousand men through the mountains to relieve Geng Gong. They met snow-drifts ten foot deep and could barely get forward. As they approached the city, the defenders sounded the alarm, but Fan Qiang called to them, and they opened the gates and greeted their deliverers. Next day the combined force began to withdraw, fighting as they marched and constantly hungry and cold. Of the original garrison under Geng Gong, just twenty-six left the fortress in his company, and when they reached the frontier at Dunhuang only twelve remained [thirteen with Fan Qiang], all desperately thin and dressed in rags.

The General of the Household Zheng Zhong prepared baths and fresh clothing, and reported on Geng Gong's courageous stand against odds, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy; he described the feat as a splendid example of courage and loyalty. As Geng Gong returned to Luoyang the Excellency Bao Yu memorialised his virtues, comparing him to the celebrated Su Wu 蘇武 of Former Han and urging he be granted noble rank and rewards; the courtier poet Ban Gu later composed a rhapsody on his great feat of arms.

The tale of heroism was nonetheless a reminder that the empire had suffered a setback, and one must note that the commander and two senior assistants were among the very few to return from a campaign in which hundreds of lower ranks perished. The survivors were not treated with great generosity: Geng Gong was promoted to Commandant of Cavalry, his majors were made assistant magistrates, and the remaining nine men were placed in the Feathered Forest troop of guards.

Geng Gong took leave of absence to pay posthumous respects to his mother, who had died while he was away. An imperial edict ordered the General of the Household Ma Yan to take offerings, but he was also instructed to ask Geng Gong to end his mourning and return to office at Luoyang. In 77 Geng Gong became a colonel in the Northern Army.

Later that year there was trouble with the Qiang tribes led by the chieftain Miyu, who attacked Longxi and Jincheng and invaded Hanyang. Geng Gong proposed a plan to deal with them, and he was sent with the three thousand men of the Northern Army to assist the general Ma Fang. Camping by the upper Yellow River in the west of Longxi, he fought several engagements, and in autumn of 78 the major Shaodang group of the Qiang surrendered. Ma Fang then returned to the capital, leaving Geng Gong to deal with those who had not surrendered. He captured more than a thousand, together with over forty thousand head of cattle and sheep. Thirteen clans of the Lejie and Shaohe groups, numbering several tens of thousands, then came to surrender.

Geng Gong's plan to deal with the Qiang noted that the warlord and later minister Dou Rong, a man of the northwest, had established good relations with the non-Chinese people at the beginning of Later Han. He proposed that Dou Rong's nephew Dou Gu, already a man of military achievement, be sent as an envoy with authority to negotiate and settle them, while Ma Fang should be stationed with an army in Hanyang, east of Jincheng and Longxi, to provide a credible threat against any who stayed recalcitrant. The plan may have been genuine, but the Geng had an old alliance with the Dou clan against the Ma. Ma Fang saw his secondary place as an insult to himself and to his family, which had also a long tradition in the northwest, and on his return to the capital he made his feelings known. The Internuncio Li Tan was sent to inspect the troops, and duly reported that Geng Gong was unconcerned about his duties and showed resentment at the imperial orders. Geng Gong was recalled and arrested, then dismissed from his appointment and sent back to his home country. He died without holding further office. -HHS 19/9:720-24*.

Geng Guang 耿廣; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Kuang and a younger brother of Geng Yan, Geng Shu and Geng Guo, Geng Guang became a General of the Household under Emperor Guangwu, but died young. -HHS 19/9:713, 720.

Geng Guo 耿國 [Shulü 叔慮 or Shuxian 叔憲] (d.57); Youfufeng. Third son of Geng Kuang and younger brother of Geng Yan, Geng Guo was sent to Guangwu's court in 28 as a goodwill hostage for his family's loyalty in operations against Peng Chong. He was first appointed as a Gentleman at the Yellow

Gates, but then gained the emperor's admiration by his excellent responses to questions and was promoted to be a colonel in the Northern Army. The regiment was disbanded in 31, but Geng Guo was named Commandant of Attendant Cavalry.

When Geng Kuang died in 36, both his elder sons Yan and Shu already held fiefs, so Geng Guo was next in line to succeed him. He asked that Geng Kuang's marquisate be passed to his youngest brother Ba, their father's favourite, and the emperor approved this filial and fraternal generosity.

Geng Guo was a county magistrate in Dong commandery, Yingchuan and Runan, was praised by all who served under him, and returned to Luoyang as General of the Household for All Purposes. In the course of his duties at court, and no doubt on the basis of his family's contact with the north through his father, the long-term Administrator of Yuyang, Geng Guo presented advice on a number of policy questions concerning the northern frontier. Emperor Guangwu was impressed.

At the beginning of 48 the Xiongnu prince Bi sent envoys offering submission and undertaking to protect the imperial frontiers in the north. At the court conference held to consider this request, the majority argued against it, largely on grounds that the barbarians could not be trusted and it was more important to consolidate security within the empire. Geng Guo, however, argued that the opportunity could not be missed, and that the alliance offered by Bi would enable the border commanderies to be restored and would ensure peace for generations. Emperor Guangwu accepted his argument, and Bi was recognised as Southern Shanyu.

In 51 Geng Guo became Minister of Finance. Following his earlier advice about the surrender of the Xiongnu, he urged the appointment of a General on the Liao; this officer was to be stationed in Wuyuan commandery to prevent the Southern Xiongnu from communicating and co-operating with their cousins beyond the frontier. Hoping and expecting that former Chinese settlers could be repatriated to the north and balance the power of the Xiongnu, Guangwu did not approve, but Geng Guo's plan was put into effect by Emperor Ming in 65.

Geng Guo died in office in 57. -HHS 19/91.715-16*; Bn 67:119, 126-128, deC 84:234, 252.

Geng Hao 耿耗 (d.121); Liaodong. Commandery

Officer of Merit, in the summer of 121 he accompanied the Administrator Cai Feng and the local militia in an attempt to deal with a major raid from Gaogouli [Koguryo], supported by Xianbi from the north. As their troops were defeated with heavy losses, Geng Hao and his colleagues Long Duan and Gongsun Pu tried to shield their master Cai Feng. All of them were killed. -HHS 85/75:2814-15.

Geng Heng 耿恆; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Bao, when Emperor Shun restored the family to favour in 134, he granted Geng Heng a small fief. -HHS 19/9:714.

Geng Hong 耿宏; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Pu, after his father's death in 115 he was appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 19/9:724.

Geng Ji 耿姬, the Lady; Youfufeng. Daughter of Geng Xi and the Princess Liu Ying, daughter of Emperor Ming, the Lady was the principal wife of Liu Qing, King of Qinghe, and thus titular mother to Liu You, Emperor An, whose natural mother was the Lady Zuo Ji. In 106 Liu Qing was sent out to his state, but as the infant emperor Liu Long was sickly, and the Dowager Deng was prepared to put Liu You upon the throne, she kept the Lady and the boy in the royal residence at Luoyang. Later that year, after Liu You had been placed upon the throne, the Lady Geng was also escorted off to rejoin her husband.

After the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, Emperor An awarded posthumous imperial honours to Liu Qing and the Lady Zuo, and he appointed the Lady Geng as Grand Honoured Lady of their tomb in Qinghe. He also showed respect and favour to her brother, his senior uncle Geng Bao.

Following the death of Emperor An in 125 his Dowager Yan dismissed Geng Bao and disgraced the family. The Lady Geng survived to plead their cause, and in 134 an edict of Emperor Shun restored them to favour and enfeoffment.

When the Lady died the General-in-Chief Liang Ji asked for her jewellery. Her nephew Geng Cheng refused him, so Liang Ji stripped him of his fief; he later had Geng Cheng killed, with a dozen members of his household. -HHS 55/45:1804-05, 19/9:714.

Geng Ji 耿伋; Julu. After Geng Chun's success against the Red Eyebrows at Shequan in 24 Liu Xiu appointed his kinsman Geng Ji as a county magistrate in Changshan. -HHS 21/11:763.

Geng Ji 耿箕; Youfufeng. Geng Ji was a son of Geng Bao. When Emperor Shun restored the family to favour

in 134 he appointed Geng Ji as a Palace Attendant and granted him the county fief which had been taken from his father at the time of his disgrace in 125. -HHS 19/9: 714.

Geng Ji 耿紀 [Jixing 季行] (d.218); Youfufeng. A descendant of Geng Bing, he showed early talent and was recruited into the offices at the capital. Cao Cao admired him, and he became Palace Attendant and then Minister Steward at the Han court in Xu city.

With long family connection to the house of Liu, Geng Ji was concerned at Cao Cao's control of the imperial court and hoped to restore the power of the dynasty. He therefore joined Jin Yi, Ji Ben, Wei Kuang and others in a plot to seize Xu city and call in Guan Yu from the south. The coup was attempted at the beginning of 218, but was defeated by Cao Cao's agent Wang Pi.

Geng Ji and his fellows were executed with their families, and the Geng clan was almost entirely destroyed in Cao Cao's vengeance [see *sub* Geng Hong 耿弘]. -SGZ 1:50, HHS 19/9:718; deC 89:518-519.

Geng Jian 耿建 miswritten for Geng Fu 耿阜. -HHJ 10:123, HHS 41/31:1417, but *cf.* HHSJJ 41/31:1506.

Geng Ju 耿舉; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Kuang and a younger brother of Geng Yan and Geng Guo, Geng Ju became a General of the Household under Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Kuang 耿況 [Xiayou 俠游] (d.36); Youfufeng. The family came originally from Julu, but was moved to Youfufeng in the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han as part of the policy to separate leading men and officials from their native country. Though HHS does not say so, Geng Kuang and his family were surely distant kinsmen of Geng Ai and the Julu lineage.

A keen student of the *Classic of Poetry* and *Ritual*, at the end of Former Han Geng Kuang was appointed a gentleman cadet for his Understanding of the Classics, and he studied the *Laozi* under the recluse Anqiu Wangzhi 安丘望之 of Jingzhao. One of his fellow-students was Wang Ji 王伋, a cousin of Wang Mang.

Wang Mang appointed Geng Kuang as *lianshuai* 連率 of Shuotiao 朔調, equivalent to Administrator of Shanggu in the system of the Xin, but Geng Kuang had no faith in the usurper's regime. He was, however, willing to accept the restored Han dynasty under the Gengshi Emperor, and after the fall of Wang Mang in 23 he went to meet Han Hong, commissioner of Han. It had been proclaimed that those who accepted the

new government would be confirmed in their position, but when Geng Kuang offered his seal in token of submission the envoy did not return it immediately but kept it overnight. Geng Kuang's Officer of Merit Kou Xun went with armed men to Han Hong's tent, had Geng Kuang invited to join them, and attached the seal and ribbon to his waist. The commissioner had no choice but to give formal approval, and Geng Kuang was thus confirmed in office.

Despite this coup, Geng Kuang was uneasy about his position, but his son Geng Yan urged him to commit to Han, and Geng Kuang sent Geng Yan with tribute to the new imperial court. Before he could get through, Wang Lang claimed the imperial title, and Geng Yan went to the new imperial commissioner Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, in Zhongshan. With strong approval among the northern gentry, Wang Lang sent an officer to seek support from Geng Kuang. Many of his officers were prepared to agree, but Geng Kuang was not a man of that region, and his son was already established on Liu Xiu's staff. So he rejected Wang Lang's approach and sent his second son Geng Shu with horsemen to aid Liu Xiu.

Liu Xiu was soon afterwards driven away to the south and suffered a series of defeats. Despite this, however, with encouragement from Geng Yan, who had now rejoined his father, Geng Kuang sent Kou Xun to establish alliance with Peng Chong, neighbouring Administrator of Yuyang, then dispatched a force of cavalry under his assistant Jing Dan, with Kou Xun and Geng Yan, to combine with Peng Chong's officer Wu Han and the horsemen of Yuyang in support of Han. Killing hundreds of Wang Lang's appointed officials and taking more than twenty counties, they destroyed his position in the north and joined Liu Xiu at Guang'e city in Julu.

Geng Kuang was named a chief general and given title as Marquis Who Elevates Honour 興義侯; his officers likewise received appointments and nominal fiefs. By mid-summer Wang Lang was dead, the horsemen of Shanggu had played a leading role in the victory, and Geng Kuang's son Geng Yan held high rank and favour with Liu Xiu.

About this time the Gengshi Emperor sent orders to recall the Administrator of Dai commandery, Zhao Yong. Geng Kuang persuaded him not to obey, but to go instead to pay respects to Liu Xiu. As Zhao Yong was returning to his territory, his officer Zhang Ye

mutinied and invited the Xiongnu and Wuhuan to support him. Liu Xiu sent Geng Shu to attack them, Zhang Ye was destroyed and Zhao Yong regained his post.

Soon afterwards the Wuxiao bandits, numbered at 200,000, came north into Shanggu. Geng Kuang and Geng Shu joined forces to put them to flight. Concerned at the alliance developing in the north since the defeat of Wang Lang, the Gengshi Emperor ordered Liu Xiu to disband his troops and return to the capital, and sent officials to replace Geng Kuang and Peng Chong in Shanggu and Yuyang. Refusing these instructions, Liu Xiu had the Gengshi general Xie Gong killed, and moved towards open war. Geng Yan, who had argued strongly for this decision, killed the two nominee administrators, and Geng Kuang continued in his office.

In 26 Peng Chong rebelled against Guangwu. He sought to renew his earlier association with Geng Kuang but, unlike Peng Chong, Geng Kuang and his family were well-established at the Han court through Geng Yan, now a chief general; Geng Kuang rejected Peng Chong's approaches and put his envoys to death. Both he and Geng Yan were nonetheless concerned that Guangwu might doubt their loyalty. Geng Yan offered to return to Luoyang, and though the emperor assured him of his confidence Geng Kuang sent another son, Geng Guo, to attend court. Delighted at this voluntary hostage, Guangwu enfeoffed Geng Kuang with a county in his homeland of Youfufeng.

In 28 Geng Kuang and Geng Shu brought troops from Shanggu to assist the imperial forces against Peng Chun, brother of Peng Chong, who had led a force of Xiongnu auxiliaries against Zhuo commandery. Peng Chun was heavily defeated.

After the death of Peng Chong in the following year, Guangwu sent the Household Counsellor Fan Hong to grant Geng Kuang the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief, and inviting him to return from the harsh conditions of the frontier to a more comfortable residence at the capital. Such a move, of course, made Geng Kuang a hostage himself, but it may be taken as a sign of genuine good will, for his native country was in the old capital territory. We are told that when Geng Kuang became ill the emperor paid him several visits, and when he died in 36 he was honoured with a posthumous title, while his six sons all held ranks at least as high as that

of the dark ribbon 青綬, next only to the purple of the most senior officials. -*HHS* 19/9:703-13, 16/6:620-21; Bn 54:34, 59, 65-78, 126-130.

Geng Kui 耿夔 [Dinggong 定公]; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Guo, and a young man of spirit, Geng Kui was an acting major under Dou Xian in the great campaign of 89 against the Northern Xiongnu; he joined the senior colonel Yan Pan in the western expedition which defeated the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain. Geng Kui was then promoted to be a Commandant of Cavalry.

In 91 Dou Xian named Geng Kui as a colonel and sent him out from Juyan with eight hundred cavalry in a final attack on the Northern Shanyu. Advancing over a thousand kilometres into the Jinwei ranges, on the west of the present-day Altai Mountains in the far west of Mongolia north of Dzungaria, they drove the Shanyu to flight with just a few horsemen, and he was not seen again. They killed the Shanyu's consort the Yanzhi and over five thousand members of the leading clans, and returned with the remnants of his treasure. No Chinese army had ventured so far before, and Geng Kui was made marquis of a county. [*HHS* 89/79:2953 says that the Yanzhi had been captured by Geng Kui's kinsman Geng Tan the year before. One of the accounts may be mistaken, or the Shanyu may have taken another consort in the intervening months. On pronunciation of the title, see *HHS* 4:172 TC.]

The former Shanyu's younger brother Yuchujian now took the title and asked to surrender to Han. In 92 Geng Kui was sent to receive his submission and grant him a seal, and was named Emissary on the same lines as at the court of the Southern Shanyu. Soon afterwards, however, as Emperor He destroyed the power of Dou Xian and his family, Geng Kui was dismissed from office and stripped of his fief.

Geng Kui was later a colonel in the Northern Army, but returned to the frontier as Administrator of Wuyuan. Transferred east to Liaodong, in 105 he drove back a raid by the Mo people, killing several chieftains.

In 109, at the time of the great Qiang rebellion, a raiding party led by the Wuhuan chieftain Wuhe came into Wuyuan and defeated the commandery troops, and this was followed by a rebellion of the Southern Shanyu Tan. The general He Xi came from Luoyang, but while he prepared his forces Geng Kui was ordered to bring troops from the eastern frontier commanderies

and a force of Xianbi auxiliaries into Yanmen. As the main army was further delayed, He Xi sent another two thousand men and ordered Geng Kui to advance.

As they approached the Shanyu's capital of Meiji in Xihe, Geng Kui and his men defeated a Xiongnu army three thousand strong, killing six of their chiefs and capturing quantities of baggage and vast numbers of herding animals. Disease broke out among the Xianbi horses, however, and the tribal auxiliaries departed across the frontier. Without their support Geng Kui could no longer maintain the offensive, and for this failure he was demoted to Administrator of Yunzhong. He continued to command troops against the Xiongnu in association with the General on the Liao Liang Qin, and he took part in the final campaigns of 110.

In 111 Geng Kui succeeded Liang Qin in the Trans-Liao command, but three years later he quarrelled with the Emissary Zheng Jian over their areas of responsibility. He was dismissed and sent to prison, and though he escaped execution he suffered two hundred strokes of the bastinado.

In 121 Geng Kui was again made General on the Liao, this time in the full position, which had been established for the intermediate incumbent Deng Zun. In the autumn, under their new war leader Qizhijian, Xianbi raiders attacked Shanggu, killed Cheng Yan the Administrator of Yunzhong, then entered Dai commandery and laid siege to the Protector of the Wuhuan Xu Chang. Geng Kui and the Inspector of You province, Pang Can, brought troops to break the siege.

This was only the first of many incursions from the Xianbi. To deal with them Geng Kui recruited Xiongnu who had come to the borders for refuge from the expanding power of the Xianbi, and in co-operation with the king Huyouhui he defended Chinese territory with a mobile reserve and occasional punitive raids of his own. In 122 he was obliged to repel an attack from the south by the Qiang and other non-Chinese tribes of Shang commandery; on that occasion he had auxiliaries from the Wuhuan.

Soon afterwards, in a sad but common pattern, Geng Kui was once more accused of some wrongdoing and suffered dismissal. He held no further appointments and died at home. He had been several times affected by court politics and, like other frontier generals, by the lack of understanding, let alone gratitude, of authorities at the capital. -HHS 19/9:718-

19*, 90/80:2988; deC 84:273, 285-286, 300.

Geng Liang 耿良 or Geng Wujin 無禁; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Feng, he succeeded to his fief. In 106 he married the Princess Liu Jiuchang, sister of Emperor An, and became a Palace Attendant. -HHS 10B:457, 19/9:713, 55/45:1804.

Geng Lin 耿臨. In 169 Geng Lin was Administrator of Xuantu, where the non-Chinese people of Gaogouli had been raiding the north-eastern frontier for over twenty years. He led a punitive expedition which took several hundred heads, and Bogu the king of Gaogouli came once more to offer submission. -HHS 85/75:2815.

Geng Pu 耿溥 (d.115); Youfufeng. Son of Geng Gong, in 109 Geng Pu was a major under the command of He Xi and was sent to accompany Geng Kui and his Xianbi auxiliaries as they advanced against the rebel Shanyu Tan of the Xiongnu in Xihe.

Geng Pu then became Commandant of the Tiger Tooth Camp at Chang'an, and in 115 he was sent with a subordinate command in the army led by Sima Jun against the Qiang rebels and the renegade Du Jigong. They occupied the enemy fortress at Dingxi in northern Beidi, but when Sima Jun sent some of his troops out to collect grain, they scattered across the countryside and were cut off by the rebels and their Qiang allies. Angry that they had failed to follow his orders, Sima Jun stayed in the city and refused to send assistance. The Chinese lost over three thousand men.

It appears that Geng Pu died in the debacle, but he was not one of the commanders who were detached and cut off, and he was not held responsible; his family connections no doubt had influence. His sons Hong and Ye were made gentlemen cadets. -HHS 19/9:719, 724, 87/77:2889; deC 84:107-108.

Geng Shou 耿援 see Geng Yuan 耿援.

Geng Shu 耿舒; Youfufeng. Second son of the Administrator of Shanggu Geng Kuang, and younger brother of Geng Yan, in 24 he was sent by his father to Ji city near present-day Beijing, leading a troop of horsemen to reinforce Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu but then commissioner of the Gengshi Emperor in the northeast. About this time the Gengshi Emperor recalled the Administrator of Dai commandery Zhao Yong, but Geng Kuang persuaded him to go instead to pay respects to Liu Xiu. Zhao Yong was endorsed in his office, but as he was returning to his territory his officer Zhang Ye led a mutiny and invited

the Xiongnu and Wuhuan to support him. Liu Xiu named Geng Shu as a general and sent him to deal with the matter. He destroyed Zhang Ye and re-established Zhao Yong in his post.

Soon afterwards the Wuxiao bandits, numbered at over 200,000, came north into Shanggu territory. Joining his forces to the commandery troops under Geng Kuang, Geng Shu attacked the invaders and put them to flight. Though his father sent an army under Geng Yan to aid Liu Xiu, Geng Shu stayed in the north, and in 28 he made a successful flank attack on the Xiongnu allies commanded by Peng Chun, brother of the rebel Peng Chong. Two enemy chieftains were killed, and Geng Kuang then joined Geng Shu in a drive against Peng Chong's position from the west. In the following year Peng Chong was destroyed and Geng Shu was enfeoffed as a county marquis.

We are not told anything specific about Geng Shu's military activities over the next twenty years, but in 49 he was one of four Generals of the Household under the command of Ma Yuan which was sent against the non-Chinese of the Five Streams. In the previous year these people of the hills to the west of Wuling commandery had destroyed the imperial general Liu Shang and his army. In preliminary planning for the campaign, Geng Shu urged an approach by the longer land route, north of the Dongting Lake. Ma Yuan, however, preferred a more direct route to the south although it was known there could be difficulties in bringing supplies up and across the rivers. Ma Yuan's plan was endorsed by the emperor, but after initial success the army halted at Hutou mountain and stayed there for seven months across the summer.

At this point Geng Shu wrote to his brother Geng Yan, a confidant of Emperor Guangwu, criticising Ma Yuan's conduct of the campaign. He claimed that his own plan had been far superior, and that Ma Yuan was bogged down and unable to proceed. Geng Yan reported these comments to the throne, and the emperor sent Liang Song to investigate. By the time he arrived, Ma Yuan's strategy had proved successful: he himself was dead, but the tribesmen had surrendered to his deputy Zong Kun. As Bielenstein observes, Geng Shu's complaints may have been partly based upon disagreement of strategy, but they were also a manoeuvre in court politics. The Geng were supporters of the Dou faction led by Dou Rong, who were rivals to the Ma, and the impeachment of Ma Yuan which

followed Geng Shu's accusations, including charges of corruption and embezzlement, brought the eclipse of the Ma. -HHS 19/9:705-08, 24/14:843-45; Bn 67:70-72, Bn 79:112.

Geng Shu 耿叔 (d.141?); Youfufeng? Presumably a member of the great Geng clan, in 140 Geng Shu was second in command to Ma Xian in the great army assembled about Chang'an to deal with the second great Qiang rebellion. Ma Xian was killed in battle in the following year; Geng Shu may have been with him, for he is not mentioned again. -HHS 87/77:2895.

Geng Su 耿宿; Julu. A cousin of Geng Chun, in 24 Geng Su joined his kinsmen in rejecting the usurper Wang Lang and bringing household troops to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu who was commissioner in the north for the Gengshi regime. Geng Su and his cousins Geng Xin and Geng Zhi were appointed lieutenant-generals, and with Geng Chun they persuaded the people of their home town of Songzi to surrender. Soon afterwards, still uneasy about the loyalty of his kinsmen, Geng Chun sent Geng Su and Geng Xin to burn their former homes as guarantee of their commitment to the Han cause.

Geng Su was later Administrator of Dai commandery and received a district fief. -HHS 21/11:762-65.

Geng Tan 耿譚; Youfufeng. A member of the Geng clan, he was an acting major under Dou Xian in the great campaign of 89 against the Northern Xiongnu; he accompanied the senior colonel Yan Pan in the expedition to the northwest which defeated the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain and pursued him into the Altai ranges. He was then named Emissary to the court of the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe.

Though the Northern Shanyu had asked to surrender, eight thousand cavalry of the Southern Xiongnu under the chieftain Shizi went to attack his headquarters in the spring of 90, and Geng Tan sent a contingent of Chinese to support them. Taken by surprise, the Northern Shanyu was wounded and barely escaped with his life, while the Chinese and their allies, having killed eight thousand of his followers, seized his seal and treasury, his consort the Yanzhi and five of his children, and several thousand of his subjects. In the following year, 91, Geng Tan's cousin Geng Kui made a final attack on the Northern Shanyu and drove him away forever.

So great was the number of those who surrendered or were taken that Geng Tan requested an increase in

the senior staff of the Emissary's office from two to twelve, in order that the new subjects of the Southern Shanyu might be properly supervised. For the time being, however, the court did not grant the Southern regime authority over all the Xiongnu; instead the former leader's younger brother Yuchujian was named Shanyu in his place, while Ren Shang was named Emissary to the new Northern court.

In 98, after a fierce battle against the Qiang leader Mitang in Longxi had left the imperial forces too exhausted to follow up their success, Geng Tan and Wang Xin were sent to replace the commanders Liu Shang and Zhao Tai. They set themselves in garrisons on the upper reaches of the Yellow River, and offered rewards to those of the enemy who came to submit. Mitang, concerned at the loss of his followers, came himself to surrender; he was sent to Luoyang to pay homage and then resettled beyond the frontier. Wang Xin and Geng Tan disbanded their troops.

Two years later, however, Mitang led another attack; Wang Xin, Geng Tan and the Protector Wu Zhi were all dismissed. -HHS 23/13:814, 89/79:2953, 87/77:2884; deC 84:81, 271-272.

Geng Teng 耿騰; Julu. Son of Geng Fu and younger brother of Geng Xu, he was granted the succession to the family fief which had been restored by Emperor Zhang. -HHS 21/11:765.

Geng Wenjin 耿文金; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Ba, he inherited his fief. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Wu 耿武 [Wenwei 文威] (d.191). Chief Clerk to Han Fu, Geng Wu urged him not to yield Ji province to Yuan Shao, and he joined Min Chun in fighting other officers to prevent them deserting to the new ruler. Yuan Shao had both men killed. -HHS 74/64A:2378.

Geng Wujin 耿無禁 see Geng Liang 耿良.

Geng Xi 耿襲; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Shu, he succeeded to his fief. He married the Princess Liu Ying, daughter of Emperor Ming. -HHS 19/9:714.

Geng Xi 耿歙; Julu. Kinsman of Geng Fu, in 71 he was found guilty of having conspired with him and with Yan Zhong, associate of Liu Ying, King of Chu. This was part of Emperor Ming's purge of anyone suspected of involvement in Liu Ying's alleged conspiracy. Geng Fu's fief was abolished, but nothing is recorded of the fate of Geng Xi. -HHS 21/11:765.

Geng Xi 耿喜; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Wenjin, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Xian 耿顯; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Xi 喜,

Geng Xian succeeded to his fief. He became an officer in the corps of imperial guards of the Feathered Forest. -HHS 19/9:713.

Geng Xie 耿協; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Liang and the Princess Liu Jiuzhang, sister of Emperor An, Geng Xie succeeded to his father's fief. -HHS 10B:457, 19/9:713.

Geng Xin 耿訢 (d.26); Julu. A cousin of Geng Chun, when Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24 Geng Xin joined him and other kinsmen in rejecting the usurper and bringing their households to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at that time commissioner in the north for the Gengshi Emperor. Geng Xin and his cousins Geng Su and Geng Zhi were appointed lieutenant-generals, and with Geng Chun they persuaded their home town Songzi to surrender. Soon afterwards, still uneasy about the loyalty of his kinsmen, Geng Chun sent Geng Xin and Geng Su to burn their former homes as guarantee of their commitment to the Han cause.

Named a general against the Red Eyebrows and enfeoffed as a marquis, Geng Xin went under Deng Yu's command to the west. In 26, when Liu Jia came to surrender, Deng Yu executed his officer Li Bao for discourtesy. Li Bao's younger brother then attacked Deng Yu, and Geng Xin died in the skirmish. -HHS 21/11:762-65, 16/6:604.

Geng Xing 耿行, the Lady; Ba. The Lady was a concubine of Geng Bing. -HYGZ 12:222.

Geng Xu 耿盱/盱; Julu. Geng Xu's father Geng Fu had been dismissed from his district fief because of an alleged intrigue; the accusation was evidently based upon Emperor Ming's purge of all those connected to Liu Ying, King of Chu. In 77, in recognition of the good service of Geng Fu's father Geng Chun, and as part of the program of restoration after the previous excesses, Emperor Zhang restored the fief as a village marquissate. Geng Xu died without children, but the honour was passed to his younger brother Teng. -HHS 21/11:765.

Geng Xun 耿勳 [Bowe 伯瑋]; Youfufeng. Sent to the capital as Reporting Officer, Geng Xun impressed the emperor. He was appointed a gentleman cadet and then became commandery Assistant in Shangdang. Soon after he took up appointment as Administrator of Wudu in 173 there was a period of excessive rain and massive flooding. Geng Xun visited the affected regions, opened the granaries and provided clothing for

those bereft. In the following year his good work was honoured with a stele. -*LX* 11:2b-4b, Nagata 94:210.

Geng Yan 耿弇 [Bozhao 伯昭 also as Zhaobo 伯昭] (3-58); Youfufeng. Eldest son of Geng Kuang, when Geng Yan was young he followed his father's tradition of scholarship in the *Poetry* and the *Ritual*. At the same time, he was fascinated by the cavalry exercises in Shanggu commandery, where Geng Kuang held office as Administrator, and in the signals given by flags and drums. He became an expert rider and archer, and a keen student of military matters.

After the fall of Wang Mang and the establishment of the Gengshi Emperor, all local and provincial leaders were in a state of uncertainty. Geng Kuang was anxious about his own position, for he had been appointed to his office by Wang Mang and the commissioner Han Hong had confirmed him only reluctantly and under duress. Geng Yan encouraged his father to commit himself to Han, and at the age of twenty-one he was sent on a tribute mission to the new imperial court.

As the party was travelling through Julu, the pretender Wang Lang proclaimed his rebellion in Zhao. Two of Geng Yan's officers, Sun Cang and Wei Bao, men of the north, proposed to join Wang Lang, and though Geng Yan threatened them with a sword they went over to the rebels. Perhaps fortunate to escape with his life, Geng Yan abandoned the idea of going to the capital and turned to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was now regional commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor with headquarters in Zhongshan. Liu Xiu appointed Geng Yan to his personal staff, and admired his energy and initiative.

Soon afterwards the expansion of Wang Lang's power drove Liu Xiu north to Ji city in Guangyang, by present-day Beijing and close to Shanggu. Geng Yan had his father make contact, and Geng Kuang sent his younger son Shu with horsemen to reinforce Liu Xiu. As Wang Lang's army approached, however, rioting broke out in the city and the imperialists were forced to leave: Liu Xiu and the bulk of his party fled south, while Geng Yan was sent north to seek assistance. He had urged Liu Xiu to take advantage of the support from his own family and from Peng Chong, a fellow-countryman from Nanyang who was now Administrator of Yuyang, and he developed that alliance. Geng Kuang sent a force of cavalry under Jing Dan, aided by Kou Xun and Geng Yan. Joining Peng Chong's officer Wu Han and the horsemen of

Yuyang, they destroyed Wang Lang's position in the north, killing hundreds of in Ji province the officials he had appointed and taking over twenty counties; they then went forward to join Liu Xiu in Julu. Their enterprise turned the tide, and by mid-summer Wang Lang was dead. Geng Yan gained high rank and favour under Liu Xiu.

Concerned at the alliance which was developing in the north after the defeat of Wang Lang, the Gengshi Emperor awarded Liu Xiu a royal title but also ordered him to disband his troops and return to the capital. It is said that as Guangwu was retiring to bed one evening at the palace in Handan, Geng Yan came to his apartments, urging him to declare independence and seek the imperial throne. This indeed was what Liu Xiu decided. He appointed Geng Yan a general, and sent him north with Wu Han to gather troops. Geng Yan killed Wei Shun and Cai Chong, officers of the Gengshi Emperor who had been sent to replace Geng Kuang and Peng Chong in Shanggu and Yuyang.

With the north secure, Geng Yan took a leading role in the campaigns against the Red Eyebrows and other bandit groups of the northern plain. His men were recognised as an elite force, constantly in the van. On one occasion, when there was sickness in the army in Zhuo commandery the imperial forces were defeated and forced to take refuge behind a palisade, but Geng Yan came to the rescue and his counter-attack brought decisive victory.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in the autumn of 25, he named Geng Yan as a chief general and sent him with Jing Dan to seize the Ao Granary in Henan. Forcing the surrender of the warlord Liu Mao and defeating his troops, they opened the way towards Luoyang and Chang'an.

In 26 Geng Yan was granted a fief in Youfufeng with revenue from two counties. He accompanied Cen Peng in unsuccessful operations against Dong Xin and Deng Feng in Nanyang, but early in 27 returned north to join Wu Han in a final attack on a remnant group of the Green Calf bandits north of the Yellow River. Returning to Nanyang with Guangwu and the main army in the summer, he took part in the final campaign against Deng Feng and successfully argued for his execution. He was then sent south to deal with the renegade Yan Cen and the local leader Du Hong. He defeated the rebels with heavy losses, captured numbers of their senior officers with insignia, and

forced Du Hong to surrender.

At the end of 27 Geng Yan accompanied the imperial cortège for the visit to Guangwu's home commandery of Nanyang, then sought permission to return to the north. In an ambitious strategy, he planned to raise further levies in Shanggu, deal with the rebels Peng Chong and Zhang Feng in Yuyang and Zhuo commanderies, settle the Fuping and Huosuo bandits in the North China plain, then attack Zhang Bu in the southeast. At the beginning of 28 this plan was approved, but Geng Yan did not receive such a leading role as he had sought. Guangwu does not appear to have had any real concern over Geng Yan's loyalty, but Geng Kuang was anxious there might later be some suspicion of the family, with all male members in the north, and he insisted that Geng Yan's younger brother Guo be sent to court as a goodwill hostage.

As imperial forces under Zhai Cun reconquered Zhuo commandery and moved against Yuyang, Geng Kuang and Geng Yan's younger brother Shu gained success against Peng Chong's brother Chun and his Xiongnu auxiliaries, and in the following year Peng Chong was dead. Geng Yan played little part in these operations, but was sent with Wang Chang, under the overall command of Wu Han, to mop up bandit groups in Pingyuan.

Early in 29 Geng Yan was given independent command against the warlord Zhang Pu, whose territory lay immediately to the south across the Yellow River. It is said that forty thousand former bandits had surrendered, and Geng Yan took them into his army and organised them into formal military units. He then crossed the River east into Ji'nan. Zhang Bu sent his general Fei Yi to oppose him, with a series of posts to threaten his advance from the south. Geng Yan turned to capture the westernmost of these, Zhu'a in Pingyuan, then began to roll up the enemy line. Fei Yi faced him at Lixia in Ji'nan and sent his brother Fei Gan to hold the neighbouring village of Juli. Having made ostentatious preparations against Juli, Geng Yan announced a date for his attack. Deserters took the news to Fei Yi, but as he marched to the relief Geng Yan left a small force to hold the siege lines and took his main army to surprise the enemy columns. He gained a complete victory, Fei Yi was killed, and when Geng Yan showed the heads and other trophies Fei Gan and his men abandoned Juli and fled back to Zhang Bu.

Forcing the surrender of over forty garrisons, Geng

Yan consolidated his position in Ji'nan, and in the winter of 29 he resumed the advance on Zhang Bu, whose capital was at Ju in Zichuan [capital of Beihai under Later Han]. Zhang Bu sent his brother Zhang Lan to hold Xi'an in Qi. Geng Yan prepared to attack this post, but then switched to storm the city of Linzi. Zhang Lan, now isolated, withdrew his men.

As Geng Yan awaited the counter-attack, Zhang Bu came against him with the combined forces of his three younger brothers and auxiliaries from former bandit groups; the whole army was numbered at 200,000. They met in the open ground east of the city, but on the first day Geng Yan allowed himself to be driven back by the bandit leader Zhong Yi in order to entice the enemy into the network of fortifications. As the enemy troops engaged his subordinate commander Liu Xin, Geng Yan watched from the walls of the royal palace, then charged them in the flank. He was wounded in the thigh by a flying arrow, but cut it out with his own sword and none of his companions knew of it.

At sunset both sides withdrew, and his officer Chen Jun urged Geng Yan to wait for the imperial army under Guangwu, which was approaching from Lu. Geng Yan remarked that the duty of a subject was to welcome his ruler with a feast, not with a request for help, and urged his men back into battle. Again they fought all day, with heavy casualties on both sides, and the drainage channels of the city were filled with bodies. Realising Zhang Bu was preparing to withdraw, Geng Yan placed men on the flanks of his retreat, and they took the enemy completely by surprise. The retreat turned into a rout, and Geng Yan maintained the pursuit for several kilometres, capturing two thousand carts of Zhang Bu's baggage train. Zhang Bu's army was scattered and he took refuge in Ju city.

When the emperor came to Linzi he issued an edict praising Geng Yan's strategy and comparing him to the great general Han Xin 韓信 of Former Han. Geng Yan advanced again, and Zhang Bu now abandoned Ju and retreated into Beihai. Killing his former ally Su Mao, he came with his brothers to surrender, stripped to the waist and carrying an axe for execution. Geng Yan had the enemy troops arrange themselves under the banners of their home commanderies and divided the baggage amongst them before sending them home. He then completed the conquest of the eastern plain by forcing the surrender of the remnant Wuxiao bandits in Chengyang.

In the following year, 30, Geng Yan commanded a division in Youfufeng against Wei Ao. He took part in the advance of Guangwu's army up the Long Slope in 32, and as Guangwu withdrew to deal with rebellion in the east Geng Yan, He Yan and Cen Peng were left to besiege Wei Ao at Xi city in Longxi. In the winter Wei Ao's general Wang Yuan came with reinforcements from Gongsun Shu, broke the siege and rescued Wei Ao; the imperial forces were compelled to withdraw.

After Wei Ao's death in the following year, Geng Yan joined Lai Xi for mopping-up operations in Anding and Beidi; he had now been responsible for the settlement of forty-six commanderies and had taken more than three hundred cities. In 37 his fief was increased, and though he resigned as a chief general he was granted title as Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside outside the capital. He was regularly consulted on questions from all parts of the empire.

In 49 Geng Yan sponsored the criticism of his brother Geng Shu against Ma Yuan's strategy to deal with the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery; Ma Yuan was posthumously disgraced and his clan fell into eclipse.

At his death in 58 Geng Yan was granted posthumous honours, and when Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Geng Yan was among those honoured. -*HHS* 19/9:703-13*, 17/7:656-57, *XC* 1:3b; Bn 59:65-76, 72-78, 147-149, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:82.

Geng Ye 耿晔 [Jiyu 季遇 or Jiguo 季過]; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Pu, after his father's death in 115 Geng Ye was made a gentleman cadet.

Early in the reign of Emperor Shun Geng Ye was appointed Protector of the Wuhuan. This post also entailed responsibility for the Xianbi tribes, currently under the leadership of Qizhijian, who attacked Dai commandery in the autumn of 126 and killed the Administrator Li Chao. With levies from the frontier commanderies, troops from the Southern Xiongnu and Wuhuan auxiliaries led by Fushuguan and Rongzhuhui, Geng Ye was engaged against the Xianbi for several years, with operations on both sides of the frontier, until enemy raiding petered out following the death of Qizhijian about 134. During the course of these operations, to develop further the network of alliances with the Wuhuan against the raiders, Geng

Ye moved his headquarters as Protector from Ning city in Shanggu east into Liaodong. He was admired for his personal authority in the north, and towards the end of the fighting he received the surrender of large numbers of Xianbi along the eastern part of the frontier.

In 133 Geng Ye was transferred to be General on the Liao, stationed in Wuyuan with primary responsibility for the Xiongnu. His loyal associate among the Wuhuan, Rongzhuhui, had now left the scene, and in the winter of 135/136 a group of those former allies raided Yunzhong and plundered merchants on the roads. Geng Ye led two thousand men to deal with the incursion, but after one successful skirmish he was besieged in a small fortress close to the frontier. A relief force came swiftly, and the enemy withdrew, but the incident marked an unwelcome change from the useful allegiance of the Wuhuan which he had maintained for so long in former years.

In 136 Geng Ye left the Trans-Liao command on account of ill health. -*HHS* 19/9:724, 89/79:2960; deC 84:303, 391-392.

Geng Yi 耿姬, the Lady: see the Lady Geng Ji 耿姬.

Geng Yong 耿雍 see Jian Yong 簡雍 and *sub voce*. The surname was originally Geng, but the pronunciation of the two characters was the same in the northern dialects, and so it changed. -*SGZ* Shu 8:971.

Geng Yuan 耿援 or Geng Shou 授 [Boxu 伯緒]; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Xian, he succeeded to his fief. He married the Princess of Changshe, sister of Emperor Huan, and became Administrator of Hedong. -*HHS* 10B:443, 19/9:714.

Geng Zhi 耿植; Julu. A cousin of Geng Chun, in 24 he joined his kinsmen in rejecting the usurper Wang Lang and bringing household troops to join Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu who was at that time commissioner in the north for the Gengshi regime. Geng Zhi and his cousins Geng Xin and Geng Su were appointed as lieutenant-generals, and with Geng Chun they persuaded their home town of Songzi to surrender.

When Geng Chun was wounded in fighting against Wang Lang, he recommended Geng Zhi to command his troop, and so Geng Zhi served as his deputy. He was later made a general, and in 26 he joined Cen Peng in unsuccessful operations against the rebels Dong Xin and Deng Feng in Nanyang.

In 28 Geng Zhi took over from Cen Peng and accompanied Zhu You south against the warlord Qin Feng in Nan commandery. They defeated and killed

Qin Feng's general Zhang Kang, and in the summer of 29, after a siege of eighteen months, they obtained the surrender of Qin Feng. Geng Zhi received a county fief in Xindu. -HHS 21/11:762-65, 22/12:770.

Geng Zhi 耿社. General on the Liao in 191, with his base at Liyang in Wei commandery, he was defeated and driven away by the combined forces of Zhang Yang and the Xiongnu chieftain Yufuluo. -SGZ 8:251.

Geng Zhong 耿忠; Youfufeng. Son of Geng Yan, he succeeded to his fief. As Commandant of Cavalry in 73, Geng Zhong was second to Dou Gu on the left wing against the northern Xiongnu by Lake Barkol. -HHS 19/9:713, 23/13:810.

Geng Zhong 耿忠; Julu. Son of Geng Teng, about 85 he succeeded to the village fief which had been granted to his uncle Xu and then to his father. -HHS 21/11:765.

Geng Zhong 耿种 see Geng Chong 耿种.

Gengshi 更始 **Emperor** (reg. 23-25) see Liu Xuan 劉玄.

"Goitre" Yang 瘰癧 see Liu Yang.

Gong 宮 (d.121) of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. Later known as Ancestor of the Realm 國祖王, Gong became king of Gaogouli about 100. He may have been the founding ruler of the house of Kyerubu 桂婁部, which replaced the original royal clan of Yonnobu 涓奴部 about this time. It was said that as soon as Gong was born his eyes opened and he was able to see; his people admired this.

When Gong grew to manhood he was strong and brave, and led many raids against the Chinese frontiers, breaking the period of peace which had held since the time of Guangwu and the pacification achieved by Zhai Tong. The first attack with which Gong is identified was in the spring of 105, when he plundered six counties in Liaodong. The Administrator Geng Kui, however, defeated the raiders and killed a number of their leaders. A few years later, in 109, Gong sent messengers to bring tribute, and asked to be subordinated to Xuantu commandery, presumably in some form of dependent state.

In 118 he again led his men, with associated Hui and Mo people, on a raid against Xuantu, and he also attacked Lelang to the south. As a result of his incursions the capital of Xuantu was withdrawn to the west.

In the spring of 121 the Inspector of You province Feng Huan led the administrators of Xuantu and

Liaodong, Yao Guang and Cai Feng, in a punitive expedition across the frontier. They caught and killed several chieftains and seized weapons, horses and treasure. Gong sent his Heir Suicheng in a pretended surrender, and Yao Guang believed him. The enemy then occupied strong positions while sending infiltrators into Chinese territory, burning settlements and killing or wounding two thousand people. Reinforcements were brought from as far as Zhuo and Yuyang on the North China plain, but by the time they arrived the raiders had gone.

It appears that the Chinese now suffered internal divisions, and in the summer, with support from Xianbi to the north, Gong attacked Liaodong, heavily defeating the local troops and killing the Administrator Cai Feng. In the autumn he turned against Xuantu, this time with allies from the Hui and Mo and from among the Mahan people of south-western Korea, and he brought several thousand horsemen to besiege the capital. In the winter the king of Fuyu, north of Gaogouli, sent his Heir Weiqutai with over twenty thousand men to aid the Chinese with a counter-attack, and at the beginning of 122 the siege was lifted and five hundred of the raiders were killed.

At some stage during these operations Gong died. Advised by Chen Zhong, Emperor An refused to authorise an attack on the enemy during their period of mourning, but sent condolences instead, and in the following year Gong's successor Suicheng made a genuine, albeit well-rewarded, surrender. -HHS 85/75: 2814-15; Gardiner 69A:30-32, 69B:161-162.

Gong 龔 [Administrator of Runan during the 120s] see Wang Gong 王龔. -XC 4:2b-3a.

Gong Ce 龔策; Ba. Presumably a kinsman of Gong Rong, Gong Ce became commandery Officer for Education 文學掾. -HYGZ 12:220.

Gong Chen 龔諶; Ba. As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in Yi province Gong Chen was a commandery Officer of Merit. He welcomed Zhang Fei, and later became Administrator of Jianwei. -HYGZ 5:74, 12:222.

Gong Chong 宮崇; Langye. A disciple of Gan Ji, during the reign of Emperor Shun, Gong Chong presented a book of mystical learning to the court. The work is commonly identified with the important Taoist classic *Taiping jing* 太平經. For further details see *sub* Gan Ji and Xiang Kai. -HHS 30/20B:1080-84, SGZ Wu 1:1110.

Gong Ci 龔賜; Chu/Pengcheng. Gong Ci's father

Gong Sheng 勝 had been a high official under Former Han, but refused to serve Wang Mang. As a reward for this loyalty, Emperor Guangwu appointed Gong Ci Administrator of Shanggu. -HHS 25/15:873; QHX: 119-120.

Gong Du 龔都/共都; Runan. In 200 Gong Du was a bandit opposed to Cao Cao. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei to assist him, and they killed Cao Cao's officer Cai Yang. In 201 Cao Cao himself attacked them; Liu Bei fled and Gong Du's men scattered. -SGZ 1:22, SGZ Shu 2:876.

Gong Jiao 龔皦 [Deguang 德光]; Ba. Son of Gong Chen and younger brother of Gong Lu, Gong Jiao became a general under Shu-Han. -HYGZ 12:222.

Gong Lin 弓林 (d.25); Anding. In 24 Gong Lin and Fang Wang gained control over the Young Prince Liu Ying, who had been held at Chang'an since Wang Mang took the imperial title. Taking the boy into Anding, at the beginning of 25 they proclaimed him emperor, with Fang Wang as Imperial Chancellor and Gong Lin as Grand Marshal. They were promptly attacked by soldiers of the Gengshi Emperor, and the pretender and all his party were killed. -HHS 1A:18, 11/1:473; Bn 59.91.

Gong Lu 龔祿 [Dexu 德緒] (195-225); Ba. Son of Gong Chen, when Liu Bei took over Yi province Gong Lu held local office and then joined the provincial headquarters. He was later named Administrator of Yuexi and accompanied Zhuge Liang on his southern expedition, but was killed on that campaign. -SGZ Shu 15:1088.

Gong Luo 龔維; Guiyang. Having served as local officers under the Administrator Zhou Jing, in 174 Gong Luo, Gong Tai and Guo Cang took a leading role in having a stele set up in his honour. -LS 4:15a.

Gong Luo 貢羅, the Lady: see Luo Gong 羅貢.

Gong Pu 共普. A eunuch, in 168 Gong Pu was a member of staff at the residence of the regent Dowager Dou. A strong man, he was a friend of the eunuch officer Zhu Yu. When Zhu Yu learned that Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to arrest the senior eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu, he called Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and others, and they took an oath in blood to destroy Dou Wu.

After the successful coup Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and three of their comrades were enfeoffed. -HHS 69/59:2243, 78/68:2524; Ch'ü 72:491.

Gong Rong 龔榮; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Gong

Rong joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree.

Gong Rong later became Inspector of Jing province. -HYGZ 1:5-9.

Gong Shou 龔壽. Headman of a village in the far south early in Later Han, Gong Shou murdered the Lady Su E and seized her property. His crime was discovered by Chen Chang the Inspector of Jiaozhi and he was executed. -XC 6:13a-b.

Gong [Shenghou] 龔升侯 see Gong Tiao 龔調. -HYGZ 1:5.

Gong Su 龔肅 see Xi Su 襲肅.

Gong Sui 龔遂 [Juqing 巨卿]. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in the time of Emperor Huan, Gong Sui was a master of precedent and was regularly consulted on difficult questions. -XC 8:6b.

Gong Tai 龔臺; Guiyang. Having served as local officers under the Administrator Zhou Jing, in 174 Gong Tai, Guo Cang and Gong Luo took a leading role in having a stele set up in his honour. -LS 4:15a.

Gong Tiao 龔調 [Shuhou 叔侯 or Shenghou 升侯]; Ba. In 124 Gong Tiao was an Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents in the Censorate. Joining the demonstration led by Lai Li to protest the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, Gong Tiao argued on the basis of the law that even if Liu Bao's friends the Lady Wang Nan and the officer Bing Ji had committed some offence, Liu Bao did not himself deserve punishment. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125, many of them were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. Gong Tiao was later Inspector of Jing province. -HHS 15/5:591-93, HYGZ 12:219.

Gong Yang 龔楊/揚; Ba. During the 190s Gong Yang was Administrator of Jianwei under the Governor Liu Zhang. The young widow Han Jiang was abducted by Zuo Xi and Wang Su, clients of the local gentleman Dong Tai, but she killed herself rather than marry him. Gong Yang executed the two men.

Gong Yang was later Administrator of Ba, though the commandery had been divided, and his truncated territory probably did not include his home country.

-HYGZ 1:9, 10B:160.

Gong Yang 弓楊 miswritten for Gong Yang 龔楊/楊.

Gongbin Jiu 公賓就; Donghai. Gongbin Jiu held junior appointment at the court of Wang Mang but in 23, as Han irregular troops led by Wang Xian gathered to attack the imperial palace, he joined their ranks and took title as a colonel. In a final skirmish, the soldier Du Wu/Yu killed Wang Mang. He took the imperial seal, but did not cut off his head. Gongbin Jiu saw him with the seal and asked where he got it. Du Wu showed him Wang Mang's body; Gongbin Jiu took the head and passed it to Wang Xian.

Wang Xian was later executed, and Gongbin Jiu was sent to present the head to the Gengshi Emperor at Wan city in Nanyang. It was put on display in the market-place, and Gongbin Jiu was made a marquis. -DGHJ 23:2b; Dubs 55:465-66, Bn 54:132.

Gongcheng Hui 公乘會; Shu. Husband of the Lady Zhang 張 I, he died young. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Gongcheng Xi 公乘歛. General of the Household and Commandant in Zuopingyi for the Gengshi Emperor, in the winter of 25 he opposed Guangwu's general Deng Yu as he crossed the Yellow River from Hedong. He was defeated and put to flight. -HHS 16/6:602.

Gongchou Cheng 公仇稱. In 190 Gongchou Cheng was a senior assistant to Sun Jian, lately appointed as a general and Inspector of Yu province by Yuan Shu. Sun Jian sent him back to obtain reinforcements for his campaign against Luoyang, but as they held the farewell feast the army was surprised by an advance guard of Dong Zhuo's troops. Sun Jian remained calm, and he was able to deploy his men before the enemy could attack. -SGZ Wu 1:1096.

Gongchu Gong 公褚恭 miswritten for Gongxu Gong 公緒恭. -ZF:16a [SGZ 6:211].

Gongli Xu 弓里戌. As a Commandant of Cavalry in 26, Gongli Xu was sent with troops to establish the authority of the new Emperor Guangwu in the north. He called local leaders and gentlemen of Taiyuan for interviews and was particularly impressed with Wen Xu, whom he recommended to the court. -HHS 81/71:2672.

Gongqi Chou 公綦稠 also as Qi Chou 箕稠 (d.187). In 187 Gongqi Chou was Protector of the Wuhuan. He was killed by the rebels under Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju, aided by the Wuhuan chieftain Qiuliju and numbers of Xianbi. -HHS 8:354; deC 84:399.

A tomb found at Horing, Inner Mongolia, may be

that of Gongqi Chou: *WW* 1974/1, deC 84:385.

Gongqiu Cheng 公仇稱 see Gongchou Cheng 公仇稱.

Gongsha Fan 公沙樊 [Yiqi 義起]; Beihai. Gongsha Fan was one of five sons of Gongsha Mu, all known as excellent scholars. -HHSJJ 82/72B:3005 Shen Qinhan citing *Qunfu lu*.

Gongsha Fu 公沙孚 [Yunci 允慈]; Beihai. Son of Gongsha Mu, Gongsha Fu was known as an excellent scholar. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he joined the Imperial Secretariat, served as a magistrate in Runan, and became Administrator of Shanggu. -HHS 82/72B: 2731, XC 6:7a.

Gongsha Ke 公沙恪 [Yunrang 允讓]; Beihai. Gongsha Ke was one of five sons of Gongsha Mu, all known as excellent scholars. -HHSJJ 82/72B:3005 Shen Qinhan citing *Qunfu lu*.

Gongsha Kui 公沙逵 [Yize 義則]; Beihai. Gongsha Kui was one of five sons of Gongsha Mu, all known as excellent scholars. -HHSJJ 82/72B:3005 Shen Qinhan citing *Qunfu lu*.

Gongsha Lu 公沙盧; Beihai. Head of a powerful clan in the early 190s, Gongsha Lu defied local authority, but the county magistrate Wang Xiu brought a small posse to kill him and several of his brothers. -SGZ 11:345.

Gongsha Mu 公沙穆 [Wenyi 文义]; Beihai. Born to a humble family, Gongsha Mu took no interest in childish games when he was young, but studied the classics and divination by the trigrams and by the calendar. He attended the University at Luoyang, studying the Han version of *Poetry* and the Gongyang commentary to *Zuo zhuan*, and he became a close friend of Wu You.

He later lived as a hermit in the hills of the Shandong peninsula, rejecting the fortune offered him by the wealthy Wang Zhong. On one occasion he claimed to have preserved himself from demons by reciting the Confucian classics and, in a more mundane fashion, when one of his pigs was sold but turned out to be ill he refused the money because his agent had failed to tell the purchaser of its condition.

Gongsha Mu was later nominated Filial and Incorrupt, certified First Class, became a senior assistant to the Minister of the Household and was then magistrate of a county fief in Langye. The marquis Liu Chang, a descendant of Liu Qiang, King of Donglai, was a man of unlawful and immoral conduct, who had dismissed his senior wife and replaced her with one of

his concubines. As soon as he arrived, Gongsha Mu criticised Liu Chang for his bad reputation, forced him to restore his former wife to her rightful position, to remove his concubine's son from the succession, and to give back the public and private farmland he had seized. Gongsha Mu also arrested and tortured those retainers and slaves of the household who had offended the law. Liu Chang, weeping, asked pardon for his wrong-doing, and he accepted Gongsha Mu's instructions thereafter.

Gongsha Mu was later magistrate in the capital of Hongnong when a plague of caterpillar moths appeared. Gongsha Mu raised an altar and offered to take upon himself the faults of the people. Heavy rain fell, and when it ceased the pests were gone. The people praised his spiritual wisdom.

In 155 there were great floods on the Wei and the Yellow River, but through his skill in divination Gongsha Mu foresaw the danger. He warned his people to take refuge on high ground, and they largely escaped the disaster.

Transferred to be Commandant of the Dependent State of Liaodong, Gongsha Mu again won the hearts of the people by fine administration. He died in office there at the age of sixty-six. Gongsha Mu's five sons were celebrated at the capital as "five dragons" 五龍, of unmatched ability. -HHS 82/72B:2730-31*, XC 6: 6b-7a; Ngo 76:109-111, DeWoskin 83:68-70.

Gongsha Shao 公沙紹 [Ziqi 子起]; Beihai. Gongsha Shao was one of the five sons of Gongsha Mu, all known as excellent scholars. -HHSJJ 82/72B:3005 Shen Qinhan citing *Qunfu lu*.

Gongsheng 公乘 [surname] see Gongcheng 公乘 *passim*.

Gongsun 公孫, the Lady; Youfufeng. Younger sister of Gongsun Shu, about 30 she married Yan Cen. -HYGZ 5:69; Bn 59:191.

Gongsun Bao 公孫豹. Son of Gongsun Yu 域/域, he died about 168 at the age of eighteen. -SGZ 8:252.

Gongsun Bao 公孫豹: childhood name of Gongsun Du *q.v.* -SGZ 8:252.

Gongsun Binjiu 公孫賓就 see Gongbin Jiu 公賓就.

Gongsun [Boda] 公孫伯達. Gentlemen from the region about Chang'an, Gongsun Boda, Wei Biao and Wei Zhongda were celebrated scholars; the local people referred to them as the three "intelligent ones" 三達, from the common character in their styles.

Gongsun Boda became Administrator of Shang-

dang. -HHSJJ 26/16:970 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu jue lu*.

Gongsun Chen 公孫臣 see Shentu Chen 申屠臣.

Gongsun Dan 公孫丹; Beihai. Leader of a great clan, Gongsun Dan held a senior clerical position in the offices of the state. About 30 Gongsun Dan built himself a new house, but a diviner foretold there would be a death there, so Gongsun Dan had his son kill a man passing by on the road. The Chancellor Dong Xuan executed both the father and the son, and when thirty of their kinsmen and followers rioted in protest he had them arrested and killed as well. -HHS 77/67:2489.

Gongsun Du 公孫度 [Shengji 升濟] (d.204); Liaodong>Xuantu. Son of Gongsun Yan, who had migrated to Xuantu from Liaodong, Gongsun Du held a junior post in Xuantu, but was then adopted by the Administrator Gongsun Yu, whose son Bao 豹 had died young; Gongsun Du's childhood name was also Bao 豹, and he was the same age. Gongsun Yu arranged for Gongsun Du's marriage and further education.

In 169 Gongsun Du was nominated as Knowing the Way. He came to court, responded to questions and was appointed a gentleman cadet, then joined the Imperial Secretariat. He became Inspector of Ji province, but left on account of popular complaint and evidently held no office for some time.

In 189 Gongsun Du was recommended by Dong Zhuo's lieutenant Xu Rong, who also came from Xuantu, and Dong Zhuo named him Administrator of Liaodong. Though gentlemen of Liaodong had looked down upon him as a man from the frontier, Gongsun Du swiftly established his authority, killing several men of family, then expanded against Koguryo and the Wuhuan. He dominated the northeast from southern Manchuria to Liaoxi, and for a time also held position on the north of the Shandong peninsula. Styling himself Marquis of Liaodong and Governor of a new Ping 平 province, he ruled independently, found auspicious omens and prophecies and usurped imperial ceremonial and regalia.

In 204 Cao Cao named Gongsun Du a general and marquis of a district: the latter title Gongsun Du naturally despised; he stored the insignia in his arsenal. He died that year and was succeeded by his son Kang. -SGZ 8:252-53*, HHS 74/64B:2418-19*; Gardiner 72A, Mather 76:543, deC 96:58-61.

Gongsun Fan 公孫範; Liaoxi. A cousin of Gongsun

Zan, in 191 he was named Administrator of Bohai by Yuan Shao to hold the territory against him. Gongsun Fan, however, went over to Gongsun Zan. -*HHS* 73/63:2362, *SGZ* 8:242.

Gongsun Fang 公孫方 or Gongsun Yu 育. A fellow-student under Zheng Xuan, Gongsun Fang was a friend of Cui Yan. He died young and Cui Yan cared for his children. -*SGZ* 12:367, 370.

Gongsun Gong 公孫恭; Xuantu. Younger son of the warlord Gongsun Du, Gongsun Gong became regent of their north-eastern state about 220, following the death of his elder brother Kang, whose children were too young to rule. He maintained his independence, but he accepted titles as a general and enfeoffment as a marquis from Cao Pi.

Gongsun Gong suffered an illness which made him impotent and incapable, and his government was weak. He was forcibly replaced by his nephew Gongsun Yuan in 228, but survived the fall of the state in 238. -*SGZ* 8:253; Gardiner 72B.

Gongsun Guang 公孫光 or Gongsun Huang 晃 (d.36); Youfufeng. When Gongsun Shu took the imperial title in 25 he appointed his younger brother Gongsun Guang as Grand Marshal, but in 29 the office was awarded to Yan Cen, a soldier of fortune newly come from the east. Bielenstein notes that *HYGZ* 5 has Guang's brother Hui as Grand Commandant in 25, and equates that post to Grand Marshal; he therefore argues that Gongsun Guang should have held some other, unidentified, office. Grand Commandant and Grand Marshal may have been distinct appointments under Gongsun Shu, however, so the information is not necessarily contradictory.

In 30 the officer Jing Han urged Gongsun Shu to adopt an aggressive strategy, sending Yan Cen north to the Wei valley and Tian Rong east into the middle Yangzi. By this means he would confirm the allegiance of Wei Ao and threaten Emperor Guangwu of Han from two directions. Yan Cen and Tuan Rong were eager for the project, but many local officials considered the distant venture too risky, and Gongsun Guang, perhaps influenced by his displacement from the office of Grand Marshal, led the opposition. No action was taken.

Gongsun Guang was killed when Chengdu fell in 36. -*HHS* 13/3:539-40 [as Guang 光], 100/10:3221 [as Huang 晃]; Bn 59:107, 186-187.

Gongsun Hong 公孫弘/宏. An Assistant Officer

of You province about 70, Gongsun Hong was in correspondence with Liu Ying the King of Chu. The Excellency Yu Yan planned to invite him to office, but when he learned of his connection to the king he proceeded no further. In 71, as Liu Ying was accused of plotting treason, Gongsun Hong was arrested and killed; despite his earlier caution Yu Yan was implicated by association. -*HHS* 33/23:1154.

Gongsun Huang 公孫晃 see Gongsun Guang 公孫光.

Gongsun Huang 公孫晃 (d.238); Xuantu. Elder son of Gongsun Kang, he was considered too young to rule the warlord state when his father died. The regency was taken by Gongsun Gong, who sent Huang as a hostage to Wei. After his brother Yuan succeeded to power in the northeast in 228, Gongsun Huang warned the Wei court of the likelihood of war, but after hostilities had broken out in 237 he and his children were killed. -*SGZ* 8:261; Gardiner 72B:178-179.

Gongsun Hui 公孫灰 (d.36); Youfufeng. In 24 the Gengshi Emperor sent his officers Li Bao and Zhang Zhong, the latter named as Inspector, to take over in Yi province. The local warlord Gongsun Shu sent his younger brother Hui, who defeated them as they approached Chengdu and drove them north into Hanzhong.

When Gongsun Shu took the imperial title in the following year he appointed Hui as an Excellency. *HHS* 13/3 says that he was Excellency of Works, but *HYGZ* 5 has him as Grand Commandant. Given the order of the titles in *HYGZ*, Excellency of Works appears more likely, but in that case he was later replaced by Ren Man. See also *sub* Gongsun Guang.

In the summer of 35, as Cen Peng advanced up the Yangzi, Gongsun Hui was sent with Yan Cen and others to guard the approaches to Chengdu along the Fu River in Guanghan. A few months later Yan Cen was heavily defeated by the Han general Zang Gong, and Gongsun Hui withdrew northeast to Fu county. He was destroyed there in the autumn of 36 [*HHJ* 6:72 says he was killed at the time of the defeat in Guanghan in the previous year]. -*HHS* 13/3:534-35, 542, *HYGZ* 5:68; Bn 59:86, 107, 191-196.

Gongsun Ji 公孫紀; Liaoxi? A local officer under Liu Yu, he was well-treated by Gongsun Zan because they had the same surname. As Liu Yu was planning to attack Gongsun Zan in 193, Gongsun Ji went to warn him. -*HHS* 73/63:2356.

Gongsun Ju 公孫舉 (d.156). A leader of bandits in the region of Mount Tai, by 155 he and Dongguo Dou had acquired a force of thirty thousand men. Ravaging Taishan and Langye, they extended their depredations over Qing, Yan and Xu provinces.

In 156 Duan Jiong attacked them, destroyed their army and executed the leaders. -*HHS* 7:300-02, 65/55:2145-46. *HHS* 38/28:1286 refers to Gongsun Ju in 160, but this is a mistake for the later bandit Shusun Wuji.

Gongsun Kang 公孫康; Xuantu. Elder son of the local warlord Gongsun Du, Gongsun Kang succeeded his father in 204. He initially sought to establish suzerainty over the Wuhuan, but after Cao Cao's victory at White Wolf Mountain in 207 he received Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi, with Louban, Supuyan and other Wuhuan leaders, then killed them and sent the heads to Cao Cao.

Though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Han court under Cao Cao, Gongsun Kang remained an independent warlord. He later took advantage of a succession struggle in Koguryo to extend his power into present-day Korea, restoring Lelang, setting up the new commandery of Daifang about present-day Seoul, and restoring communication with the south of the peninsula and with Japan. He probably died about 220. -*SGZ* 8:253*, Gardiner 72A.

Gongsun Mo 公孫模 or Gongsun Mu; Liaodong? About 210, after the north-eastern warlord Gongsun Kang had defeated Gaogouli and taken some of its territory [see *sub* Yiyimo], he sent his officers Gongsun Mo and Zhang Chang south down the coast of Korea to restore Chinese control of the region of Lelang. They gathered sufficient support among remnant settlers to defeat the local non-Chinese and establish a new commandery, Daifang, at the estuary of the Han River near present-day Seoul. -*SGZ* 30:851; Gardiner 72A: 89-90.

Gongsun Pu 公孫輔 (d.121); Liaodong. A local officer in the commandery, in the summer of 121 Gongsun Pu accompanied the Administrator Cai Feng in an attempt to deal with a major raid from Gougouli [Koguryo], supported by Xianbi from the north. As their troops were defeated Gongsun Pu and his colleagues Geng Hao and Long Duan tried to shield their master Cai Feng, but all of them were killed. -*HHS* 85/75:2814-15.

Gongsun Qing 公孫慶. Administrator of Nanyang

about 160, Gongsun Qing nominated his clerk Liu Zu as Filial and Incorrupt. -*FSTY* 5:39-40.

Gongsun Shou 公孫守; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Gongsun Shou became warlord in his home county of Changling. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu. Gongsun Shou was presumably related to Gongsun Shu, but though they came from the same commandery they did not come from the same county.

In 27 Gongsun Shou and his colleagues were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -*HHS* 17/7:647.

Gongsun Shu 公孫述 [Ziyang 子陽] (d.36); Youfufeng. A man of established official family, Gongsun Shu's father Ren 仁 had been an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate during the reign of Emperor Ai of Former Han, and later became Commandant of Henan. Through the *ren* appointment right of his father, Gongsun Shu entered the civil service as a member of the Suite of the Heir, then became a gentleman cadet, and when Gongsun Ren was in Henan Gongsun Shu became a county magistrate in Tianshui. Considering him young and inexperienced, his father sent one of his officers to advise and guide him, but after a few weeks the man returned and told Gongsun Ren that his son needed no such help. Also recognising Gongsun Shu's capability, the Administrator had him supervise four other counties. We are told that the government was in good order, with no instances of robbery or banditry, while all the commandery admired his uncanny ability.

About 15 AD, Gongsun Shu was appointed Administrator of Shu, under the regime of Wang Mang, with his capital at Linqiong, west of Chengdu. He was still in that position when Wang Mang was destroyed by the army of the Gengshi Emperor of Han in 23. As the empire fell into disorder, the self-styled general Zong Cheng of Nanyang raided Hanzhong commandery. The effect of his incursions extended south of the mountains into Guanghan, while at the same time the bandit Wang Cen attacked Luo city, north of Chengdu and headquarters of the province. Song Zun, the Governor appointed by Wang Mang, was killed, and Wang Cen also took title as a general and declared his support for Zong Cheng.

Gongsun Shu now invited Zong Cheng south to Chengdu, where he was joined by Wang Cen. As Zong Cheng paid primary attention to plunder, Gongsun Shu explained to his people that he had mistakenly believed Zong Cheng to be a true officer of the new Han regime. He arranged for a messenger to appear, pretending to be from the Gengshi Emperor and carrying forged documents which not only confirmed him as Administrator of Shu but also named him Governor of Yi province and gave him title as a general. Armed with this false authority, Gongsun Shu attacked Zong Cheng; Zong Cheng's officer Yuan Fu killed Zong Cheng and surrendered with all his troops. As Bielenstein observes, with this complex of trickery Gongsun Shu gained reputation as a good local official, acquired a substantial number of new recruits, and set himself up as a recognised high officer of the new imperial regime. Even if the Gengshi regime objected to his pretensions, Gongsun Shu could claim to have acted in good faith, and his provincial power, whether legitimately acquired or not, gave him an excellent bargaining position.

In the autumn of the following year, 24, the Gengshi Emperor sent his officers Li Bao and Zhang Zhong to take over the territory, with Zhang Zhong designated as Inspector of Yi province. Gongsun Shu sent his brother Gongsun Hui to attack them, the Han forces were defeated and withdrew into Wudu, and Gongsun Shu's independence was confirmed. Soon afterwards Gongsun Shu took title as King of Shu 蜀王. His Officer of Merit Li Xiong, who put forward this welcome proposal, emphasised the coherence and prosperity of the territory, compared it to the misery and weakness of central China, and encouraged Gongsun Shu to plan for expansion as a hegemon. Taking over Jianwei, immediately to the south, Gongsun Shu received tribute from Ren Gui, the non-Chinese chieftain of Yuexi, who styled himself as a king, while the Zuodu people in the west and some White Horse Di of Wudu also submitted. Hou Dan was set to guard the pass controlling the northern approach from Hanzhong, while Ren Man, based at Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, established defences on the Yangzi Gorges at the border of present-day Sichuan and Hunan.

In the summer of 25 Gongsun Shu took the imperial title. He did this in defiance of the Gengshi regime, which was clearly on the point of collapse,

while Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, did not present his own claim until the autumn. The move was again encouraged by Li Xiong, and justified by various omens, including a favourable dream, a dragon which emerged from Gongsun Shu's *yamen*, and lights in the sky, together with calculations from apocryphal texts to foretell his succession to Han and Wang Mang. As he took the throne, Gongsun Shu announced the name of his dynasty as Cheng 成 "Complete," based upon the name of his capital, Chengdu, and proclaimed the reign title Longxing 龍興 "Dragon Rising". He adopted the colour white, which opposed the red of Han and succeeded to the yellow of Wang Mang, while it also reflected his position in the west, home of the Power of Metal 金行. He designated Yi province by the imperial title of Sili 司隸 and changed Shu commandery to be the Intendancy of Chengdu 成都尹. Li Xiong, Ren Man and Gongsun Shu's brothers Hui and Guang were named as Excellencies [HHS and HYGZ disagree on the precise distribution of these senior offices; see *sub voce*], while other members of his clan held high positions. Gongsun Shu's appointments were based chiefly upon personal connection: he showed no special favour to men of his homeland in the north, but he was likewise not bound to local leaders, and in later years an outsider such as Yan Cen of Nan commandery was readily approved for the highest military rank.

In 26 Gongsun Shu's general Hou Dan took advantage of the fighting between Liu Jia the king of Hanzhong and his rival Yan Cen to occupy that commandery, and during the following years Lü Wei and other gentry leaders in the Wei valley, north across the Qin Ling divide, offered allegiance to and received appointment as generals. Gongsun Shu also maintained contact with the north-western warlord Wei Ao, notably through the intermediacy of Ma Yuan, a fellow-countryman, who came on embassy from Wei Ao in 26 but was unhappy with his reception and later supported Emperor Guangwu. In the south, Wen Qi the Administrator of Yizhou commandery refused to acknowledge Gongsun Shu and sent messengers to Guangwu, while in Zangke the non-Chinese clans also resisted his authority and offered nominal allegiance to Han. These pockets of resistance were not of great importance: the armed men nominally under Gongsun Shu's command were numbered by hundreds of thousands, while the territory he controlled, the whole of present-day Sichuan, was coherent and prosperous.

On the other hand, though Gongsun Shu attempted to recruit local worthies to his court and cause, we are told that many refused, and expressed loyalty to the Han even at pain of death: see, for example, the cases of Li Ye, Wang Hao and Wang Jia, and the discussion of Vervorn 90:142-143.

As Guangwu extended his power over eastern China during the late 20s, Gongsun Shu was chiefly concerned with the symbols of empire. He paid great attention to prophecies, signs and portents which might be taken to foretell his success; he constructed a palace at Nanzheng in Hanzhong, with ten fine barges, all painted red and adorned with silk and fine woods, and he sought to replace the copper currency of Han with iron coins of his own minting – this may have reflected the fact that his territory was the dominant producer of copper in China, but the change was resented by the people. Furthermore, though Gongsun Shu is said to have issued insignia for official positions all over the empire, and his imperial claim ensured that he must at some time contend directly with Guangwu of Han, he never embarked upon a strategy to deal with the empire as a whole.

The closest Gongsun Shu appears to have come to such broad planning was in 30, when Guangwu already controlled the lower Wei valley about Chang'an and had established his dominance in the east. He was pressing hard against Wei Ao in the northwest, who was sufficiently concerned to seek an alliance, while Gongsun Shu had also received the refugee warlords Yan Cen and Tian Rong from the middle Yangzi. His adviser Jing Han proposed that he embark on a pincer movement, east though the Yangzi Gorges and north into the Wei valley, to support Wei Ao and threaten Guangwu on two fronts. Led by Gongsun Shu's brother Guang, officials at court opposed the plan and it was shelved. In any case, such a move should have been attempted three or five years earlier, while there were still potential allies in the east. By the 30s the best to be hoped for was a defensive stalemate with Wei Ao's support, for though the Sichuan basin is guarded by mountains Gongsun Shu's resources were too small to withstand the full power of the rest of the empire.

In 33, as a partial expression of Jing Han's plan, Tian Rong and Ren Man were sent through the Gorges to seize Nan commandery. They drove in the Han positions and occupied some territory along the Yangzi, but then established a defence line and

advanced no further. Guangwu's general Cen Peng took no immediate action, but spent two years on the construction of warships and other equipment, and in the summer of 35 he embarked on counter-offensive. Tian Rong's river defences were broken, and the Han armies pursued him the whole length of the Gorges. Laying siege to him in Jiangzhou but by-passing that position, Cen Peng moved up the Yangzi and the Min towards Chengdu while his associate Zang Gong forced his way up the Fu River and destroyed Yan Cen's army. Guangwu offered terms of surrender, but Gongsun Shu, committed to his imperial position, refused, and in the winter he sent a false deserter to assassinate Cen Peng and thus obtained a breathing space.

The campaign was resumed by the Grand Marshal Wu Han. His strength was fully extended as he approached Chengdu, and he was briefly defeated by Gongsun Shu's general Xie Feng, but Wu Han recovered and resumed the advance. By the end of 36 he had been joined by Zang Gong from the Fu River, and together they invested Chengdu. Gongsun Shu still refused to surrender, and although the Han armies were on the outskirts of his capital their position was still vulnerable: supplies were short, the troops were exhausted, and Wu Han was considering retreat. It would no doubt have been wiser to let him withdraw, but we are told Gongsun Shu took the omens and found that "A caitiff will die below the city walls" 虜死城下. Believing this referred to Wu Han, on 24 December 36 he ordered a sortie. His men gained initial success, but Wu Han's reserves turned the battle. Gongsun Shu was badly wounded, and though he was brought back into the city he died that night.

On the following day Yan Cen surrendered, and two days later Wu Han allowed his men to loot the city. Numbers of people were killed, Gongsun Shu's palace was destroyed by fire, and Gongsun Shu's widow, his children and other kinsmen, together with Yan Cen and his family, were executed. In the following summer blind musicians and their instruments from the court of Gongsun Shu, together with various carriages, were brought to Luoyang and presented at the Altar of Heaven. -HHS 13/3:533-43, DGHJ 23:6b-7b, HYGZ 5; Bn 59:28-31, 107-109, 180-198.

Gongsun Song 公孫松; Kuaiji. Recommended for office by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, Gongsun Song had a distinguished career and became

Director of Retainers. -HHS 36/26:1241.

Gongsun Te 公孫特; Shu. Member of a powerful local family, about 65 Gongsun Te was given appointment by the Inspector. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Gongsun Xu 公孫續 (d.199); Liaoxi. In 198, as Yuan Shao came for a final assault on his fortress at Yi in Hejian, Gongsun Zan sent a letter to Gongsun Xu stating that the situation was serious, and that he should seek aid from Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits. Before the relief force could arrive, however, Gongsun Zan had been destroyed, and Gongsun Xu was then killed by Xiongnu. -HHS 36/26:1241, SGZ 8:246-47.

Gongsun Yan 公孫延; Liaodong>Xuantu. Gongsun Yan moved to Xuantu to avoid office in his native commandery. His natural son, the local warlord Gongsun Du, gave him posthumous enfeoffment. -SGZ 8:252; Gardiner 72A:60.

Gongsun Yan 公孫延. A general under Sun Quan, Gongsun Yan was captured by Cao Cao in 213. -SGZ 1:37.

Gongsun Ye 公孫曄 [Chun'guang 春光]. Having studied the *Classic of History* at the University in Luoyang, Gongsun Ye became an Academician and then an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. His opinion was frequently sought on matters of policy, and his advice was always based upon the teachings of the classics and served the good of the state. He acquired great influence at court.

When Gongsun Ye became Director of Retainers he refused to be influenced by the great families, and the region was so secure that the city gates could be opened early and closed late. -XC 6:15a-b.

Gongsun Yong 公孫永; Youfufeng. A cousin of Gongsun Shu, Gongsun Yong was Minister of the Guards in his imperial regime. Early in 36 he commanded a defensive position on the Yangzi in Jianwei, but he was defeated by Guangwu's general Wu Han. -HHS 18/8:681, 100/10:3221.

Gongsun Yu 公孫域/域. Administrator of Xuantu in 167, Gongsun Yu defeated an attack by the Fuyu tribes. His son Bao died soon afterwards, and he adopted Gongsun Du. -HHS 7:319, 85/75:2812, SGZ 8:252.

Gongsun Yu 公孫育 see Gongsun Fang 公孫方.

Gongsun Yuan 公孫淵 (d.238); Xuantu. Younger son of Gongsun Kang, in 228 he took power from his regent uncle Gong. He maintained the warlord state, varying between fealty to Wei and alliance with Wu,

until his destruction by the army of Sima Yi in 238. -SGZ 8:261; Gardiner 72B.

Gongsun Yue 公孫越 (d.191); Liaoxi. A cousin of Gongsun Zan, he was sent to assist Yuan Shu's general Sun Jian against Zhao Yu in the service of Yuan Shao. He was killed in battle and Gongsun Zan attacked Yuan Shao to avenge him. -SGZ 8:242.

Gongsun Zan 公孫瓚 [Bogui 伯珪/圭] (d.199); Liaoxi. Though Gongsun Zan's father came from a family of high officials, his mother was of mean descent. A handsome man with a powerful voice, skilled in debate, Gongsun Zan's first appointment was as a local officer in the commandery, where Administrator Hou admired him and gave him his daughter in marriage. He studied briefly under Lu Zhi and Liu Kuan, then returned to the commandery office and was later named Reporting Officer. When the Administrator Liu Ji was taken by cage-cart to the capital and then exiled to Rinan, Gongsun Zan gained local admiration for his display of loyalty, escorting Liu Ji to Luoyang and making sacrifice for his safe journey to the far south.

Returning to Liaoxi, Gongsun Zan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as a gentleman cadet, and became assistant magistrate of a county in Liaodong Dependent State. He made his name as a leader of cavalry against the Wuhuan and the Xianbi, and was noted for his companion force of archers on white horses. He was dismissed when he lost a large part of his force in an attack against heavy odds, but the Xianbi were intimidated and halted their raids: it is said they used his image for target practice, and cheered when someone hit it. He was re-appointed as a magistrate in Zhuo, and in 187 he was given command of Wuhuan auxiliaries for the campaign against the rebels in Liang province. Some levies mutinied, but Gongsun Zan attacked them with success.

Promoted Commandant of Cavalry, in 188 Gongsun Zan defeated the rebels Zhang Ju and Zhang Chun and the Wuhuan chieftain Qiuliju. When he advanced into the Dependent State, however, he was besieged by Qiuliju and escaped only after heavy losses. He was nonetheless made a colonel and enfeoffed, and was feared by the non-Chinese for his courage and ferocity.

As Qiuliju continued his raids across the northeast, the new Governor Liu Yu adopted a more lenient policy, and though Gongsun Zan argued with him and killed

envoys from the rebels, Qiuliju submitted. Liu Yu was rewarded with Excellency rank and enfeoffment, and Gongsun Zan was resentful. As Dong Zhuo took power he named Liu Yu Grand Marshal and made Gongsun Zan a general, enfeoffing him with Ji county in Guangyang, south of present-day Beijing, which was also the capital of You province.

In 191 a group of Yellow Turbans came north from the region of the Shandong peninsula. Gongsun Zan defeated them, caught them at a river crossing as they sought to escape, and killed vast numbers. Soon afterwards the death of his cousin Gongsun Yue, whom he had sent to assist Yuan Shu, made Gongsun Zan an enemy of Yuan Shao. He issued a long proclamation enumerating Yuan Shao's crimes, seized a great part of Ji province and named his own Inspectors and other officials to Qing and Yan. In the following year he was heavily defeated by Yuan Shao and his general Qu Yi at Jie Bridge on the Qing River between Qinghe and Julu. He regrouped to defeat an invading force under Cui Juye and then sent Tian Kai southeast into Qing province. In 193 the respected elder statesman Zhao Qi arranged a truce.

Liu Yu was angry that Yuan Shao's cousin and rival Yuan Shu had held his son Liu He when he escaped from Chang'an in 191, and he supported Yuan Shao. Disapproving also of Gongsun Zan's aggressive policy, he withheld his supplies; so the two men confirmed their enmity. In 193 Gongsun Zan built a fortress in Ji city, and when Liu Yu attacked he was defeated, captured and killed.

The government at Chang'an at this time gave Gongsun Zan title as General of the Van and changed his fief to Yi in Hejian, while he also styled himself Inspector of You province. Though Tian Kai was driven from Qing province by Yuan Shao's son Yuan Tan, Gongsun Zan still dominated the northeast. He ruled harshly, however, being particularly severe on members of the gentry, and in 195 Xianyu Fu led a rising of local leaders assisted by Yan Rou and Wuhuan allies. As the insurgents were joined by Yuan Shao's troops under Liu He and Qu Yi, Gongsun Zan's power was broken, and the officials he had appointed were killed and replaced by the rebels.

Gongsun Zan had prepared a vast defensive complex and agricultural colonies at Yi city. He now retreated there, keeping himself completely isolated, except for the women of his harem; these he trained

to shout in unison so that his followers could be kept at a distance and yet hear his orders. He repulsed one attack, by Yuan Shao's general Qu Yi, but in 198 Yuan Shao came with his main army. He dug tunnels, then fired them to bring down the walls; and early in the following year the citadel was taken by storm. Gongsun Zan killed his wife and children and then himself; Yuan Shao sent his head to the imperial court at Xu city. -*HHS* 73/63:2357-64*, *XC* 4:13a-b, *SGZ* 8:239-47*.

Gongsun Zhao 公孫昭 (d.190); Liaodong Dependent State. As a magistrate in Liaodong, Gongsun Zhao gave a poor position on his staff to Gongsun Kang. Kang's father Gongsun Du later became Administrator, and he had Gongsun Zhao flogged to death in the marketplace. -*SGZ* 8:252; *Gardiner* 72A:65.

Gongsun [Zhijie] 公孫志節; Chen. Having served as a local commandery officer, Gongsun Zhijie became Inspector of Yang province and was later Court Architect.

While in Yang province, Gongsun Zhijie found his runaway slave Diyu, who had taken the name Wang Bin. He took no action against him, however, and Wang Bin later held high office. -*FSTY* 3f:105.

Gongwu Zhou 公武周 miswritten for Wu Zhou 武周. -*SGZ* 18:537.

Gongxu Gong 公緒恭; Shanyang. A reformist at Luoyang in the late 160s, Gongxu Gong joined the sworn brotherhood of twenty-four men from Shanyang under the leadership of Zhang Jian. In 169 their fellow-countryman Zhu Bing, acting at the instigation of the powerful eunuch Hou Lan, claimed that the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this became the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188, *ZF*:16a [*SGZ* 6:211]; *deC* 75A:28-31.

Gongzu [Jinjie] 公族進階; Bohai. No details are known of this man's career, but he was admired by the reformists and students at Luoyang in the 160s for his upright and fearless criticism of powerful men. -*HHS* 67/57:2186, *FSTY* 5f:119.

Gou Ju 勾/句矩 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Gou Ju joined the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Gou Ju joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On

the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. -HYGZ 2:16, 10C:169.

Gou Si 緱汜 see Wei Si 維汜.

Gou Yu 苟宇. An officer in the service of the warlord Wei Ao, in 30 he captured the imperial official Wen Xu. He attempted to persuade him to change sides, but Wen Xu resisted violently and killed several of his men. Admiring his courage, Gou Yu gave him a sword to kill himself with.

Following the death of Wei Ao in 33, Gou Yu was one of his former officers who rallied to his son Wei Chun. At the end of 34, however, they were forced to surrender to Han, and Gou Yu joined Wei Chun in exile in Hongnong. -HHS 81/71:2672-73, 13/3:531.

Gou Yu 緱玉, the Lady; Chenliu. A woman of family, about 130 she killed her husband's uncle Li Shi to avenge her own uncle. She was arrested and liable to death, but the young scholar Shentu Pan spoke to the magistrate Liang Pei, arguing that even as a woman she had fulfilled the obligations of family vengeance, and praising her conduct as a model for future generations. Liang Pei, deeply impressed, obtained her an official pardon. -HHS 53/43:1751, XHS 4:1b.

Green Ox, Master 青牛先生 see Qingniu, Master 青牛先生.

Green Oxhorn 青牛角 see Qing Niujue 青牛角.

Gu Ba 古霸; Donglai. An officer under Liu Cang the King of Donglai about 58, he was sent to the capital to enquire after the health of the Princess Liu Zhongli, daughter of Emperor Guangwu. While there, he heard of the proposal to establish counties at the tombs of emperors Guangwu and Ming. He reported this to Liu Cang, who sent a memorial to Emperor Zhang arguing against the plan. -HHS 42/32:1437.

Gu Chong 谷崇. In 25 Kou Xun was concerned that Emperor Guangwu might be uncertain of his loyalty. As the imperial army passed through Henei on his way to attack Luoyang, therefore, he offered the services of his sister's son Gu Chong and his elder brother's son Kou Zhang with their troops of cavalry. The emperor, very pleased, appointed both men as lieutenant-generals.

In 26 Gu Chong had rejoined Kou Xun in Yingchuan and he offered his aid against Jia Fu. Kou Xun resolved the confrontation with a trick, but sent Gu Chong to report the matter to the emperor. Gu Chong was later

granted a marquissate for his achievements in the civil war. -HHS 16/6:622-23, 626.

Gu Chu 古初; Changsha. In the 40s, Gu Chu's father died. Before he could be buried a fire broke out in the next-door house. Gu Chu protected the coffin with his own body, and the fire went out.

The Administrator Zhi Yun reported this as an example of the finest filial conduct. -HHS 29/19:1032, FSTY 5f:121.

Gu Feng 顧奉 [Jihong 季鴻]; Kuaiji. Gu Feng travelled to Yuzhang to study the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* under Cheng Zeng. Recommended for office by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, he became well known and served as Administrator of Yingchuan.

Gu Feng's great-grandson Gu Yong *q.v.* was Chancellor of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu. -HHS 36/26:1241, 79/69B:2581, SGZ Wu 7:1225.

The *Wu lu* of Zhang Bo, cited in SGZ Wu 7:1225, identifies Jihong as the style of Gu Feng the Administrator of Yingchuan had the style Jihong. In a letter to Huang Qiong of 127, Li Gu referred to a certain Gu Jihong as a hermit scholar who was called to court and offered gifts, but did not distinguish himself. That was probably not the same man. -HHS 61/51:2032; Vervoorn 90:294.

Gu Gong 谷恭 see Gu Mang 谷莽.

Gu Hui 顧徽 see Hui 徽 [surname unknown].

Gu [Jihong] 顧季鴻 see *sub* Gu Feng 顧奉.

Gu Kan 顧龕; Kuaiji. About 150 Gu Kan was a junior officer at the headquarters of the commandery. On a day of assembly he wore a fur coat over his formal clothing. His colleague Wang Lang disapproved of this, and when Gu Kan refused to take off the offending garment Wang Lang beat a drum and tried to tear it off. The Administrator dismissed Gu Kan and offered his post to Wang Lang. -HHSJJ 67/57:2433 *jiaobu* Hou Kang quoting *Kuaiji dianlu* 會稽典錄[略].

Gu Li 谷利. Originally a junior servant in attendance on Sun Quan, because of his honesty and courtesy Gu Li became an officer of his bodyguard, the Companions 親近. When the army was defeated at Hefei in 215, Gu Li helped Sun Quan drive his horse across a river to escape the enemy. He was rewarded with enfeoffment.

On a later occasion Sun Quan was on the Yangzi near Wuchang in his great flagship. A storm blew up, and though Sun Quan believed the ship could sail safely

downwind, Gu Li drew his sword and compelled the helmsman to steer for shelter. Sun Quan, presumably somewhat put out by the fact that Gu Li had overriden his orders, sought to tease him for being afraid of the water. Gu Li, however, knelt and explained that although Sun Quan might jest about the danger, the ship was in fact top-heavy and the consequences of his loss would be devastating for the state. Sun Quan admired him all the more; as a sign of respect, he hereafter addressed Gu Li only by his surname, not by his personal name. -SGZ Wu 2:1120, 1133.

Gu Mang 谷莽; Jingzhao. Formerly Administrator of Qinghe in the service of Wang Mang, in 25 Gu Mang became a senior official in the warlord government of Wei Ao. -HHS 13/3:522.

Gu Ping 顧平 served as Commandant of Shangdang. -FSTY 6f:149.

Gu Pu 古朴; Guanghan. A noted scholar, Gu Pu joined colleagues to compose a hymn at the death of the Lady Zhang Shuji, wife of Wang Zun.

In 214, as Officer of Merit to Xiahou Zuan, Administrator of Guanghan in the service of Liu Bei, he accompanied him to a meeting with the scholar recluse Qin Mi. Xiahou Zuan twitted Gu Pu about the apparent lack of distinction among men from Yi province. Gu Pu responded by citing the literary qualities of such men as Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han. Qin Mi then joined the debate with emphatic praise of the region, and Xiahou Zuan was quite discountenanced. -SGZ Shu 8: 975, HYGZ 10A:139.

Gu Shao 顧邵 [Xiaoze 孝則]; Wu. Son of Gu Yong, Gu Shao was widely read in history and took particular interest in moral obligations between people. While he was still young, he and Lu Ji, his mother's sister, were both well known, and were accounted of higher quality than Lu Xun, Zhang Dun and Bu Jing. Gu Shao was known throughout his home country for his judgement of character and for the men of good quality whom he brought from obscurity, befriended and developed.

Sun Quan gave Gu Shao one of his nieces, daughter of Sun Ce, to wife, and at the age of twenty-seven he became Administrator of Yuzhang. He paid respects at the tomb of the local hermit Xu Zhi and gave patronage to his family, he emphasised the importance of correct ritual, and he continued his work of promoting men of ability from his junior staff and encouraging them to study. After five years, about 218, he died in that

office. -SGZ Wu 7:1229*; Mather 76:542.

Gu Shao 顧邵, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 VIII.

Gu Shilang 古師郎 see Gushi Lang 古師郎.

Gu Yong 谷永. Administrator of Yulin in 170, by generosity and honest conduct Gu Yong brought hundreds of thousands of Wuhu tribespeople to offer allegiance. They were settled within the borders of the empire and their chieftains were awarded caps and belts as insignia of authority.

We are told that seven new counties were established as a result of Gu Yong's work. They are not specifically identifiable, however, and it appears likely they were abandoned soon afterwards: in 178 there was a notable rebellion of the Wuhu people in the region of Hepu, which bordered Yulin to the south; see *sub* Zhu Jun. -HHS 86/76:2839; Miyakawa 60:34, deC 89:119, 453-454.

This Gu Yong must be distinguished from the man of the same name who was a soothsayer and minister under Wang Mang: *e.g.* HHS 23/13:798, 108/18:3369; QHX:132-133.

Gu Yong 顧雍 [Yuantan 元歎] (168-243); Wu. Gu Yong's great-grandfather Feng had been an Administrator, but there is no mention in the history of his father or grandfather. During the 180s the great scholar Cai Yong came to the southeast as a refuge from intrigue at court, and Gu Yong studied calligraphy and the lute with him. An excellent student, he was greatly admired by Cai Yong, who prophesied a great future for him and honoured him by granting him his own personal name [Cai Yong's name is usually written 邕, but sometimes appears as 雍; Gu Yong's always appears as 雍]. It is also said that his style Yuantan came from the fact that Cai Yong sighed 歎 in admiration at his ability; but the same character was included in the style of his uncle Hui [surname unknown].

Gu Yong was recommended both by his commandery and by the administration of Yang province, and while still young he became a county magistrate, first in Jiujang, then closer to home in Danyang, Wu and Kuaiji; these last three presumably under the authority of Sun Ce. He did well in each post, and when Sun Quan succeeded his brother in 200 he held title as Administrator of Kuaiji but named Gu Yong as his Assistant and gave him full charge of the commandery. He settled the hills bandits and confirmed authority over the whole territory.

Gu Yong later came to court, and after Sun Quan

became King of Wu in 221 he received enfeoffment and became Director of the Secretariat. A man of strict morality and conduct, he was always treated with respect, and when he brought his mother to court Sun Quan himself went to call upon her. In 225 he became a minister and in the following year was appointed Chancellor in succession to Sun Shao. He held that office for nineteen years until his death, and his family was recognised as one of the greatest in the state. -SGZ Wu 7:1225-28*; Mather 76:542-43, deC 90:464-465, 502.

Gu Yong 顧雍, wife of: see the Lady Lu 陸.

Gucheng Yu 孤/菰城 [Yu of Gucheng] see Zheng Yu 鄭嫗.

Gucheng Yun 古城雲 was Commandant of Guanghan. -FSTY 5f:121.

Guan Ba 管霸 (d.168). A eunuch, in 159 Guan Ba was a Regular Attendant to Emperor Huan. Though not directly involved in the coup which destroyed the Liang family, he took part in the interrogation of the protester Li Yun and held a senior position among the harem officials.

In 165 the Minister of Finance Liu You reported that Guan Ba and his colleague Su Kang had enclosed good farmland and wilderness throughout the empire, to the hardship of common people. The emperor was angry at Liu You, and sent him to convict labour.

Later that year Guan Ba was sent by Emperor Huan to present offerings at the temple of Laozi in Hu county in Chen state, the alleged birthplace of the sage. It was probably on that occasion that the *Laozi ming* 老子銘 stele was set up: the text is dated to the *jiazi* day of the eighth month of Yanxi 8, being 24 September 165, and Guan Ba's visit took place in the winter at the beginning of Western 166.

When Emperor Huan died in 167 his Empress Dou immediately killed his favourite, the Honoured Lady Tian Sheng, and she wanted to murder all the other women who had shared the monarch's favour. Guan Ba and Su Kang, however, protested and obliged her not to do so.

In 168, under the regency government of the Lady Dou, Dou Wu charged Guan Ba and Su Kang with wrong-doing and had them tortured to death. This was the first step in a planned attack on the eunuchs, eventually overturned by the eunuchs' counter-coup. The Dowager was not keen on the plan, but she may have been more ready to approve these deaths because

of her disappointment at not having been allowed to kill her former rivals in the harem. -HHS 7:316, 10B: 446, 57/67:2199, 69/59:2242; Seidel 69:122-128, deC 89:18-19, 59, 97.

Guan Bo 管伯 (d.148); Runan. In 148 Guan Bo raised a rebellion and styled himself a Perfect Man 真人, a sage in the popular Huang-Lao doctrines, combining worship of the legendary Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and Laozi 老子. He and his colleague Chen Jing were swiftly destroyed. -HHS 7:293.

Guan Cheng 管承; Donglai. About 200 Guan Cheng was a pirate leader by the mouth of the Yellow River, north of the Shantung peninsula. He was persuaded to surrender by He Kui, but later reverted to his former trade. In 206 Cao Cao sent his officers Yue Jin and Li Dian to deal with him, and Guan Cheng was driven away to the off-shore islands. -SGZ 11:279, 1:28.

Guan Chong 關寵 (d.75). After the general Dou Gu obtained the surrender of the kingdoms of Jushi [Turfan] in 74, the government of Later Han restored the Protectorate-General of the Western Regions. Guan Chong, an Internuncio, was appointed Ji Colonel with his camp at Liuzhong oasis in Nearer Jushi. His colleague Geng Gong was at Jinpu city in Further Jushi, north of the Bogda range. Each had a few hundred men in his command.

That same year the Northern Xiongnu returned in force to Further Jushi, brought the state once more under control and placed Geng Gong's isolated force under heavy siege. By the summer Guan Chong was also under attack in Liuzhong city, while the people of Yanqi [Karashar] and Qiuzi [Kuqa], further west along the Northern Road, killed the Protector-General Chen Mu.

At this time Emperor Ming had just died, and the government of Emperor Zhang did not at first recognise the emergency. When a messenger sent by Guan Chong to seek help arrived at the capital, some argued the troops should be abandoned, but it was eventually decided that this would be bad for morale, while it would enhance the imperial prestige to rescue them.

Early in 76, therefore, the Administrator of Jiuquan Duan Peng was sent with seven thousand commandery troops and auxiliaries from Shanshan. He relieved the remnant garrison of Liuzhong and restored Nearer Jushi to allegiance. By the time these reinforcements arrived, however, Guan Chong had been killed in

battle. -HHS 19/9:720-22.

Guan Gu 觀鵠 (d.187); Lingling. A religious rebel, in 187 Guan Gu commanded a group of bandits under the title General of the Peaceful Heaven 平天將軍 [or General Who Pacifies Heaven]. He probably died that year, but his troop, now jointly commanded by Zhou Chao and Guo Shi, ravaged Lingling, Guiyang and Changsha. They were later destroyed by Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha. -HHS 8:354, SGZ Wu 1: 1095; deC 90:103-104.

Guan Guo 管號 became Administrator of Xihe. -FSTY 6f:143.

Guan Hai 管亥. A leader of Yellow Turban rebels, in 193 Guan Hai laid siege to Kong Rong the Chancellor of Beihai. Liu Bei sent troops to the relief, and Guan Hai's men scattered. -HHS 70/60:2263, SGZ Wu 4: 1187.

Guan Jing 關靖 [Shiqi 士起] (d.199); Taiyuan. A trusted staff officer under Gongsun Zan, Guan Jing was cruel, but not good at planning.

In 198, as Yuan Shao laid siege to his fortress at Yi in Hejian, Gongsun Zan planned to make a strategic sortie behind his lines. Guan Jing warned that he would lose the support of his men if he appeared to abandon them. So Gongsun Zan stayed in Yi; and he was killed when the city fell in the following year.

Seeing the fate of his master, Guan Jing spurred his horse against the victorious enemy and died in battle. -HHS 73/63:2364.

Guan Ning 管寧 [You'an 幼安] (158-241); Beihai. A tall, handsome man, who held no concern for property, he travelled widely for scholarship with his friends Bing Yuan and Hua Xin, and was a student 弟子 of the Excellency Chen Qiu. After Chen Qiu was disgraced and died in 179 Guan Ning and Hua Xin were among those who joined to set up a stele at his tomb in Xiapi.

About 191 Guan Ning took refuge in Liaodong from the disturbances of central China, and set up a separate community in the northern hills. Though he spoke with Gongsun Du, he would only discuss the classics, never current affairs, and he warned Bing Yuan against committing himself. The Gongsun warlords both honoured him, and when Cao Cao sent an invitation, Gongsun Kang intercepted the letter.

In 223, on the advice of Hua Xin, Cao Pi called Guan Ning to his court. Guan Ning, however, refused all offers of appointment, even when Hua Xin asked to cede him his position as an Excellency. He died

in retirement in his home country. -SGZ 11:354-60*; Mather 76:543.

Guan Ping 關平 (d.219); Hedong. Son of Guan Yu, Guan Ping was killed with his father in Jing province. -SGZ Shu 6:941-42.

Guan Tong 管統. In 203 Guan Tong was Administrator of Donglai for Yuan Tan. When Yuan Tan was defeated by his brother Shang and faced mutiny from his local officers. Guan Tong went to help him, but his own wife and children, whom he had left behind, were killed by bandits. Guan Tong was then appointed Administrator of Le'an.

Though Yuan Tan was killed in 205 Guan Tong refused to surrender to Cao Cao. Wang Xiu was ordered to kill him, but refused because he admired his loyalty, and Cao Cao eventually set him free. -SGZ 11:346-47.

Guan Xing 關興 [Anguo 安國]; Hedong. Son of Guan Yu, Guan Xing showed ability when he was still young, Zhuge Liang admired him, and he held various appointments at the court of Liu Bei, ruler of Shu-Han.

After his death in Jing province in 219 Guan Yu was given posthumous enfeoffment as a full marquis, and Guan Xing received the title. He died a few years later. -SGZ Shu 6:942.

Guan Xun 觀恂. Inspector of Yang province about 65, Guan Xun sent in a report praising the exemplary conduct of the marquis Liu Ban, who held a county fief in Lujiang.

Guan Xun later became Administrator of Nanyang. -HHS 39/29:1304, FSTY 4:29.

Guan Yang 關陽 was a colonel in the Northern Army. -FSTY 6f:148.

Guan You 貫友 (d.96). Commandant of Juyan in 93, Guan You was transferred to be Protector of the Qiang. His predecessor Nie Shang had sought to deal courteously with the Qiang warlord Mitang, but failed to gain peace; Guan You was more aggressive.

He first broke up some of Mitang's following with agents, plots and bribes, then attacked his base in the Yu Valleys on the upper Yellow River, by present-day Guide in Qinghai. He built fortresses to hold the area, and constructed a pontoon bridge to pursue Mitang across the River. Mitang withdrew northwest into the wilderness, and no further action took place until Guan You died three years later.

The territory taken by Guan You remained in

Chinese hands until the great Qiang rebellion of 107. -HHS 87/77:2883.

Guan Yu 關羽 [Yunchang 雲長; originally Changsheng 長生] (d.219); Hedong. In fear of his life for some reason, Guan Yu took refuge in Zhou commandery, where he joined Liu Bei, who was at that time raising a private force. Guan Yu and Zhang Fei became Liu Bei's closest associates, they treated one another like brothers, and they accompanied Liu Bei on his campaigns in the east of the empire.

Early in 200 Cao Cao defeated Liu Bei and captured Guan Yu. He treated him generously and appointed him a lieutenant-general. In return Guan Yu killed Yuan Shao's general Yan Liang, cutting him down in the midst of his camp and forcing the enemy to withdraw. Cao Cao enfeoffed him as Marquis of Hanshou Village 漢壽亭侯, and he is sometimes known by that title. Guan Yu was determined to rejoin Liu Bei, however, and when he escaped Cao Cao did not pursue him.

Guan Yu accompanied Liu Bei into Jing province, and when Liu Biao died in 208 he took command of the Han River fleet and brought it down to join the defence at the Red Cliffs. After that victory he was named a general and put in command of defences in the north towards Xiangyang. When Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214, Guan Yu remained in charge of the whole of Jing province. In 219 he was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor as Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong, and he was named General of the Van. Initially resentful at sharing his rank with others, he eventually agreed to accept the office.

A man of great physical courage and skill, at one occasion Guan Yu had a serious operation on his arm carried out during a banquet, and even as the blood flowed he ate and drank and laughed as usual. In 215 he was obliged to redivide Jing province with Sun Quan, but he was not overly impressed by Sun Quan's local commander Lu Su, and as he moved north up the Han against Cao Cao's forces in 219 he had no concern for any threat from Lu Su's successor Lü Meng. Lü Meng encouraged this confidence, but then brought an army up the Yangzi to attack Guan Yu's rear. Guan Yu had already been driven back by Cao Ren at Xiangyang, and he was now cut off in Nan commandery; he and his son Guan Ping were captured and killed.

One of the great romantic heroes of the Three Kingdoms, Guan Yu attracted many legends and

stories, he was later worshipped as the God of War 管帝, and his image appears in many Taoist temples of the present day. -SGZ Shu 6:939-42*.

Guan Zun 管遵 [Juntai 君臺]; Boling. Magistrate of Chengyang in Jiyin in 175, Guan Zun took a leading role in restoring the Spiritual Terrace 靈臺 associated with the temple of the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母. -LS 1:8a-10a, 21:22b, SJZ 24:15b.

Guang 廣 of Shanshan. King of Shanshan in 73, Guang received the Chinese envoys Guo Xun and Ban Chao. He had hitherto been allied to the Northern Xiongnu, but Ban Chao and his small party slaughtered the Xiongnu envoys and presented King Guang with their heads. Thoroughly disconcerted, Guang acceded to Han and sent hostages. -HHS 47/37:1572-73.

Guang 廣 of Yanqi [Karashar]. King of Yanqi in 94, Guang attempted to block the advance of the Protector-General Ban Chao. He was taken and then executed at the fortress where Chen Mu the previous Protector-General had been killed by Guang's predecessor Zhong in 73.

Guang's head and that of his ally King Fan of Weili were sent to Luoyang, while the capital of Yanqi was ravaged and plundered. With this success, the last resistance to Chinese power in the Western Regions was ended. -HHS 47/37:1581-82.

Guang Nihe 光泥和 see Xian Nihe 先泥和.

Guangde 廣德 of Yutian [Khotan]. Guangde was a nephew of Xiumoba, who led a rebellion against the hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] in 60 and proclaimed himself king of Yutian. After Xiumoba's death in that same year his senior officials set Guangde on the throne.

About this time, following up the victories of Xiumoba, a coalition of Qiuzi [Kuqa] and other states from the north of the Tarim basin, aided by the Northern Xiongnu, came to attack Suoju. They were not successful, but Guangde sent a raid directly against King Xian himself, and Xian sued for peace.

Before this, Guangde's father had been held captive for several years in Suoju. Xian now sent him back and also gave him one of his daughters to wife. He thus claimed a family tie, and Guangde withdrew his men from the offensive.

In the following year, 61, there was a plot against Xian within Suoju, and Guangde came forward again with thirty thousand men. When Xian sent messengers to ask why he was attacking his kinsman, Guangde

replied that they should hold a face-to-face meeting. Reassured by his treacherous chief minister, Xian went out. He was promptly taken prisoner, and the troops of Yutian were let into the city.

When the Northern Xiongnu learnt of this success, they sent a large army, with troops from fifteen client states, including Qiuzi [Kuqa], Yanqi [Karashar] and Weili, to attack Yutian. Guangde was obliged to submit: he sent his eldest son as hostage and promised regular tribute of cashmere. The Xiongnu placed Xian's son Bujuzheng on the throne of Suoju, but Guangde still dominated his neighbours, and Yutian and Shanshan were the most powerful states on the Southern Road of the Tarim basin.

After the success of Dou Gu over the Northern Xiongnu in 73, the envoy Ban Chao was sent from China. Guangde treated him with small courtesy, and his sooth-sayer told him to demand the gift of Ban Chao's horse. Instead Ban Chao killed the man, and Guangde was so impressed by his ruthlessness that he killed the Xiongnu agents and offered submission.

In 84 and again in 86 Guangde joined the attacks on Suoju under the command of Ban Chao, and in 87 Suoju was forced to surrender. King Bujuzheng was killed and Guangde's brother Qili was set on the throne under the general suzerainty of Han. -HHS 88/78:2925-26, 47/37:1573.

Guangwu, Emperor 光武帝 (reg. 25-57) see Liu Xiu 劉秀.

Guanqiu Chang 田丘長; Beihai. A peddler, Guanqiu Chang was travelling with his mother when he killed a drunken man who had insulted her. He fled, but was arrested and brought before the county magistrate Wu You. Wu You questioned him, and he confessed to open murder, which all agreed was an unpardonable crime even when mitigated by filial respect. Learning that Guanqiu Chang was married but had no children, Wu You had his wife brought to him in jail from their home in a neighbouring county, and gave orders for his fetters to be removed so they might couple together. Before the execution was carried out that winter, the woman had become pregnant. In gratitude, as Guanqiu Chang went to his death he bit off his finger and swallowed it to make an oath, that if the child was a boy he should be named after their benefactor Wu You. -HHS 54/44:2101.

Guanqiu Xin 田丘歆. In 116 the Chancellor of Lecheng Zhao Mu presented a false accusation that the

king, Liu Gong, had offered sacrifices to the deities against the interests of the dynasty. This was Impiety and rendered Liu Gong liable to execution, but on the basis of his past good conduct a full investigation was ordered and Guanqiu Xin, an officer of the Imperial Censorate, was sent to Lecheng. As he found no evidence to support the charges, Zhao Mu was sent to prison, escaping the death penalty only because of an amnesty. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Guanqiu Xing 田丘興; Hedong. In 220 Guanqiu Xing was Administrator of Wuwei when Zhang Jin raised an alliance of Chinese rebels and non-Chinese across the far northwest. Guanqiu Xing set local defences, called in Su Ze for assistance, and took part in pacification. Restoring government in the region, he was later enfeoffed and became Court Architect of Wei. His son Jian 儉 was a noted general. -SGZ 28:761-62.

Guanqiu Yi 田丘毅. About 188 the General-in-Chief He Jin sent Guanqiu Yi as a Commandant to Danyang, to raise troops and deal with banditry there. -SGZ Shu 2:872.

Gui Dan 洼丹 [Ziyu 子玉] (30 BC-AD 41); Nanyang. Member of a family with a tradition of scholarship in the Meng interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, during the reign of Wang Mang Gui Dan refused all invitations to office but maintained a private academy with several hundred students.

Early in the reign of Emperor Guangwu Gui Dan became an Academician at the Imperial University, and after some other appointments was made Minister Herald. He died in that office.

Gui Dan compiled *Yi tonglun* 易通論, a study of the *Book of Changes*, in seven *pian*; it was later known as *Guijun tong* 洼君通 "Explanations of Master Gui". His intense and detailed scholarship had great influence, and he was a leader of New Text Confucianism. -HHS 79/69A:2551*; QHX:137-138.

Gui Fu 嬌敷 see Yao Fu 姚敷.

Gui Hao 嬌皓 [Yuanqi 元起]; Wu. Son of Gui Kun, when his father was imprisoned Gui Hao went to the government offices and kowtowed against a pile of stones until his face was covered in blood. Gui Kun was released.

When Gui Hao was getting married, his mother became drunk and vomited at the wedding reception. She was afraid she had taken poison, but Gui Hao bent down and tasted the vomit, then observed that it was cold, so she had not been poisoned. On another

occasion, when his mother underwent moxibustion she came out in pustules; Gui Hao sucked them out until they were healed.

During the First Faction Incident of 166/167 Gui Hao, described as a member of the Imperial Secretariat, was commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu. He is not heard of again. -*XC* 8:6a, *HHS* 69/59:2240.

Gui Kun 婦昆; Wu. Administrator of Nan commandery, Gui Kun was imprisoned for some wrongdoing. His son Gui Hao, however, came to the government offices and kowtowed until he was bleeding. Gui Kun was released. -*XC* 8:6a.

Gui Lan 婦覽 (d.204); Wu. Gui Lan and his colleague Dai Yuan had been nominated for office by Sheng Xian, but when Sheng Xian died at the hands of the Sun group they took refuge in the hills. In an attempt at reconciliation, Sun Yi the Administrator of Danyang gave them office, but when their follower Bian Hong assassinated Sun Yi, the general Sun He investigated and held them at fault. Frightened of punishment, they killed Sun He and called Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu to come from across the Yangzi.

Gui Lan also took over Sun Yi's harem, and sought to compel his widow the Lady Xu IV to marry him. She pretended to be willing, but arranged for Sun Yi's officers to trap Gui Lan and retake control. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1214-15; *deC* 90:232-234.

Gui Mu 婦母 also as Gui Wu 毋; Donghai. About 192 Gui Mu was a soldier under the colonel Du Song. He led a mutiny and planned to ally with the bandit leader Chang Xi. Cao Cao sent Lü Qian, who invited Gui Mu and his associates to a feast, then took and killed them. -*SGZ* 18:540.

Gui Qian 貴遷 became Administrator of Lujiang. -*FSTY* 6f:139.

Gui Wu 婦毋 see Gui Mu 婦母.

Guiyang Hong 桂陽鴻 [Mengsun 孟孫]; Zhongshan. [Pronunciations of the surname vary, as Guiyang, Huiyang or Xieyang, with differing dictionary and commentary glosses for the first character.]

A scholar of the New Text Meng interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, during the reign of Emperor Ming Guiyang Hong was Minister Steward and Minister of Finance. -*HHS* 79/69A:2551*, 26/16:916.

Guo 郭, Empress of Emperor Guangwu: see the Lady Guo Shengtong.

Guo 郭, the Lady I (d.50); Zhending/Changshan. Daughter of Liu Pu 劉普 the King of Zhending, the

Lady married Guo Chang, a man of local family, and was known as Mistress Guo 郭主. She bore a daughter, Shengtong, and a son, Kuang. Guo Chang died early and the Lady brought up the two children.

In 24 Guo Shengtong married Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and in 26 she became his empress. She was dismissed in 41, but the family was still treated with respect and favour, and when Mistress Guo died Guangwu attended the funeral with all his court. -*HHS* 10B:402-03*; *Bn* 79:119.

Guo 郭, the Lady II. A member of the harem of Emperor Huan in the early 160s, she was favoured by the emperor and became an Honoured Lady. She quarrelled fiercely with the Empress Deng, each telling tales against the other. It is possible that the Lady Guo was among the eight companions of the Honoured Lady Tian Sheng *q.v.*, who regularly shared the emperor's bed together. -*HHS* 10B:445.

Guo 郭, the Lady III [Nüwang 女王] (184-235); Anping. Daughter of Guo Yong, the Lady was orphaned as a child and became a servant in a noble household during the disorders at the end of Han. About 212 she entered the harem of Cao Pi, supported him as he sought to be made Heir, and became a high-ranking concubine when he obtained the imperial throne in 220.

The Lady Guo used her influence over Cao Pi to slander the Empress Zhen, who was ordered to kill herself in 221. In the following year, despite protests from the court that her family background was too humble, Cao Pi appointed the Lady as his empress, and he had her adopt his eldest son Cao Rui, born of the Lady Zhen.

Despite her intrigues, it is claimed that the Lady ruled the harem leniently and that she restrained the conduct of her relatives. She was named as Dowager after Cao Pi's death in 226, but Cao Rui later questioned the role she had played in the death of his mother. It is said she died of anxiety, and the whole story was then revealed. The Lady Guo was buried disgraced, without honours. -*SGZ* 5:164-66*; *C/C* 99:106-111.

Guo 郭 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Runan, he committed some fault and received a summons. He was frightened and wanted to kill himself, but was saved by the self-sacrifice of his officer Wang Wei. -*XC* 8:8a.

Guo 郭 [personal name unknown]; Donghai. Administrator of Wu in the early 140s, he nominated Bi Feng

as Filial and Incorrupt. -LS 9:21b.

Guo 郭 [personal name unknown]. Having served as an Investigator and then Registrar of his commandery, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. He died before the end of his period of probation, and his family erected a stele to his memory. -LS 17:4b-5b.

Guo 郭 [personal name unknown] (d.179). A former Assistant Officer of Ji province, he had a stele set up to his memory. -LX 19:3b-5a.

Guo Ba 郭霸 (d.68). As a general under Guangwu, in 35 and 36 Guo Ba took part in operations against Gongsun Shu.

In 68 Guo Ba was Director of Retainers, but he was sent to prison for some fault and died there. -HHS 110/10:3221, 2:114.

Guo Bao 郭苞; Nanyang. A local gentleman, Guo Bao set up a stele in front of the Temple to the Source of the Huai River 淮源廟 about 140. During the 160s this was matched by two more, erected by the commandery and the county. -SJZ 30:1b, LS 2:12a-14a.

Guo Biao 郭表; Anping. Cousin of the Empress Guo of Cao Pi, Guo Biao was head of the family after the death of her brothers. He was granted succession to the posthumous fief of her father Guo Yong and Cao Rui gave him rank as a general. Though the Lady Guo was disgraced after her death, Biao and his family continued to receive favour. -SGZ 5:165; C/C 99:108-110.

Guo Cang 郭蒼; Guiyang. Former local officers under the Administrator Zhou Jing, in 174 Guo Cang, Gong Tai and Gong Luo took a leading role in having a stele set up in his honour. -LS 4:15a.

Guo Chang 郭昌; Zhending/Changshan. A man of leading local family, Guo Chang was admired for his generosity in transferring a substantial quantity of land and property to benefit a younger half-brother. He became Officer of Merit in the commandery, and married a daughter of Liu Pu 劉普 the King of Zhending. He was the father of the Lady Guo Shengtong, first empress of Emperor Guangwu, but died about 20 when the Lady was still a child.

When Guo Chang's widow, known as Mistress Guo 郭主, died in 50, Guangwu arranged for Guo Chang's coffin to be disinterred and brought to the capital to be buried with her, and gave him posthumous honours as a marquis. -HHS 10B:402-03.

Guo Chang 郭敞 [Taizhong 泰中]; Yingchuan. Son

of Guo Yi and brother of Guo Shen, he held office at court under the Wei. -SGZ 14:436.

Guo [Changxin] 郭長信; Taiyuan. A fellow-countryman of Guo Tai, he was sponsored by him and became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Guo Chen 郭譙; Dong. As Cao Cao was attacking Zhang Lu in Hanzhong in 215, he was faced with resistance from Zhang Lu's brother Zhang Wei. He intended to retreat, but Guo Chen argued that Zhang Lu was willing to submit, and urged him to press on. Cao Cao was doubtful, but then Zhang Wei was defeated in a confused battle and Zhang Lu indeed surrendered. -SGZ 8:265.

Guo Cheng 郭成; Anping. Younger brother of the Empress Guo of Cao Pi, he died young.

Guo Cheng or his brother Guo Du may have been executed for theft by Bao Xun about 218, but it is possible that a cousin was killed and the two brothers died of natural causes. -SGZ 5:165, 12:384-85.

Guo Cong 郭琮 or **Guo Zong 宗**. During the 150s Guo Cong was Administrator of Chenliu. He intended to punish the officer Yuan Shuzhi but was dissuaded by Zhu Chen. -XC 4:4b.

Guo Da 郭大 [Big Guo] also as **Guo Tai 郭太/泰**; Xihe. In 187 Guo Da was a leader of bandits from the Bobo 白波谷 valley in Xihe, claiming affiliation with the Yellow Turbans. They plundered Taiyuan and Hedong. -HHS 8:355, XY:4a.

Guo Dan 郭丹 [Xiaoqing 少卿] (24 BC-AD 62); Nanyang. Known for his honesty, Guo Dan's father Zhi 稚 was Administrator of Lujiang in the last years of Former Han. He bought property on his son's behalf, and though Guo Dan was only seven when his father died he mourned him with great filial piety.

Guo Dan later studied at Chang'an and gained a fine reputation there. Refusing office under Wang Mang, he went with other scholars north into Beidi. In 24 he became a Counsellor Remonstrant for the Gengshi Emperor Liu Xuan and was sent as a commissioner back into Nanyang to restore order there.

As the Gengshi regime was destroyed in 25, most its followers turned to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, but Guo Dan remained loyal and held mourning for the late ruler. He then sought out the widow and children of Liu Xuan at Luoyang, returned his insignia and retired to his home. In the early 30s the Administrator Du Shi invited him to become his Officer of Merit, but Guo Dan ceded the place to a more senior man of his

district; Du Shi admired his self-abnegation.

In 37 Guo Dan was nominated as First Class by the Grand Marshal Wu Han, and became Governor of Bing province. Praised for his honest and peaceable administration, he was transferred to be Emissary to the Southern Xiongnu, then Administrator of Zuopingyi, and in 60 he became Excellency over the Masses. Admired at court for his sense of public duty, he was a close friend and colleague of Hou Ba, Du Lin and other members of the faction about Ma Yuan.

In 61 Guo Dan and his fellow-Excellency Feng Fang were dismissed for having supported false allegations against the Administrator of Longxi Deng Rong. Guo Dan died in the following year at the age of eighty-seven.

Emperor Ming later enquired after Guo Dan's family. Finding they had been left in poverty, he had his sons Yu and Qi sought out and given office. -HHS 27/17:940-42*, XC 1:6b.

Guo Dan 郭耽; Nanyang. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates under Emperor Ling, he was respected for his honesty and loyalty and for the fact that, unlike Zhang Rang and others, he did not contend for power. -HHS 78/68:2533.

Guo Daxian 郭大賢 [Guo Great-Virtue]. A leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range, he was killed by Yuan Shao in 193. -HHS 74/64A:2381, SGZ 8:262, 6:194.

Guo Dian 郭典 [Junye 君業]; Zuopingyi. Administrator of Julu in 184, Guo Dian joined Dong Zhuo in the attack on the Yellow Turbans. It is said that he embarrassed Dong Zhuo by the energy of his attacks and dissuaded the enemy from venturing outside their fortifications, but this may be no more than another slander against the future usurper Dong Zhuo.

Guo Dian then joined Huangfu Song in the final attack on the remnant Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Bao at Xiaquyang. -HHS 71/61:2302, & JJ at 2520 Hui Dong quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

Guo Du 郭都; Anping. Son of Guo Yong, and a younger brother of the Empress Guo of Cao Pi, he died young. See also *sub* Guo Cheng 郭成.

Guo Duo 郭多 see Guo Si 郭汜.

Guo Feng 郭鳳; Bohai. An Academician at the Imperial University during the reign of Emperor Zhang, Guo Feng was an expert in divination and the apocrypha and interpreted omens with great accuracy. He correctly foretold the day of his death and had

his students prepare the funeral in advance. -HHS 82/72A:2715; Ngo 76:92, DeWoskin 83:56.

Guo [Fengxiao] 郭奉孝 of Yingchuan had a stele set up in his memory. -SJZ 23:4a.

Guo Fu 郭輔 [Fucheng 甫成]; Nan or Nanyang. A worthy private gentleman 處士, with four sons and three daughters, he died at the age of fifty-two and was remembered with a stele. -LS 12:13b-14b.

Guo Fu 郭浮; Anping. Elder brother of the Empress Guo of Cao Pi, he became a county magistrate but died young. -SGZ 5:165.

Guo Gan 郭乾 see Guo Qian 郭虔. -HHJ 18:221.

Guo Gong 郭躬 [Zhongsun 仲孫] (d.94); Yingchuan. Son of Guo Hong 弘, Guo Gong followed his father's tradition of legal scholarship and attracted hundreds of students. He served as a clerk in his commandery and was then called up to the offices at the capital.

During the campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 73, while the officer Qin Peng was in charge of a detachment from the main army, he killed a man for an offence. Dou Gu, commander of the expedition, arrested Qin Peng and asked he be executed for usurping authority. A majority of the court was in favour of punishment, but Guo Gong argued that at the time of his alleged offence Qin Peng had not been subject to the rule that decisions of life and death lay with the supreme commander, for he had at the critical time held a formally independent command. Emperor Ming accepted this reasoning and Qin Peng was not punished.

Guo Gong also saved the eunuch Sun Zhang after he had issued an edict ordering two brothers to be executed for a murder when only one was legally liable; the emperor suspected the miswriting was deliberate, but Guo Gong persuaded him that it was accidental and thus liable to a lesser penalty.

Guo Gong was then made Director, senior assistant in the Ministry of Justice. He left that office on account of some fault, but after further appointments he became Minister of Justice in 86. Based upon family tradition and his own experience he presented forty-one recommendations for more lenient punishments, and all were approved. He also persuaded Emperor Zhang to extend the application of amnesties, so that fewer criminals were executed and more were sent to exile on the Jincheng frontier: this saved lives and was good for the border country.

Guo Gong died in office. -HHS 46/36:1543-45*.

Guo Gong 郭貢. Inspector of Yu province in 194, as Lü Bu was attempting to seize Yan province from Cao Cao, Guo Gong brought an army into Jiyin. As Xun Yu, commander at Juancheng city, showed no hesitation in defying him, Guo Gong was disconcerted and withdrew. -*HHS* 70/60:2282, *SGZ* 10:308; deC 96: 132-133.

Guo Great-Virtue 郭大賢 see Guo Daxian 郭大賢.

Guo He 郭賀 [Qiaoqing 喬卿] (d.64); Guanghan. Guo He's grandfather Guo Jian [or style Jianbo 堅伯?] had been Protector of the Wuhuan under Former Han, but both he and Guo He's father [or uncle?] Youjun 游君 refused to serve under Wang Mang. [There is confusion as to the punctuation about the character 伯 in the text: it may be the second character of the Guo He's grandfather's style, or it may indicate that Guo Youjun was an uncle 伯父 rather than the father of Guo He.]

During the 30s Guo He became a local officer under the Administrator Huang Xing. Huang Xing had some disagreement with Li Rong the Administrator of Hanzhong, and both were called to the capital. From study of the stars, Guo He advised Huang Xing that he should present himself at the imperial prison; if he did so he would escape punishment. Huang Xing followed his advice and was spared, but Li Rong delayed and was executed. Guo He acquired a considerable reputation.

About 40 the Administrator Cai Mao invited Guo He to be his Registrar, and in 44 he correctly interpreted a dream of Cai Mao, in which he plucked a plant growing in a great hall. He told him this meant he would rise to the highest office, and a few days later Cai Mao was appointed Excellency over the Masses. Cai Mao took Guo He with him to Luoyang.

Expert in law, after further appointments Guo He became Director of the Imperial Secretariat, holding that office for six years and advising Emperor Guangwu on precedents. Named a Palace Attendant, he was treated with great favour and granted substantial gifts.

Guo He was later Director of Retainers, Inspector of Ji province and then Inspector of Jing province, where the people hymned his excellent government. When Emperor Ming came on tour to Nanyang in 60 he granted Guo He the robes of an Excellency as sign of his particular favour.

In 61 Guo He returned to the capital as Intendant of Henan. Maintaining a fine reputation for honesty, he

held that office for three years until his death. Emperor Ming granted a carriage and a quantity of cash to his family. -*HHS* 26/16:908-09, *HYGZ* 10B:146, *XC* 1: 6a.

Guo He 郭賀 [Huigong 惠公]; Yingchuan. Eldest son of Guo Zhen 鎮, when his father died in 129 Guo He was due to the succession of his marquisate. He ceded it to his youngest brother Guo Shi and went into hiding. After some years the Minister Herald was ordered to seek him out and Guo He was obliged to accept the fief. He later became Minister of Justice.

After Guo He's death, Emperor Shun awarded special posthumous titles to him and to his father Guo Zhen. -*HHS* 36/26:1545, *XC* 5b; Vervorn 90:120-121.

Guo Heng 郭衡. In 46 Li Mao, General of the Household at the court of Han, came as an envoy to the Xiongnu. At that time Guo Heng, Chinese by origin, was in the service of the Xiongnu prince Bi, claimant to the throne of the Shanyu Punu. Bi sent Guo Heng to present Li Mao with maps of the Xiongnu lands, in token of his willingness to submit to Han. -*HHS* 89/79: 2942.

Guo Hong 郭弘/宏 [Lingqing 令卿? *q.v.*]; Yingchuan. Descended from an old official family, Guo Hong became a student of the legal philosophy of Du Zhou 杜周 of Former Han. The Administrator Kou Xun appointed him as his clerk for judicial affairs and Guo Hong determined cases for thirty years. His judgements were given with utmost equity, and none who came before him were left angry or resentful. People compared him to Lord Yu 于公 of Donghai, father of the Imperial Chancellor Yu Dingguo 于定國 and a celebrated adjudicator of Former Han. -*HHS* 46/36:1543.

During Later Han, the Guo family produced seven Ministers of Justice. Besides Guo Hong, there were Guo Gong, Guo Zhen 鎮, Guo Xian, Guo Xi, Guo He and Guo Zhen 禎.

Guo Hong 郭宏; Yingchuan. Sent to the capital as Reporting Office, Guo Hong impressed the emperor and the court with his detailed and eloquent presentation of the geography, customs and distinguished men of his commandery. -*XC* 7:14a-b.

Guo Hong 郭閔 (d.162?). In 161, as the Qiang rose in rebellion, Guo Hong was Inspector of Liang province. Old and incompetent, he was jealous of the Protector Duan Jiong, and when Duan Jiong wanted to lead his

troops forward Guo Hong prevented him. Angry at being kept from their home country, the Auxiliaries of Huangzhong mutinied. Guo Hong put the blame on Duan Jiong, and Duan Jiong was dismissed and sent to prison.

In the following year Huangfu Gui came into the province to deal with the rebels. He impeached Guo Hong, who was dismissed and may have been executed. -HHS 65/55:2133-34, 2147.

Guo Hong 郭鴻/洪; Chenliu. Son of Guo Xi, Guo Hong was Administrator of Wuyuan about 180 and then Director of Retainers. He was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 46/36:1546, HHSJJ 8:312 Hui Dong.

Guo Hu 郭扈. In 91, after the power of the Dou family was destroyed by Emperor He and his eunuch allies, the minister Ma Guang was sent to his estates on account of his association with the fallen faction. Dou Xian's slave Yu Dang had unsuccessfully sought help from Ma Guang, and was bitterly resentful at being rejected. When government officers captured Yu Dang, he claimed that Ma Guang had been actively involved in a treasonous plot with Dou Xian. Unable to disprove the allegations, Ma Guang killed himself. Later Guo Hu, who had also been a slave in the household of Dou Xian, came forward with evidence to exonerate Ma Guang. -DGHJ 12:4b, HHS 24/14:858.

Guo Huai 郭淮 [Boji 伯濟] (d.255); Taiyuan. Son of Guo Wen, Guo Huai was nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 205, and became Assistant Administrator in Pingyuan. When Cao Pi was appointed General of the Household for All Purposes in 211 Guo Huai was summoned to join his personal staff; he later transferred to be an adviser to Cao Cao. He accompanied the campaign which captured Hanzhong in 215, then remained there as an acting major under Xiahou Yuan.

In 219 Liu Bei was victorious in the battle at Dingjun Mountain, and Xiahou Yuan was killed. Guo Huai was ill and missed the battle, but he took a leading role in restoring order among the scattered and demoralised troops, and he assisted Zhang He to establish a defensive position on the Han River. As Liu Bei advanced to follow up his success, most commanders wanted to hold the line of the Han, but Guo Huai argued that they should withdraw some distance to entice the enemy over, then hope to attack while he was half-way across. This was done, but Liu Bei saw the trap and did not advance. When Cao Cao

arrived he was unable to restore the situation, but he fully approved Guo Huai's actions.

When Cao Pi took power in 220 he enfeoffed Guo Huai as a secondary marquis. He also promoted him to be senior staff officer to Zhang He and named him Protector of the Army against the Qiang, to assist Zhang He and Yang Qiu attack the hills bandits of Zuopingyi led by Zheng Gan and Wang Zhao. The two men surrendered, and the region about Chang'an was settled.

Later that year, as Cao Pi took the imperial throne, Guo Huai was sent to offer congratulations, but he was taken ill on the road and arrived late, so that the ceremony had to be delayed. Cao Pi reprimanded him, and enquired why he should not punish him, as the Great Yu 禹 had done to a similarly tardy officer. With ready wit, Guo Huai replied that Cao Pi's regime resembled that of the legendary Five Emperors 五帝, who did not inflict such punishments and were thus superior even to Yu. Cao Pi was pleased. He granted Guo Huai a village marquisate and appointed him Inspector of the new Yong 雍 province, extending from the valley of the Wei to the Yellow River [deC 96:137]. Guo Huai held administrative and military command in the northwest for more than thirty-five years, and towards the end of his life he was awarded the honours of an Excellency. -SGZ 26:733-36*; Mather 76:545.

Guo Huang 郭璜/瑗 (d.92); Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Kuang and a nephew of the first empress of Emperor Guangwu, Guo Huang married Guangwu's daughter the Princess Liu Liliu, and was appointed a gentleman cadet. In 59 he succeeded to his father's fief.

In 89 Guo Huang became Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Dou, and he was a close associate of the Dou family. When Dou Xian was destroyed by Emperor He in 92, Guo Huang and his son Ju were charged with treason and died in prison. Members of their household were exiled to Hepu, and other kinsmen were dismissed from office. -HHS 10B:403-04, 23/13:819.

Guo Huang 郭璜 (d.141). In 129 Xu Yu urged that the empire should re-establish control and settlement in the northwest. Guo Huang was accordingly sent as Internuncio to supervise reconstruction in Anding, Beidi, Shang, Longxi and Jincheng commanderies.

Guo Huang later became Administrator of Anding. When Ma Xian was killed by the Judong Qiang in

141, Guo Huang was arrested and died in prison, presumably for failure to support the general in his fatal campaign. -HHS 6:256, 271, 87/77:2893; deC 84: 117.

Guo Hui 郭惠; Henei. Son of a magistrate and brother of Guo Zhongqi, Guo Hui served as chancellor of a county marquisate, was a member of the Imperial Secretariat, and became Chancellor of Jibei. -LS 9:1a-3a.

Guo Ji 郭伋 [Chouhou 綏侯 or possibly Xihou 細侯] (38 BC-AD 47); Youfufeng [or Henan?]. A man of good lineage, Guo Ji's father Fan 樊 had been Administrator of Shu commandery under Former Han. Guo Ji held clerical office at the capital in the time of Emperor Ai and was later appointed Commandant of Yuyang. In the time of Wang Mang he was the head of Shanggu commandery and then Governor of Bing province.

When the Gengshi Emperor established his government in 23, he put Guo Ji in charge of Zuopingyi so that he might bring the people, and particularly the powerful local families, under control. When Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, took the throne, he first appointed Guo Ji as Governor of Yong 雍 province in the northwest, then brought him to court as Director of the Imperial Secretariat. Guo Ji became known for loyal criticism and argument.

In 28 Guo Ji was sent out as Administrator of Zhongshan, and after the destruction of Peng Chong in the following year he was transferred again to Yuyang. Having suffered in the troubles under Wang Mang, the territory had been a centre of Peng Chong's short-lived state. The people were restless, but Guo Ji settled the commandery by good faith and rewards on the one hand, and strict punishment of bandits on the other. He also raised local troops to oppose Xiongnu raiders and established a successful plan of defence on the frontier. The territory was at peace and in five years the population doubled through immigration from less settled regions.

Guo Ji was associated with Du Lin, Zheng Xing and other members of the faction linked to their fellow-countryman Ma Yuan. When the Excellency Song Hong was dismissed in 31 there was general pressure for Guo Ji to take his place, but Emperor Guangwu preferred his brother-in-law Li Song.

As banditry broke out in Yingchuan in 33, Guo Ji was called to the capital, welcomed by the emperor,

and named as Administrator there. Arriving in the commandery he persuaded the hills bandits Zhao Hong and Shao Wu to surrender, and had them and their followers return to farming. He granted pardons without reference to the throne, but the emperor was delighted at his report and gave retrospective approval. It is said that through Zhao Hong and Shao Wu the reputation of Guo Ji was spread south to the Yangzi and north across the plain, so great numbers of former rebels and bandits came to offer submission on his lenient terms.

In 35, after the failure of several attacks on the northern pretender Lu Fang, based in Wuyuan and allied to the Xiongnu, Guangwu ordered that the provincial entity of Shuofang be combined with Bing province, and appointed Guo Ji as Governor. Guo Ji passed by the capital to attend audience and offer his thanks, and the emperor held a great banquet in his honour. He presented him with chariots and horses, raiment and other riches, but Guo Ji, no doubt recalling his rejection as an Excellency, took the opportunity to urge Guangwu not to rely too heavily upon his fellow-countrymen from Nanyang.

As he came to his new territory Guo Ji made a point of asking all the people he met about their problems and sufferings, and his reputation for courtesy and leniency spread across the province [XHS, cited by Bn 80:181 tells how on one occasion he promised a group of boys that he would come to their town on a certain day, and when he found that he was a day early he stayed outside until the appointed time]. He issued a reward for Lu Fang's head and in the following year Lu Fang's general Sui Yu changed sides, subverted his troops, and tried to capture Lu Fang. Lu Fang fled to the Xiongnu and Guangwu's government took over the northern commanderies.

In 46, now old and ill, Guo Ji asked to retire. He returned to the capital as a Palace Counsellor and was given a mansion, with furniture and food to fill it. It is said that he kept nothing for himself but gave away everything he received, even to distant relatives. When he died in 47 at the age of eighty-six, Emperor Guangwu came to the funeral and granted land for Guo Ji's tomb. -HHS 31/21:1091-93*, DGHJ 15:4b, XHS 3:3b-4a; Bn 79:60. [DGHJ suggests that Guo Ji came from Henan, and both DGHJ and XHS have his style as Xihou.]

Guo Ji 郭濟; Nanyang. Some time after the former

Excellency Guo Dan had died in 62, Emperor Ming enquired after his family. When told they had been left in poverty he had his sons Guo Yu and Guo Ji sought out and given office. Guo Ji later became Chancellor of Zhao. -HHS 27/17:942.

Guo Jia 郭嘉 [Fengxiao 孝奉] (170-207); Yingchuan. Realising the danger of civil war, in the early 190s Guo Jia went north to Yuan Shao, who treated him with great courtesy. After a few weeks, however, he warned Xin Ping and Guo Tu that their master did not have the qualities of a successful leader: his courtesy would not make men serve him effectively, and though he made many plans he lacked the will to carry them out. His friends resolved to stay with Yuan Shao, but Guo Jia went to Cao Cao, and in 196 he became a clerical officer in the puppet Han government. He was then recommended by Xun Yu, had a most successful interview, and was appointed to Cao Cao's staff in the office of Minister of Works. He appears to have been close to Xun Yu's kinsman Xun You, and their advice often coincided.

During the final campaign against Lü Bu in 198, though Lü Bu was repeatedly defeated in the field, he withdrew to the defences of Xiapi city while Cao Cao's army was exhausted and suffering from sickness. Cao Cao considered withdrawal, but Guo Jia pressed him to finish the job, and Lü Bu was indeed destroyed. Later, though he argued Cao Cao could not afford the opprobrium of killing the fighting chieftain Liu Bei when he surrendered, he urged against giving him any freedom of action.

Liu Bei did escape in 199, and in the following year he was threatening Cao Cao from the south as Yuan Shao approached from the north. Guo Jia emphasised that Yuan Shao would be slow to move, and there was time to attack Liu Bei and drive him away. He gave similar advice on the potential threat from Sun Ce, warlord south of the Yangzi. In each case his strategy proved correct.

In 203, when Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shao's sons Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang, he gained rapid success, and it was proposed that he should press forward. Guo Jia argued rather that he should withdraw, for the two brothers were rivals for the succession to their late father, and would quarrel if they were left alone. Cao Cao followed this advice, and the brothers indeed came to self-destructive conflict. Soon afterwards, when Yuan Tan sent Xin Pi to seek assistance from Cao Cao,

Guo Jia assisted his embassy. Cao Cao's intervention allowed him to defeat the brothers separately.

After final victory in 205, Guo Jia encouraged Cao Cao to recruit leading scholars from the north so as to strengthen his acceptance in the region.

In 207, as Cao Cao prepared to attack the Wuhuan chieftain Tadun, supporter of the refugee Yuan brothers, some of his advisers were concerned at the possibility of an attack from Liu Bei in alliance with Liu Biao. Guo Jia, however, argued that Liu Biao would be slow to move, and would not want to give Liu Bei too much independent authority. He urged Cao Cao to a swift attack, and accompanied him on the successful campaign.

As the army was on its way back, Guo Jia became ill and died. Cao Cao mourned him deeply, wrote a commemorative memorial to the emperor, and had him posthumously enfeoffed as a marquis. At the time of the Red Cliffs debacle in the following year he remarked that "Had Guo Jia still been with us, I would never have got into such trouble." -SGZ 14:431-35*.

Guo [Jianbo] 郭監伯. An Acting Internuncio in 56, Guo Jianbo was sent with a team of labourers to repair the road to the summit of Mount Tai in preparation for the imperial Feng and Shan sacrifices. -Bn 79:174, 234.

Guo Jing 郭竟; Zhending/Changshan. A cousin of the Lady Guo Shengtong, the first empress of Emperor Guangwu, Guo Jing commanded cavalry under Guangwu, was enfeoffed, and became Chancellor of Donghai. -HHS 10A:403-04.

Guo Jiu 郭究 [Changquan 長全] (157-184); Henei. Son of Guo Xian, and a man of official family, Guo Jiu joined the commandery staff, served as an Investigator and also acted as a county magistrate. He then became an Attendant Officer under the Director of Retainers, but died at the age of twenty-eight. He was remembered with a stele. -LS 10:20a-22a, 21:21b-22a.

Guo [Jitong] 郭季通. Guo Jitong was Assistant Administrator of Jingzhao about 30 when Ban Biao sent him a letter which praised the literary ability of Liu Gong. -HHS 30/20A:1047.

Guo Ju 郭舉 (d.92); Zhending/Changshan. Guo Ju was a son of Guo Huang and, through his mother, a grandson of Emperor Guangwu. He married a daughter of Dou Xian, and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor He both Guo Ju and his father were close associates of the Dou faction. A Palace Attendant

and colonel in the Northern Army, Guo Ju had regular access to the apartments of the Dowager Dou within the imperial palace.

As the power of the Dou was destroyed by Emperor He in 92, Guo Huang and Guo Ju were charged with treason and died in prison. Members of their household were exiled to Hepu and other kinsmen were dismissed from office. It was also alleged that Guo Ju had been a particular intimate of the Dowager [the phrase 得幸 commonly describes the sexual favours shown by an emperor for an attractive concubine], but the accusation may have been devised by Emperor He and his supporters to eliminate the Dowager's influence. - *HHS* 10B:404, 23/13:819.

Guo Jun 郭駿; Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Xun, he succeeded to his fief. In 70, like his cousins Guo Song and Guo Qin, he was implicated in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and was deprived of his fief. In 78 Emperor Zhang re-enfeoffed Guo Jun, but he died without sons and the fief was again ended. - *HHS* 10A:404.

Guo Kai 郭凱. At the end of Han Guo Kai was known as an expert player of "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese *Go*]. - *SGZ* 1:54.

Guo Kuang 郭況 (10-59); Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Chang, a man of local family, and his wife a daughter of Liu Pu 劉普 the King of Zhending, Guo Kuang was brother of Guo Shengtong, first empress of Emperor Guangwu. Guo Chang died early and the children were brought up by their mother. When his sister, then Honoured Lady, bore her first son Liu Qiang in 25, Guo Kuang was sixteen. It is said Guangwu admired his careful conduct, and appointed him as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. When the Lady became empress in the following year Guo Kuang was enfeoffed as a marquis. As an imperial relative by marriage he was surrounded by clients and retainers, but he maintained a reputation for courtesy and generosity.

In 38 Guo Kuang was appointed Colonel of the City Gates. Though his sister was replaced as empress by the Lady Yin in 41, the family continued to receive favour. In that same year Guo Kuang was granted a larger fief, and in 44 he was appointed Minister Coachman. The emperor called frequently at his residence, often invited him to the palace, and presented him with gold, coins, silk and brocade. Guo Kuang became so wealthy that his mansion in Luoyang was known as

the "Golden Cave" 金穴; his son Guo Huang married one of Guangwu's daughters.

When the emperor died in 57 his son Liu Jing, the erratic King of Shanyang, forged a letter in Guo Kuang's name urging his nephew the former Heir Liu Qiang to rebel. Liu Qiang reported the matter at once, and neither he nor Guo Kuang appear to have suffered. Guo Kuang, indeed, was appointed Specially Advanced, the same status as the ruler's own maternal uncles Yin Shi and Yin Jiu, and both groups of relatives continued to receive the same favour.

When Guo Kuang died in 59 the emperor attended the funeral and paid most generous expenses. - *HHS* 10B:402-03; Bn 79:119-120.

Guo Kuang 郭匡 (d.54); Zhending/Changshan. Brother of Guo Jing and cousin of the Lady Guo Shengtong, first empress of Emperor Guangwu, he was enfeoffed and became a Palace Counsellor. - *HHS* 10A:403-04.

Guo Liang 郭梁; Zhending/Changshan. Younger brother of Guo Chang and uncle of the Lady Guo Shengtong, first empress of Emperor Guangwu, he died young and left no sons. In his honour, Guangwu enfeoffed his son-in-law Chen Mao. - *HHS* 10A:403.

Guo Liang 郭涼/涼 [Gongwen 公文]; Youbeiping. Presumably a kinsman of Guo Ji, Guo Liang was eight feet tall [185 cm], fierce and strong, but also a keen scholar of the Confucian classics and histories. First appointed to local military office by Zhu Fu the Governor of You province, Guo Liang distinguished himself in the campaigns against Peng Chong during the 20s, and was rewarded with a county marquise.

Nominated Administrator of Yanmen in 33, he took part in the attack of Du Mao against Yin You, who held the commandery for Lu Fang. Their forces were heavily defeated. In 36, when Lu Fang's position collapsed and he was forced to take refuge with the Xiongnu, Yin You's officers Jia Dan and others killed Yin You and came to Guo Liang to surrender. Guo Liang recommended they be rewarded with enfeoffment. He went forward into Yanmen, put down troublemakers, notably the powerful Xun family, and settled the commandery within a fortnight.

Known throughout the north for his understanding of the frontier, Guo Liang was also recognised at court for his sensible advice. As reward for his success in Yanmen, Emperor Guangwu appointed one of his sons as a gentleman cadet. - *HHS* 22/12:777.

Guo Liang 郭亮/諒 [Hengzhi 恆直]; Runan. As a young man Guo Liang was a student of the private tutor Di Zhoufu, and then of the Excellency Li Gu at Luoyang. When Li Gu and Du Qiao were executed in 147 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji had their bodies displayed and ordered that anyone who approached them would be killed. Bearing instruments of execution, Guo Liang asked to collect the corpses, and though permission was refused he still carried out mourning rituals, and persuaded Yang Kuang, who had been sponsored by Du Qiao, to support him.

The two men were arrested and interrogated, but the regent Dowager Liang ordered that they should not be punished and allowed them to continue. Both men were widely admired. -HHS 63/53:2088, XC 8:5b.

Guo [Lingqing] 郭令卿. JS 20:923 refers to Guo Lingqing as compiler of *Hanlü zhangju* 漢律章句, a commentary to the laws of Han. Lingqing may have been the style or a sobriquet of Guo Hong 弘, or it may refer to his son Guo Gong.

Guo [Linong] 郭林宗 see Guo Tai 郭泰. The father of the historian Fan Ye had the personal name Tai 泰, so Guo Tai's personal name appears as 太, and he is frequently referred to by his style, Linong.

Guo Mai 郭脈 see Guo Sheng 郭勝. -HHJ 25:305.

Guo Meng 郭孟; Guanghan. Guo Meng was the husband of the Lady Yang Jingyang *q.v.* -HYGZ 10C: 177.

Guo Min 郭旻 [Jugong 巨公] (d.158); Chenliu. A nephew of Guo Zhen 鎮 of Yingchuan and elder brother of Guo Xi, Guo Min held local office in his commandery and province. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a gentleman cadet and was then an Internuncio. After appointment as a county magistrate he served in the Ministry of Justice and then transferred to the Censorate.

Guo Min left office for a time when his father died, but he received another nomination and returned to his censorial post. Appointed Inspector of Ji province, he did well in that post, returned to the capital as an officer of the Secretariat, and was later Administrator of Danyang. -LS 24:16a-17b, LX 3:3a-5a, 19:1a-2b, HHSJJ 46/36:1658 Hui Dong.

Guo Mu 郭睦. In 219 Guo Mu was Liu Bei's Administrator of Nanxiang commandery in the north-west of Jing province. He was defeated by Sun Quan's general Lu Xun. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Guo Pei 郭配 [Zhongnan 仲南]; Taiyuan. Second

son of Guo Wen and younger brother of Guo Huai, he became well known and served as a commandery Administrator under Wei. -SGZ 26:736.

Guo Pu 郭溥. In 195 Emperor Xian sent Guo Pu, an officer of the Secretariat, to persuade Guo Si to let the court continue east. In the following year, as the imperial party came to Xu city under Cao Cao's control, Guo Pu was one of those enfeoffed for good service. -HHS 72/62:2339, 2342.

Guo Qian 郭虔/乾 [Junxian 君賢] (d.141); Zuopingyi. As Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat, in 129 Guo Qian joined the Director Zuo Xiong to protest the harsh administration of the law. Noting that there had been a series of earthquakes and floods, and that, despite amnesties, banditry was endemic over much of the northern plain, they argued that the policy whereby one man's offence could bring the extermination of his whole family served only to spread trouble, and there should be more official restraint and opportunity for reform.

Guo Qian was succeeded as Deputy Director by Hu Guang, but he remained a member of the Secretariat and was associated with the conservative group which formed about Hu Guang. In 132 it was suggested that the emperor should select his empress by lot, so that spiritual powers might be involved, but Guo Qian, Hu Guang and Shi Chang argued the decision should be based upon quality of lineage. So the Lady Liang Na was chosen, and her family began its domination of the court.

Later that year Zuo Xiong, Director of the Secretariat, proposed tightening the processes of selection for office. Guo Qian, Hu Guang and Shi Chang claimed that the traditional system worked well and was supported by a majority of officials, but the emperor approved the reforms.

Guo Qian later became Minister of the Household, and in 137 he was appointed Excellency of Works. He died in office four years later. -HHS 61/51:2019, 44/34:1505-06, 6:266 & 271, HHJ 18:221 [as 郭乾]

Guo Qin 郭欽. As Colonel in the Western Regions under Wang Mang in 16 AD, Guo Qin led a raid on Yanqi [Karashar]. He was promoted general and granted enfeoffment.

In 23 Guo Qin was one of the Nine Tiger generals [each with the character 虎 in his title] commanding Wang Mang's last field army against Han. They tried to hold the mouth of the Wei River, but were defeated

and scattered by Deng Ye and Yu Kuang. Guo Qin and two remaining generals gathered some troops and took refuge in the Capital Granary. Their firm defence prevented the main army of Han from advancing against Chang'an, but the capital was stormed by local irregulars and Wang Mang was killed. Guo Qin and his colleagues then surrendered, and the Gengshi Emperor rewarded them with fiefs. -Dubs 55:467, *QHX*:140.

Guo Qin 郭勤; Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Song, he was evidently due to succeed to his fief in 70, but then Guo Song was posthumously accused of involvement with the conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and the fief was abolished. In 77 Emperor Zhang enfeoffed Guo Qin with a village. He died without sons and the fief was again ended. -*HHS* 10A:404.

Guo Quan 郭全; Taiyuan. In the second half of the second century Guo Quan served as Minister of Finance. -*SGZ* 26:734.

Guo Rou 郭柔; Chenliu. Son of Guo Xi and younger brother of Guo Hong, he was a Consultant under Emperor Ling. -*HHSJJ* 46/36:1658 quoting Shen Qinhan.

Guo Shen 郭深; Yingchuan. Son of Guo Yi, after his father's death about 217 Guo Shen inherited the fief which had been awarded posthumously to his grandfather Guo Jia. -*SGZ* 14:436.

Guo Sheng 郭勝; Changshan. A local bandit in the late 20s, Guo Sheng was killed by Fan Yan. -*HHS* 28/18A:977.

Guo Sheng 郭勝 also as Guo Mai 脈; Nanyang. A eunuch, Guo Sheng was a Regular Attendant during the 180s and was enfeoffed as a marquis. In 189 Jian Shi planned to assassinate the General-in-Chief He Jin, uncle of the new Little Emperor Liu Bian, and he discussed this with other senior eunuchs. Guo Sheng, however, a fellow-countryman of the He clan, was closely involved with their fortunes. He warned He Jin, and He Jin had Jian Shi arrested and killed. -*HHS* 78/68:2535, 69/59:2248, *HHJ* 25:305 [as Guo Mai].

Guo Shengtong 郭聖通, the Lady (d.54); Zhending/Changshan: Empress of Emperor Guangwu. The Lady was a daughter of Guo Chang, a man of local family, and his wife who was a daughter of Liu Pu 劉普 the King of Zhending. Her father died early and she was brought up by her mother.

When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was commissioner to Ji province in 24, the Lady Guo was presented to him for his harem, and she provided a

useful connection to the leading families of the north. As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he named her an Honoured Lady, and in that year she bore him a son, Liu Qiang. In 26 he appointed the Lady as his empress and Liu Qiang as Heir.

In 41 Guangwu dismissed the Lady Guo and replaced her with the Lady Yin Lihua. Sources say this was because of the empress's jealousy and poor character, but Bielenstein argues that it was a result of pressure from the powerful families of Nanyang, and the reduced importance of the Lady Guo's connections in the north. The Lady was named Queen Dowager of Zhongshan and was permitted to reside in the Northern Palace at Luoyang, while her second son Liu Fu was promoted from Duke to King of Zhongshan and had Changshan commandery added to his fief; he was evidently formally responsible for her support, and the augmentation may have been designed to assist with her revenues. In 44 the fief and title of Liu Fu and the Lady were transferred to Pei.

The Guo family continued to receive favour. The Lady's brother Guo Kuang received valuable donations, and when their mother died in 50 the emperor himself attended her funeral and gave posthumous honours to the late Guo Chang. When the Lady died in 52 she was given state burial in the Beimang hills north of Luoyang.

In 86 Emperor Zhang visited the homeland of the Guo family, held a great feast and gave presents to her kinsmen. -*HHS* 10A:402-05; Bn 67:21-29, Bn 79:114-120.

Guo Shi 郭時; Yingchuan. Guo Shi was the youngest son of Guo Zhen 鎮. When Guo Zhen died in 129 Guo Shi's elder brother He was due to the succession of his marquisate, but Guo He ceded the fief to Guo Shi. -*HHS* 36/26:1545.

Guo Shi 郭石 (d.187); Lingling. In 187, probably as successors to Guan Gu, Guo Shi and Zhou Chao were leaders of bandits in Lingling, Guiyang and Changsha. They were destroyed by Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1095; deC 90:103-104.

Guo Shou 郭守. In 26 Guo Shou was a general under the command of Cen Peng in unsuccessful operations against the rebels Dong Xin and Deng Feng in Nanyang. -*HHS* 17/7:656.

Guo Shun 郭順; Henei. Son of a magistrate and brother of Guo Zhongqi, Guo Shun became a county magistrate, then Inspector of Xu province, and was

later Chancellor of Zhongshan and of Jibei. -LS 9:1a-3a, 21:20b.

Guo Si 郭汜 also Guo Duo 多; Zhangye. An officer in the service of Dong Zhuo, in 192 Guo Si was sent by Niu Fu, with Li Jue and other commanders, to raid Yingchuan and Chenliu. By the time they returned to Hongnong Dong Zhuo had been assassinated and Niu Fu killed by his own troops. With no good will shown by the new regime at Chang'an, Guo Si joined Li Jue and his colleagues in attacking the capital and seizing power.

For the next three years, with title as a general and enfeoffment, Guo Si held second rank to Li Jue in the ramshackle government at Chang'an. In 194 he joined Fan Chou to defeat Ma Teng and Han Sui, and later drove rebel Qiang from Youfufeng, but in 195 endemic feuding came to a head when Li Jue killed Fan Chou. Guo Si became nervous, and his concern was encouraged by his wife, who was jealous that he might be having an affair with one of Li Jue's serving-maids. The crisis came when Guo Si, invited to a banquet, suspected he had been poisoned and took an emetic of diluted excrement. As each gathered troops against the other, Li Jue seized the emperor and plundered the palace while Guo Si kidnapped senior ministers of the court.

Faction fighting continued for months until in early autumn Emperor Xian bluffed his way out of the capital and began to move east. Guo Si tried several times to get him into his own control, but he was put off with excuses and was not strong enough to force the issue. He retired briefly to the south, but then joined Li Jue in pursuit of the imperial cortège. After an abortive attempt to ally with Duan Wei the warlord of Huayin, Li Jue and Guo Si pursued the emperor and his escort, with bloody skirmishes, east through Hongnong, until the ruler escaped across the Yellow River north into Hedong. [Xie Cheng says that Guo Si captured the wives of the imperial officials and cut the hair off the good-looking ones; it is likely their fate was even less fortunate.]

After a final bout of plunder and slaughter, Li Jue and Guo Si agreed to a notional peace, handed back some prisoners and booty, and returned to the west. Guo Si had a base at Mei, the former fortress of Dong Zhuo west of the capital; he was killed there by his officer Wu Xi. -HHS 72/62:2332-42*, SGZ 6:181-87*, XC 7:13b.

Guo Si 郭汜, wife of. During the early 190s Guo Si frequently went to drinking parties with his colleague Li Jue. His wife was jealous, and concerned that her husband might be having an affair with one of Li Jue's women. When Li Jue sent a present of some food, therefore, the Lady added some poisonous beans, then picked them out as if they had come with the gift and warned him to be careful.

Next time he went to Li Jue, Guo Si became drunk, then thought that he had been poisoned and made himself an emetic with liquid excrement. Li Jue was offended and the two leaders went to war. -HHS 72/62:2337, SGZ 6:183; deC 96:149-150.

Guo Song 郭嵩; Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Jing, he succeeded to his fief about 60, but died about 70. Soon afterwards he was posthumously accused of involvement with the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and the marquissate was abolished. -HHS 10A:404.

Guo Tai 郭泰/太 [Linzong 林宗] (127/128-169); Taiyuan. The personal name of this man was Tai 泰, but Fan Ye, author of HHS, avoided taboo on the personal name of his own father by writing it as 太. Guo Tai is also referred to in many texts by his style, Linzong.

Guo Tai was the son of a poor family. After his father died when he was young, his mother thought to indenture him as a servant in the county office. Guo Tai persuaded her that this would disgrace his father and that he should be free to study. At the age of twenty, having borrowed 5,000 cash from his elder sister's husband, he travelled to Henan to study the *Chunqiu* under Qu Boyan. Barely clothed and seldom eating, he completed his course in only three years.

Eight feet tall [185 cm] and well built, with a voice clear as a bell and skilled in conversation, Guo Tai came to Luoyang in the early 150s. At first he made no mark, but about 160 his quality was recognised by Fu Rong, who introduced him to Li Ying the Intendant of Henan. Li Ying was immensely impressed and became his close friend, while Guo Tai's reputation now dominated the capital. A few years later, as Guo Tai was returning to his home country in the north, all the officials and scholars came to escort him to the crossing of the Yellow River. Li Ying was the only person to accompany him in the boat, and the vast crowd is said to have gazed upon them as if at a vision of two immortals.

Guo Tai was invited to office by the Excellency Huang Qiong and was recommended as Knowing the Way by the minister Zhao Dian, but he refused all such offers. He explained that he preferred to study the heavens by night and the affairs of men during the day, that he sought the spirit of nature in the trigrams of the *Book of Changes*, and that he saw no future for the state of Han. He remained in the region of the capital, travelling as a scholar and a teacher and holding immense influence. There are a multitude of anecdotes about his praise and admonition, his exemplary conduct and his sponsorship of men from humble origins who later distinguished themselves: Mao Rong, Meng Min, Shentu Pan and Yu Cheng were among them, and the sympathy he showed Zuo Yuan kept him from murder. He was also known for his fondness of wine.

By the middle 160s Guo Tai was recognised by the reformists and students at the Imperial University, his judgements of men determined their success, his private students were numbered in the thousands, and the most senior officials came to seek his approval. He was even a leader of fashion: on one occasion he was caught in the rain while travelling and a corner of his headgear drooped down; soon other men were wearing hats with folded corners like the "Linzhong cap." When his mother died he enhanced his reputation by his mourning for her, becoming so ill that he vomited blood [*cf.*, however, *sub* Chen Ji].

Though Guo Tai was a leader amongst those who emphasised individual morality and rejected the corruption of the court and an official career, he restricted his opinions to matters of personal character, and made no specific comment on political controversies or affairs of state. At the time of the First Faction Incident of 166 it appears that he retired to his home, maintaining a private academy with thousands of students. And as the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168 brought down many worthy men, Guo Tai mourned their fate but was not himself involved.

When Guo Tai died early in 169, thousands came from all parts of the empire to attend his funeral. Cai Yong was commissioned to compose the inscription for a stele in his honour, remarking that this was the only occasion he felt able to compose a flattering piece without embarrassment. Vervoon remarks that the "combination of moral seriousness and studied elegance in Guo Tai ... makes him the epitome of Confucian eremitism of the last hundred years of

Han."

HHS 68/58 says that Guo Tai was forty-two *sui* when he died, but the inscription composed by Cai Yong says he was forty-three. He was therefore born either in 127 or in 128. -*HHS* 68/58:2225-31*, 67/57:2187, *XC* 4:9b-10b, *XHS* 5:2b-3a, *Cai* 2:1, Nagata 94:176, *SJZ* 6:7a-b; Mather 76:546, deC 89:44-47, Vervoon 90:170-179.

Guo Tai 國泰; Le'an. Guo Tai was a son of Guo Yuan. When Cao Pi succeeded Cao Cao early in 220 he appointed him a Gentleman at court. -*SGZ* 2:59, 11:340.

Guo Tai 郭太 see also Guo Da 郭大.

Guo Tang 郭唐; Xindu. In 23 Guo Tang was a senior member of commandery staff. As Wang Lang took the imperial title the greater part of the north accepted his claim, but Ren Guang the Administrator of Xindu refused to submit; Guo Tang and other officers supported him in maintaining loyalty to Han. They raised troops against the pretender and welcomed Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time a commissioner of the Gengshi Emperor.

Guo Tang became known for his ability and Emperor Guangwu appointed him Intendant of Henan, the capital commandery. -*HHS* 21/11:751-53.

Guo Tu 郭圖 [Gongze 公則] (d.205); Yingchuan. About 189 Guo Tu was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer by the Administrator Yin Xiu. A friend of his fellow-countryman Han Fu, in 191 Guo Tu encouraged him to hand over Ji province to Yuan Shao; he then became a high officer on the new governor's staff.

Arguing against Ju Shou in 195, Guo Tu persuaded Yuan Shao not to take Emperor Xian under his protection. In 199, again in opposition to Ju Shou, he urged a direct attack on Cao Cao. He was given command of one of the three divisions of the army, and in 200 he took over all Ju Shou's troops.

At the critical point of the Guandu campaign, Guo Tu argued for a raid on Cao Cao's camp rather than sending reinforcements to Chunyu Qiong to defend the supply train. When the camp held out and Chunyu Qiong was destroyed, Guo Tu accused his rival Zhang He of disloyalty: Zhang He went over to Cao Cao and Yuan Shao's army disintegrated. Guo Tu later argued that Shen Pei was also unreliable, but this accusation was properly dismissed.

In the rivalry for the succession to Yuan Shao, Guo Tu and Xin Ping supported Yuan Tan against

the younger son Yuan Shang and his partisans Shen Pei and Pang Ji, and in 203 they urged Tan to attack his brother and then to seek aid from Cao Cao. When Cao Cao destroyed Yuan Tan in Bohai in 205, he also killed Guo Tu and his family. -HHS 74/64A:2382-83, 74/64B:2410-17, SGZ 6:194-206.

Guo Wen 郭溫/蘊; Taiyuan. Son of Guo Quan, in the late second century Guo Wen was Administrator of Yanmen. -SGZ 26:734.

Guo Xi 郭禧 [Gongfang 公房] (d.179); Chenliu or Yingchuan. [HHS 46/36 says that Guo Xi was a nephew of Guo Zhen 鎮, who came from Yingchuan, but DGHJ, quoted by HHS 8 TC, says that he came from Fugou 扶溝. Fugou county was in Chenliu, close to the border with Yingchuan.]

Guo Xi cared for the affairs of his household when he was young, but he also made a name as a Confucian scholar and was recommended for office. He became Minister Coachman, and in 169 he was appointed Grand Commandant under Emperor Ling. He left office in the following year, after only a few months.

Guo Xi was later Minister of Justice, like his uncle and two cousins before him. In a memorial of 178 Cai Yong praised his maturity and honesty. -HHS 8:331, 46/36:1545-46, 60/50B:1999, LX 19:12b-13a.

Though the main lineage of the family was based on Yangdi, capital of Yingchuan, HHS 8:331 TC says that Guo Xi came from a county in Chenliu, close to the Yingchuan border. It is possible that Guo Xi's [unnamed] father had formally shifted his residence.

Guo Xian 郭憲 [Ziheng 子橫]; Runan. As a young man at the end of Former Han, Guo Xian studied at Chang'an under Wang Zhongzi of Donghai [probably Wang Liang *q.v.*, but possibly Wang Heng/Huang 橫/黃 of Langye: QHX:566, 534, 524-525]. About 1 AD Wang Mang called Wang Zhongzi to court, but Guo Xian argued that it was not appropriate for his master to obey such a summons; the student, Wang Mang, should come to the teacher, not the other way round. As a result, Wang Zhongzi arrived late, but he explained Guo Xian's position to Wang Mang, who was impressed. When Wang Mang took the throne in 9 AD he appointed Guo Xian to his court and awarded him robes. Guo Xian, however, burnt the garments, fled to Donghai and evaded pursuit.

As Emperor Guangwu took the throne in 25, Guo Xian was summoned as Knowing the Way. He became an Academician and in 32 was made Minister

of the Household. That year, as the imperial cortège was proceeding to a sacrifice, Guo Xian spat three mouthfuls of wine towards the east. Reported for disrespect, he explained that there had been a fire in the state of Qi and he had just put it out. A report from the east later confirmed the conflagration and its marvellous extinguishment.

In the following year, as Guangwu planned to attack Wei Ao in the west, Guo Xian objected that the east of the empire was still insecure, and he even cut the reins of the emperor's chariot as he was attempting to leave. Guangwu embarked on the campaign, but rebellion broke out in Yingchuan and he was obliged to return; he duly admired Guo Xian's prescience.

About 35 Guangwu held a court conference to discuss reprisals against the Xiongnu, who were raiding the frontiers. Guo Xian was in the minority who opposed the plan, but he argued his case so fiercely that he became ill and had to be escorted from the assembly. Guangwu commented on his obstinacy, but did not proceed with the attacks.

Soon afterwards Guo Xian left office on grounds of ill health. He died at home. -HHS 82/72A:2708-09*; Ngo 76:81-83, DeWoskin 83:48-49.

Guo Xian 郭咸; Henei. Son of a magistrate and brother of Guo Zhongqi, Guo Xian became Prefect of Luoyang. -LS 9:1b, 10:12a.

Guo Xian 郭憲 [Youjian 幼簡] (199-220); Jincheng. A man of local family, admired for his generous nature, Guo Xian became Officer of Merit in his commandery but refused provincial appointment.

In 215, having lost all his troops, the aged rebel Han Sui came for refuge, and Guo Xian, then seventeen, gave him shelter. Some wanted to kill him for the sake of reward, but Guo Xian defended the suppliant.

Soon afterwards Han Sui became ill and died, and his head was taken to Cao Cao by Tian Yue and Yang Kui [*cf.*, however, *sub* Han Sui]. They told of Guo Xian's involvement, and all three were granted secondary marquisates. Guo Xian became well-known and influential, but he died a few years later. -SGZ 11: 350.

Guo Xiang 郭襄. An Internuncio at the court of Emperor Ming, in 59 Guo Xiang was named Protector of the Qiang in place of the disgraced Dou Lin. When he arrived in Liang province and learned how strong the Qiang were, however, he took fright, returned to Luoyang and resigned his position. The office of

Protector was again abolished. -HHS 87/77:2880.

Guo Xiang 郭香; Jingzhao. A local clerical officer, in 165 Guo Xiang was sent by the Intendant Yuan Feng to prepare a stele celebrating the completion of work on a temple at Mount Hua which Yuan Feng had inaugurated in 161. -LS 2:3a. See also the following entry.

Guo Xiang 郭香; Jingzhao? An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy in 175, Guo Xiang and his fellow calendarist Liu Gu were criticised by the would-be reformers Feng Guang and Chen Huang, who sought to alter the base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") of the calendar to accord with the apocrypha. Their position was vigorously defended by the great scholar Cai Yong. -HHS 92/2:3040; MBeck 90:60.

At HHSJJ 92/2:3412 Hui Dong suggests this may be the same man as in the entry above.

Guo Xu 過栩/翽 became Inspector of Yan province. -FSTY 6f:141.

Guo Xun 郭勳; Zhending/Changshan. Son of Guo Kuang 匡, he succeeded to his fief in 54. -HHS 10A:404.

Guo Xun 郭恂. An officer of the general Dou Gu, in 73 Guo Xun was sent with the colonel Ban Chao as agents to the Western Regions, and he was later Senior Colonel to the Protector-General of the Western Regions Chen Mu at Yanqi [Karashar]. As the Northern Xiongnu returned in force in 75, the people of Yanqi and Qiuzi [Kuqa] attacked Chen Mu's headquarters and killed everyone there. -HHS 47/37:1572-73, 88/78:2928.

Guo Xun 郭訓 [Xianqing 顯卿]. A member of the Suite of the Heir, Guo Xun composed two treatises on calligraphy. -XTS 57:1448; Hou Kang:2117, Yao Zhenzong:2343.

Guo Xun 郭勳. Inspector of You province in 184, Guo Xun was defeated by the Yellow Turban rebels of Guangyang. -HHS 8:349.

Guo Yan 郭晏; Runan. Local trouble-makers, about 160 Guo Yan and a number of his fellows were recruited by the county magistrate Liu Tao, who forgave their crimes and formed them into a strike force to deal with others. The county was settled. -HHS 57/47:1848.

Guo Yi 郭揖. In 169 Guo Yi was a magistrate in Runan, controlling the home county of the man of Faction Fan Pang. When orders came for Fan Pang's arrest he presented himself at the prison. Guo Yi offered to abandon his post and run away with him, but Fan Pang

rejected the offer and insisted on facing his fate alone. -HHS 67/57:2207; deC 89:111.

Guo Yi 郭奕 [Boyi 伯益]; Yingchuan. A widower, Guo Yi was intended to marry the Lady Xun Cai, daughter of Xun Shuang and widow of Yin Yu. Rather than abandon her loyalty to her first husband, the Lady killed herself. -HHS 84/74:2799.

While HHS TC identifies this man with Guo Yi the son of Guo Jia below, and quotes from the *Wei shu* which gives the style of that Guo Yi, later scholars agree that the dates do not match and they were two different men. See *sub* Xun Cai.

Guo Yi 郭奕 [Boyi 伯益]; Yingchuan. Son of Guo Jia, in 207 Guo Yi was granted the posthumous title which had been awarded to his father.

After Cao Pi was named Heir to Cao Cao, Guo Yi became a Literary Scholar in his household. He died soon afterwards, possibly in the plague of 217. -SGZ 14:435-36, HHS 84/74:2799 [but *cf.* Guo Yi above].

Guo Yong 郭永; Anping. Members of Guo Yong's family had held low official positions, but Guo Yong became Administrator of Nan commandery. He died about 189, and received posthumous enfeoffment from Cao Pi when he took his daughter as empress. -SGZ 5: 164-65; C/C 99:106-107.

Guo Yong 郭永, wife of: see the Lady Dong 董 III.

Guo Yu 郭宇; Nanyang. Some time after the Excellency Guo Dan was dismissed and died in 62, Emperor Ming enquired after his family. When he was told they had been left in poverty, he had his sons Guo Yu and Guo Ji sought out and given office. Guo Yu later became Administrator of Changshan. -HHS 27/17:942.

Guo Yu 郭玉 [Tongzhi 通直]; Guanghan. A student of Cheng Gao, who was a disciple of the Old Man of the Fu River, Guo Yu was skilled in acupuncture 針 and in the medicinal balance of *Yin* and *Yang*. He became Assistant Court Physician to Emperor He, and cured many people.

On one occasion the emperor tested his abilities by having a eunuch and a young woman, both of delicate build, present Guo Yu with one arm each, matching and side by side from behind a curtain so that he might read the pulse. Guo Yu identified one as masculine and the other as feminine: Emperor He was impressed.

Guo Yu treated rich and poor with equal dedication, though he was more successful with those of lowly birth. Emperor He had one of his courtiers present himself in shabby clothes, and Guo Yu cured him with

a single needle. The emperor asked the reason for the difference, and Guo Yu explained that men of noble birth were more difficult to treat because they disliked physical work and did not care for their health, they frequently failed to follow advice and were sometimes too weak to take strong medicine, while their natural arrogance made him nervous and uncertain in his treatment. Emperor He was again impressed.

Guo Yu died old, still in office. -HHS 82/72B:2735*, HYGZ 10B:151; Ngo 76:116-118, DeWoskin 83:74-76.

Guo Yu 郭昱, the Lady; Anping. Daughter of Guo Yong and elder sister of the Empress Guo of Cao Pi, she married a man of the Meng 孟 family. -SGZ 5:165; C/C 99:108.

Guo Yuan 國淵 [Zini 子尼]; Le'an. A favoured student of Zheng Xuan, in 191 Guo Yuan accompanied Bing Yuan and Guan Ning to refuge in Liaodong. Returning, he became a clerk to Cao Cao, respected for his direct and honest counsel.

Guo Yuan was later given responsibility for setting up military agricultural colonies, and when Cao Cao attacked west in 211 he left Guo Yuan with Cao Pi at Ye city in charge of civil affairs. When the rebel Tian Yin was defeated in the northeast, Guo Yuan argued clemency for his followers, and he refused to exaggerate the victory on the grounds that rebellion marked a failure of government and there was no glory in putting it down. Cao Cao approved.

Guo Yuan then became Administrator of Wei commandery, where his detective work trapped the author of a series of libellous pamphlets. In 213 he was made a minister at the court of Wei, but lived humbly and gave away any surplus income or property. He died in office.

As Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, in recognition of his past loyal service a son or grandson of Guo Yuan was granted the right to appointment as a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 11:339-40*, 2:59.

Guo Yuan 郭援 (d.202); Yingchuan. In 202 Guo Yuan was named Administrator of Hedong by Yuan Shang and sent to conquer the commandery in alliance with Gao Gan and the Southern Shanyu Huchuquan. After initial success, Guo Yuan was defeated and killed at Pingyang on the Fen River by Cao Cao's Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, aided by troops of Ma Teng from the west. -SGZ 13:393.

Guo Zhen 郭鎮 [Huanzhong 桓鍾] (d.129); Yingchuan.

A nephew of Guo Gong, Guo Zhen attended to family affairs when he was young, but later obtained a clerical position under the Grand Commandant and then joined the Imperial Secretariat.

In 125 the eunuch Sun Cheng led a coup to establish Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, and edicts were issued to destroy the Yan clan of the Dowager. Though he was at that time ill in bed, Guo Zhen took command of a group of the palace guards of the Feathered Forest and went to help. He met with Yan Jing, Minister of the Guards, who had gathered a few troops to oppose the coup. After a brief skirmish Yan Jing was arrested, taken to prison and killed there.

On recommendation from the highest officers of state, Guo Zhen was enfeoffed for his work in destroying the Yan group and preserving the dynasty. He became Director of the Secretariat, Intendant of Henan and then Minister of Justice. Leaving office, he died at home, and a special grant of honour was ordered for his tomb. -HHS 46/36:1545.

Guo Zhen 郭禎; Yingchuan. Second son of Guo Zhen 鎮, like his father and his elder brother Guo He, Guo Zhen was learned in the law and became Minister of Justice. -HHS 46/36:1545.

Guo Zhen 郭鎮 [Ji'nan 季南]; Taiyuan. Youngest son of Guo Wen and brother of Guo Huai, Guo Zhen became an Internuncio under Wei. -SGZ 26:736.

Guo Zheng 郭正; Hanyang? A friend of the scholar recluse Fa Zhen, who died in 188, Guo Zheng composed a funerary inscription in his honour. -HHS 83/73:2774; Vervoorn 90:299.

JS 94:2454 says that in the time of Emperor An a certain Guo Zheng 郭整 of Hanyang received eight invitations to appointment in the offices of the Excellencies, and an official carriage was sent to him five times, but he would never accept. This may be a reference to the Guo Zheng of 188, with the reign of the emperor given wrongly.

Guo Zheng 郭政; Dong. About 210 Guo Zheng had an affair with his cousin, then killed her husband Cheng Tuo. Arrested and questioned by the commandery officer Feng Liang, both Guo Zheng and the woman withstood the flogging which was intended to force the truth from them. Distressed at the pain he had inflicted, Feng Liang came to believe that he had made a false accusation, but the new county magistrate Hu Zhi noted the sexual relationship between the two. He examined the affair in more detail and found out the

truth. -SGZ 27:741.

Guo Zhi 郭芝 [Gongzai 公載]; Nanyang. Administrator of Hanzhong about 100, Guo Zhi played a leading role in restoring a temple to the local worthy Tang Gongfang 唐公房, who in the time of Wang Mang had swept his whole household away into the world of the immortals. -LS 3:9b-11a; Ebrey 80:337.

Guo Zhi 郭晳; Yingchuan. Son of Guo Gong, Guo Zhi became Administrator of Nanyang and left a record of good government. -HHS 46/36:1545.

Guo [Zhongqi] 郭仲奇 (106-171); Henei. Son of a magistrate, Guo Zhongqi became Adjutant of the Northern Army and also served as a county magistrate in Nanyang. A stele was erected in his honour when he died. -LS 9:1a-3a, 21:20b-21a; Ebrey 80:334.

Guo [Ziyu] 郭子瑜; Runan. A stable-boy, Guo Ziyu was recommended for office by the judge of character Xu Shao, and later became celebrated for his quality. -SGZ 23:658.

Guo Zong 郭宗 see Guo Cong 郭琮.

Guo Zu 郭祖; Taishan. In the early 190s Guo Zu, Gongsun Du and other bandit chieftains were given titles by Yuan Shao, but they maintained their positions in the mountains and raided the settled population. Cao Cao's Administrator Lü Qian persuaded them to submit, and their troops became Cao Cao's best soldiers. SGZ 18:540-41. This is probably not the same man as in the entry immediately below.

In 220 a colonel in the Northern Army with personal name Zu and enfeoffment as a village marquis was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Goodman suggests this man may have been Guo Zu. -LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Guo Zu 郭祖. About 200 Guo Zu was a leader of pirates by the mouth of the Yellow River. Cao Cao appointed He Kui as Administrator of Le'an, and he restored order. -SGZ 12:380.

Though the names are the same and Taishan is comparatively close to Le'an, this is probably not the same man as above.

Guo Zun 郭遵. Inspector of Yan province, Guo Zun was a senior and distinguished Confucianist. In 142 he was given acting position as a Household Counsellor and was appointed to the special commission of eight sent out to observe the empire. Little came of the enterprise, however, and government remained in the hands of the Liang kinsmen of the empress. -HHS 6:272, 61/51: 2029. [XHS 4:11b has this man's

surname as Zhen 甄.]

Gushi Lang 古師郎 also Youshi Lang 右師郎. In 24 Gushi Lang was leader of the Huosuo bandits in the Shandong peninsula. In 26 the group surrendered to Guangwu's agent Fu Long. -HHS 1A:16; Bn 59:80, 135.

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Han [River]. Old Man on the Bank of the, 漢濱老父 see Old Man on the [Southern] Bank of the Han River 漢陰老父.

Han 韓, the Lady. A concubine of the Gengshi Emperor about 24, she was his regular drinking companion. When an official interrupted them with some business she abused him, beat him and destroyed the documents. -HHS 11/1:471; Bn 59:251.

Han 汗 (d.59); Xiongnu. Younger brother of the founding Southern Shanyu Bi, Han succeeded his next elder brother Mo in 57, taking the title Yifayülü di 伊伐於慮鞬 Shanyu. He died two years later. -HHS 89/79:2948.

Han 韓 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Wu commandery at some time in the second century, he discussed local worthies of the region with Liu Shengbo. Their conversation was recorded, and though nothing more is known of either man, nor have any details of their talk survived, it may be seen as a symbol of the developing interest in local history. -SGZ Wu 12:1324, and see also *sub* Zhang Kai.

Han 韓 [personal name unknown]; Yingchuan. Eldest son of Han Fu, after his father had resigned his office as Governor of Ji province in 191, his residence was attacked by Zhu Han, who beat his son and broke both his legs. -HHS 74/64B:2380.

Han Bin 韓斌. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat at Chang'an in 195, Han Bin joined Zhong Yao and others in a plot with Liu Jue's officer Yang Feng to kill him and free the emperor. The plan was unsuccessful, but Yang Feng set himself up independently, Li Jue was weakened, and Emperor Xian escaped to the east soon afterwards.

As the remnant court came under Cao Cao's control in 196, Han Bin was enfeoffed and granted nominal title as Administrator of Zuopingyi. -HHS 72/62:2342, SGZ 13:391, HHJ 28:336-37, 29:344.

Han [Bogao] 韓伯高; Julu. A student of the Han

version of the *Classic of Poetry* under the Academician Xue Han, he became a celebrated scholar. -HHS 79/69B:2573.

Han Chen 韓臣; Nanyang. In 23 Han Chen was a lieutenant-general under Li Song in the force sent against Wang Mang's capital in Chang'an. After the defeat of Wang Mang's last field army at Huayin, the allies entered the Wei valley, but as they halted to attack the Capital Granary Han Chen was sent with an advance guard towards the capital. He defeated Wang Mang's general Dou Rong south of the Wei outside Chang'an, and he and his men may have taken part in the capture of the city and the destruction of Wang Mang by Wang Xian and his irregulars. Han Chen does not appear again in the records. -Dubs 55:460, Bn 54:130.

Han Chi 韓勑 [Shujie 叔節]; Yingchuan. Chancellor of Lu in 156, Han Chi arranged for repair work on the Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:17b-25a, Nagata 94:124-26.

Han Chong 韓崇 [Changji 長季]; Wu. When Han Chong was a magistrate in Danyang, it is said that the county escaped a plague of locusts. He was later transferred to be Administrator of Runan.

When the Dowager Yin died in 64, it was ordered that the wives of all Administrators near the capital should attend her tomb. Though Han Chong's wife wished to go, he forbade her to do so, even when she wept in sorrow and frustration. An edict enquired the reason, and the Minister of Ceremonies Feng Xi explained that Han Chong was a most moral and conscientious administrator, but he did not feel it appropriate for his wife to take part in such a public function. Emperor Ming was impressed, and raised Han Chong's salary. Han Chong also allowed his wife and children to eat only vegetarian dishes.

Han Chong nominated Yuan An as Filial and Incorrupt. He also appointed the filial Cai Shun to his staff, and each time there was a thunderstorm he provided a carriage to take him to his late mother's tomb so that he could reassure her spirit.

During the imperial tour to the east in 72, Han Chong made his wife leave the official residence and received the emperor with only old women in the house. Again impressed with his strict morality, Emperor Ming rewarded him with silk. On this or another occasion Han Chong was also presented with a carriage and horses and a sword.

After fourteen years in Runan, Han Chong died aged seventy-four. -HHSJJ 29/29:1397-98 Hui Dong quoting Tao Hongjing 陶弘/宏景 of the sixth century, XC 6:12a.

Han Chong 韓崇, wife of: the Lady suffered some restrictions from her husband's ideas about moral conduct: see above.

Han Chun 韓純; Nanyang. Son of Han Shu, Han Chun was Administrator of Nan commandery in the latter part of the second century. Presumably after his retirement, a certain Chen Mao, of powerful local family, slandered Han Chun and his elder son to the local authorities, and almost had them put to death. Han Chun died soon afterwards, but his son Han Ji later arranged for a group of assassins to take revenge on Chen Mao, then presented his head as offering to Han Chun's tomb. -SGZ 24:677.

Han Cong 韓琮 (d.110). A Chinese in the service of the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu, in 109 he urged him to take advantage of difficulties within the empire, both from flooding and from the rebellion of the Qiang in Liang province, and declare his independence. Tan did this, but after three defeats by the Chinese armies he was forced to abandon his capital and flee. As he sent messengers seeking to submit, he turned on Han Cong and complained of his advice; it is doubtful Han Cong lived much longer. -HHS 89/79:1957-58.

Han Dan 韓丹 (d.220). Early in 220, when Liu Bei heard that Cao Cao had died, he sent his junior adviser Han Dan with a message and gift of condolence to Wei. Cao Pi, however, considered this as no more than an attempt to gain favour. He had Han Dan executed and the two states thereafter cut off diplomatic relations.

Another account says that Han Dan died on the journey, but the message was forwarded and Cao Pi responded. This seems more likely to be correct. -SGZ Shu 2:889 & JJ at 35a.

Han Dang 韓當 [Yigong 義公] (d.227); Liaoxi. Han Dang did not come from a notable family, and though he was skilled at horsemanship and archery he gained no advancement until he joined Sun Jian in the late 180s. He became a senior major under his command and accompanied him on his campaigns thereafter.

When Sun Ce gained his father's former troops under the command of Yuan Shu, Han Dang joined him and later took part in his expedition south of the Yangzi. Appointed a colonel, with two thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen, he was engaged

against Liu Xun, in the attacks on Huang Zu, and in the conquest of Yuzhang, where he held position as a magistrate with responsibility to bring the non-Chinese into submission.

In 208 Han Dang accompanied Zhou Yu to the defeat of Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs, and in 209 he held garrison command at Huan city in Lujiang, defeating Cao Cao's commander Zang Ba in a skirmish.

In 215 Han Dang accompanied Lü Meng as he invaded Liu Bei's territories in Jing province; he was then named Administrator of Yongchang. The commandery was in the far south of Yi province, nominally part of Liu Bei's sphere of influence, so the appointment can be seen as a provocation, though Sun Quan did have some expectations there: see *sub* Yong Kai.

At the time of Liu Bei's great attack in 221 Han Dang served under Lu Xun and Zhu Ran, and joined in the destruction of the Shu army. He was appointed a general and enfeoffed as a village marquis. When Cao Zhen attacked Nan commandery in 222 Han Dang held the south-eastern front. He was later raised to be a full marquis, promoted general and made an Area Commander. He led elite troops to defeat bandits in Danyang, but then took ill and died.

Han Dang was succeeded by his son Zong 綜, but he rebelled soon afterwards and went over to Wei, where he was made a general and enfeoffed. -SGZ Wu 10:1285-86*.

Han Fan 韓範. A county magistrate in Zhao for Yuan Shang, in 204 he made a false surrender to Cao Cao but then maintained his defences. Xu Huang was sent against him, persuaded him to yield and arranged that, to encourage others, Han Fan be rewarded with enfeoffment. -SGZ 1:25, 17:528.

Han Fu 韓福. In the late 20s Han Fu was Chancellor of the kingdom of Changsha, a fief which had been granted to Liu Xing by the Gengshi Emperor. In 29 Guangwu's regional commander Cen Peng wrote to urge Han Fu to accept the new imperial regime, and sent one of his officers with a summons. Han Fu sent tribute to Han and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:47, 157-158.

Han Fu 韓輔; Yingchuan. Son of Han Leng, Han Fu was Chancellor of Zhao during the reign of Emperor An. -HHS 45/35:1536.

Han Fu 韓馥 [Wenjie 文節] (d.191); Yingchuan. Formerly a member of the Secretariat, then head of

the Imperial Censorate, in 189 Han Fu was named Governor of Ji province by Dong Zhuo. As Yuan Shao in Bohai planned a rising against Dong Zhuo, Han Fu initially regarded it as a private quarrel and sent officers to keep Yuan Shao under control, but by the end of the year he had been persuaded that it was an affair of public concern. He approved Yuan Shao's plans and joined the alliance, though he stayed himself at Ye city in Wei.

As the alliance broke up in 191 Han Fu sought to control Yuan Shao by reducing his supplies, but Yuan Shao contacted Han Fu's mutinous officer Qu Yi, encouraged Gongsun Zan to threaten him from the north, and himself advanced down the Yellow River. Intimidated by circumstance and by the Yuan family prestige, and encouraged by men he believed to be his friends, Han Fu handed his position to Yuan Shao.

Despite promises of goodwill, Han Fu and his family were harassed, while his supporters either abandoned him or were killed. Han Fu took refuge with Zhang Miao, but soon came to fear that he too was plotting against him. He killed himself. -SGZ 1:6, HHS 74/64A:2375-80.

Han Gong 韓龔. In the middle 40s Han Gong was Assistant Commandant in a county in Pei. Having caught the robber Ding Zhong, he took his booty and had him bastinadoed eight hundred times. Surprisingly, Ding Zhong survived, and Han Gong told the magistrate Zhi Yun about it. Angry at such cruelty, Zhi Yun hit Han Gong with the metal staff that had been used for the punishment.

Han Gong was now angry too, and he killed Ding Zhong. Zhi Yun was found responsible and dismissed from his office. -HHS 29/19:1032, DGHJ 15:4a.

Han Guang 韓廣. Han Guang married the Princess Liu Hongfu, daughter of Emperor Guangwu, and was named Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. In 73 he was executed for alleged involvement in a conspiracy of witchcraft with Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang. -HHS 10B:458, 42/32:1444.

Han Hao 韓皓. Administrator of Youfufeng in 129, Han Hao succeeded Ma Xian as Protector of the Qiang. He was involved in plans for the expansion of military colonies from the Xining valley to the upper Yellow River, but was dismissed for some fault after only a year. -HHS 87/77:2894.

Han Hao 韓浩 [Yuansi 元嗣]; Henei. A local leader against bandits, Han Hao received commandery office

from Wang Kuang and joined the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190. After Wang Kuang was destroyed Dong Zhuo attempted to bring Han Hao over by holding his uncle Yang Du as hostage, but Han Hao rejected the threat. After a short time with Yuan Shu, he joined Xiahou Dun.

When Lü Bu attacked Yan province in 194 Xiahou Dun was seized by mutineers, but Han Hao compelled them to surrender and killed them.

As Protector of the Army, responsible for discipline, Han Hao was trusted by Cao Cao; he was associated with Zao Zhi in the establishment of agricultural colonies about Xu city.

Han Hao later took part in campaigns against the Wuhuan in 207 and Zhang Lu in 215, and he was enfeoffed. In 213 he was one of the officers who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. He died about 216. -SGZ 9:267-70.

Han Heng 韓珩 [Zipei 子佩]; Dai. A worthy man, Han Heng was respected for the manner in which he carried out mourning for his parents and served his brothers and sisters. He became Attendant Officer to Yuan Xi, Inspector of You province.

In 205 Jiao Chu and other officers drove Yuan Xi away and turned the province over to Cao Cao, but though Han Heng was threatened with death he maintained his allegiance to the Yuan. Jiao Chu allowed him to leave and Cao Cao, admiring his integrity, did not pursue him. -HHS 74/64B:2417-18, SGZ 6:206-07.

Han Hong 韓鴻; Nanyang. Internuncio under the Gengshi Emperor, after the destruction of Wang Mang in 23 Han Hong was sent as special commissioner for the north with the Staff of Authority to confirm the new imperial regime in You and Bing provinces. Such envoys had the right to appoint or dismiss even the highest officials, and in Yuyang Han Hong used his authority to name his fellow-countryman and old friend Peng Chong as a lieutenant-general and acting Administrator, while he appointed Wu Han, another compatriot, as a county magistrate. The former Administrator of Yuyang was evidently removed without difficulty.

When Han Hong came to Shanggu, circumstances changed. It had been announced that those who accepted the new regime would be confirmed in their position, but when the Administrator Geng Kuang duly offered his seal in token of submission Han Hong did not

return it immediately but kept the insignia overnight. Then, however, Geng Kuang's Officer of Merit Kou Xun went with armed men to Han Hong's tent, had Geng Kuang invited to join them, and attached the seal and ribbon to his waist. Han Hong had no choice but to give formal approval, so Geng Kuang was confirmed in office. Han Hong is not heard of again. -HHS 12/2: 502, 18/8:675, 16/6:620; Bn 59:36-39.

Han Ji 韓暨 [Gongzhi 公至] (d.238); Nanyang. Han Ji was the son of Han Chun. A certain Chen Mao, of powerful family, slandered Han Chun and Han Ji's elder brother to the local authorities, and they were nearly executed. Han Ji appeared to pay no attention to the incident, but some time after his father's death he arranged for a group of assassins to take revenge on Chen Mao, and presented his head as sacrifice to his father's tomb.

Celebrated for this achievement, Han Ji was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and was also invited to clerical office at the capital. He would not go, but changed his name and took refuge in the hill country of Lujiang. There he treated the local bandits well and persuaded them to end their depredations. About 197 the usurping emperor Yuan Shu sent a summons, but Han Ji refused him and went back into the mountains east of Nanyang. There he received a call from Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, and this time he sought refuge southeast in Wuling. The people there admired and respected him, but Liu Biao was now angry, and Han Ji was obliged to accept office as a magistrate in Nan commandery.

When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, he appointed Han Ji to his ministerial staff and then made him Administrator of Leling, a new commandery divided from Pingyuan by the mouth of the Yellow River in Qing province.

Han Ji later became Internuncio in charge of Metallurgical Production 監冶調者. Hitherto horses had generally provided the power for the bellows used in smelting, but great numbers were required for each unit of wrought iron that was produced, and while man-power was also used, it was exhausting and expensive. Du Shi, Administrator of Nanyang in the early first century, had devised a water-power reciprocator to power the bellows, but although this was three times as efficient the technique appears to have been restricted to the metal-workers of that region. Han Ji, who came from Nanyang, evidently

spread the knowledge, and in the seven years that he held office implements of iron became plentiful. He was promoted to be Commandant for Metal 司金都尉, with rank just below the Ministers, and when Cao Pi took the imperial throne in 220 he was granted enfeoffment.

Han Ji became Minister of Ceremonies in 226, and in 229 he brought the imperial tablets of the Wei from Ye city to the restored capital at Luoyang. He retired from his ministerial post on grounds of age in 234, but continued as a Counsellor at court. In 238, aged over eighty, he was named an Excellency, but died a short time later. -SGZ 24:677-78*; Needham 65:370.

Han Jiang 韓姜, the Lady; Jianwei. At the end of the second century the Lady was married to Yin Zhongrang. Her husband died when she was twenty years old, and at the conclusion of the mourning period the local gentleman Dong Tai arranged for a brother of Wang Shang, Assistant Officer of the province, to seek her hand on his behalf. The Lady refused him.

Two of Dong Tai's clients, Zuo Xi and Wang Su, believed that the Lady could be forced to accept their master's suit. They accordingly told her that her mother was ill, and as she went back to the family home they abducted her and forced her into the marriage. The Lady Han killed herself.

The Administrator Gong Yang learned of the affair, and he had Zuo Xi and Wang Su executed to avenge the Lady's death. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Han [Jichao] 韓季朝 or Han Jizhao; Yingchuan. Han Jichao was Administrator of Nanyang in the time of Emperor Shun, but the Imperial Secretariat accused him of wrongdoing and he was dismissed. -FSTY 7: 56.

Han Juzi 韓莒子 see Han Xun 韓荀.

Han Kang 韓康 [Tianxiu 恬休 or Boxiu 伯休]; Jingzhao. Han Kang's family had been well known for several generations, but he made his living by collecting medicinal plants and selling them in the market at Chang'an, where he fixed his prices and refused to bargain. After thirty years of anonymity, he was recognised by a young woman and promptly fled into the hills.

Despite this seclusion, a series of invitations were sent to him to take up office, and Emperor Huan himself prepared to receive him. So Han Kang was obliged to leave for court, but he insisted on travelling in his own simple cart, not in an official carriage. He

then made his escape on the way, disappeared and died in hiding. -HHS 83/73:2770-71*.

Han Kui 韓攄 [Boyan 伯彦]; Guanghan. In 188 Han Kui was Registrar in his county when it was attacked by Yellow Turban rebels led by Ma Xiang. The magistrate Yi Pou [but cf. *sub voce*] fled into the wilderness, and sent Han Kui to find a good hiding place. Before he did so, however, Yi Pou was taken and killed.

Having carried out funeral ceremonies for his late master, Han Kui obtained provincial troops from the Assistant Officer Jia Long and joined the attack which destroyed the bandits. Revenge complete, he killed himself. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Han Kui 韓曄. A eunuch, Han Kui was a Regular Attendant during the 180s and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 78/68:2534.

Han Lai 韓賴 see Han Chi 韓勅.

Han Lang 寒朗 [Boqi 伯奇] (26-109); Lu. When Han Lang was a few days old there was fighting nearby and his mother hid him in a thicket. When it was peaceful again, she was able to find the infant by a light which shone above him. When he grew up, he became an expert scholar, specialising in and teaching the *Classic of History*. About 60 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt.

An Internuncio in 70, Han Lang was given an acting post in the Censorate to join members of staff of the Excellencies in the investigation of the alleged conspiracy of Li Ying the King of Chu. Yan Zhong and Wang Ping, at the centre of the affair, named Geng Fu, Zang Xin, Liu Xun and Dou Jian, but the four men denied any contact with the plotters. Emperor Ming was furious, and all officials were terrified, but Han Lang believed the accused were innocent. He tried to question Yan Zhong and Wang Ping again, but they had been so tortured that they could give no coherent replies.

Han Lang nonetheless braved the imperial displeasure, and though very nearly executed he was able to persuade the emperor that some people could have been falsely implicated by Yan Zhong and Wang Ping, who had themselves nothing to lose. A few days later Emperor Ming went to the prison, reviewed the cases, and had a thousand people released. Han Lang presented himself in bonds, but there was an amnesty and he was released.

Han Lang then left office, but he was later nominated once more as Filial and Incorrupt, and Emperor Zhang

praised his loyalty and courage in open court. About 80 he became a county magistrate in Hejian and then in Chenliu, but left office again when his mother died.

The people of his community admired Han Lang, and when an imperial progress came to the region in 87 the local leaders sent a letter to the throne. Emperor Zhang called Han Lang to audience, and had him appointed to the offices of the Excellencies. He became Administrator of Qinghe about 90, but was dismissed for some fault.

In 109 the Excellency Zhang Yu had Han Lang named an Academician. A carriage was sent to collect him, but he died at this time, aged eighty-four. -HHS 41/31:1417-18*, HHJ 10:123.

Han Leng 韓陵 or Han Ling 陵 [Boshi 伯始] (d.98); Yingchuan. Han Leng's father Han Xun died when he was four. When he grew up Han Leng distributed the family property among his relatives, and the local people admired him for it.

Han Leng became Officer of Merit in the commandery [*FSTY* 4:28 says he was Registrar]. The Administrator Ge Xing was incapacitated and could not attend to the government. Regulations required that he should retire after three months illness, but Han Leng concealed the situation. He attended to everything in secret, and in the course of two years there was no fault to be found. Then, however, he quarrelled with Ge Xing's son, who reported the situation. Han Leng was proscribed from office for having usurped the functions of the Administrator, but Emperor Ming recognised his sense of loyalty and issued a special pardon.

Han Leng served in the offices of the Excellencies and then became a county magistrate in Xiapi, where his virtuous government preserved the territory from a hailstorm which damaged crops.

After some further appointments Han Leng became Director of the Secretariat. He and his Deputy Zhi Shou, and the officer Chen Chong, became known for their ability and on one occasion Emperor Zhang presented each of them with an inscribed sword.

When Dou Xian had Liu Chang assassinated in 88, the senior officials were afraid of the Dou family and suggested that one of Liu Chang's kinsmen was involved in the murder. They wanted the head of the Imperial Censorate to investigate the matter in his home country of Qi. Convinced that the cause was to be found at the capital, Han Leng held his ground

even against the regent Dowager, and Dou Xian's involvement was eventually discovered.

In 92, as Dou Xian returned in triumph after his conquest of the Northern Xiongnu, many officials proposed to welcome him with cries of "Ten Thousand Years!" 萬歲, but Han Leng argued that such an ovation was suitable only for the sovereign, so the idea was dropped. An officer of the Secretariat, Wang Long, privately proposed that there should be offerings of oxen and wine; Han Leng charged him and had him sent to convict service.

When Emperor He destroyed the Dou clan soon afterwards, Han Leng took the lead in purging and prosecuting the former supporters of the faction. His efforts were rewarded by an imperial gift of cloth. On the other hand, he also made a number of recommendations of good men for office, including Ying Shun and Zhou Yu.

Having served successfully for some years as Administrator of Nanyang, Han Leng became Minister Coachman, and in 97 he was appointed Excellency of Works. He died in the following year. -HHS 45/35: 1534-36*.

Han Li 韓立. A member of staff to Peng Chong, after his murder in 29 Han Li and his cousin Zihou Lanqing proclaimed his son Peng Wu as King of Yan 燕王. The insurrection was swiftly put down by the forces of Emperor Guangwu. See also Han Li 韓利 below. -HHS 12/2:505.

Han Li 韓利. After the murder of Peng Chong in 29 his followers Han Li 韓立 and Zihou Lanqing proclaimed his son Peng Wu as King of Yan. Their colleague Han Li 韓利, however, killed Peng Wu and took his head to the imperial general Zhai Cun. -HHS 12/2:505.

Han Ling 韓陵 see Han Leng 韓陵.

Han Meng 韓猛 see Han Xun 韓荀.

Han Pin 寒貧 [Cold and Poor: sobriquet]; Anding. This man's original surname was Shi 石, and his style Delin 德林. About 200 he came to the region of Chang'an, where he studied the *Poetry* and the *History* under the Confucian master Luan Wenbo. He later became a devotee of *Laozi* and of mysterious arts 內事, neglecting his wife and children for the sake of that study.

As Cao Cao came to attack in 211 he moved to Hanzhong, but when that territory was conquered by Liu Bei in 219 he returned to Chang'an. Apparently impervious to the cold, he begged for food but ate very

little, and as he refused to give his name he was known as "Cold and Poor" 寒貧. -SGZ 11:365-66.

Han Ren 韓仁 (d.175). A successful county magistrate in Hedong, Han Ren was due to be transferred to the capital of Youfufeng, but he died before the letter of appointment arrived. He was commemorated with a stele. -Nagata 94:214.

Han Rong 韓融. In 60 Han Rong was a Chinese living in Yutian [Khotan]. Following the assassination of Junde, the oppressive governor appointed by the hegemon King Xian of Suoju, Han Rong aided the local chieftain Xiumoba to kill the original conspirators and proclaim himself king. -HHS 88/78:2925.

Han Rong 韓融 [Yuanchang 元長]; Yingchuan. Son of Han Shao, he became well known as a senior private scholar. It is said that he was among those who approved the extended mourning of the time, involving men who were only most marginally connected to the bereaved: *FSTY* 3:22.

Han Rong refused an invitation to office in 188, but in the following year he was forced by Dong Zhuo to come to Luoyang. Leaving his family in refuge in the hill country of southern Henan, he joined the Imperial Secretariat and was then appointed Minister Herald.

In 190 Dong Zhuo sent Han Rong on embassy to seek peace with the eastern alliance. All the other envoys were killed, but Han Rong was spared because of his fine reputation. As Minister Coachman at Chang'an in 195, he was held hostage by Guo Si, but was then able to join Emperor Xian on his escape to the east; he later negotiated with Li Jue and Guo Si for the release of the officials and palace people they had taken.

Han Rong died about 196, aged seventy. -HHS 62/52:2063, 74/64A:2376; deC 96:53, 168.

Han Rong 韓榮; Henan. Adopted son of Han Hao, he succeeded to his fief about 215. -SGZ 9:269.

Han Ruo 韓若 see Han Xun 韓荀.

Han Shao 韓韶 [Zhonghuang 仲黃/潢 or Yuanchang 元長]; Yingchuan. As a young man Han Shao held local appointment in his commandery and he later joined the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang. In 155 Taishan commandery was being ravaged by Gongsun Ju. The Imperial Secretariat recommended Han Shao as a man who could restore order, and he was sent there as a magistrate.

When the bandits heard of Han Shao's virtue, they spared his county from their ravages, but then refugees

came in distress from other regions. Although it was against regulations Han Shao opened the official granaries to feed them; no official action was taken, but Han Shao took ill and died soon afterwards. His fellow-countrymen Li Ying, Chen Shi and others set up a stele in his honour. -HHS 62/52:2063-64*, XC 3: 12a.

HHS 82/72B:2748 says that when Shangcheng Gong *q.v.* went into the heavens Han Shao and Chen Shi were witnesses to his elevation. The parallel text in *Baopu zi* by Ge Hong of the fourth century, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJ* at 3024, has the style of Han Shao as Yuanchang 元長 [a variant which also appears at SGZ 11:355], and gives a different style to Chen Shi: it is likely that two distinguished witnesses have been cited to give credit to the extraordinary story, and the different styles are marginal.

Han Shu 韓術; Nanyang. During the second century Han Shu was Administrator of Hedong. -SGZ 24:677, XTS 73A:2854.

Han Shu'nan 韓樹南, the Lady (d.160); Hanzhong. In 147 the local officer Zhao Zijian organised the execution of Li Ji and Li Zi, sons of the disgraced minister Li Gu. When the surviving son Li Xie returned from exile in 160, Zhao Zijian was afraid he would seek revenge. He hired a man to kill him, but Li Xue found out. He told the Administrator and Zhao Zijian was executed.

The Lady Han, wife of Zhao Zijian, had disapproved of her husband's plans and tried to dissuade him, but when he was condemned she wanted to share his fate. Though her family tried to prevent her, she killed herself at his tomb. -HYGZ 10C:172-73.

Han Shuo 韓說 see Han Yue 韓說.

Han Song 韓嵩 [Degao 德高]; Nanyang. A private scholar, Han Song avoided calls to office and took refuge in the south from the Yellow Turban rebellion. When Liu Biao came to Jing province he accepted a senior position on his staff, but protested when Liu Biao usurped imperial rituals.

In 199 Han Song urged Liu Biao to support Cao Cao against Yuan Shao. Liu Biao sent him to check the situation, but Han Song warned him that if he received appointment in the imperial government under Cao Cao, he would be compelled to accept: he would then be no more than a former officer 故吏 of Liu Biao, and would not owe him prime loyalty. Han Song was indeed appointed Palace Attendant and Administrator

of Lingling, and when he returned he urged Liu Biao to commit himself to Cao Cao and to send him a hostage. Liu Biao was furious at Han Song's change of policy. He tortured and killed the men who had accompanied him, and was going to kill Han Song too, but then Han Song reminded him of what he had said at the beginning, and Liu Biao only put him in prison.

Han Song was released some time later, but accounts vary whether it was by Liu Biao himself, by his son and successor Liu Zong, or by Cao Cao after his take-over of the province in 208; one source says that he encouraged Liu Zong to surrender to Cao Cao. When Cao Cao arrived he named Han Song a minister at the imperial court and granted him enfeoffment. - *HHS* 74/64B:2422-24, *SGZ* 6:212-15.

Han Sui 韓遂 [Wenyue 文約] (d.215); Jincheng. Han Sui's father was a man of family who had been nominated Filial and Incorrupt and evidently held appointment at the capital. Han Sui himself became a local commandery officer; in 178 he was a leading sponsor of a stele set up in honour of the late Administrator Yin Hua, and soon afterwards he was sent to Luoyang as Reporting Officer. He evidently became friends with Cao Cao, and he was noticed by the General-in-Chief He Jin, whom he urged to attack the eunuchs. He Jin was reluctant, and after some time at the capital Han Sui returned to the west.

In 184 Han Sui was an Assistant Officer of Liang province, based at Yuanya, present-day Lanzhou, which was the capital of Jincheng commandery and also the provincial headquarters. When a group of rebels and mutineers under Beigong Boyu appeared before the city Han Sui and his colleague Bian Zhang joined the rebellion, though we are also told that they were taken hostage and acted under duress.

Han Sui was among the leadership group in two attacks towards Chang'an in 185 and 188/189, and the insurgents are commonly referred to as "Bian Zhang and Han Sui." *HHS* 72/62 says that in 186 or 187, after the first retreat of the rebels, Han Sui seized command, killing Beigong Boyu and others. It is probable, however, that the chief position was taken by Wang Guo, who led the second expedition. In 189, after he too had been driven back to the west, Wang Guo was deposed and only then did Han Sui achieve substantial authority. The rebel coalition broke up about this time, and Han Sui controlled one division of the former force, based on Jincheng, while other groups were led

by Ma Teng in Longxi, Song Jian on the upper Yellow River, and various petty warlords north of the Wei.

In the early 190s Han Sui supported Dong Zhuo at Chang'an and was recognised as an imperial general, and after Dong Zhuo's death in 192 he acknowledged the regime of Li Jue and his fellows. He then returned to Jincheng. His main base was in the west of Huangzhong, the valley of the Xining River, but he also controlled territory eastwards into Hanyang, on the upper Wei.

In 194 Han Sui brought an army to support Ma Teng and others against Li Jue and his colleagues. They were defeated at the Changping Slope, northwest of Chang'an, and Han Sui withdrew to Chencang in Youfufeng. He offered a truce and held friendly talk with his fellow-countryman Fan Chou, a chief in the enemy forces; Li Jue became suspicious of Fan Chou and killed him soon afterwards.

In 197 Han Sui acknowledged the government at Xu city controlled by Cao Cao, and sent hostages to the east. Soon afterwards, it appears that Cao Cao's agent Zhong Yao turned Ma Teng against Han Sui, and their forces were engaged in a number of skirmishes. In 208 Ma Teng went to join Cao Cao, leaving his son Ma Chao in Longxi, and Ma Chao later established a rapprochement with Han Sui. In 210 Han Sui attacked and destroyed the Inspector Zhang Meng, based in Wuwei.

In 211 Cao Cao sent troops into the northwest to attack Zhang Lu in Hanyang. Believing the offensive was directed against them, Han Sui and Ma Chao gathered a local alliance. Cao Cao's forces were driven from the Wei valley and in the autumn he came himself. Blocked at the Tong Pass on the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River, Cao Cao left a holding force while he led the bulk of his men northwards, crossed the Yellow River upstream to the west, then came south to force a crossing of the Wei at Huayin. During negotiations at this time Han Sui asked for a private conversation, for Cao Cao had been a colleague of his father. Cao Cao met him in sight of the armies, and they talked of old days at Luoyang, but then Cao Cao sent a confusing letter and Ma Chao and the others became suspicious. A day for battle was agreed, and the enemy alliance was defeated.

Soon afterwards Han Sui's officer Yan Xing, whom he had arranged to marry one of his daughters, nonetheless rebelled against him in support of Cao

Cao, and in 214 Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan drove Han Sui from his forward positions in Hanyang. Han Sui thought of fleeing south into Shu, but his adviser Chenggong Ying persuaded him to seek aid from the Qiang and other non-Chinese people, and with these allies Han Sui defeated Yan Xing and held his ground in Jincheng.

In the following year, aged over seventy, Han Sui died in the region of the Xining River in present-day Gansu. -HHS 72/62:2320-21, 2335, SGZ 1:34-35, 45*, 9:271, SGZ Shu 6:944; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:159-165, 492-495.

It appears Han Sui died naturally, but there is confusion over the events which followed. At SGZ 1:45, *Dian lue* says that his head was sent to Cao Cao by the local leaders Qu Yan and Jiang Shi as a sign of their submission; at SGZ 15:475, *Dian lue* tells how his loyal follower Chenggong Ying made a good surrender to Cao Cao; while SGZ 11:350 quotes *Wei lue*, which says that Han Yue lost all his troops and took refuge with the local gentleman Guo Xian, but died soon afterwards and his head was presented to Cao Cao by Tian Yue and Yang Kui.

Xiandi chunqiu, quoted by HHS 72/62:2321 TC, says that Han Sui's original personal name was Yue 約, but that he changed it after joining the rebellion. The inscription to Yin Hua of 178, however, has his personal name as Sui: *Guwen yuan* 19:8b. *Dian lue*, quoted in SGZ 1:45 PC, gives his style as Wenye 文約, which may account for the confusion. See also SGZ 15:475 PC quoting *Wei lue*, and cf. Bian Zhang/Yun.

Han Tong 韓統. A General of the Household in 30, he led the second embassy from Emperor Guangwu to the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu. They brought gifts of gold and silk, but the Shanyu was arrogant, comparing himself to the great Modun 冒頓 at the beginning of Former Han. He continued to support the renegade Lu Fang, and no further embassies were exchanged. -HHS 89/70:2940; Bn 67:106.

Han [Wenbu] 韓文布; Taiyuan. A fellow-countryman of Guo Tai, he was sponsored by him and became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Han Xi 韓晞 (d.200); Nanyang. An officer of Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, in 199 Han Xi was sent with troops to assist Huang Zu against Sun Ce on the Yangzi. Han Xi and Liu Biao's nephew Liu Hu led an advance guard, but they were heavily defeated and both men were killed. -SGZ Wu 1:1108.

Han Xian 韓延 (d.197); Xihe? A former leader of the Bobo bandits, in 195 Han Xian brought assistance to Yang Feng and Dong Cheng as they escorted Emperor Xian from Chang'an. Successful in one engagement, the allies were heavily defeated in a second, but the emperor escaped across the Yellow River to Anyi in Hedong.

Han Xian was named a general and Governor of You province, but he quarrelled with his colleagues Dong Cheng and Hu Cai. As the emperor went south to Luoyang, Han Xian rejoined the escort party, and when they arrived at the former capital he was appointed a chief general and Director of Retainers.

As Cao Cao came to Luoyang in 196, he impeached Han Xian, who took refuge with Yang Feng. The emperor ordered, however, that no questions be asked of anyone who had assisted him on his journey.

As Cao Cao took the emperor to Xu city later that year, Yang Feng and Han Xian chased after him, but Cao Cao drove them away to the south of Henan.

In 197 Yang Feng and Han Xian joined Yuan Shu to attack Lü Bu, but were persuaded to change sides. Soon afterwards Yang Feng was killed by Liu Bei, and as Han Xian returned north alone he was killed by the local chieftain Han Xuan in Pei. -HHS 72/62:2340-42, SGZ 6:185-87.

Han Xin 韓歆 [Wengjun 翁君] (d.39); Nanyang. Member of a leading family, Han Xin joined the Han rebellion in 22, and after the destruction of Wang Mang in 23 he was named Administrator of Henei for the Gengshi Emperor.

In the autumn of 24 Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to Henei. Han Xin planned to resist but his fellow-countryman Cen Peng, who had joined him for refuge, persuaded him to surrender. Uncertain of Han Xin's loyalty, Liu Xiu was going to execute him, but Cen Peng argued that as a man of local standing he could serve and give credit to the new regime. So Liu Xiu let him live.

Later that year, as Deng Yu took command in the west against the Gengshi Emperor, he appointed Han Xin to a senior position on his staff. In the summer of 25 the army was in Hedong when a major force led by Wang Kuang and other chieftains came to attack. After the first engagement proved indecisive, Han Xin and other officers urged Deng Yu to withdraw. He rejected their advice, and after one day's rest the two armies engaged once more and Deng Yu achieved a complete

victory.

Han Xin was later awarded a marquissate for his contribution to the imperial success, and in 27 he was Director of the Imperial Secretariat. In that position he urged the establishment of chairs at the University for the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes* and for *Zuo zhuan*, both Old Text studies. At a court conference on the New Year's Day of 28, with Guangwu presiding, the Academician Fan Sheng argued against the proposal, but in a later exchange of memorials Han Xin was supported by the officer Chen Yuan, and the emperor agreed to a chair for *Zuo zhuan*.

Han Xin later became Administrator of Pei, and in 37 he was recalled to the capital as Excellency over the Masses. A man of moral standards and direct speech, he appears always to have been an irritant to the emperor, and early in 39 he criticised him publicly for having read the correspondence between his defeated rivals Wei Ao and Gongsun Shu. Guangwu, furious, had him dismissed, and continued the pressure even after Han Xin sought to retire into private life. Han Xin and his son Ying were driven to suicide.

Han Xin had been well regarded by the gentry of the empire; the emperor was later obliged to pay him respects and provide for his funeral. -HHS 26/16:602, 17/7:654; Bn 79:54, 61-69, 191.

Han Xing 韓珩 see Han Heng 韓珩.

Han Xu 韓序, the Lady (d.72). Concubine of Liu Yan the King of Zhongshan, she committed some fault and he strangled her to death. The chancellor of the state reported him, and Liu Yan suffered the loss of one county from his fief; it was restored some twelve years later. -HHS 42/32:1449.

Han Xuan 韓玄. As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he sent Han Xuan south as Administrator of Changsha, but after the defeat at the Red Cliffs later that year Han Xuan was obliged to surrender to Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 2:879.

Han Xuan 韓宣 [Jingran 景然 or Zijing 子景]; Bohai. A short, small man, about 215 Han Xuan became a member of Cao Cao's staff, with various duties about Ye city. On one occasion he met Cao Zhi at a gate of the palace. At first Cao Zhi was annoyed at his apparent lack of respect to a nobleman, but he was then impressed by Han Xuan's self-confident justification, based upon Confucian teachings. He told his brother Cao Pi of the incident, and praised Han Xuan's skill

in debate.

Early in the reign of Cao Pi, Han Xuan became a member of the Secretariat. He was arrested for some administrative fault, but Cao Pi remembered his name and pardoned him. He later served as Administrator in two commanderies, returned to the Secretariat and held ministerial office under Cao Rui. He died about 235. -SGZ 23:675-76.

Han Xun 韓尋; Yingchuan. Claiming distant descent from Han Xin the King of Han 韓王信 at the beginning of Former Han [QHX:146-147], and a man of noted local family, Han Xun was Administrator of Longxi in the time of Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 45/35:1534.

Han Xun 韓荀/莫 [Juzi 莒子?] (d.200?). There is a deal of confusion about the name of this man and the circumstances of his death.

SGZ 9:274 says that Han Xun 韓荀 was an officer of Yuan Shao. At the time of the Guandu campaign in 200, he was sent to cut Cao Cao's communications with the west, but was thoroughly defeated by Cao Ren in southern Henan, and after that setback Yuan Shao sent out no further detachments. -SGZ 9:274; see also *sub* Han Meng.

SGZ 10:323 says that during the same campaign Han Xun guarded supplies for Yuan Shao in the west of the theatre of operations. He was attacked by Cao Cao's officer Xu Huang and the provisions were destroyed.

The main text of SGZ 10:323 writes the personal name as 莫, an extremely rare character, known only in this context. The commentary of Pei Songzhi at 324 says that it appears also as Meng 猛 and as Ruo 若; and the parallel text in ZZTJ 63:2033 has it indeed as Meng [deC 96:285]. This, however, is probably the same man as Han Xun 荀, who had earlier been defeated by Cao Ren in Henei, and was evidently still acting on Yuan Shao's right flank.

Both the previous references tell how Han Xun was defeated, first by Cao Ren and then by Xu Huang. SGZ 1:22 says that a later and decisive attack, led by Cao Cao in person [deC 96:287-288], resulted in the defeat and death of several of Yuan Shao's commanders, including Han Juzi 莒子. Given the similarity between 莒 and 若, as in Pei Songzhi's note above, it is likely this is a further and final account of an unlucky general, whose personal name was Xun [written either as 荀 or as 莫] or Meng, and whose style was Juzi.

Han Yan 韓演/寅 or Han Yin 寅 [Bonan 伯南];

Yingchuan. Grandson of Han Ling, Han Yan was Administrator of Danyang in the time of Emperor Shun. With a good reputation, he was transferred to Henei, and became noted for his unbiased recommendations for office. In contrast to his successor Zhou Jing, Han Yan made no fuss of his nominees, and never promoted their kinsmen, explaining that it would be wrong to grant too much to the same family. When his cousin Han Jichao was charged with some offence, Han Yan was also dismissed from his office and taken to the capital in a prison cart. Bearing this with dignity, he later benefited from an amnesty and was made Chancellor of Pei.

During the reign of Emperor Huan, Han Yan became Minister of Ceremonies in the government dominated by the Liang clan. In 155 he was appointed Excellency of Works and in 157 he was promoted to Excellency over the Masses. When the Empress Liang Nüying died in 159, Liang Ji wanted to adopt the emperor's favourite, the Honoured Lady Liang/Deng Mengnü as his daughter and have her established as empress. Han Yan approved the plan, but after Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies destroyed the Liang he and his fellow-Excellencies, Hu Guang and Sun Lang, were found guilty of failing to support the sovereign. Han Yan was dismissed, imprisoned and sentenced to death less one degree. He was allowed to commute the penalty by payment of a fine, and was then sent home.

Following an eclipse of the sun and other omens early in 165, Han Yin was recalled to be Director of Retainers. He promptly impeached the eunuch Zuo Guan and his brother Zuo Cheng; they committed suicide. He then had the Chancellor of Pei Ju Gong arrested for corruption. Ju Gong's brother, the palace eunuch Ju Yuan, went to plead for him, but he was demoted in fief and the whole affair reduced the influence of eunuchs and other favourites. Han Yan left office soon afterwards. -HHS 7:301-05, 45/35:1536, 78/68:2522, FSTY 5:38, 7:56, HQ 1:18b; deC 89:13, 57.

Han Yan 韓晏. Magistrate of Yongning county in southern Kuaiji, Han Yan was appointed Commandant by Sun Ce in 196 and sent against the loyalist Shang Sheng at Houguan by present-day Fuzhou. Defeated, he was dismissed and replaced by He Qi. -SGZ Wu 15:1377.

Han Yan 韓顏 see Wei Yan 韋顏.

Han Yi 韓翼 [Gongfu 公輔]; Hedong. As a county

magistrate in Beihai in 174, Han Yi took a leading role in establishing a local shrine. -Beitu 159 [the provenance of the inscription is uncertain].

Han Yi 韓翊. Assistant to the Court Astronomer Gaotang Long in the early 220s, Han Yi criticised the existing calendrical system and sponsored the *Huangchu* 黃初 [Yellow Beginning] calendar, named for the first reign period of the new dynasty. -JS 17:498; Needham 59:294.

Han Yin 韓寅 see Han Yan 韓演/演.

Han Yin 韓胤 (d.197). In 197 Han Yin was sent by the claimant emperor Yuan Shu to negotiate a marriage alliance with Lü Bu. Lü Bu agreed, but then changed his mind and called his daughter back. Han Yin was sent in a cage cart to Xu city, the imperial capital controlled by Cao Cao, and was executed there. -HHS 75/65:2448, SGZ 7:224.

Han Ying 韓嬰 (d.39); Nanyang. In 39 the Excellency Han Xin lost favour and was dismissed from his position. Still angry, Emperor Guangwu continued the pressure until both Han Xin and his son Han Ying had been driven to suicide. -HHS 26/16:902.

Han You 韓攸 see Han Shao 韓韶.

Han Yu 韓紆. An Internuncio about 70, he investigated and interrogated Dou Xun, who died in prison. In 88, when Dou Xun's daughter became regent Dowager for Emperor He, her brother Dou Xian sent retainers to kill a son of Han Yu, take his head, and offer it at the tomb of Dou Xun. -HHS 23/13:813.

Han Yue 韓說 [Shuru 叔儒]; Kuaiji. Learned in the Confucian classics, Han Yue was also an expert in prognostication by means of the apocryphal texts. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a Consultant, was a friend of Cai Yong, and composed a number of rhapsodies, hymns and poems in the *lianzhu* 連珠 "Linked Pearl" style of epigram and admonition.

In 175 Han Yue joined Cai Yong and others to urge that the five classics *Analecs*, *Changes*, *Ritual*, the *History* and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary be edited and engraved on stone. This was approved, and Han Yue worked on the project until its completion in 183.

Probably in 177, the court commissioned a fourth instalment of the dynastic history *Hanji* 漢記, and Han Yue was appointed to the committee, together with Ma Midi, Cai Yong, Yang Biao and Lu Zhi. The work included annals for emperors An and Shun, the infants

Chong and Zhi and Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. It was at this time that the history acquired the name of *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, from the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 of the Southern Palace, where the library and workrooms were located.

Promoted Palace Attendant, in 178 Han Yue warned Emperor Ling against a forthcoming eclipse, and in 180 he took part in a board of enquiry under the Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan which considered rival methods for calculating eclipses of the moon. In 185 he foretold a fire in the Southern Palace.

Han Yue later became Administrator of Jiangxia, but was dismissed for some fault. He died at his home aged seventy. -HHS 82/72B:2733-34*; Ngo 76:115, DeWoskin 83:73.

Han Yue 韓約 see Han Sui 韓遂.

Han Zhan 韓湛. A colonel under Wu Han in the east in 30, Han Zhan captured and killed Dong Xian and sent his head to the capital. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 12/2:497.

Han Zhao 韓昭 (d.145). Administrator of Nanyang, in 145 Han Zhao was found guilty of corruption and died in prison. -HHS 6:279.

Han Zhong 韓忠 (d.184); Nanyang. Leader of the local Yellow Turbans after the death of Zhao Hong, he was besieged in Wan city. As the imperial commander Zhu Jun enticed him into a break-out, he was ambushed and killed. -HHS 71/61:2309-10.

Han Zhong 韓忠; Liaodong. In 204 Han Zhong was sent by Gongsun Kang of Liaodong to grant a seal as Shanyu to the Wuhuan chieftain Supuyan. Qian Zhao, envoy of Cao Cao, confronted and attacked him in open court. Supuyan, over-awed, accepted Cao Cao's suzerainty and sent Han Zhong away. -SGZ 26:730-31.

Han [Zhongbo] 韓仲伯. When the Red Eyebrows destroyed the Gengshi Emperor in 25, Han Zhongbo fled with others from Chang'an. His beautiful wife came with them, but Han Zhongbo was afraid she would be a danger to the group by attracting attention. He was going to leave her at the wayside, but his comrade Zhao Xi put dirt on the Lady's face and took her along in a hand-cart, explaining to anyone whom they met that she was ill. So they arrived safely in Nanyang. -HHS 26/16:912-13.

Han Zhuo 韓卓 [Ziju 子助]; Chenliu. A generous and tolerant man, of wide learning, with good judgement

of character, Han Zhuo was a noted teacher. He encouraged others to good conduct, if he passed an altar he would pay his respects, and he could not eat the flesh of any animal once he had seen it alive [Mencius 1A:7:8].

In the 160s, on the advice of Fu Rong, the Administrator Feng Dai appointed Han Zhuo as Registrar of the commandery. One year, at the time of the winter *La* 臘 sacrifice, a slave stole food to make an offering to his ancestors. Despite the theft, Han Zhuo was touched by his fine feelings and freed him. -HHS 68/58:2233, XHS 5:20a, YSS:21b. [This may be the same man as in the entry below.]

Han Zhuo 韓卓. In 185 Han Zhuo was a clerical officer under the Grand Commandant. The general Huangfu Song proposed bringing Wuhuan auxiliaries to help deal with the rebellion in Liang province. But when the matter was discussed in court Han Zhuo argued that the Xianbi, though difficult to handle, would be more effective: indeed, if the Wuhuan were called up, the Xianbi would attack their home country and cause them to desert. The whole idea of using these erratic allies was opposed by Ying Shao, the majority agreed with him, and the idea was dropped. -HHS 48/38:1609-10. [This may be the same man as in the entry above.]

Han [Zifang] 韓子方; Jianwei. A master of the *Book of Changes*, Han Zifang tutored the unfortunate Zhang Zhen. -HYGZ 10B:161.

Han [Ziran] 韓子冉. A magistrate in Jianwei, Han Ziran admired the devotion of the Lady Huang Bo, widow of Zhang Zhen, and granted her son appointment in the county office. -HYGZ 10B:161.

Han Zong 韓琮 (d.110). A Chinese, Han Zong joined the court of the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu. In 109, the imperial government was faced by rebellion of the Qiang in Liang province, floods in eastern China, and trouble with the Wuhuan and Xianbi across the frontier of Yanmen and Wuyuan. Han Zong persuaded the Shanyu Tan that he should take the opportunity to seek independence, and with his advice Tan attacked the Emissary Geng Chong in his camp at the Xiongnu capital, Meiji in Xihe.

The General on the Liao Wang Biao died at this time, and though the Chinese sent additional troops and Xianbi auxiliaries they suffered a number of setbacks. In 110 the Xiongnu raided Changshan and Zhongshan commanderies on the North China plain below the Taihang mountains, but the imperial forces

were able to isolate the rebel Xiongnu from their potential allies on the steppe, and the Chinese applied increasing pressure towards Meiji.

The Shanyu Tan now sought to return to allegiance, and he was permitted to surrender. He spoke bitterly to Han Zong at the failure of his plan, and it is doubtful that Han Zong escaped with his life. -HHS 89/79:2957-58.

Han Zong 韓宗. An Academician at the Imperial University in Luoyang about 180, Han Zong taught New Text interpretations of *Changes* and *History*. One of his students was Zhang Hong. -SGZ Wu 8:1243.

Han Zun 韓遵. In 30 Han Zun was Registrar to Guangwu's Protector of the Qiang Wen Xu, who was captured by Wei Ao's men but killed himself rather than submit. Han Zun and his colleague Wang Zhong brought his body back and told the emperor of his heroic death. -HHS 81/71:2673.

Handan 邯鄲 [personal name unknown]; Zhao. Formerly a local officer under Yong Quan the Chancellor of Zhao, this man later became Administrator of Hanzhong. The tomb of the Yong family had been damaged, but he made repairs and set up a stele inscription. -LS 12:12b.

Handan Chun 邯鄲淳 or Handan Zhu 竺 [Zishu 子叔 or Zili 子禮]; Yingchuan. A nephew of Du Shang, Handan Chun accompanied him when he became a county magistrate in Kuaiji. He encouraged Du Shang to set up a commemorative stele for Wang E, the filial and suicidal daughter of the shaman Cao Yu; when the scholar Wei Lang failed to complete the text Handan Chun took it over. He was noted for scholarship and literary ability, and particularly for his calligraphy, in which field he followed the tradition of the first-century master Wang Xi and was credited with restoring the tradition of the ancient script 古文.

In the early 190s Handan Chun was with the court in Chang'an, but then took refuge in Jing province. As Cao Cao took over in 208, he called Handan Chun to be a mentor to his son Cao Zhi.

About 217, when Cao Cao was considering which of his sons should be named as Heir, Handan Chun praised Cao Zhi's talents. Cao Pi resented this, and though he later gave Handan Chun literary office at his court of Wei, and rewarded him for his work, he did not rank him with the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, however, named Handan Chun as one of seven Confucian Exemplars

儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in times of disorder. -HHS 84/74:2795, SGZ 21:602-03*, JS 36:1063; Fang 52:170-171, Goodman 98:67.

Handan Shang 邯鄲商 (d.206); Chenliu. In 194 Handan Shang was sent out as Inspector of a newly-established Yong 雍 province, controlling commanderies of the far west which had been cut off by the troubles in Liang province. In 206 he was killed by Zhang Meng the Administrator of Wuwei. -HHS 9:376 & 384, 65/55:2144, SGZ 18:547-48; deC 96:137 and see *sub* Zhang Meng.

Handan Shun 邯鄲淳 see Handan Chun 邯鄲淳.

Handan Yi 邯鄲義. In 159 Handan Yi was Minister of Justice. He and the Minister of the Household Yuan Xu were the only leading officials not controlled by the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, and when the Liang were destroyed, Handan Yi was among the few who retained their positions at court. -HHS 34/24:1186, 45/35:1525.

Handan Yi was also at some time Minister of the Guards. -FSTY 5f:128.

Handan Zhu 邯鄲竺 see Handan Chun 邯鄲淳.

[**Hande** (style)] 漢德 [surname and personal name unknown]; Wudu. A local officer of the commandery, in 172 he joined in setting up a stele to commemorate the road works of the Administrator Li Yu. -LS 4:12b.

Hanlu King 汗魯王 see Wuyan 難樓.

Hanluwei 汗魯維 see Wuyan 難樓.

Hanshou Village, Marquis 漢壽亭侯 see Guan Yu 關羽.

Hanyin, Old Man of, 漢陰老父 see Old Man on the [Southern] Bank of the Han River 漢陰老父/漢濱老父.

Hao Bodu 郝伯都, the Lady; Ba. The Lady is mentioned as an exemplary woman 烈女 of the Later Han period, but there are no further details. -HYGZ 12:220.

Hao [Bozong] 郝伯宗; Guanghan. A local scholar, Hao Bozong was a teacher of Jing Luan. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Hao Chong 郝崇. Administrator of Jincheng, in the summer of 77 Hao Chong learned that the chieftain Miyu of the Shaodang Qiang wanted to cross the frontier from Chinese territory. Hao Chong chased them and attempted to bring them back, but was heavily defeated. He escaped himself, but left two thousand dead behind him. -HHS 2:135, 87/77:2881.

Hao Guang 郝光. Administrator of Ji'nan about 210,

Hao Guang admired the county magistrate Sima Zhi. When Sima Zhi laid a complaint against Hao Guang's Registrar Liu Jie, Hao Guang accepted it and degraded Liu Jie to be a common soldier. -SGZ 12:387.

Hao Jie 郝絜; Taiyuan. In the late 150s Hao Jie and his fellow-countryman Hu Wu presented a memorial to the offices of the Excellencies, recommending a number of worthy scholars, but they did not call upon the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, nor provide him with a copy.

Hao Jie and Hu Wu were friends of Yuan Zhu, who later criticised the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and paid a fatal penalty. Angry at their lack of respect, and suspicious of their connection with Yuan Zhu, Liang Ji ordered their execution. Hu Wu's family was slaughtered, but Hao Jie managed to escape.

Realising that he would eventually be captured and thus involve his own family, Hao Jie took his own coffin to Liang Ji's residence and sent in a letter, then took poison and died. Because of his suicide, his family was spared. -HHS 34/24:1184; Ch'ü 72:474, deC 89:10.

Hao [Lizhen] 郝禮真; Yunzhong. Sponsored by Guo Tai, Hao Lizhen became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Hao Meng 郝萌 (d.196); Henei. An officer of Lü Bu, in 196 Hao Meng was suborned by Yuan Shu and led a mutiny at night in Xiapi city. Lü Bu fled to Gao Shun, who attacked Hao Meng and defeated him. Hao Meng was killed by his own follower Cao Xing. -SGZ 7:224.

Hao [Mengjie] 郝孟節; Yingchuan? There are a number of different accounts of the name/s, place of origin, attributes and skills of this man, who came to Cao Cao's court in the early third century.

HHS 82/72B:2750-51 [Ngo 76:143-146, DeWoskin 83:88] says that Hao Mengjie could keep food in his mouth under his tongue without eating it for five to ten years [this is mentioned also by XC 6:7a], and it was likewise claimed that he could hold his breath for months at a time, entering into a trance which appeared like death. Evidently in contrast to other men of magic, however, Hao Mengjie was married, lived simply, and behaved like a gentleman; Cao Cao had him supervise his colleagues.

The *Dian lun* 典論 of Cao Pi, quoted by HHS 82/72B:2748 TC and at SGZ 29:805 PC, tells how Xi Jian 郗儉 of Yingchuan was likewise known for his

ability to abstain from food, but that he regularly ate the "China-root" fungus *Pachyma* or *Poria Cocos* 伏苓, and when he came to Cao Cao's court in the early third century, the market price of China-root quickly doubled. [See *sub* Li Tan 李覃 for an example of an unsuccessful amateur in this dietary technique.]

The *Bowu zhi* by Zhang Hua of the third century, cited by Hui Dong at HHSJJ 82/72B:3026 and by Ngo 76:143, says that Cao Cao gave charge of the magicians to Xi Jian 郗儉, whose style was Mengjie, and who came from Yangcheng, a county in Yingchuan.

As Hui Dong suggests, it seems likely that Xi Jian and Hao Mengjie were in fact the same man, and the various characters for the surname have been confused. If that is so, then although HHS 82/72B says that both Hao Mengjie and his colleague Wang Zhen were men of Shangdang, Xi Jian/Hao Mengjie probably came from Yingchuan.

Some texts, moreover, have the surname as 郗, and there was a man from Henan named Que Jian 郗儉 *q.v.* He died in 188, however, and the magician was evidently alive some years after 210.

Though Cao Cao gave appointment to Hao Mengjie and others, and may have been interested in the possibilities of longevity, his son Cao Zhi claims that such patronage was rather to keep these men and their teachings under control, and he and his family gave them no credence. Cao Zhi's *Biandao lun*, also quoted by Pei Songzhi in SGZ 29:805-06, discusses these men and their claims with a degree of scepticism.

Hao Pu 郝普 [Zitai 子太] (d.230); Nanyang. In 215 Hao Pu was Administrator of Lingling in the service of Liu Bei when Sun Quan's general Lü Meng came to attack. As Hao Pu held out and Liu Bei's general Guan Yu prepared to relieve him, Lü Meng had orders to withdraw. Lü Meng sent Hao Pu's old friend Deng Xuanzhi to urge him to give up before he stormed the city. Hao Pu agreed but, after the surrender was complete, Lü Meng showed him the orders to leave and laughed at his embarrassment.

Hao Pu later became Minister of Justice to Sun Quan, but was forced to commit suicide in 230 for his credulous support of the traitor Yin Fan 隱蕃. -SGZ Wu 9:1276-77, 17:1418, SGZ Shu 15:1090; Fang 52:321-322.

Hao Zhao 郝昭 [Bodao 伯道]; Taiyuan. In 220 Hao Zhao held command under Su Ze in the resettlement of Liang 涼 province in the far northwest. He remained in

the region as a general, and in 229 he defended the city of Chencang in Youfufeng against strong attack from Zhuge Liang of Shu-Han. -SGZ 16:492, 3:95-96.

Hao Zhou 浩周 [Kongyi 孔異]; Shangdang. Having served Cao Cao as a county magistrate in Pei, Hao Zhou became Inspector of Xu province.

In 219 he was Protector of the Army, in charge of discipline, under Yu Jin. In the autumn of that year Yu Jin and his men were captured by Liu Bei's general Guan Yu outside Fan city in Nanyang. Soon afterwards Sun Quan's general Lü Meng attacked and destroyed Guan Yu, and the prisoners came into Sun Quan's hands.

Sun Quan treated Hao Zhou with great generosity, and in the following year he sent him back to the north with messages of submission and allegiance for Cao Pi, who had lately succeeded his father Cao Cao as King of Wei. Cao Pi received Hao Zhou and his colleague Dongli Gun, who had also been a captive in Wu, and he asked them whether Sun Quan's assurances could be relied upon. Dongli Gun was doubtful, but Hao Zhou was full of confidence, and even swore upon the lives of his family.

Cao Pi was glad to accept Hao Zhou's assurances, and as he took the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han he sent an embassy to enfeoff Sun Quan with the title King of Wu. Hao Zhou accompanied the party and was received privately by Sun Quan, who repeated his assurances of good faith, weeping with emotion and gesturing to heaven. After the embassy returned, Sun Quan apologised for the delay in sending his eldest son Sun Deng as hostage to Wei, and he repeated his assurances to Hao Zhou, but he never fulfilled his undertakings. In 222 Cao Pi lost patience and attacked Wu.

Though Hao Zhou's trust in Sun Quan had been mistaken, Cao Pi did not enforce any penalty against him or his family. On the other hand, Hao Zhou received no further appointment. -SGZ Wu 2:1127-28; Fang 52:127-131.

Hao [Zilian] 郝子廉; Taiyuan. Hao Zilian was criticised by Ying Shao for his excessive abstemiousness. -FSTY 3:23.

Haodan 郝旦; Wuhuan. A chieftain of Liaoqi, in 49 Haodan and some 900 lesser leaders came on embassy to Han. They brought slaves, cattle and horses, together with bows and the skins of tigers, leopards and sabres. Received in audience by Emperor Guangwu, they were

rewarded with generous presents in exchange, and eighty chieftains were granted insignia and permitted to bring their people to settle in the commanderies along the north of the plain.

Bielenstein doubts the significance of this agreement, but I note that the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, quoted by SGZ 30 PC, refers to nine thousand leaders, so the total number of people involved may have been as many as a hundred thousand. In practice, the Chinese had lost considerable ground in the north after the fall of Wang Mang, so it is probable that many of the Wuhuan were already in place and the "permission" granted by Guangwu was no more than recognition of a *fait accompli*.

At this time, on the recommendation of Ban Biao, the office of the Protector of the Wuhuan was established with headquarters at Ning in Shanggu, by present-day Zhangjiakou [Kalgan] in Hebei. The Protector was responsible for the Xianbi tribes as well as the Wuhuan and, most importantly, maintained the markets for trade across the frontier. In culmination of the settlement with these non-Chinese people, by the end of the reign of Emperor Guangwu it appears that the Chang River Regiment of the Northern Army at Luoyang was composed entirely of Wuhuan troopers [HHS 117/27:3612-13, deC 84:387-389].

The surrender of Haodan and his associates may be seen as a critical point in the organisation of the north-eastern frontier of Han, for the arrangements made at that time remained effective until the final years of the dynasty. -HHS 90/80:2982, SGZ 30:833; Bn 67:130, deC 84:381-389.

Haoduo 號多; Qiang. A chieftain of the Shaodang tribe of the rebel Qiang, in 114 he was sent by Lianchang to attack Wudu and Hanzhong. His men were driven back by the local Chinese troops aided by the Banshun people of Ba commandery. As he retreated, Haoduo cut the fortified Long Road, then went north to consult with Lianchang in Beidi.

In the following year Haoduo and seven thousand followers surrendered to the Protector Pang Can. Haoduo was sent to the capital and enfeoffed as a marquis, then returned to the northwest to aid the Chinese. -HHS 87/77:2889.

Haofeng 號封; Qiang. A member of the Jiaogong tribe, in 117 he was sent by the Chinese commander Ren Shang to assassinate Lianchang, leader of the rebel Qiang. Haofeng was rewarded with title as King

of the Qiang. -HHS 87/77:2891.

Haoliang 號良 (d.119); Qiang. In 119 Haoliang joined members of the Lejie tribe in planning a revolt, but they were attacked by the Protector Ma Xian. Haoliang and several of his associates were killed, and the remainder scattered. -HHS 87/77:2891.

Haoyu 號吾 or Haowu; Qiang. Son of Dianyu and younger brother of the chieftain Miyu of the Shaodang group of the Qiang, in 86 he joined a raid on Longxi but was captured by the local official Li Zhang. He was brought before the Administrator Zhang Yu, who was going to put him to death. Haoyu argued that if he were killed it would confirm the hostility of his people, but if he were released the Qiang would cause no further trouble. Zhang Yu did release Haoyu, and the Qiang duly scattered and withdrew across the border.

In 89 Zhang Yu, now Protector, was dismissed on account of the disruption caused by his treacherous murder of Miyu. Miyu's son Mitang maintained the fight against Zhang Yu's successor Deng Xun, but Haoyu accepted his good will and brought his mother and other members of their tribe to surrender. -HHS 87/77:2881-83, 16/6:610.

He 郝 [surname] see Hao 郝 *passim*.

He, Emperor 和帝 (*reg.* 88-106) see Liu Zhao 劉肇.

He 何, the Lady (d.189); Nanyang: Empress of Emperor Ling. Daughter of He Zhen and his wife the Lady Xing, she is said to have come from a butcher's family. Most likely born in the late 150s, she entered the harem of Emperor Ling by common selection in the 170s. Despite her questionable background, she was described as a woman of respectable family 良家; there was suggestion that she obtained her position by bribery. Seven feet tall [162 cm] and good-looking, she attracted the emperor's favours and gave birth to a son Liu Bian, probably in 173 [but see *sub* Liu Bian]. She then became an Honoured Lady, and was made empress in 180 [strictly, on 1 January 181].

Jealous and fierce, the Empress He terrorised the harem, and when the Beauty Wang bore the imperial son Liu Xie in 181, she poisoned her. The emperor was furious and intended to dismiss her, but his eunuch favourites dissuaded him.

When Emperor Ling died in 189, the Lady He used her authority as Dowager to establish her young son upon the throne, and held the regency with the support of her half-brother the General-in-Chief He Jin. He Jin planned to kill the eunuchs, but the Lady He sought to

protect them, and in the autumn, concerned for their fate, the eunuchs killed He Jin and attempted a coup. They were unsuccessful and were massacred; in the turmoil the court and the capital came into the control of the frontier general Dong Zhuo.

On 28 September Dong Zhuo compelled the Lady He to issue an edict deposing her own son Liu Bian in favour of Liu Xie, and two days later she was killed by poison. -HHS 10B:449-50*, Ch'ü 72:390.

He 何, the Lady, younger sister of the Empress He of Emperor Ling, see the Lady Zhang 張II.

He 何 [personal name unknown]; Youfufeng. Administrator of Shu commandery in 57, he arranged the construction of a gallery or trestle road 閣道 through the mountains. -LS 4:1a-b, Beitu 1:23-24.

He 何 [personal name unknown]; Rencheng: see *sub* He Bao 何豹. -LS 27:6b.

He Ba 何霸; Shu. At some time He Ba was a local officer of his commandery. -HYGZ 10B:156.

He Bao 何豹; Rencheng. As Minister Steward in the early 150s, He Bao joined his colleague Yang Fu to recommend Cui Shi for appointment at court. [LS 27:6b mentions a Minister Steward of the He surname, whose personal name was not recorded. This is probably He Bao.]

In the early 160s, He Bao was Intendant of Henan when Kou Rong charged him with having made false accusations against him. -HHS 52/42:1730, 16/6:629.

He Biao 蓋彪; Dunhuang [but *cf. sub* He Xun]. Son of He Jin, He Biao was Minister of Finance about 100. -HHS 58/48:1879.

He Ce 蓋側 (d.70); Yuyang. Son of He Fu, he succeeded to his fief. In 70 he was implicated in the alleged conspiracy of his uncle Wang Ping on behalf of Liu Ying, King of Chu. He Ce was executed and the fief was abolished. -HHS 18/8:689.

He Chang 何敞. In the early 20s, during the last years of Wang Mang, He Chang was Administrator of Runan, where he repaired fishponds and irrigated fields.

The commandery was invaded by bandits, and as He Chang attacked them his troops were defeated and scattered. Impressed by the loyalty of his officer Zhou Jia, the enemy let He Shang go. -HQ 1:18a, HHS 81/71:2676.

He Chang 何敞; Wu. He Chang lived in retirement and studied magical arts. When there was a plague of insects the Administrator Qing Hong sent one of his officers to invite him to county office. He Chang

refused, but in pity for the people he went on foot to the city and stayed one night at the residence. The insects duly died, and He Chang went away again.

He Chang was later nominated as Sincere and Upright, but would not accept. He died at home. - *HHSJJ* 31/21:1162 Hui Dong quoting *Soushen ji*.

He Chang 何敞 [Wen'gao 文高]; Youfufeng. Son of He Chong, He Chang was a fine scholar of high moral standards. At first he refused invitations to office, but in 86 he joined the offices of the Grand Commandant Song You, who treated him as a particular confidant, while he was also admired by the Excellency Yuan An. When strange birds, animals and plants appeared about the capital, He Chang's understanding of omens enabled him to warn his seniors of the coming death of Emperor Zhang.

He Chang complained to Song You about the power and extravagance of the family of the regent Dowager Dou in time of bad harvests and trouble on the frontier, and he urged some relief for the people. Song You, however, took no action. Then Dou Xian had the marquis Liu Chang murdered and attempted to conceal his responsibility by a false accusation. The offices of the other Excellencies argued that the highest officials should not become involved in criminal matters, but He Chang pressed the investigation until the whole affair was uncovered. Dou Xian was held in house arrest and He Chang acquired a high reputation at the capital. Graded First Class, he joined the Imperial Censorate.

As an army was raised for Dou Xian to lead against the Xiongnu, his brothers Du and Jing used corvée labour to build mansions for themselves; He Chang wrote to protest, but his memorial was not acted upon, though he did save the life of his ally Zhi Shou, who was falsely accused and liable to execution.

Transferred to the Imperial Secretariat, He Shang wrote once more against the Dou. They were angered by his exposure of their excesses, and about 90 He Chang was sent as Tutor to Ji'nan. The king Liu Kang, a son of Emperor Guangwu, was wealthy and oppressive. He respected He Chang and admired his admonitions, but did not change his conduct.

Soon afterwards He Chang was appointed Administrator of Runan. At each Beginning of Spring 立春 festival he withdrew his Investigators from their supervision of the various counties, and sent Confucian officers to review those held in jails and

to reward people who had shown family affection. The commandery became noted for filial piety, and brothers readily yielded their rights to one another. He also repaired the old canal on the Tong River and opened a great area of arable land for colonisation. He was hymned for his virtue and achievements.

Despite He Chang's record of hostility to the Dou group, after they had been destroyed by Emperor He in 92 it was alleged that his son had been close to Dou Xiang; He Chang was dismissed.

In 100 he returned to appointment as a General of the Household, and he became an energetic advocate of the former Grand Commandant Zhang Pu, who had been dismissed in that year; in 104 Zhang Pu was reappointed as an Excellency.

Having made an enemy of the eunuch Cai Lun, in 105 He Chang was accused of pretending sickness to avoid the fasting required for ceremonial at the Imperial Ancestral Temple. He was dismissed and died at home. - *HHS* 43/33:1480-87*; *Ch'ü* 72:301-302.

He Chang 何萇 [Youzheng 幼正 also miswritten as Chushan 初山]; Shu. About 150 He Chang was a disciple of Yang Hou, expert in Huang-Lao doctrines, and he also became a teacher. - *HYGZ* 10B:144, 12: 214.

He Chong 何寵; Youfufeng. He Chong was descended from a noted official lineage. He became a commandery Commandant under Emperor Guangwu, but left office on account of ill health and remained in retirement. - *HHS* 43/33:1480, *DGHJ* 19:5a.

He Chun 賀純 [Zhongzhen 仲真]; Kuaiji. Having studied widely when he was young, He Chun became celebrated as a hermit scholar. He was repeatedly invited to office, but always refused: it is said that he rejected ten invitations to offices of the Excellencies, five appointments as an Academician at the Imperial University, three special nominations, and four summons with an official carriage.

Eventually, through the persuasion of Li Gu, in 127 He Chun accepted one more special invitation. He became a Consultant and then a Palace Attendant, interpreting natural disasters and omens to Emperor Shun, and was later Administrator of Jiangxia. - *HHS* 61/51:2032, 63/53:2081-82, *SGZ* Wu 15:1377, *XC* 8: 7a; *Vervoorn* 90:294.

This He family of Kuaiji originally held the surname Qing 慶, and claimed descent from Qing Pu 慶普 of Former Han, who founded a school of interpretation

of *Ritual*. It was changed in 106 to avoid taboo on the personal name of the father of the new Emperor An.

He Deng 蓋登 (d.165); Bohai. A religious rebel operating along the sea coast, He Deng proclaimed himself Grand Supreme Emperor 太上皇帝 [*cf. sub* Dai Yi], acquired a jade seal and other insignia, and appointed officials. In the autumn of 165 he was taken and executed. -*HHS* 7:316 [commentary gives the pronunciation of the surname as Gai].

He Fu 蓋扶; Yuyang. Son of He Yan, He Fu succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 18/8:689.

He Fu 蓋扶, wife of: see the Lady Wang 王 II of Yuyang.

He Fu 何阜; Chen. Youngest son of He Xi, He Fu was talented but died young. -*HHS* 47/37:1594.

He Fu 賀輔; Kuaiji. Younger brother of He Chun, He Fu became magistrate of Yongning, present-day Wenzhou in Chejiang, in the south of his home commandery. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1377. [On the surname, originally Qing 慶, see *sub* He Chun.]

He Fu 和浮 miswritten for He Hai 和海.

He Gong 和恭. In 84 He Gong and three other officers were sent with eight hundred men as reinforcements to Ban Chao in the Western Regions. -*HHS* 47/37:1579.

He Gong 何貢 miswritten for He Zhen 何真. -*HHS* 8: 345.

He Hai 和海; Henei. A county magistrate in Wudu in 179, He Hai sent in a memorial arguing that the proscription applied to distant relatives of the men of Faction since 176 [see *sub* Cao Luan] conflicted with proper tradition. In contrast to his earlier reaction, Emperor Ling accepted the argument and eased the proscription. -*HHS* 8:343, 67/57:2189; deC 89:161-162.

He Heng 何衡; Chen. Son of He Lin, He Heng became a member of the Imperial Secretariat, admired for his honesty. He Lin had been recommended by Li Gu, and when Li Gu was disgraced in 147 He Heng was identified as one of his associates. He was briefly imprisoned, then dismissed to his home. -*HHS* 47/37: 1594, *SGZ* 12:379.

He Hui 蓋恢; Yuyang. In 113 the regent Dowager Deng granted a village marquisate to He Hui, a great-grandson of He Yan [see also *sub* He Ce]. -*HHS* 18/8: 689.

He Jin 蓋進; Dunhuang. He Jin was Administrator of Hanyang during in the first century AD. -*HHS* 58/48: 1879.

Though He Jin is registered as a man from Dunhuang, and his family may have continued to be formal residents of that commandery, it is likely they shifted their abode to Hanyang: by the end of the second century it appears that He Jin's descendant He Xun had family estates in that commandery.

He Jin 何瑾; Chen. Second son of He Xi, He Lin was an able official. -*HHS* 47/37:1594.

He Jin 何進 [Ding'an 安定]; Nanyang. Described as a former local officer at commandery headquarters, in 156 He Jin was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:17a.

He Jin 何進 [Suigao 遂高] (d.189); Nanyang. He Jin was a son of He Zhen, but not by the Lady Xing, who became the mother of the Empress He of Emperor Ling. When his younger half-sister entered the imperial harem and received the emperor's favours in the 170s, He Jin was made a gentleman cadet. He later became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger and then Administrator of Yingchuan.

In 180 the Lady He became empress and He Jin, her senior male relative, was appointed Palace Attendant and Court Architect, then Intendant of Henan.

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 He Jin was named General-in-Chief, commanding the Northern Army for the defence of Luoyang; he was enfeoffed for having uncovered a conspiracy of Yellow Turbans in the capital. Later that year he petitioned in favour of Wang Yun, imprisoned for his hostility to the eunuchs, and secured his release.

In 188 He Jin commanded a great levy and grand parade at Luoyang, but at the same time the emperor also established the Western Garden corps of personal guards, and the eunuch Jian Shi, named senior colonel, was given authority even over He Jin. He attempted to have He Jin sent against the rebels of Liang province, but He Jin was able to delay the expedition.

When Emperor Ling died in 189, He Jin aided his sister, now regent Dowager, to place her son Liu Bian upon the throne; he shared control of the Secretariat, and hence formal command of the government, with the Grand Tutor Yuan Wei. Jian Shi and other eunuchs planned two assassination attempts, but he had Jian Shi killed and took over his troops, while he also destroyed the Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, and her brother Dong Cheng.

Yuan Shao and other young gentlemen now urged He Jin to attack all the eunuchs, but the Dowager He

and other members of the family argued in their favour. He Jin could not make up his mind, but in an attempt to impress the recalcitrants he called up fighting men from the east of the empire and also summoned the frontier general Dong Zhuo.

On 22 September 189, as He Jin was leaving the palace after a further discussion with his sister, he was waylaid and killed by a eunuch group headed by Zhang Rang. In revenge, Yuan Shao led mutinous troops against the palaces, the eunuchs were massacred, and Dong Zhuo seized power in Luoyang. -*HHS* 69/59: 2246-52*; Bn 76:98-100, deC 89:164, 177, 208-212, deC 96:1-15.

He Ju 何矩 [Shiju 世舉]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 He Ju was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16b.

He Kui 何夔 [Shulong 叔龍]; Chen. A descendant of He Xi, He Kui's father died when he was young and He Kui was brought up by his mother's brother. Eight foot three inches [192 cm] tall, he was noted for his serious bearing, filial piety and personal loyalty.

In the early 190s He Kui took refuge south of the Huai. The claimant emperor Yuan Shu, a distant relative by marriage, tried to recruit him, but He Kui escaped into the hills and made his way back to Chen.

In 198 he joined Cao Cao's staff, and in 199 he was sent as a magistrate in Runan to settle the disturbances caused by Liu Bei's defection and rebellion. He then became Administrator of the new commandery of Changguang, by the mouth of the Yellow River on the north of the Shandong peninsula, where he put down Yellow Turbans and a variety of local leaders allied to Yuan Tan. He then argued successfully that the commandery should be assessed as a "new territory" and taxed lightly.

Returning to Cao Cao's headquarters about 200, He Kui was sent out again as Administrator to deal with pirates in Le'an. He returned to appointment as a senior clerk to the Imperial Chancellor, and in that role he urged Cao Cao to reform the recruitment of officials.

In 213 He Kui was appointed to the Secretariat of the duchy of Wei, and in 216 he succeeded Mao Jie as Deputy Director. Mao Jie had been disgraced because Ding Yi had slandered him, but He Kui showed Ding Yi neither fear nor respect. In 217 he became Junior Tutor to Cao Pi as Heir, then succeeded Liang Mao as Senior Tutor. He was later Minister Coachman, and

though Cao Pi sought to maintain contact with him, He Kui held a strict and proper distance.

As Cao Pi came to the throne He Kui was enfeoffed, and he was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele set up after Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. He died soon afterwards. -*SGZ* 12:378-81*, *LS* 19:4a.

He Lin 何臨 [Ziling 子陵]; Chen. Eldest son of He Xi, in 143 he was recommended by Li Gu. An able official, he became Administrator of Pingyuan. -*HHS* 47/37:1594, 63/53:2081-82.

He Luan 和鸞 (d.219); Zhangye. Local warlord and self-styled general, in 219 He Luan killed his rival Yan Jun of Wuwei, but was in turn killed by Wang Bi of the same commandery. -*SGZ* 15:474.

He Man 何曼. Leaders of Yellow Turbans in Runan and Yingchuan during the early 190s, He Man and his fellows allied themselves with Yuan Shu and Sun Jian, and by the middle 190s their troops were numbered by the tens of thousands. In the spring of 196, however, Cao Cao led an army against them. As the chieftain Huang Shao was killed, He Man and other leaders surrendered. -*SGZ* 1:13.

He Mao 何茂. In 200 He Mao was an officer of Yuan Shao commanding a detached camp on the Yellow River in the campaign against Cao Cao. The camp was destroyed in a raid led by Yu Jin and Yue Jin, and He Mao surrendered. -*SGZ* 17:523.

He Miao 何苗 or Zhu Miao 朱苗 (d.189); Nanyang. Son of the Lady Xing by her first husband, whose family name was Zhu, he changed his surname when his half-sister the Lady He, future empress, joined the harem of Emperor Ling in the 170s. He became Intendant of Henan and in 187 he was sent to put down rebels in Yingchuan. Returning successfully, he received a triumphal welcome, was enfeoffed and named General of Chariots and Cavalry.

After the accession of Liu Bian in 189, He Miao's half-brother He Jin planned to kill the eunuchs. With his mother and his sister the Dowager, He Miao argued against this. When the eunuchs assassinated He Jin, He Miao joined Yuan Shao in leading troops against the palace to kill them, but he was blamed for the earlier delay, which had allowed the disaster to happen, and was killed by his officer Wu Kuang. -*HHS* 69/59:2246-52, *SGZ* 6:173; deC 96:7-17.

He Min 和旻 (d.152). Administrator of Youbeiping, He Min was found guilty of embezzlement. He died in

prison. -HHS 7:298.

He Mou 何茂 see He Mao 何茂.

He Ping 何平 see Wang Ping 王平.

He Qi 賀齊 [Gongmiao 公苗] (d.227); Kuaiji. Son of He Fu, He Qi became an officer in the commandery and then a magistrate on the eastern coast. He distinguished himself by killing the local bully Si Cong, who had support among the non-Chinese hills people 山越, then defeating a revenge attack from Si Cong's large clan. Transferred to an upper valley of the Fuchun River, he put down rebellion there.

As Sun Ce took over Kuaiji in 196, he nominated He Qi as Filial and Incorrupt and sent him to govern Yongning, his father's former county. Replacing Han Yen as Commandant in the south, he made alliance with the non-Chinese people to put down loyalist resistance at Houguan by present-day Fuzhou.

In 203, with troops raised by quota from each county of the commandery, He Qi embarked on the conquest of the Min River and its tributaries. From a base at Jian'an, present-day Jian'ou in Fujian, by 205 he had moved northwest to Yuzhang, linking the coast with the Yangzi and gaining ten thousand men for Sun Quan's army. In 208 he defeated the non-Chinese people and Han renegades in the Huang Shan range of southern Danyang, taking their camp by surprise with troops using bolts and darts as pitons to scale an undefended cliff. He became Administrator of a new commandery linking Hangzhou Bay with the Poyang region of eastern Yuzhang; in 211 he defeated a local rising at the head of Hangzhou Bay and again established a new commandery.

In 213 He Qi settled the east of Yuzhang, registering the people and raising regular troops and militia. Appointed a general, he accompanied the disastrous offensive against Hefei in 215. He relieved Sun Quan with a counter-attack, urging him to be more careful of his personal safety in future.

In 216 He Qi returned south to put down a rebellion by Cao Cao's agent You Tu in Poyang. With Lu Xun, he re-established control south of the Huang Shan and pressed more men. He was enfeoffed and appointed Area Commander for the Yangzi defences by Lujiang. When Cao Xiu's army attacked in 222 the Wu defences were devastated by a gale, but when He Qi came up his very appearance forced Cao Xiu to retreat. He Qi was named General of the Rear and granted the Staff of Authority as Governor of Xu province. In 223 he

led an expedition which seized Qichun, north of the Yangzi below the Dabie Shan, and captured the turn-coat officer Jin Zong, now in the service of Wei.

He Qi was noted for military display, with splendid ornamentation on his warships and the finest materials for his weapons and engines. His conquests in present-day eastern Jiangxi, southern Zhejiang and northern Fujian were of utmost value to the state of Wu, giving Sun Quan and his successors the human resources and depth of territory to hold out against attacks from the far more powerful state of Wei across the Yangzi. -SGZ Wu 15:1377-80*; deC 90:328-332.

He Qia 和洽 see He Xia 和洽.

He Rong 何融. After the destruction of the Dou clan by Emperor He in 92 He Rong memorialised on the loyalty shown by his late teacher Yue Hui, which had cost him his life. The emperor granted office to Yue Hui's son Ji. -HHS 43/33:1479.

He Sheng 蓋升; Hejian. A neighbour and friend of Emperor Ling before he came to the throne, He Sheng was made Administrator of Nanyang, where he embezzled vast quantities of money. The Director of the Imperial Secretariat Qiao Xuan sought to have him dismissed and proscribed, but the emperor promoted him from Palace Counsellor to Palace Attendant.

In 178 He Sheng was a colonel in the Northern Army, criticised by Cai Yong as having received favour and honour beyond his due. -HHS 51/41:1696, 60/50B:1999.

He Shi 何侍, the Lady; Nan. Daughter of He Yang, the Lady was the wife of Xu Yuan *q.v.* In a family quarrel, she attacked her husband's aunt and was sentenced to death less one degree. -FSTY 3f:107.

He Shi 何詩; Shu. He Shi was a potential husband for the widowed Lady Luo Gong *q.v.* -HYGZ 10A:140.

He Shun 蓋順; Dunhuang [but *cf. sub* He Xun]. Son of He Xun, He Shun became Administrator of Yongyang, a commandery set up in 193 from Hanyang. Like his father, He Shun served on the frontier against the rebels and non-Chinese of the northwest. -HHS 58/48:1884, 113/23:3517.

He [Siqi] 蓋思齊; Dunhuang [but see *sub* He Xun]. Son of He Biao, he was Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding about 140. -HHS 58/48:1879, XC 3: 9b.

He Sui 蓋遂; Yuyang. Son of He Hui, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 18/8:689.

He Tang 何湯 [Zhonggong 仲弓]; Yuzhang. A student

of Huan Rong in Jiujiang about 20, He Tang was the most brilliant among the hundreds who attended that private academy. Huan Rong was over forty and had no children, but He Tang persuaded him to divorce his wife and take another: Huan Rong sired three sons and was most grateful for the advice.

He Tang was later a gentleman cadet at Luoyang and then captain in charge at a gate of the city. As Emperor Guangwu returned one evening from a private excursion, He Tang refused him admission. The emperor was able to enter through another gate, but next morning he ordered that He Tang be issued with additional provisions, while the other gate captain had his salary docked.

During a period of drought in the summer of 43 the senior officials went in open carriages to pray for rain. Seeing a parasol on the carriage of the Prefect of Luoyang, He Tang ordered his arrest. The Prefect was dismissed and He Tang was appointed General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

At this time Emperor Guangwu named his son Liu Zhuang as Heir and appointed He Tang as his tutor in the *Classic of History*. He later asked He Tang the name of his own teacher, and He Tang told him about Huan Rong, who was at that time a clerk in the office of an Excellency. The emperor called Huan Rong to audience, rewarded and promoted him. Huan Rong thereafter had a notable career, and he attributed his success to the good offices of He Tang. -HHS 37/27: 1250, XC 6:10b-11a; Bn 76:15.

He Wen 何汶 [Jingyou 景由]; Shu. Grandson of He Ying, he was similarly learned in the classics and the apocrypha, and when an eclipse took place he correctly foretold a rebellion of bandits.

He Wen became a senior Internuncio at the imperial capital, successfully prayed for rain in a time of drought, and later transferred to the Dependent State of Jianwei, presumably as Commandant. He compiled *Shiwu lun* 世務論 "Essays on Affairs of the World" in thirty pian. -HYGZ 10A:134, 12:213.

Though both men were scholars and wrote books, the texts of *Huayang guo zhi* are confused and contradictory, so it is difficult to determine whether it was He Wen or his grandfather He Ying who had an official career, or whether both men held some appointment. He Ying was probably active in the late first century [see *sub* Yang You], so He Wen would have flourished in the first half of the second century.

He Xi 何熙 [Mengsun 孟孫] (d.110); Chen. Son of He Ying, He Xi was eight foot five inches tall [195 cm], with a commanding presence. An Internuncio in the 90s, he was noticed by Emperor He and was appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, then Director of Retainers and then Minister of Finance.

In 109, at the time of the great Qiang rebellion, the Wuhuan chieftain Wuhe attacked Wuyuan, and this was followed by rebellion of the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu. He Xi was named Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, commanding units of the Northern Army and local militia, to deal with the situation. As he collected his forces he ordered Geng Kui the Administrator of Liaodong to bring troops from the eastern frontier commanderies, together with a force of Xianbi auxiliaries. When his army was further delayed He Xi sent Geng Kui reinforcements and ordered him into Xihe, where they defeated the Xiongnu army.

Joined by the general Liang Qin, He Xi and the main army then compelled Wuhe to surrender and re-occupied Wuyuan. Sickness broke out among the troops, however, and He Xi died. His command was taken over by Pang Xiong, who finally defeated the Xiongnu. -HHS 47/37:1593*; deC 84:285-286.

He Xia 和洽 [Yangshi 陽士]; Runan. His quality noticed by the Officer of Merit Xu Shao, He Xia was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and invited to appointment at the capital by the General-in-Chief He Jin, but he refused to go.

About 190, as many local gentry went to join Yuan Shao in Ji province, He Xia suspected that region would be too exposed in time of war, and he went south instead to Jing province. Liu Biao welcomed him warmly, but He Xia preferred the isolation of Wuling.

When Cao Cao took over in 208 He Xia joined his staff. He criticised the excessive rigidity of the sumptuary codes applied by Cui Yan and Mao Jie, but years later in 216, when he was Palace Attendant of the state of Wei he argued for Mao Jie after Cui Yan had been put to death.

When Cao Cao died in 220, He Xia was Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace, in charge of household security for the kingdom of Wei, and he helped to arrange a smooth succession for Cao Pi. One of the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao Pi taking the imperial title, He Xia was enfeoffed and named

Minister of the Household in the new empire. He received further honours from Cao Rui. -SGZ 23:655-57*.

[He] Xing 何興, the Lady (d.189). First married to a man of the Zhu surname, by whom she bore He/Zhu Miao, she later married He Zhen. In the early 170s one of their daughters was selected into the harem of Emperor Ling, and in 180 she was made empress. He Zhen had already died, but he was posthumously enfeoffed as Marquis of Wuyang in Yingchuan and his widow was named the Lady of Wuyang.

The Lady often received bribes and favours from the court eunuchs, and when her stepson the General-in-Chief He Jin planned to eliminate them in 189 she and her daughter, now Dowager, argued in their favour. As Dong Zhuo took power after the massacre at Luoyang, he had the Lady killed. -HHS 10B:449.

He Xiong 何雄; Kuaiji. In 196 the local leader Zhang Ya of Houguan, near present-day Fuzhou, faced Sun Ce's officer He Qi. As Zhang Ya's son-in-law He Xiong attempted to seize power, He Qi seized the advantage, defeated the disorganised enemy and forced them to surrender. -SGZ Wu 15:1377-78.

He Xiu 何休 [Shaogong 邵公] (129-182); Rencheng. Son of He Bao, He Xiu was a quiet man with a speech impediment, but had a strong personality. A student of Yang Bi, he was considered superior to all others of his time as a scholar of the Confucian classics in the New Text tradition. He was an expert in calculations of the calendar, and made use of both the traditional texts and the apocrypha.

Since his father had been a minister He Xiu was granted entry to the imperial service as a gentleman cadet, but he disapproved of the political situation and resigned on grounds of ill health. He likewise refused service with the provincial and commandery offices, but always did so with courtesy.

As Emperor Ling was brought to the throne in 168, the Tutor Chen Fan invited He Xiu to join the new regency government. When Chen Fan was destroyed by the eunuchs later that year, He Xiu was dismissed and proscribed from office, but when the Proscription was relaxed some time later he was again invited to court. The Excellencies commended his knowledge and skills, and claimed he was suitable for the most confidential appointments, but the eunuchs objected, and He Xiu was named only as a Consultant. Having presented excellent advice in several occasions, he

was promoted to Counsellor Remonstrant, and died in that office.

During his time in retirement, He Xiu produced a great amount of scholarly work, including commentaries to the *Book of Filial Piety* and to the *Analects*, texts on divination, and several studies on *Chunqiu* and its commentaries reflecting the opinions of his teacher Yang Bi and the master Li Yu. He paid particular attention to the Gongyang tradition: his commentary, *Chunqiu Gongyangjiegou* 春秋公羊解詁, was recognised as the basis of a new school of interpretation 何氏學 "Teachings of Mr He," and he also compiled *Chunqiu Han yi* 春秋漢議, which analysed six hundred items of the history of Han according to the "praise and blame" style of Gongyang.

In the early 170s He Xiu questioned the conduct of Su Buwei, who carried out a vendetta against his enemy Li Gao by murdering a concubine and a child and desecrating a grave. The celebrated moralist Guo Tai, however, praised Su Buwei's gallantry, and public opinion agreed. -HHS 79/69:2582-83*.

He Xuan 何瑱, the Lady; Shu. When her husband Zhao Xian died young, the Lady's parents wanted to have her remarry. The Lady, however, starved herself to death. The commandery and county offices set up memorials in her honour. -HYGZ 10A:140, 12:216.

He Xun 蓋勳 [Yuangu 元固] (140-190); Dunhuang/Hanyang. Son of He Siqu, and descended from an old official family, He Xun received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, and about 180 he became Chief Clerk in Hanyang, which was classified as a frontier territory. In practice, though He Xun's great-grandfather He Jin was registered as a man from Dunhuang, and his family may have continued to be formal residents of that commandery, there is reference below to He Xun's family estates in Hanyang and it appears they had shifted their abode there. He Xun thus held appointment in his home territory.

The Administrator of Wuwei, who was well connected to the palace, was using his position to indulge his lust and greed, but when the Attendant Officer Su Zhenghe reported on his misconduct, the Inspector Liang Gu was concerned about the political implications. He thought to rid himself of the problem by killing Su Zhenghe, and consulted He Xun, to whom Su Zhenghe had once done a bad turn. Refusing to allow his private enmity to affect his official duty, He Xun argued to Liang Gu that "If you keep a hawk

on a string, you can catch birds; but what is the use if you kill the hawk and eat it yourself?" So Liang Gu left Su Zhenghe alone. Su Zhenghe attempted to call upon He Xun and offer thanks, but He Xun refused to see him, saying, "My advice was for Commissioner Liang, not for you." And he liked him no better than before.

A similar story is told of an incident in 184, when Huang Jun of Jiuquan was ordered to raise troops against the Yellow Turbans. He arrived late and was liable to execution, but He Xun spoke on his behalf and Liang Gu took no action. Huang Jun offered a quantity of gold in gratitude, but He Xun remarked that he had argued a matter of law, not privately; he was angry someone might think his opinion could be purchased.

Late in 184, as mutiny in Liang province developed into rebellion, the Qiang and other non-Chinese people of Beidi came to join the insurgents. The Inspector Zuo Chang raised troops, but he also took the opportunity to embezzle quantities of stores. When He Xun protested, Zuo Xun sent him to an exposed outpost against the enemy, hoping he would be defeated or would commit some fault punishable by death under military law. He Xun, however, was successful in a number of engagements.

As the rebels attacked Jincheng commandery He Xun urged Zuo Chang to go to the aid of the local troops, but he made no move and the territory was taken. The rebels then laid siege to Zuo Chang himself in Ji city, capital of Hanyang, and Zuo Chang called for help. Some of his colleagues were unwilling, but He Xun threatened them with execution if they failed to answer the call. As he arrived with reinforcements he called on the enemy to surrender, and although they refused they did withdraw.

Zuo Chang was recalled, but his successor Song Nie was no more effective, and a force of Qiang laid siege to the Protector Xia Yu in the *yamen* of the Liuma horse-park in Hanyang. He Xun brought troops to relieve him, but was heavily defeated and was wounded three times. With barely a hundred men, surrounded by the enemy, he drew up his small force in a tight "fish-scale" 魚麗 formation and prepared to die. Knowing He Xun as a worthy man, the chieftain Dianyu ordered his men to hold back and offered his own horse so that he might escape. He Xun swore at him and rejected his aid; he was taken prisoner but

soon released.

The new Inspector Yang Yong now recommended He Xun act as Administrator of Hanyang. There was severe famine, and He Xun not only released grain from the official granaries, but also issued supplies from his own household; by his example several thousand people were kept alive. He Xun left office soon afterwards, but he was respected at the capital, and in 188 he was brought to Luoyang. He was now in his late forties, and though his title was Colonel Who Exterminates Caitiffs 討虜校尉 he was not expected to engage in active service but commanded a troop of palace guards.

When Emperor Ling gave him audience and asked about the causes of the current troubles, He Xun ascribed the blame to the eunuchs and their associates. He also criticised the emperor's private corps of the Western Garden as no more than an ornament at the capital: the real problem was in the provinces, while the essential concern for the sovereign should be the moral conduct of government. He Xun was impressed by Emperor Ling's intelligence and good will, and he spoke with Yuan Shao and Liu Yu about a coup to free the ruler from his eunuch entourage in order that he might restore the fortunes of the dynasty. Before anything could develop, however, the Director of Retainers Zhang Wen proposed that He Xun be appointed Intendant of Jingzhao. Emperor Ling would have preferred to keep He Xun with him, but the eunuch favourite Jian Shi, concerned at He Xun's influence, persuaded his master to approve Zhang Wen's recommendation.

As Intendant at Chang'an He Xun investigated the corruption of the Prefect Yang Dang, adopted son of a leading eunuch, and confiscated his property. Despite pleas from his relatives and favourites, the emperor supported a full enquiry and both Yang Dang and his nominal father were punished. He Xun also rejected the nomination for office of another eunuch associate, even though it was put forward by the emperor's son Liu Bian and supported by Jian Shi.

Even though he was not at the capital, He Xun continued to receive favour from Emperor Ling, who gave him frequent presents and would ask his advice on military matters. Towards the end of 188, as the rebels from Liang province attacked towards Chang'an, He Xun encouraged the commissioning of private troops: so leaders of local gentry were given

title as commandants, to raise their own regiments and join the imperial forces under He Xun's command.

When Dong Zhuo seized power in Luoyang after the death of Emperor Ling, He Xun wrote to protest his usurpation, and his deposition of the Young Emperor Liu Bian. To keep him under control, Dong Zhuo called him to be a Consultant at Luoyang. He Xun tried to persuade the general Huangfu Song to attack Dong Zhuo, but Huangfu Song obeyed a similar summons and He Xun, unable to stand alone, went to the capital. Naturally enough, Dong Zhuo did not trust He Xun with command of troops, and although he was given various offices, they were soon removed. He Xun was one of the few men prepared to oppose Dong Zhuo in open court, but he was predictably frustrated with the situation.

He Xun died of illness at Chang'an, at the age of fifty-one *sui*. His testament asked that he be given no special honours by the regime, but Dong Zhuo was eager to gain prestige from his reputation, so he had funerary items prepared by the imperial workshops and had him buried at Anling, the tomb park of Emperor Hui 惠 of Former Han.

He Xun left a collection of poetry for the lute *Jinshi* 琴詩. -HHS 58/48:1879-84*, XC 3:9b, XHS 4:9a-b; deC 89:186-187, deC 96:42.

He Yan 蓋延 [Juqing 巨卿] (d.39); Yuyang. Eight feet tall [185 cm], He Yan is said to have wielded a bow of 75 kilograms tension, and he was celebrated on the northern frontier for his fighting skills and spirit. During the reign of Wang Mang he was a local officer in his commandery and provincial governments, distinguishing himself in each position, and when Peng Chong became Administrator of Yuyang in 23 he appointed He Yan as commandant of his camp and acting officer for discipline.

When Wang Lang rebelled in the winter of 23/24, Peng Chong sent He Yan with Wu Han and a force of cavalry to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor of Han. Joining forces with troops from Shanggu, they destroyed Wang Lang's position in the north, killing hundreds of his appointed officials and taking over twenty counties. As they relieved Liu Xiu in Julu, He Yan was given rank as a lieutenant-general and title as a marquis. He took part in the campaigns which destroyed Wang Lang and defeated the bandits of the north, and when Liu Xiu took the imperial title

in 25 He Yan was named a full general.

In 26 He Yan's fief was changed to a county marquisate in Zhuo commandery. He accompanied Wu Han to mop up a remnant group of the Green Calf bandits north of the Yellow River, and was then sent to occupy the Ao Granary at the head of the Bian Canal and to lead an attack on the pretender Liu Yong. Taking the city of Xiangyi in Chenliu by storm, by the summer he had laid siege to Liu Yong's capital at Suiyang in Liang.

At this point He Yan's subordinate general Su Mao changed sides to support Liu Yong. He occupied Guangle, north of Suiyang, but his attempt to relieve Liu Yong was driven back, and He Yan gathered all the grain in the area. In the autumn he ordered a night attack on Suiyang. As the imperial troops scaled the walls, Liu Yong fled and his men were defeated.

He Yan followed up the success, first south into Pei, then northeast to Lu, where he killed Liang Qiushou, the administrator appointed by Liu Yong. He turned back south, taking surrenders in Chu and killing Liu Yong's administrator of Pei, Chen Xiu. Liu Yong's generals Su Mao, Jiao Qiang and Zhou Jian attempted a counter-attack, but were defeated and scattered, and He Yan settled Pei, Chu and Linhuai/Xiapi. In Pei he restored the Duplicate Temple of the Eminent Founder, Emperor Gao of Former Han, appointed officers for worship at the site, and held sacrifice.

In the following year the people of Suiyang rebelled and invited Liu Yong to return. He Yan once more laid siege and starved Suiyang of grain. Wu Han came to take over, defeated Su Mao at Guangle, then joined He Yan outside Suiyang. After three months Liu Yong fled. He was killed by one of his own officers, and his brother Liu Fang surrendered the city.

In the spring of 28 He Yan attacked Su Mao and Zhou Jian in Pei, then moved into Chu to defeat the warlord Dong Xian. To the east he occupied the stronghold of Liu Yong's former general Jiao Qiang in Shanyang and then returned to take Pengcheng city in Chu, driving Su Mao and Zhou Jian to flight once more. In the autumn Dong Xian's officer Ben Xiu seized the county city of Lanling in Donghai and offered to submit to Han. As Dong Xian left his headquarters at Tan city and went to attack him, Guangwu ordered He Yan to ignore Lanling and strike at Tan, but He Yan disobeyed and went to relieve Ben Xiu. He entered Lanling, but was then surrounded by Dong Xian's

troops, and though he escaped in a sortie Dong Xian recaptured Lanling and killed Ben Xiu. Belatedly, He Yan now attacked Tan, but had no success, and a series of engagements against Dong Xian's officers were also inconclusive.

Guangwu was concerned that He Yan was taking his opponents too lightly and warned him against over-extending his position, but He Yan paid small attention. One night in the spring of 29 his colleague and rival Pang Meng changed sides and attacked him, and He Yan was driven north across the Si River. He destroyed bridges and boats behind him, but Pang Meng made his way over and occupied Dongping. In the summer Guangwu himself arrived with the main imperial army; He Yan then joined the final campaign which defeated Pang Meng and broke the power of the warlords in the southeast.

In 30 He Yan was transferred to take command at Chang'an, facing Wei Ao to the west in Hanyang, but an initial attack was defeated and driven back at the Long Slope. He accompanied the imperial army on the campaign of 32, and when Guangwu was forced to withdraw to deal with rebellion in the east He Yan, Geng Yan and Cen Peng were left to besiege Wei Ao at Xi city in Longxi. In the winter Wei Ao's general Wang Yuan returned with reinforcements from Gongsun Shu, broke the siege and rescued Wei Ao. The imperial troops were compelled to withdraw, but after Wei Ao's death and the fall of his party in 33, He Yan led an army to take control in the north of Tianshui.

In 35 He Yan went with Lai Xi to attack Gongsun Shu through the Qin Ling ranges, but he was taken ill and returned to the north. For the last years of his life he served as Administrator of Zuopingyi, still with formal command of troops. His predecessor Xianyu Bao had not been an effective ruler, but He Yan restored order and in 37 his fief was increased to 10,000 households. He died in office two years later.

Recognising He Yan as one of the chief assistants of his father the founding emperor, Guangwu's successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 18/8:686-89*; Bn 59:133-152, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:81-82, 165.

He Yan 何晏 [Pingshu 平叔] (d.249); Nanyang. Son of the Lady Yin 尹 by her first husband, who was a son of He Jin, he followed her into Cao Cao's household. Cao Cao treated him as his own son and had him marry

a princess, his half-sister.

A celebrated writer and philosopher, He Yan became a leading figure at court, but he was destroyed with Cao Shuang in 249. -SGZ 9:292-93; Demiéville 86:829-832, deC 91:33-34; Mather 76:523.

He Yang 何陽; Nan. Father-in-law of Xu Yuan *q.v.*, he was an abusive drunkard. -FSTY 3f:107.

He Yanzhen 何彦珍; Shu. The fragmentary stele commemorating Meng Xuan *q.v.* mentions his proposed marriage connection with a daughter of He Yanzhen, but it appears she may have died before that event. -Nagata 94:266.

He Yi 何儀. Leaders of Yellow Turbans in Runan and Yingchuan during the early 190s, He Yi and his fellows allied themselves with Yuan Shu and Sun Jian, and by the middle 190s their troops were numbered by the tens of thousands. In the spring of 196 Cao Cao led an army against them. The chieftain Huang Shao was killed, and He Yi and the other leaders surrendered. -SGZ 1:13.

He Ying 何英 [Shujun 叔俊]; Shu. Widely learned in the classics, He Ying compiled *Hande chunqiu* 漢德春秋, following the apocryphal tradition, in fifteen *pian*. -HYGZ 10A:134, 12:213; Yao Zhenzong:2351, and see *sub* He Wen.

He Ying 何英; Chen. Chancellor of Langye, He Ying admired the family loyalty of Gao Shen of Chenliu and arranged for him to marry his daughter. -SGZ 24:683.

He Yong 何顥 [Boqiu 伯求]; Nanyang. As a young man in the 160s, He Yong attended the University at Luoyang and despite his youth he became friends with such leaders as Guo Tai and Jia Biao, Chen Fan and Li Ying. He was known for his ability to judge character, and on one occasion he fulfilled a vendetta for his dying friend Yu Weigao.

He Yong was not listed among the heroes of the students at the University, but he was admired by Chen Fan and Li Ying, and after the reformers were destroyed by the eunuchs in 168 he too came under threat. He therefore changed his name and went into hiding in the south of Runan. He acquired considerable authority in the region of the middle Yangzi, and as persecution of the reformists began in the following year he and Yuan Shao created a network for men to escape; they travelled several times in secret to Luoyang to rescue opponents of the eunuchs.

As the Proscription ended in 184 the General-in-Chief He Jin had He Yong and other leading men

recalled to the capital. He Yong joined the offices of the Excellencies, and was later Adjutant of the Northern Army. He praised Cao Cao and his future assistant Xun Yu as men who could deal with the problems of the time.

During the regency for the Little Emperor Liu Bian in 189, He Yong held office under the General-in-Chief He Jin, and when Dong Zhuo took power at Luoyang later that year he offered him a senior position on his staff. He Yong refused on grounds of ill health, but it appears that he joined Zheng Tai in selecting suitable men as officials in the new regime.

In the early 190s He Yong joined a plot against Dong Zhuo. Arrested on some other ground, he appears to have killed himself so as not to reveal his fellow conspirators.

After Xun Yu became Director of the Imperial Secretariat at Xu city for Han under Cao Cao in 196, he arranged for the body of his uncle Xun Shuang to be brought back for burial, and had He Yong also interred in the tomb complex. -HHS 67/57:2217-18*, ZF:12a; deC 89:115.

He Yu 蓋豫. Inspector of Xu province about 60, He Yu was an expert on the *Classic of History*. The biography of his student Zhou Fang in HHS says that he worked in the Old Text tradition, but it is more probable that he was a follower of the New Text school of Ouyang Gao. -HHS 79/69A:2560.

He Yu 何玉; Shu. A man of distinguished family, He Yu asked to become the second husband of the Lady Wang He, widow of Bian Jing. The Lady's brother agreed to the match, but the Lady cut off one of her ears to disqualify herself. -HYGZ 10B:153, HYGZJBZ:581.

He Ze 蓋側 see He Ce 蓋側.

He Zeng 何曾 [Yingkao 穎考]; Chen. Son of He Kui, he joined the household of Cao Rui, future Emperor Ming of Wei, about 220, and later became a noted minister of Wei and of Jin. -JS 33:994-98; Mather 76:523.

He Zhen 何真; Nanyang. Said to have been a butcher, He Zhen fathered He Jin by his first marriage. He later married the Lady Xing, who bore him the future Empress He of Emperor Ling. He Zhen died before his daughter received her imperial position, but in 181 he was awarded posthumous enfeoffment and given title as General of Chariots and Cavalry. -HHS 10B:447.

He Zhen 何真, wife of: see the Lady [He] Xing 何興.

He Zhi 何祗 [Junsu 君肅]; Shu. A junior officer of the commandery, about 220 He Zhi was recommended by the Administrator Yang Hong and approved by Zhuge Liang. He became magistrate of Chengdu and was later Administrator of Guanghan and of Jianwei. -SGZ Shu 11:1014-15.

He Zhuan 何傳. Officers under the Inspector of Liang province Qiao Xuan about 153, He Zhuan and Niu Cheng were sent to summon Aluoduo and Beijun, contenders for the throne of Further Jushi. -HHSJJ 88/78:3267 quoting a stele erected for Qiao Xuan, but cf. sub Yan Xiang.

He Zong 何宗 [Chanying 彥英 or Chanruo 彥若]; Shu. He Zong and his colleague Du Qiong were well known as students of the *Book of Changes* under the scholar Ren An. About 210 He Zong became Administrator of Jianwei under the warlord Governor Liu Zhang, and when Liu Bei seized power in 213 he became a senior Attendant Officer.

In 221 He Zong joined the petition which used works of divination to encourage Liu Bei to proclaim himself emperor; he was named Minister Herald in the new imperial regime. He died about 230. -SGZ Shu 15:1083.

Hede 和得/德 of Shule [Kashgar]. Uncle of the king of Shule, in 168 Hede shot his nephew during a hunt and seized the throne. In 170 the Governor of Liang province Meng Tuo sent a large army to attack Shule and restore order, but they gained no success. Shule was thereafter effectively independent, but there was constant and murderous contest for the throne. -HHS 88/78:2927.

According to the stele of Cao Quan *q.v.*, Hede was a son of the murdered king, not his uncle; this source, however, is less reliable for the incident.

Hefei 合肥, marquis of, see Liu 劉 [personal name unknown] of 188. -SGZ 1:4.

Helian 和連; Xianbi. Son and successor of Tanshihuai, Helian lacked his father's abilities and his state was seriously reduced. He continued to attack the Chinese frontier, but was killed during a raid on Beidi about 186. -HHS 90/80:2994, SGZ 30:838; G/deC 77:38-39, deC 84:342-343.

Heng Fang 衡方 [Xingzu 興祖] (106-168); Dongping? Members of Heng Fang's family had held official positions, and he himself received appointment in the offices of the commandery and the province. He was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after probation

as a gentleman cadet he served as a county magistrate in Dong commandery and in Beihai. Praised for his excellent administration, he was transferred to be a Commandant in Kuaiji.

Following a period of mourning for his mother, Heng Fang was brought to the capital as a Consultant and was then Administrator of Youbeiping and of Yingchuan. He evidently left office again, perhaps because of the death of his father, but was recalled once more as a Consultant and was appointed Court Physician. As Intendant of Jingzhao, he settled a disturbance, then returned to the capital as Minister of the Guards.

Heng Fang retired from office towards the end of the reign of Emperor Huan. In 168 the new regency government of Emperor Ling offered him appointment as a colonel in the Northern Army, but he died at this time, aged sixty-three. His students, clients and nominees set up a stele in his honour. -*LS* 8:1a-4a, Nagata 94:168-169.

Heng Li 衡立 [Yuanjie 元節/節]; Dongping? Evidently a kinsman of Heng Fang, Heng Li became a county magistrate in Chenliu. He was honoured with a stele. -*LS* 12:10a-11a.

Heng Pei 恆裴 was a county magistrate in Langye. -*FSTY* 5f:130.

Himeko/Himiko [Japanese] see Pimihi 卑彌呼.

Hong 弘 [surname unknown]. In 84 Hong was Assistant to the Court Astronomer when it was suggested that Yan Xuan, son of the former officer Yan Chong, had learnt the art of tuning the sacred pitchpipes 律 from his father. At the orders of Emperor Zhang, Hong tested Yan Xuan, but his method proved quite unsuccessful and he was dismissed. -*HHS* 91/1:3015.

Hong 红 [surname unknown] see Miao Hong.

Hong Jin 洪進; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, presumably a relative of Hong Ming below, Hong Jin and his allies were conquered by He Qi in 203. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1378.

Hong Ming 洪明 (d.203); Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, presumably a relative of Hong Jin above, Hong Min was defeated and killed by He Qi. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1378.

Hong Zi 弘咨; Danyang. Husband of a half-sister of Sun Quan, he recommended Zhuge Jin to him. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1231; deC 90:86.

Hong Zi 弘咨, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 IV.

Hou 侯, the Lady; Shanyang. The Lady was the mother of the eunuch Hou Lan. As her son rose to

power at the imperial capital she appears to have become increasingly aggressive in their native country, gathering retainers, applying pressure to local officials, and taking property from her neighbours by force. The commandery Investigator Zhang Jian and the Administrator Zhai Chao reported on the family's activities and asked that they be punished, but Hou Lan had the messages intercepted, and when the Lady died he returned for the mourning and had a vast and extravagant tomb built for her.

In 165 Zhang Jian took action on his own account, seizing the stolen property and demolishing the Lady's tomb. Four years later, in 169, Hou Lan arranged an accusation of Faction against Zhang Jian, and he was driven into exile.

The timing of the Hou family activities and the details of Zhang Jian's counter-attack are confusing. The biography of Zhang Jian in *HHS* 67/57 at 2210, says that he made his move in 165, and the arrest and punishment of Zhai Chao did indeed take place about that time. The biography of Hou Lan in *HHS* 78/68 has the date as 169, but that is when Hou Lan had Zhang Jian accused, and it appears the reports and action by Zhang Jian took place earlier and are presented anachronistically as background. The biography of Yuan Kang in *HHS* 67/57:2214 says Zhang Jian killed the Lady Hou, and *HHJ* agrees, but in his *Kaoyi* commentary to *ZZTJ* 55:1789 Sima Guang dismisses the claim. -*HHS* 78/68:2523, 67/57:2214 & 2210, *HHJ* 22:261; Ch'ü 72:481, deC 89:71.

Hou 侯 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Liaoxi about 180, he admired Gongsun Zan and gave him his daughter in marriage. -*SGZ* 8:239.

Hou Ba 侯芭 [Puzi 鋪子]; Julu. *HS* 87B:2385; *QHX*:158 tells how Hou Ba, a close disciple of Yang Xiong 楊雄, received his teaching on *Fa yan* 法言 and on *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery," a development of the *Book of Changes*. When Yang Xiong died in 18 AD, Hou Ba constructed his tomb and carried out mourning for him, and later proselytised his work.

Wang Chong mentions Hou Puzi, i.e. Hou Ba, as a commentator to *Taixuan jing*. -*Lun heng* 29; Forke 11:469, Yao Zhenzong:2380-81.

Sui shu 34:998 says that a commentary to *Fa yan* compiled by Hou Bao 侯苞 of Han had been in the collection of the Liang dynasty but was since lost; it is probable this was a work by Hou Ba, with the personal

name miswritten. *Sui shu* 32:915 lists a commentary to the *Poetry* according to the Han interpretation compiled by Hou Bao of Han, and this again was probably Hou Ba's work.

Hou Ba 侯霸 [Junfang 君房] (d.37); Henan. A nephew of the eunuch Hou Yuan 侯淵, who had served Emperor Yuan of Former Han and established the fortunes of his family, Hou Ba studied the Guliang commentary to *Chunqiu* and also became an expert on legal matters.

Having held a preliminary post under Emperor Cheng, at the beginning of Wang Mang's reign Hou Ba was appointed as a magistrate in Nanyang, where he kept order in troubled times; in 17 he was transferred to be Administrator of Linhuai. He had a reputation for good government, and the Gengshi Emperor called him to Chang'an, but the local people protested so earnestly that the officers bringing his new seals of office did not present them and Hou Ba remained at his post.

As Emperor Guangwu came on tour to the southeast in 28 he appointed Hou Ba Director of his Secretariat. Hou Ba provided valuable continuity and accounts of past precedents, and encouraged the new ruler to proclaim annual and seasonal acts of grace.

In 29 Hou Ba was made Excellency over the Masses and became a secondary marquis. When he recommended Yan Yang, a satirist whom Guangwu intensely disliked, the emperor doubted his loyalty for a time, but the affair was sorted out through the good offices of Feng Qin, and Hou Ba kept his position until his death. He was awarded posthumous enfeoffment as a full marquis, while the people of Linhuai set up a shrine in his honour and held sacrifice each season. -HHS 26/16:901-02*; QHX:157, Bn 79:62.

Hou Ba 侯霸 (d.114). In 100 Hou Ba was Administrator of Jincheng. When the Qiang warlord Mitang led an attack, the Protector Zhou Wei gathered non-Chinese auxiliaries and Hou Ba brought commandery levies. Pursuing Mitang outside the frontier, Hou Ba attacked and defeated the enemy while Zhou Wei, perhaps uncertain of his men's loyalty, kept them on the defensive in a small fortress. The Qiang surrendered and large numbers were resettled inside China.

In the following year Zhou Wei was dismissed for cowardice and Hou Ba took his place as Protector. He encouraged Cao Feng's plan for the establishment of military colonies on the upper Yellow River to control the territory of Mitang's former base.

In 108, after the great rebellion of the Qiang had broken out, Hou Ba was dismissed. Re-appointed in 110, he set his base in Zhangye, presumably to keep the peace with the Little Yuezhi and the Qiang of that region and protect the route to central Asia.

In 113 Hou Ba joined Ma Xian in a successful attack on a group of Qiang in Anding commandery, and in the following year they led surrendered Qiang and members of the Loyal Auxiliary of Yuezhi to retake the territory on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. Soon afterwards Hou Ba became ill and died. -HHS 87/77:2884-89; deC 84:103-107.

Hou Bao 侯包/苞 see Hou Ba 侯巴.

Hou Can 侯參 or Hou Shen (d.165); Shanyang. Brother of the powerful eunuch Hou Lan, Hou Can became Inspector of Yi province. He laid false accusations of treason against many wealthy men, killed them and destroyed their families, then confiscated their property for himself. He thus acquired great wealth.

In 165, however, the Grand Commandant Yang Bing reported on Hou Can's cruelty and extortion. He was arrested and brought to the capital in a cage cart, but killed himself on the way. His baggage train comprised over three hundred carts, and Yuan Feng the Intendant of Jingzhao found vast quantities of treasure in them.

In consequence of this, Hou Can's brother Hou Lan was dismissed and there was a general attack on Emperor Huan's eunuch favourites and their associates. -HHS 78/68:2523; Ch'ü 72:481 [as Hou Shen].

Hou Cheng 侯成 [Bosheng 伯盛] (89-169); Shanyang. Member of a distinguished family, claiming kin to the Excellency Hou Ba at the beginning of Later Han, Hou Cheng had a reputation for scholarship and was invited to local office in the commandery. He served as Registrar and Officer of Merit, and also held acting position as magistrate of Jinxiang county, in Shanyang itself. A mourning stele was erected at his death. -LS 8:6a-8a.

Hou Cheng 侯成. An officer of Lü Bu, he was with him in 198 under siege by Cao Cao in Xiapi city. One of his troopers attempted to run away with some horses, but Hou Cheng chased him and recovered the animals. His comrades gave a party in celebration, and offered Lü Bu a share, but Lü Bu objected to their making wine in such a time of crisis and accused them of treachery. Frightened and resentful, Hou Cheng and his fellows went over to Cao Cao. -HHS 75/65:2451,

SGZ 7:228.

Hou Cheng 侯盛 see Hou Sheng 侯盛.

Hou Chong 侯崇; Runan. As the magistrate Zhang Xi threw himself onto a funeral pyre in an attempt to bring rain which might end a drought, his Registrar Hou Chong followed his example. Their prayers were answered. -SJJ 21:16b.

Hou Dan 侯丹. When Liu Jia was driven from Hanzhong by Yan Cen in 26, Gongsun Shu sent his general Hou Dan to seize the capital, Nanzheng, and occupy the commandery. Liu Jia returned from Wudu to attack Hou Dan with several ten thousand men, but Hou Dan held his ground and forced him back to the northwest.

In 35 Hou Dan commanded a garrison of twenty thousand men on the Min River south of Chengdu. He was defeated in a surprise attack by Guangwu's commander Cen Peng. -HHS 14/4:568, 17/7:662; Bn 59:117, 192.

Hou Deng 侯登. Administrator of Jiangxia in 29, Hou Deng held a formal commission from the late Gengshi Emperor but controlled his own territory. Guangwu's commander Cen Peng wrote to urge him to accept the new imperial regime, and had his officer Zang Gong raid the commandery in order to encourage his submission. Hou Deng duly sent tribute to Han and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:157-158.

Hou Feng 侯諷 see Hou Li 侯諷.

Hou Fu 侯輔. In 162 Hou Fu was Inspector of Jing province, but when rebels from Changsha attacked Cangwu he abandoned his post and fled. -HHS 7:309.

Hou Hai 侯海. About 91 Hou Hai was an officer of the guards under the Bearer of the Mace Dou Jing, chief of police at the capital. When members of the Dou household were arrested for attacking the guards at the capital market-place, Hou Hai was sent with five hundred troopers to attack the offices of the market. Yang Zhang, a police officer under the Intendant of Henan Zhang Pu, investigated the affair, arrested Hou Hai, and had him exiled to Shuofang. -HHS 45/35:1531.

Hou Jian 侯儉 see Jiao Jian 焦儉. -XC 1:9b.

Hou Jin 侯進. When Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, claimed the imperial title in 25, he appointed Hou Jin as a general and gave him command of a contingent in the great army sent to capture Luoyang from troops loyal to the Gengshi Emperor.

In 26 Hou Jin was sent to assist Kou Xun the new Administrator of Yingchuan deal with local bandits, and at the end of that year, as the Red Eyebrows attempted to return east from the region of Chang'an, Hou Jin was stationed in Hongnong to guard one of their possible escape routes.

In 28 Hou Jin accompanied the general Geng Zhi under the command of Zhu You against the warlord Qin Feng of Nan commandery. After eighteen months siege they received his surrender in the summer of 29.

In the summer of 30 Hou Jin went under Li Tong's command to attack Yan Cen in Hanzhong and then establish military colonies to defend Nanyang.

In the summer of 33 Hou Jin was sent with three other generals and fifty thousand men under the command of Wu Han and Wang Ba to attack Lu Fang's officers Jia Lan and Min Kan in Dai commandery. They were defeated in a rain-storm and forced to withdraw; Hou Jin was left in garrison to command the defences of Yuyang.

Hou Jin does not appear again in the texts. Though he held high military rank in some notable campaigns, he received no special recognition, nor did his family obtain any later fief or favour. -HHS 11/1:485, 22/12:770, 15/5:575 20/10:737; Bn 59:118, 186, Bn 67:108.

Hou Jin 侯瑾 [Ziyu 子瑜]; Dunhuang. When Hou Jin was young he was orphaned and poor, and had to live with relatives. As he grew up he was obliged to work as a labourer, but he studied every evening by light of a fire. The commandery and provincial authorities invited him to office, and the court sent a special summons, but Hou Jin would always decline on grounds of ill health.

Having composed *Jiaoshi lun* 矯世論 "A Discussion on Reform," addressing the ills of the time, Hou Jin retired into the hills to meditate and then wrote *Ying binnan* 應賓難 "Replies to Questions from a Guest" to explain his philosophy. He also made a study of the history of the dynasty up to his own time and compiled *Huangde zhuan* 皇德傳 "An Account of Sovereign Virtue" in thirty *pian*. This work survived for some time, but much else of Hou Jin's writing, originally amounting to dozens of *pian*, was soon lost.

Hou Jin's ability was so widely respected in the west of the empire that the people referred to him simply as Lord Hou 侯君. -HHS 80/70B:2649*, XC 5:11b.

Hou Lan 侯覽 (d.172); Shanyang. A eunuch Regular Attendant at the court of Emperor Huan, Hou Lan became notorious for corruption and for the wealth that he gathered. He played no active role in the overthrow of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and his clan of imperial relatives by marriage, but soon after the coup he presented five thousand rolls of silk as contribution to the military expenses of the state, and he was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. Then the emperor announced that Hou Lan had actually taken part in the planning against Liang Ji, and his fief was raised to a district.

Though he was a special favourite of Emperor Huan, Hou Lan is described by the histories as the most vicious of the palace eunuchs. Apart from his influence and extravagance at court, he and his associates became grossly unpopular in his native region. In 160 numbers of his retainers, together with those of his junior colleague Duan Gui, were taken and killed by Teng Yan the Chancellor of Jibei on the grounds that they had been robbing and plundering his territory from their bases near his borders. Hou Lan and Duan Gui reported Teng Yan to the throne and he was dismissed from office. About the same time Hou Lan impeached the Inspector Diwu Zhong, enemy of his colleague Shan Chao, for having exaggerated his success against bandits.

Similarly, in his home country of Shanyang Hou Lan, his mother and their retainers bullied the people and seized their property. Hou Lan acquired vast estates, including sixteen mansions with parks and gardens, and a quantity of farmland. The commandery Investigator Zhang Jian reported this, and when no official action was taken, in 165 he confiscated much of Hou Lan's property and demolished the extravagant tomb which Hou Lan had built for his mother. More reports were sent to the throne, but Hou Lan had them intercepted. For his part, Hou Lan laid false but successful accusations against Yuan Kang and Hu Jia, the Administrator and the Commandant of Taishan, who had attacked his followers when they fled across the border from Shanyang.

About this time, Hou Lan's brother Hou Can was accused of extortionate conduct as Inspector of Yi province. He killed himself, and the Grand Commandant Yang Bing took the opportunity to argue that Hou Lan should be barred from the emperor's presence. After some debate, as the Imperial Secretariat questioned

Yang Bing's authority to criticise the ruler's personal staff, and Yang Bing responded that the Excellencies had no limit to their right to comment; the emperor was obliged to dismiss Hou Lan. This was followed by a general attack upon the eunuch favourites, Zuo Guan, Ju Yuan and others, and the five marquises who had supported Emperor Huan against Liang Ji were stripped of their fiefs.

Hou Lan was soon reinstated, and in the following year he arranged for the widow of the merchant Zhang Fan, who was killed despite an amnesty by the Administrator of Nanyang Cheng Jin, to make formal complaint to the throne. Cheng Jin and others were arrested and executed, and the protests by reformist officials and students brought a substantial rift with the emperor and went some way to restore the fortunes of the eunuch favourites.

Hou Lan, again, does not appear to have played any notable role in the enthronement of Emperor Ling in 168 nor in the destruction of the reform government of Dou Wu and Chen Fan soon afterwards. In 169 he arranged for the malcontent Zhu Bing to report his old enemy Zhang Jian of Shanyang, accusing him of forming an association to bring harm to the state. Zhang Jian was pursued into exile in the north, and the incident became a trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription which destroyed Li Gu, Du Qiao and many other scholar-officials and reformists.

In 171 Hou Lan became Coachman of the Changle Palace, replacing Cao Jie in charge of the apartments of the imprisoned Dowager Dou; he took part in the enthronement of the Empress Song. In the following year the Lady Dou died, and unnamed senior officials accused Hou Lan of excessive conduct and acting without proper authority. Ordered to surrender his office, Hou Lan killed himself, and his followers and associates were dismissed. It is possible that this disgrace, after so many years of immunity, meant that Hou Lan was either guilty or made a scapegoat for the Dowager's death. -HHS 78/68:2522-24*; Ch'ü 72:480-483.

Hou Li 侯颯 or Hou Feng 颯. Early in the reign of Emperor Ming a flock of strange birds appeared at the imperial palace. The emperor ordered his officials to present hymns to these magical creatures, but only the compositions of Jia Kui, Ban Gu, Fu Yi, Yang Zhong and Hou Li were of high quality. Nothing more is

known of this man. -*Lun heng* 37 quoted by *HHSJJ* 36/26:1310 Hui Dong [personal name as Li 颯]; Forke 11:274 [as 颯 Feng]

Hou Man 侯蔓; Ba. Formerly a student in Liang province, Hou Man was killed by Wang Xiang of Bohai. He was avenged by his fellow-student Kou Qi. -*HYGZ* 10C,175.

Hou Meng 侯猛. Some time in the 150s Hou Meng was appointed Administrator of Liaodong. Liang Ji, brother of the regent Dowager, controlled the government of Emperor Huan, and all officials were expected to pay him a courtesy call before they took up their posts. Hou Meng refused to do so. Soon afterwards Liang Ji found an excuse to charge him with a crime, and Hou Meng was sentenced to be cut in two at the waist 要斬. -*HHS* 34/24:1183.

Hou Qi 侯祈 [Shengbo 升伯]; Shu. About 150 Hou Qi was a disciple of Yang Hou, expert in Huang-Lao doctrines. -*HYGZ* 10B:144, 12:214. This may be the same man as Hou Qi below.

Hou Qi 侯祈 (d.196). Consultant at Luoyang when Cao Cao took over the court in 196, he was executed for wrongdoing. -*HHS* 72/62:2342. This may be the same man as Hou Qi above, though if so he must have been well into his sixties when he encountered Cao Cao.

Hou Sa 侯颯 see Hou Li 侯颯.

Hou She 侯折 see Hou Zhe 侯折.

Hou Shen 侯參 see Hou Can 侯參.

Hou Sheng 侯盛 or Hou Cheng. An Internuncio under the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Hou Sheng was sent to Linhuai with Fei Sui to call the Administrator Hou Ba to office at the capital. The local people protested so earnestly that the emissaries did not present Hou Ba with his invitation, and Hou Ba remained at his post. -*DGHJ* 13:1b.

Hou Sheng 侯聲. In 196 Hou Sheng was a member of Cao Cao's staff. There was a proposal that the group of Yellow Turbans lately captured by Cao Cao should be placed in agricultural colonies in the area of Xu city. The General of the Household Zao Zhi, who had suggested the program, wanted the contributions of the settlers to be assessed according to the land that they held, but Hou Sheng argued for payments to be based upon the number of oxen they leased. He calculated that land-based assessment would benefit the government but disadvantage the tenants. Zao Zhi claimed that if payments were based upon oxen there

would be no gain to the state in good years, while in bad years the government would be obliged to grant exemptions on grounds of hardship.

Cao Cao accepted Zao Zhi's argument and gave him charge of the project. -*SGZ* 16:490.

Hou Xie 侯諧. Chancellor of Pengcheng in the service of Lü Bu, Hou Kai was captured by Cao Cao in 198. -*SGZ* 1:16.

Hou Xuan 侯選; Hedong. A bandit leader in the 190s, Hou Xuan was one of the north-western allies defeated by Cao Cao at the battle of Huayin in 211. He fled to Zhang Lu, but surrendered to Cao Cao when he took Hanzhong, and received titular office. -*SGZ* 8:266, *SGZ* Shu 6:946.

Hou Wen 侯汶 [Wenlin 文林]; Taiyuan. When there was famine at Chang'an in 194, the Imperial Clerk Hou Wen was entrusted with the issue of grain relief. As people still died, Emperor Xian investigated and found he had been giving short measure. Hou Wen was flogged, and rations were thereafter issued in full. -*HHS* 9:376, 72/62:2336, *HHJ* 27:331; Yang 63:157, deC 96:139.

Hou Xiang 侯相; Hedong. A former Chief Clerk of Shanggu commandery, Hou Xiang was remembered with a stele. -*SJZ* 6:13a.

Hou Wuyang 侯武陽; Hedong. Hou Wuyang was an old acquaintance of the mysterious hermit Qiao Xian. About 211 the county magistrate Zhu Nan wanted to assist Qiao Xuan, but Hou Wuyang persuaded him to leave him alone. -*SGZ* 11:363.

Hou Yin 侯音 (d.219); Nanyang. In 218 Hou Yin was a garrison officer at Wan city, capital of Nanyang. The people were suffering from the demands of forced labour, and in the winter Hou Yin led a mutiny, seized the city and called people from the hills to support him. With several thousand men, he ravaged the surrounding territory and sent messengers to invite the Shu-Han general Guan Yu from the south.

Hou Yin captured the Administrator Dongli Gun and, probably seeking support from local leaders, he appointed Zong Ziqing as Officer of Merit. Zong Ziqing, however, persuaded him to release Dongli Gun, and Dongli Gun gathered loyal troops and returned to besiege Hou Yin. As a major army under Cao Ren arrived early in 219, the rebellion was crushed and Hou Yin was killed. -*SGZ* 1:51, 9:257; deC 96:523-524.

Hou Yu 侯昱; Nanyang. Son of Hou Ba, when his

father died as an Excellency in 37, Hou Yu was granted a full marquisate in his honour.

Though Hou Yu's father had been an associate of the Ma family faction, following Ma Yuan's death in 49 Hou Yu joined Ma Wu in accusing Ma Yuan of having appropriated pearls and rhinoceros horn after his campaign in the far south in 43. -*HHS* 16/6:902, 24/14:846.

Hou Zhang 侯章 (d.160). Commandant of Taishan, Hou Zhang was defeated and killed by the bandit Shusun Wuji in 160. -*HHS* 7:307.

Hou Zhe 侯折 or Hou She (d.196). In 196 Hou Zhe was a guardsman at the remnant imperial court in Luoyang. As Cao Cao took over he executed him for wrongdoing. -*HHJ* 29:344.

Hou [Zidao] 侯子道. A clerical officer under the Excellency Hou Ba, in 30 Hou Zidao was sent as a messenger to the reclusive Yan Guang. -*HHS* 83/73:2764.

Hu 胡 [personal name unknown]. Students of calligraphy under Liu Desheng in the late second century, Hu and his colleague Zhong continued the tradition of their master's new *xing shu* 行書 "Running Style." -*JS* 36:1065.

Hu Bo 胡博; Nanyang. Younger brother of Hu Ji, Hu Bo was a member of the Secretariat of Shu-Han and then a colonel in the Northern Army. -*SGZ* Shu 9.980.

Hu [Boshi] 胡伯始; Nan. Known for his literary and scholarly ability in the latter part of the first century, Hu Boshi is mentioned by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -*HHSJJ* 80/70B:2870 Hui Dong.

Hu Cai 胡才; Xihe? A former leader of the Bobo bandits of Xihe commandery, in the winter of 195 he came from Hedong into Hongnong to assist the group escorting Emperor Xian east in his escape from Li Jue and Guo Si in Chang'an. Successful in one engagement, the allies were badly defeated in the second, but the emperor and a small party managed to cross the Yellow River into Hedong.

Hu Cai was named a general and Governor of Bing province, but he and his colleagues then quarrelled, and as the emperor continued to Luoyang Hu Cai remained in Hedong. He was killed in a feud. -*HHS* 72/62:2340-42, *SGZ* 6:185-87.

Hu Che'er 胡車兒. A trusted officer of Zhang Xiu, Hu Che'er was celebrated for his bravery. In 197 Zhang Xiu surrendered to Cao Cao at Wan city in Nanyang,

but Cao Cao planned to kill him, and gave a present of gold to Hu Che'er. When Zhang Xiu heard of this he made a surprise attack on Cao Cao and drove him away. -*SGZ* 8:263.

Hu Chi'er 胡赤兒 see Chi'er 赤兒.

Hu Chong 胡寵; Nan. Father of the Excellency Hu Guang, Hu Chong was Administrator of Jiaozhi commandery, having possibly served previously as Commandant; he died comparatively young. -*SJZ* 32:14b.

HHS 44/34:1504 says the personal name of Hu Guang's father was Gong [*q.v.* below], but the commentary says it was Chong, and *SJZ* 32:14b records a stele in that name close to Hu Guang's. See also *HHSJJ* 44/34:1607-08 Hong Liangji and Hui Dong.

Hu Chong 胡寵, wife of [and step-mother of Hu Guang]; see the Lady Huang Lieying.

Hu Chong 壺崇 miswritten for Tai Chong 臺崇. -*HHSJJ* 9:353 Hui Dong.

Hu Chou 胡疇. As Protector of the Qiang, Hu Chou accompanied Ma Xian on his fatal expedition in 141. -*HHS* 60/50A:1971.

Hu Du 狐篤 see Ma Zhong 馬忠. -*SGZ* Shu 13:1048.

Hu Fang 胡芳. In 166 Hu Fang was Inspector of Bing province. The General on the Liao Huangfu Gui wished to leave that post but could not obtain permission. When his friend Wang Min the Administrator of Shang commandery left office on account of mourning, Huangfu Gui accompanied him south and briefly crossed the provincial frontier. He then had someone tell Hu Fang so that he would report the offence and have him dismissed. Hu Fang saw through the ruse, and refused to take any action, for Huangfu Gui's services were too valuable to lose at that time. -*HHS* 65/55:2136.

Hu Feng 胡封. A kinsman by marriage of Li Jue, in 195 Hu Feng was a Commandant of Cavalry in the regime at Chang'an. Li Jue had him murder his potential rival Fan Chou during a drinking party. -*HHS* 72/62:2333.

Hu Fu 胡輔 see *sub* Dou Fu 竇輔.

Hu Gang 胡剛; Nan. Having held junior office under Emperor Ping of Former Han, Hu Gang refused to take service under Wang Mang and fled to the far south. After Wang Mang was destroyed he returned home. -*HHS* 44/34:1504.

Hu Gen 胡根 [Zhongyuan 仲原] (163-169); Nan. Son of Hu Shuo and grandson of the Excellency Hu

Guang, Hu Gen was taken ill and died young, about the same time as his father. Cai Yong composed a stele inscription for him. -*Cai* 6:4.

Hu Gong 胡貢; Nan. According to *HHS* 44/34:1504 Hu Gong, a descendant in the fifth generation from Hu Gang, was the father of Hu Guang. He became Commandant of Jiaozhi commandery, but died comparatively young. *Cf.* Hu Chong.

Hu Guang 胡廣 [Boshi 伯始] (91-172); Nan. Eldest son of Hu Chong [or of Hu Gong *qq.v.*], who died when he was young, Hu Guang was brought up by his aunt and step-mother the Lady Huang Lieying. The family was poor, but Hu Guang obtained a wide knowledge of the classics, and when he grew older he held a minor position in the commandery. The Administrator Fa Xiong respected the judgement of his son Fa Zhen, and when recommendations were due he held an assembly so that Fa Zhen could view all his officers. Fa Zhen pointed out Hu Guang, who was accordingly nominated Filial and Incorrupt. This was in 117, when Hu Guang was twenty-seven.

On arrival at the capital, each candidate was required to present a memorial. Hu Guang's was judged the best, and within a few days he was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat. He later held further positions, and as Court Architect he was responsible for the reconstruction of the Imperial University during 131 and 132.

In 132 Emperor Shun was due to appoint an empress, but there were four Honoured Ladies, each of whom received comparable favour. There was a suggestion that the consort should be chosen by lot so that the gods could decide, but Hu Guang and his colleagues Guo Qian and Shi Chang objected, arguing the decision should be based upon quality of lineage. So the emperor chose the Lady Liang Na, and her family began its dominance of the capital.

Later that year Zuo Xiong, Director of the Secretariat, proposed tightening the process of selection for office but Hu Guang, now Deputy Director, joined other colleagues to argue that the current system worked well and was supported by a majority of officials. The emperor nonetheless approved the reforms and Hu Guang then left the capital to become Administrator of Jiyin. He was dismissed soon afterwards on the grounds that he had presented inadequate nominees for office; this no doubt reflected his defiance of Zuo Xiong's reform.

Hu Guang was later Administrator of Runan, and in that office he allowed his officer Chen Gongsì to make his escape after murdering a colleague in a vendetta.

Returning to the capital as Minister of Finance, in 142 Hu Guang was appointed Excellency over the Masses. After the death of the young Emperor Zhi in 146 the Grand Commandant Li Gu pressed the claim of Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, and he was initially supported by Hu Guang and the other Excellency Zhao Jie. Liang Ji, however, faced them down in open court, and both Hu Guang and Zhao Jie acceded to his candidate Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan. When Li Gu was dismissed soon afterwards Hu Guang took his place as Grand Commandant, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat, and hence formal command of the government. He and his colleagues were later rewarded for their compliance by enfeoffment as marquises, with designation as Specially Advanced which allowed them to remain at the capital.

In 147 Hu Guang asked to be relieved of his responsibilities on account of ill health. He left office, but soon afterwards became Excellency of Works. He resigned again in 151 and became Minister of Ceremonies, with the title Specially Advanced so that he was not required to reside at his fief. At this time he endorsed a proposal to grant Liang Ji extraordinary honours, but the Excellency Huang Qiong put an end to the idea.

In 153 Hu Guang was once more appointed Grand Commandant, but left office in the following year on account of an eclipse. He then became Director of the Secretariat, Minister Coachman and Minister of Ceremonies, and in 158 he was appointed a third time as Grand Commandant.

In the following year, after the destruction of Liang Ji and his family by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies, Hu Guang and his fellow-Excellencies Han Yin and Sun Lang were found to have failed to support the sovereign. All three were dismissed and sentenced to death less one degree, commuted by payment of a fine, and Hu Guang was stripped of his fief. He was later appointed a Household Counsellor, became Minister of Ceremonies again, and in 166 he was once more Excellency over the Masses.

During the First Faction Incident of 166/167 Dou Wu, father of the empress, praised Hu Guang as one of the finest officials of the empire, and when Emperor Ling came to the throne at the beginning of 168 under

the regency of the Dowager Dou, Hu Guang shared control of the Secretariat with the Grand Tutor Chen Fan. He sought to retire because of illness, but then the eunuchs destroyed Chen Fan and Dou Wu, and Hu Guang was named Grand Tutor in place of Chen Fan, with continuing authority in the government. He continued in that position until his death in 172.

Hu Guang held Excellency rank for thirty years, and even at eighty he was in excellent health, possibly due to drinking water from the Ju River in Nanyang to cure a recurrent illness. He was granted a posthumous title and was buried at the tomb park of Emperor Guangwu. All his five sons had died earlier, but a member of his family was appointed as a gentleman cadet. In 177 Emperor Ling had Hu Guang's portrait and that of Huang Qiong painted in the inner apartments of the palace, and ordered Cai Yong to compose a hymn in his honour.

Hu Guang had the most distinguished career of any Later Han official, and hundreds of men served under him, but he owed much of his success to the policy of the Vicar of Bray. He was cautious and respectful of those who held power, but we are told that his contemporaries believed he lacked any strong sense of loyalty or integrity.

Hu Guang left a quantity of literary and scholarly work, including poems, rhapsodies, hymns and inscriptions. An expert on ceremonial, both in theory and in fact, he collected a quantity of material which he passed to his student Cai Yong, and many of his comments appear in or form the basis of the relevant treatises of *Hou Han shu*, incorporated from the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao. Among works on this line are forty-eight chapters of *Boguan zhen* 百官箴 "Exhortations to Officials," based on an original compilation of Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BC-18 AD) supplemented by Cui Yin, Cui Yuan and Liu Taotu. -HHS 44/34:1504-11*, XC 2: 8a-9a, Cai 4:1, 4:2, 4:3, 4:4; deC 89:123, MBeck 90: 43, 84-87, 266.

Hu Guang 胡廣, wife of: see the Lady Zhang Xianzhang 章顯章.

Hu Hao 胡顗, Nan. Son of Hu Ning, who became a Consultant but died when he was young, Hu Hao was brought up by his mother Zhao Yongjiang.

At the time of troubles in the mid-180s Hu Hao was appointed Administrator of Jiyin, but the Lady Zhao was ill and he was obliged to leave her at Luoyang. When she died there in 187 Hu Hao had Cai Yong

compose a mourning elegy for her. -Cai 4:7.

Hu Hong 胡閎. Chancellor of Ji'nan in 161, He Hong was appointed Protector of the Qiang after Duan Jiong was dismissed from that office. He was unable to deal with the endemic rebellion, and military operations were entrusted to Huangfu Gui.

In 163 Hu Hong left office on account of ill health and Duan Jiong returned as Protector. -HHS 87/77: 2897-98.

Hu Ji 胡濟 [Weidu 偉度]; Nanyang. Registrar to Zhuge Liang, Hu Ji was admired for his willingness to engage his master in debate. He was later commander in Hanzhong against Wei. -SGZ Shu 9.980; Fang 52: 141, 65:303.

Hu Jia 壺嘉. Commandant of Taishan under Yuan Kang, in 166 Hu Jia was arrested, at the instigation of Hou Lan, for having presented false reports of success against rebels. -HHS 67/57:2214.

Hu [Jiedeng] 胡節等; Anding. Known for his literary and scholarly ability in the latter part of the first century, Hu Jiedeng is mentioned by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -HHSJJ 80/70B:2870 Hui Dong.

Hu [Jinying] 胡金盈, the Lady; Nan. The eldest daughter of the Excellency Hu Guang and the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, when her mother died in 170 the Lady commissioned Cai Yong to prepare her memorial statement 靈表. -Cai 4:6.

Hu Kang 胡康 [Zhongshi 仲始]; Nan. Son of Hu Chong and his wife the Lady Huang, Hu Kang was the younger brother of the Excellency Hu Guang. He became a magistrate in Henan, but died about 150. -Cai 4:5, HHSJJ 44/34:1607-08 Hui Dong.

Hu Lan 胡蘭 (d.165); Guiyang. A bandit in the south of Jing province, Hu Lan led a rebellion in 165 which extended into Lingling but was destroyed by Du Shang and Chen Qiu. -HHS 7:315, 38/28:1286, 56/46:1831-32.

Hu Lei 扈累 [Bozhong 伯重]; Jingzhao. At the end of Later Han Hu Lei was a wandering scholar, a disciple of the mysterious Master Qingniu, from whom it is said that he learned his arts of divination.

Hu Lei later lived as a hermit in Wei, showing few signs of old age. He died about 250, aged in his eighties but appearing as if in his forties. -SGZ 11:365.

Hu Liang 胡良; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Wang Qi joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty

of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -*HYGZ* 1:5.

Hu Mao 扈瑁; Yingchuan. In 194, after the death of Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province, Hu Mao was named Inspector by the imperial regime at Chang'an controlled by Dong Zhuo's successors Li Jue and his fellows. Liu Yan's government had been taken over by his son Liu Zhang, but as Hu Mao reached Hanzhong his approach triggered a rebellion against the new ruler. Troops loyal to Liu Zhang, however, defeated the insurgents and drove them into Jing province; Hu Mao is not mentioned again. -*SGZ* Shu 1:868.

Hu Miao 胡邈 [Jingcai 敬才]. A Palace Attendant in 195, Hu Miao remonstrated with the Internuncio Huang Li for lacking respect for Li Jue, who had made his uncle Huangfu Song Grand Commandant. Huangfu Li in turn accused Hu Miao of failing in his duty to the emperor by his support for Li Jue. -*SGZ* 6:185.

Hu Min 胡敏 [Tongta 通達]; Jiujiang. During the reign of Emperor Ling Hu Min was nominated as Sincere and Upright, but he is not recorded as having held any appointment. Cao Cao admired him, and later invited his son Hu Zhi to take office in his regime. -*SGZ* 27:741.

Hu Ning 胡寧 [Zhiwei 穉威]; Nan. Son of the Excellency Hu Guang and his wife the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, Hu Ning received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent and served as a magistrate in two counties. He later became an Consultant and died in that office. -*Cai* 4:6.

Hu Qian 胡潛 [Gongxing 公興]; Wei. Though he had little formal education, Hu Qian had great knowledge of rituals for the worship of ancestors and for mourning. He travelled to Yi province, and when Liu Bei took over in 214 he had Hu Qian join a group of scholars to work on ancient texts and establish a set of procedures to reform the disordered customs of the region. As Hu Qian quarrelled bitterly with his colleague Xu Ci, however, the project foundered. Hu Qian died about 220. -*SGZ* Shu 12:1023.

Hu Qianyi 胡千億 [Shurang 叔讓 or Shuwei 叔韓]; Nan. Son of the Excellency Hu Guang and his wife the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, Hu Qianyi held office as a provincial Inspector. -*Cai* 4:6.

Hu Shao 胡邵. As Administrator of Huainan 淮南, Hu Shao made a show of preparing his simple meals in

public. -*XC* 7:11a. [There is serious confusion here, for the kingdom of Huainan was abolished in 122 BC. No commandery unit of that name existed in Later Han, and the closest approximation would be Lujiang.]

Hu Shao 胡紹. As magistrate of a county in Henei, Hu Shao created exemplary government with a display of personal frugality and firm punishment. -*XHS* 5:19a.

Hu Shou 壺壽 (d.193). Appointed Governor of Ji province by the government at Chang'an in 193, Hu Shou made an alliance with the bandit Poison Yu. They were defeated and killed by Yuan Shao. -*SGZ* 6:194.

Hu Shuang 胡爽 (d.162); Nan. In 162 Hu Shuang was Registrar in the commandery administration when the non-Chinese people of Wuling attacked the capital, Jiangling. As the Administrator Li Su prepared to flee Hu Shuang seized the bridle of his horse and urged him to stay at his post until imperial troops could relieve them. Li Su killed him and rode off; he was later arrested and executed, while Hu Shuang's family was exempted from tax and allowed to nominate a cadet gentleman. -*HHS* 86/76:2834; deC 89:34-35.

Hu Shuo 胡碩 [Jirui 季叡 also mistakenly as Xiurui 秀叡] (128-168); Nan. Youngest son of the Excellency Hu Guang and his wife the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, Hu Shuo was a fine scholar of the *Book of Changes*, the *History* and the *Poetry* according to the official New Text, but had also a wide understanding of the Old Text. When Hu Guang became an Excellency in the 140s, his *ren* privilege gained Hu Shuo appointment as a gentleman cadet, but he left office a few years later in mourning for the death of his uncle Hu Kang. He was invited to appointment by the commandery and the province, but would not accept.

Hu Shuo was later sponsored by the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and was graded First Class. He became an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate and then a Counsellor Remonstrant, but left office when Liang Ji was destroyed in 159. Though he was later invited to return to office, he would not accept while Emperor Huan was alive.

As the young Emperor Ling came to the throne in 168, Hu Guang held high rank under the regency of the Dou family, and Hu Shuo accepted a position as Consultant. He was swiftly transferred to be a Palace Attendant and a General of the Household, but a few months later he became ill and resigned his positions. In the summer an imperial messenger was sent to award him insignia as Administrator of Chenliu, but

he died a few weeks later. Funerary grants were made to his family and Cai Yong composed two stele in his honour.

Hu Shuo's parents were living at the time of his death, but his four elder brothers had predeceased him. -*Cai* 5:4 and 5:5.

Some editions say that Hu Shuo's style was Xiurui 秀叡, but that is surely an error: the character *xiu* was the personal name of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, and was taboo throughout the dynasty. The inscription honouring Hu Shuo's mother the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, *Cai* 4:6, gives the style as Jirui 季叡, and that is more likely.

Hu Su 胡肅 [Boyu 伯於]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Hu Su was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:17a.

Hu Tan 胡譚; Pingyuan. Because Hu Tan was unable to manage proper intercourse with his wife Zhou Bi, he allowed his friends Li Fang and Zhang Shao to couple with her, in the hope that she might bear a child. -*FSTY* 3f:108. This affair evidently ended in a court case, but the fragment contains no further information.

Hu Teng 胡騰 [Zisheng 子升]; Guiyang. In 164 Hu Teng was an Assistant Officer in Jing province, and as Emperor Huan came on progress south to the Yangzi he was given responsibility for transport. The cash cost and levied labour to support the enterprise were enormous, while members of the imperial entourage made extravagant demands upon the local people. Arguing that even though the emperor was away from the capital, the central government resided in his person, Hu Teng asked that the Inspector of Jing province be granted temporary powers of investigation and punishment equivalent to those of the Director of Retainers. This was approved, and local authorities were authorised to punish excessive or wrongful conduct by the visitors. From this Hu Teng became well known and his influence in the province was very great.

As a young man Hu Teng had been a student of the future General-in-Chief Dou Wu, and in 168 he was a clerk in his offices. When Dou Wu was killed by the eunuchs Hu Teng was the only man to carry out mourning for him, and the victorious eunuch party had him proscribed from office.

The eunuchs, moreover, instigated a tight search for Dou Wu's two-year-old grandson Dou Fu. Hu Teng and his colleague Zhang Chang, however, arranged a

false report of the child's death and took him to the south. Hu Teng had Dou Fu marry his daughter and adopted him as his own son.

When the Proscription ended in 184, Hu Teng returned to the capital and was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat. -*HHS* 69/59:2244-45, *XC* 4:11b; *deC* 89:51.

Hu [Wencai] 胡文才. After the assassination of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an by Wang Yun and L Bu in 192, Hu Wencai and Yang Zhengxiu, men of influence in Liang province, were sent to reassure Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo, then stationed in Hongnong. The two men had not been treated well by Wang Yun, so they made no approach to the potential rebels, but gathered their followers and returned to their home country. -*SGZ* 6:181-82 PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

Yingxiong ji, quoted by *SGZ* Wu 1:1098 PC, says that Wencai was the style of Dong Zhuo's officer Hu Zhen, so the names describe the same man. *HHS* 72/62:2333, however, says that Hu Zhen was sent by Wang Yun to attack Li Jue, but then changed sides and joined him. On the other hand, the commentary also quotes *Jiuzhou chunqiu* with the story of the abortive embassy. Either the texts are confused, or the two men were different.

In *HHSJJ* 72/62:2557, Hui Dong accepts the identification of Hu Wencai with Hu Zhen, and that of Yang Zhengxiu with Yang Ding *qq.v*. Both seem questionable.

Hu Wu 胡武; Taiyuan. In the late 150s Hu Wu and his fellow-countryman Hao Jie presented a memorial to the offices of the Excellencies, recommending a number of worthy scholars, but they did not call upon the General-in-Chief Liang Ji or provide him with a copy.

Hu Wu and Hao Jie were friends of Yuan Zhu, who later criticised the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and paid a fatal penalty. Angry at their lack of respect, and suspicious of their connection with Yuan Zhu, Liang Ji ordered their execution, and Hu Wu's family was slaughtered. -*HHS* 34/24:1184; *Ch'ü* 72:474, *deC* 89:10.

Hu Xian 胡憲; Jiujiang. About 50, when Huan Rong was resident tutor to the Heir Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, he brought in his student Hu Xian as an assistant to relieve him. Liu Zhuang, however, was so pleased with Huan Rong that he allowed him only one day's absence. -*HHS* 37/27:1250.

Hu Xian 胡顯; Nan. When Hu Guang's aunt and step-mother the Lady Huang Lieying died in 169 at the age of ninety, Hu Guang had his senior grandson Hu Xian compose an announcement of her death. -*Cai* 4:5.

Hu Yang 胡瑒; Nanyang. A descendant of Hu Zhen, Hu Yang became Administrator of Guiyang. In 161 he set up a stele at his mother's tomb. -*S/Z* 29:19a.

Hu Yi 胡伊 [Bojian 伯建]; Runan. In 161 Fan Shao and his fellow-countryman Hu Yin were clerks in the offices of the Excellency Yu Fang. When Yu Fang left office at the end of that year they too returned home. The Administrator of the commandery invited Hu Yin to local appointment, but he was reluctant to accept a local position after having been engaged at the capital, and he went to register himself in the neighbouring territory of Chen.

Fan Shao had encouraged Hu Yi to accept, but the Excellency Huang Qiong disapproved of such advice, and sent instructions that Fan Yi should be not be nominated for commissioned office, while he had Hu Yi called up in his stead. Hu Yi later became Administrator of Anding. -*FSTY* 5:39; Nylan 83:468.

Hu Yin 胡殷 (d.25). Probably an associate of the gentry clique from Nanyang, Hu Yin is first recorded in 24 as a member of the Secretariat of the Gengshi Emperor at Chang'an, when he was enfeoffed as king of a county in Nanyang.

In 25 Hu Yin joined the conspiracy of Zhang Ang, Shentu Jian and others to rob the emperor and escape to Nanyang. The plot was discovered, but Zhang Ang, Liao Zhan and Hu Yin plundered the markets, attacked the palace and drove the emperor away. After a month of fighting they were expelled from Chang'an by the loyalists Li Song and Zhao Meng.

That winter, as the Red Eyebrows came to Chang'an, Hu Yin went with his comrades to join them, and when the Gengshi Emperor surrendered they persuaded the victors to have him killed. Soon afterwards, having fallen out with the newcomers, Hu Yin and others surrendered to Guangwu's officer Zong Guang. They were taken under escort to the east, but "died while attempting to escape." -*HHS* 11/1:470, 16/6:604; Bn 59:53-54, 97-102.

Hu Yu 胡玉; Wu. A pirate on the Fuchun River near present-day Hangzhou about 171, he was attacked by the youthful Sun Jian. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1093; deC 66A:29-30, 90:78-80.

Hu [Yuan'an] 胡元安. In a letter to Huang Qiong in

127, Li Gu refers to Hu Yuan'an as a hermit scholar who was called to court and offered gifts, but did not distinguish himself. -*HHS* 61/51:2132; Vervorn 90:294.

Hu Zhao 胡昭 [Kongming 孔明] (162-250); Yingchuan. A noted scholar of history, Hu Zhao migrated to Ji province but refused office under Yuan Shao. He later accepted an invitation from Cao Cao, but explained that he was a simple man, unsuited to military or political service. He received permission to retire and settled in the hill country of Hongnong. Many refugees came to him, and it is also said that he saved Sima Yi from assassination by Zhou Sheng.

In 218 Hu Zhao aided the magistrate Zhang Gu to deal with the rebellion of Sun Lang, while his own people were spared by the enemy on account of his fine reputation. He received further invitations from the court of Wei, but always refused them. -*SGZ* 11:361-62.

Hu Zhen 胡珍; Nanyang. Son of Hu Zhu, Hu Zhen married the Princess Liu Huang, sister of Emperor Guangwu, and was a Commandant of Cavalry. He died about 26. -*S/Z* 29:19a.

Hu Zhen 胡軫 [Wencai 文才?]. Holding title as Administrator of Chen, in 191 Hu Zhen was sent by Dong Zhuo with five thousand men to attack Sun Jian as he approached Luoyang. Lü Bu, who was in charge of the cavalry, quarrelled with him and spread false rumours to confuse the attack. Hu Zhen was heavily defeated.

In 192, after the assassination of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an, Hu Zhen was sent with Xu Rong to attack Dong Zhuo's former officers headed by Li Jue. In battle at Xinfeng, just east of Chang'an, Xu Rong was killed and Hu Zhen surrendered to join the rebels.

Hu Zhen became Director of Retainers under the new regime, with his headquarters at Chang'an. He later quarrelled with You Yin, a gentleman and local officer of Zuopingyi You Yin, and had him put to death on a false charge. A few months later, however, Hu Zhen died, exclaiming that he had been at fault and that You Yin's spirit had come for him. -*HHS* 72/62:2328, 2333, *SGZ* 6:181, 15:473, *SGZ* Wu 1:1098. *Yingxiong ji*, cited in PC to this last, says that Hu Zhen had the style Wencai, but *cf. sub* Hu Wencai.

Hu Zheng 胡整 [Boqi 伯齊]; Nan. Eldest son of the Excellency Hu Guang and his wife the Lady Zhang Xianzhang, Hu Zheng died before he reached

manhood. -*Cai* 4:6.

Hu Zhi 胡直; Ba. Registrar of his county, Hu Zhi was killed by brigands about 150. -*HYGZ* 1:6.

Hu Zhi 扈質. About 200 Hu Zhi was sent by Cao Cao to deal with rebels in the north of Guangling. Believing that his force was too small, he was reluctant to attack, but the local officer Xu Xuan provided him with details of the terrain and urged him forward. Hu Zhi put down the rebellion. -*SGZ* 22:645.

Hu Zhi 胡質 [Wende 文德] (d.250); Jiujiang. Son of Hu Min, as a young man Hu Zhi was well known in the region of the Yangzi and the Huai for his ability; he was a close companion of Jiang Ji and Zhu Xu. Cao Cao had admired his father, and when Jiang Ji told him that Hu Zhi was Hu Min's son, Cao Cao made him a county magistrate in Dong commandery, and later called him to the capital as a clerk in his office as Imperial Chancellor.

About 215 Hu Zhi was invited to become Headquarters Officer in his native Yang province, and while he was there he persuaded the general Zhang Liao to make up a quarrel with his officer Wu Zhou.

Cao Cao called Hu Zhi once more to join his Imperial Chancellor's office, and he remained at the capital until the time of Cao Pi. He then became an Administrator, served as a general and Inspector of Jing province, and received enfeoffment. -*SGZ* 27:741-43*.

Hu Zhong 胡种 (d.192). Appointed Director of Retainers by the government of Li Jue in 192, he was an old enemy of Wang Hong, and urged his execution. As he was about to die, Wang Hong cursed Hu Zhong for taking advantage of another's misfortune, and foretold that he too would soon die. Then Hu Zhong had a dream where Wang Hong attacked him with a stick. He became seriously ill and died a few days later. -*HHS* 66/56:2177.

Hu Zhu 胡著; Nanyang. A former Administrator of Rinan, about 25 Hu Zhu had a stele erected in his honour at the side of Mount Long 隆山 in Nanyang. -*SJZ* 29:19a.

Hu Zong 胡綜 [Weize 偉則] (183-243); Runan. Hu Zong's father died when he was young, and about 190 his mother took him south of the Yangzi to avoid the civil war. Sun Ce came to the commandery when Hu Zong was fourteen *sui*, he went to join him, and then studied with his younger brother Sun Quan. When Sun Ce was killed in 200, Sun Quan appointed Hu Zong as

a staff officer in charge of finances.

Hu Zong took part in the campaigns against Huang Zu, and was appointed a magistrate in Jiangxia. Recalled to the capital about 211, he joined Xu Xiang and Shi Yi as Sun Quan's confidential clerks, and when Sun Quan became King of Wu he enfeoffed the three men.

Hu Zong also played a military role: he was commissioned to raise troops when Liu Bei was preparing to attack in 222 and took part in several operations against rebels and renegades. He held rank as a General of the Household and was later appointed a lieutenant-general.

At the same time Hu Zong was recognised as poet and essayist laureate to the court of Wu: he probably wrote Sun Quan's proclamation of claim to empire in 229 and he was certainly commissioned to compose a rhapsody when he took the imperial title. Raised in fief at that time and appointed a Palace Attendant, he wrote a flattering set of "Appreciations of Friends and Guests" 賓友目 for the Heir Sun Deng. More generally, he composed the elegant oath of covenant between Wu and Shu-Han later that year, and he was responsible for diplomatic and other official documents. -*SGZ* Wu 17:1413-18*; Fang 52:223, 292.

Hua Cao 華操. About 175 the Registrar Hua Cao joined the Assistant Officer Feng Xun and other senior colleagues in erecting a stele in honour of their master the Inspector of Yan province Xue Jixiang. -*SJZ* 8: 22a.

Hua Dang 華當; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, Hua Dong and his associates were conquered by He Qi in 203. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1378.

Hua Fu 華萼/敷 see Hua Tuo 華佗. The commentary of Pei Songzhi to *SGZ* 29799 observes that Hua Tuo's alternative personal name of Fu appears in two forms which are often confused. On the basis of his style of Yuanhua 元化, Pei Songzhi suggests that 萼 is the correct version.

Hua Meng 華孟 (d.145); Jiujiang. A local bandit, Hua Meng took the title of Black Emperor 黑帝 [indicating that his power would destroy the Red of Han]. In 145 he attacked the commandery capital, Hefei, and killed the Administrator Yang Cen. He and his men were soon afterwards defeated by Teng Fu, and Hua Meng was killed. -*HHS* 6:279, 38/28:1279-80.

Hua Song 華松. Hua Song was orphaned and poor

when he was young, but he dreamed one night that his house was the residence of the Director of Retainers, with guards at the gate. From the ages of fifteen to nineteen, about 40, he studied the *Chunqiu* with Ding Gong, who foretold great things for him, and he indeed became Director of Retainers.

In that office, though the regular ministers were heavily influenced by leading relatives, Hua Song enforced the law firmly, and he reported the wrongdoing of the powerful Ma family of the consort of Emperor Ming. He later became Intendant of Henan, where he encouraged the people to education and good conduct, while maintaining control over the powerful clans. Enemies at court, however, slandered him and had him killed. -XC 7:6b-7a.

Hua Tuo 華佗 or Hua Fu 馮敷 [Yuanhua 元化]; Pei. One of the most celebrated medical men of early China, Hua Tuo was said to have mastered the technique of nourishing the vital spirit 養性, and we are told that even when he was almost a hundred years old he had the appearance of a man in the prime of life. The people of the time looked upon him as an immortal, but it is more likely that he claimed to be older than he was. He was probably born about 140, and he was dead by 208.

Hua Tuo travelled to Xu province, where the commandery of Langye was noted for its tradition of magic. He is said to have studied a number of classical works, certainly *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 and *Huangdi waijing* 黃帝外經, the Yellow Emperor's "inner" and "outer" manuals of medicine, and probably also the *Taiping jing* 太平經 ascribed to Gan/Yu Ji. He had deep knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the original text of the pharmacopeia *Shen Nong bencao jing* 神農本草經 has been ascribed to Hua Tuo and his contemporary Zhang Ji.

Hua Tuo appears to have been restrained in his treatments. He used a limited number of herbs, and if he applied moxibustion or acupuncture he did so sparingly. When he operated for an internal problem he anaesthetised the patient with wine and powdered hemp 麻沸散, and he had an ointment which could cure the wound within a month. Hua Tuo also emphasised the importance of regular exercise for long life and good health, and he identified a program of five sets of callisthenics: those of the tiger, the deer, the bear, the ape and the bird.

The biographies of Hua Tuo in *Hou Han shu* and

Sanguo zhi, and his Secondary Biography, contain several accounts of his treatments and cures, varying from a dead foetus to internal worms, fevers, coughing and a blocked throat. There were also occasions when he could do no more than comment on the failure of others and/or warn his patients of their likely fate. His prognoses were invariably correct.

Acupuncture at this time frequently involved a full invasion of the body, placing a long needle directly onto an internal organ: the case of Xu Xin treated by Liu Zu is a case in point. When we are told that Hua Tuo was sparing in his use of the technique, he presumably preferred the light, subcutaneous needles – which seek their effect through the nervous system – to invasive operations which sought to deal directly with the internal organs. The subcutaneous method is now most common, but full penetration with heavier needles has been used by Chinese traditional practitioners in modern times.

Despite his success and fame, Hua Tuo was an irascible man, and he considered the practice of medicine unworthy of a true scholar and gentleman. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 190 and was also invited to join the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, but refused both opportunities. Later, the warlord Cao Cao called him to his personal service: he suffered from headaches and dizziness which affected his eyesight, and Hua Tuo cured them by acupuncture to his diaphragm.

After some time in Cao Cao's service Hua Tuo was granted leave to return to his home country. He claimed that his wife was ill and that he needed to seek out additional recipes for medicines, but in fact he was tired of the court and he wanted to go home. Cao Cao wrote repeatedly to call him back, and send orders for local officials to send him on his way, but Hua Tuo relied on his reputation and refused to go. Cao Cao made enquiries, however, and when he found that Hua Tuo's wife had never been ill he became angry and had Hua Tuo arrested and tortured. Cao Cao's close adviser Xun Yu urged restraint, but Hua Tuo was executed.

After Hua Tuo's death Cao Cao's headaches returned, and when his well-loved son Cao Chong died in 208 he regretted that he had had Hua Tuo killed.

Just before he was taken out to die, Hua Tuo offered a scroll to his jailer, saying that it could save men from death. The jailer was nervous and refused to take the document, so Hua Tuo burnt it. Some of his teachings,

however, were taken over by his disciples Wu Pu and Fan A. -HHS 82/72B:2736-40*, SGZ 29:799-804*; Ngo 76:118-122, DeWoskin 83:140-153, Needham 86:245-248.

Hua Xin 華歆 [Ziyu 子魚] (157-231); Pingyuan. Recognised as a scholar and a man of quality, Hua Xin was a close friend and colleague of Bing Yuan and Guan Ning, and a student 弟子 of the Excellency Chen Qiu. After Chen Qiu was disgraced and died in 179, Hua Xin and Guan Ning were among those who joined to set up stele at his tomb in Xiapi.

Hua Xin later held local office, and in 188 he persuaded Taoqiu Hong not to join the plot of Wang Fen against Emperor Ling. Soon afterwards he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet, but left on account of illness.

In 189 He Jin had Hua Xin appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, but when Dong Zhuo shifted the court to Chang'an in 190 Hua Xin fled to Nanyang. There is a story that on the journey his party met a straggler who asked to join them. Xin objected, but his companions felt sorry for the man and agreed. The newcomer later got into difficulty, but when the others wanted to leave him Hua Xin insisted that they were now honour-bound to help. He explained that he had been reluctant to accept the stranger just because of the additional commitment.

Hua Xin was held for a time by Yuan Shu, but escaped about 194 when the Grand Tutor Ma Midi, emissary of the Chang'an government, authorised him to go as an envoy to Xu province. In 195 Hua Xin became Administrator of Yuzhang under Liu Yao.

When Liu Yao died in 198 his followers wanted to make Hua Xin their leader. Hua Xin refused; he kept his territory and no more, and he readily surrendered to Sun Ce in the following year. In 200 he received a call to the imperial court under Cao Cao at Xu city, and Sun Ce's successor Sun Quan allowed him to return to the north.

Hua Xin was appointed to Cao Cao's staff, then to the Imperial Secretariat of Han, and in 212 he succeeded Xun Yu as Director. In 214 he took guards with Chi Lü to arrest the Empress Fu Shou on grounds of treason; in order to get her out, he and his men broke down the doors and walls of her apartments.

In 217 Hua Xin was appointed Royal Counsellor 御侍大夫 at the court of Wei. When Cao Cao died in 220 Hua Xin brought Cao Pi the edict authorising

his succession as King of Wei, and as Cao Pi took the imperial title Hua Xin was enfeoffed and appointed an Excellency. He held that rank until his death. -SGZ 13: 401-06*.

Hua Xin features in a number of generally favourable but slightly ambiguous anecdotes in SSXY: Mather 76:533.

Hua Xiong 華雄 (d.191). A senior administrative officer with an army of Dong Zhuo in 191, he was killed fighting Sun Jian. -SGZ Wu 1:1096.

Hua Yan 華彥. Clever but wicked, about 200 Hua Yan was a trusted counsellor to Yuan Tan. -SGZ 6:196.

Huaitou 槐頭 or Huitou; Xianbi. A subordinate commander in the east under Tanshihuai in the 170s, he was probably the same person as Tanshihuai's grandson Kuitou 魁頭. -SGZ 30:838.

Huan, Emperor 桓帝 (reg. 146-168) see Liu Zhi 劉志.

Huan 郇 [surname] see Xun 郇 *passim*.

Huan 桓, the Lady I; Pei. The Lady was married to Liu Changqing, but he died young in the late 160s, leaving a five-year-old son. Not wishing to marry again, the Lady refused to return to her father's house but cared for the child herself.

When the boy died ten years later there was strong expectation that the Lady should remarry; it was common custom in the Han period. In order to remain faithful to her late husband, however, she cut off her ear to show her firm intention to remain his widow.

The Administrator Wang Ji reported her fine conduct to the throne and a sign was placed on her gate to recognise the Widow Huan of Honourable Conduct 行義桓釐. Whenever there was a sacrificial ceremony in the county, the local authorities presented her with some of the meat. -HHS 84/74:2797; Ch'ü 72:312.

Huan 桓, the Lady II; Pei. Daughter of Huan Liang 良 and sister of Huan Luan, she married the Excellency Yang Ci.

When Huan Luan died in 184 the Lady attended the ceremony. Her nephew Huan Ye, Huan Luan's son, disapproved of the care she had given to her appearance. He refused to speak to her or accept anything from her or from Yang Ci. -HHS 37/27:1259.

Huan 環, the Lady; Pengcheng. A senior concubine of Cao Cao, the Lady Huan was the mother of Cao Chong, Cao Ju 據 and Cao Yu. -SGZ 20:579.

Huan 桓 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. As Chancellor of Donghai in 155, he initiated the

construction of a temple by the sea. -LS 2:10b-12a.

Huan 桓 [personal name unknown]; Changsha. This man died some time in the early 190s and was placed in his coffin, but more than a month later his mother heard sounds from inside, and when it was opened he was found to be alive. -HHS 107/17:3348.

Huan An 環安. A general of Gongsun Shu, in 35 he held a defensive position in Wudu when the imperial general Lai Xi attacked from the north. Defeated in the initial engagements, Huan An sent an assassin to kill Lai Xi, and the Han made no further advance on that front. -HHS 1b.54, 13/3:542; Bn 59:191.

Huan Bin 桓彬 [Yanlin 彥林] (133-178); Pei. Son of Huan Lin, Huan Bin rivalled his contemporary Cai Yong in scholarly repute. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he joined the Imperial Secretariat in the late 160s. Fang Feng, son-in-law of the powerful eunuch Cao Jie, was also a member of the Secretariat, but Huan Bin refused to deal with him. He and the Assistants Liu Xin and Du Xi would often drink and eat together, but they never invited Fang Feng to join them.

Resentful at this exclusion, in the early 170s Fang Feng accused Huan Bin and his companions of factionalism. The matter was referred to the Director Liu Meng, but he admired Huan Bin and took no action. Cao Jie was extremely angry, and he sent in a memorial claiming that Liu Meng was also implicated in the clique and asking he be arrested. Liu Meng was soon released, but he was dismissed and proscribed from office. Huan Bin himself resigned and died at home, mourned by all Confucian scholars.

Qi shuo 七說 "The Seven Discussions," a collection of essays probably begun by his father Huan Lin and completed by Huan Bin, was widely admired, and Cai Yong and other colleagues wrote a eulogistic preface listing Huan Bin's exceptional qualities. -HHS 37/27:1260-61*.

Huan Dan 桓譚 see Huan Tan 桓譚.

Huan Dian 桓典 [Gongya 公雅] (d.201); Pei. Son of Huan Shun and a grandson of Huan Yan 焉, after his parents died when he was twelve Huan Dian went to live with his aunt, serving her as if she were his own mother. Known for his honesty and fine principles, he maintained the family tradition of scholarship and established an academy on the *Classic of History* in Yingchuan, which was attended by hundreds of students.

About 179 Huan Dian was nominated Filial and

Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet at court, but soon afterwards the Chancellor of Pei Wang Ji, who had been responsible for his nomination, was found guilty of crimes and killed. Wang Ji was an adopted son of the disgraced eunuch Wang Fu; his cruelty had been notorious, so none of his former friends or clients dared have further dealings with him. Huan Dian, however, left his position to attend his patron's funeral, maintained three years mourning for Wang Ji, built him a tomb-mound and set up a shrine, and departed only when he had paid his last respects.

In 182 Huan Dian entered the offices of the Excellency Yuan Wei, was graded First Class and then appointed to the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk. Though palace eunuchs dominated the government, he showed them no fear or favour. He always rode a piebald horse, and there was a popular jingle:

Walking, walking, better watch your step,
Beware the Clerk on the piebald horse."

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 Huan Dian was sent to supervise military operations in Henan, just east of the capital. After the enemy had been destroyed he returned, but because of his refusal to submit to the eunuchs he received no reward. He was a member of the cortège sent by Emperor Ling to honour the funeral of the Excellency Yang Ci [*Cai* 3:2].

After almost ten years in the Censorate Huan Dian was again appointed as a Gentleman. This would appear a demotion, but he joined the staff of the General-in-Chief He Jin, and when Emperor Ling died early in 189 he was a close adviser. He then held a swift succession of posts and was made a General of the Household.

Later that year, after the death of He Jin, the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo and the accession of Emperor Xian, the senior ministers noted how Huan Dian had urged He Jin to destroy the eunuchs: though his advice was not taken, he had shown wisdom and public spirit. An imperial edict awarded him 20,000 cash and authorised the appointment of a member of his family as a cadet gentleman. Having accompanied the court west to Chang'an, Huan Dian became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, and was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. In 196 he came with the emperor to Xu city and was named Minister of the Household in the government controlled by Cao Cao. He died in office five years later. -HHS 37/27:1258*;

deC 89:173.

Huan Fan 桓汎; Pei. Huan Fan was the son of Huan Yong and grandson of Huan Rong, who was tutor to Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming. Huan Yong died early, and when Huan Rong died his second son Huan Yu was awarded the succession to his secondary marquise. Huan Yu sought to renounce the title in favour of Huan Fan, who represented the elder lineage, but the emperor would not agree. -HHS 37/27:1251-52.

Huan Fan 桓範 [Yuanze 元則] (d.249); Pei. A man of good official family, some time before 220 Huan Fan was appointed to the offices of Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor. In 220 he was named Inspector of the Left of the Feathered Forest. This office had formerly been part of the imperial body-guard, but it was now evidently supernumerary or at least a sinecure, for Huan Fan joined Wang Xiang, Liu Shao and other scholars in the compilation of *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings," a massive edition of the classics and their commentaries, which was commissioned by Cao Pi in that year.

Under Cao Rui, Emperor Ming, Huan Fan held a number of posts in the provinces and at the capital. Respected for his wisdom and learning, he became Minister of Finance as an associate of the powerful Cao Shuang. When Cao Shuang was destroyed by Sima Yi in 249, Huan Fan was implicated and executed. -SGZ 9:290.

Huan Feng 桓豐; Pei. Huan Feng was the fifth son of Huan Yu, and his sons and grandsons followed the family's scholarly tradition. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Heng 桓衡; Pei. Elder son of Huan Yan 焉, he died young. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Hua 桓華 see Huan Ye 桓曄.

Huan Jie 桓階 [Boxu 伯緒]; Changsha. Son of Huan Sheng, Huan Jie became Officer of Merit in his native commandery, and about 188 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Sun Jian. He was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, but left office on the death of his father.

Sun Jian came to attack Jing province for Yuan Shu in 192, but was killed in action against the troops of the Governor Liu Biao. Huan Jie obtained permission from Liu Biao to take the body back to Sun Jian's family in the east, then returned to his home country in Changsha. It is said that in 198 he encouraged the Administrator Zhang Xian to rebel against Liu Biao in order to prevent him supporting Yuan Shao against Cao

Cao during the Guandu campaign, but he later joined Liu Biao and was offered marriage into the Cai clan of Liu Biao's wife. Concerned at the entanglement, he pleaded illness and left.

When Cao Cao took Jing province in 208, he appointed Huan Jie to his staff; he later became Administrator of Zhao and then Palace Attendant in the kingdom of Wei. A firm and influential adviser, opposed to the Ding brothers and a supporter of Cao Pi, Huan Jie held office in the Secretariat with responsibility for appointments. In 219 he persuaded Cao Cao not to go in person to deal with Guan Yu's attack into Jing province, but to hold back in order to display the power which his state held in reserve.

Huan Jie joined Chen Qun in urging Cao Cao to take the imperial title, and after his death he took part in the process which brought the abdication of the Han in favour of Wei in 220.

Huan Jie became Director of the Imperial Secretariat of Wei and was enfeoffed. He died a few years later. -SGZ 22:631-32*.

Huan Jun 桓俊 of Pei was the fourth son of Huan Yu. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Lan 桓覽 see Huan Xian 桓賢.

Huan Liang 桓梁; Zuopingyi. A noted Confucian scholar, about 28 Huan Liang and other gentlemen were recommended to Emperor Guangwu by the Excellency Song Hong, and Huan Liang took up a clerical post in Song Hong's office. -HHS 26/16:904, 40/30A:1331.

Huan Liang 桓良; Pei. Sixth and youngest son of Huan Yu, Huan Liang became a county magistrate in Lujiang, and his sons and grandsons followed the family's scholarly tradition. -HHS 37/27:1257 & 1259.

Huan Lin 桓麟/麟 [Yuanfeng 元鳳]; Pei. Son of Huan Feng, even when he was young Huan Lin was noted for his ability and his generous nature. When Emperor Huan came to the throne in 147 he was appointed a Consultant. All the court admired him, and he was authorised to enter the palace in order to tutor the young ruler.

Huan Lin was later a county magistrate in Yingchuan, but left office because of illness. His mother died at this time; he did not live to see out her mourning period but died at the age of forty-one *sui*.

Huan Lin left some twenty chapters of collected works, including eulogies and inscriptions for funerary

and memorial stele, letters and essays including *Qi shuo* 七說 "The Seven Discussions". [This work is also attributed to Huan Lin's son Huan Bin; it was probably begun by the father and completed by the son]. -HHS 37/27:1260.

Huan Luan 桓鸞 [Shichun 始春] (108-184); Pei. Son of Huan Liang 良, Huan Luan was known for his fine conduct even as a child. He studied the classics intensely, wore plain clothes and ate simply, and gave away much of his property to friends. Because he regarded the times as corrupt, and most of the men in his commandery and province as unworthy, he was unwilling to accept any official appointment.

During the 150s, as Xiang Miao the Chancellor of Pei, his native commandery unit, was a man of good reputation, Huan Luan did accept nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. He was appointed a magistrate in Beihai, but before he could take up his post Xiang Miao died. Huan Luan immediately resigned his appointment to attend the funeral, and he maintained mourning for his patron for three years before returning to his duties. He was admired by all the people in the region.

Huan Luan then served as a magistrate in Chenliu and in Henei. He gained a fine reputation, all three Excellencies invited him to join their offices, and during the 160s he was appointed a Consultant at the court of Emperor Huan. He presented a memorial with five heads of proposal: give office to worthy men, review those who hold positions, dismiss the imperial favourites, abolish the parks and pleasure grounds, and reduce the tax and corvée burden. His document came to Emperor Huan, but because of the influence of the eunuchs in the government no action was taken.

Huan Luan later left office on grounds of illness and died at home. -HHS 37/27:1259*.

Huan Pu 桓普; Pei. Eldest son of Huan Yu, he maintained the family tradition of scholarship and was granted the succession to his father's secondary marquissate, which had originally been awarded to his grandfather Huan Rong. The fief descended in Huan Pu's lineage to his great-grandson. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Ren 桓任. When Huan Ren's mother was pregnant with him, she did not eat the meat of pigs or sheep. As a result, in all his life Huan Ren ate neither pork or mutton. -XC 6:10a.

Huan Rong 桓榮 [Chunqing 春卿 or Zichun 子春]; Qi>Pei. Towards the end of Former Han Huan Rong travelled from his home country of Qi to Chang'an,

where he was a pupil of Zhu Pu 朱普 and studied the New Text *Classic of History* in the Ouyang tradition. Extremely poor, he worked as a farm labourer, but devoted himself to his studies and stayed at the capital for fifteen years.

When Wang Mang took the imperial title in 9 AD, Huan Rong returned to Qi, but when Zhu Pu died soon afterwards he went to Jiujiang for the funeral and raised a tomb mound for his former master. He then remained in Jiujiang as a private teacher with hundreds of pupils.

After the fall of Wang Mang in 23 Huan Rong took refuge in the mountains with his books and his followers, and though living in difficult conditions he maintained teaching and scholarship and continued to attract students from all the lands between the Yangzi and the Huai. He had at first no children, but his favourite He Tang persuaded him to divorce his wife and take another: Huan Rong then sired three sons.

In 44, aged over sixty, Huan Rong received his first official appointment, in the offices of Excellency over the Masses. Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, had been named as Heir in the previous year, and Emperor Guangwu chose Huan Rong's former pupil He Tang to teach him the *History*. He asked He Tang who his own teacher had been; He Tang named Huan Rong, and the emperor called him to discuss the work. Delighted with his exposition, he granted Huan Rong 100,000 cash, promoted him to be a Consultant and had him tutor the Heir. At court gatherings, Huan Rong's discussion of the classics took precedence over the most senior officials.

Despite his respect for Zhu Pu, Huan Rong considered his 400,000-word commentary on the *History* to be too long, and when he began to tutor Liu Zhuang he reduced his late master's arguments to an edition of 230,000 words. Huan Rong was then appointed Academician for the study of the Ouyang interpretation of the *History*, he distinguished himself in discussions during an imperial visitation to the University; and was noted for his insistence on wearing the specific robes of a Confucian scholar. He received particular favour, and was ordered to reside in the apartments of the Heir and instruct him in the *History* and the *Book of Filial Piety*.

Liu Zhuang respected and admired Huan Rong, kept him regularly in his company, and when he was ill he enquired after him constantly and sent presents

of delicacies, cloths and slaves. When the scholar and Academician Zhang Yi was appointed Senior Tutor to the Heir in 52, Huan Rong was named his Junior. He was awarded a carriage and horses, and gathered his other pupils to show them what could be achieved by study of the past. Soon afterwards, suggesting that the Heir was now fully learned in the classics, he offered his resignation, but Liu Zhuang would not accept.

In 54 Huan Rong was made Minister of Ceremonies. He was among the scholars who sought and found justifications for the emperor to celebrate the Feng and Shan sacrifices in 56, while he also urged construction of a Bright Hall and a Hall of the Circular Moat. He may have put forward the latter proposal while still an Academician, and it is said that he anticipated the Excellency Zhang Chun, but as Minister of Ceremonies he was naturally involved in discussions with the Excellencies, and their plan was endorsed by a court conference. Work commenced in 56, and the buildings were inaugurated by the new Emperor Ming in 59.

With the imperial observatory at the Spiritual Terrace, also built about this time, the Halls were close to the University in the south of the capital; they were together known as the Three Enclosures. The Bright Hall and the Hall of the Circular Moat were both ascribed to the traditions of early Zhou, but they had not been constructed by Former Han until 4 AD, when government at Chang'an was controlled by the Reformist and spiritualist Wang Mang. The Bright Hall, designed to reflect cosmological influences, was used for ritual and dynastic ceremonies. Square below to represent Earth and circular above to echo Heaven, it was roofed with rushes overlaid by tiles and protected by a dry ditch. The Hall of the Circular Moat, surrounded by water but open to view from the outside, was the site for Serving the Aged, a ceremony held each winter in the tenth month, and for the Great Archery in the third and the ninth months.

When Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, succeeded his father in 57, he appointed two of Huan Rong's sons as Gentlemen, and Huan Rong himself received honour and favour. At the first ceremony of Serving the Aged, held at the Hall of the Circular Moat in the winter of 59, Huan Rong was named Five-fold Experienced, one of the chief figures for the ritual offering by the emperor. He was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis, with a substantial pension, and at the conclusion of the ceremony the ruler summoned Huan Rong and his

students to discuss the classics.

About 60, now more than eighty years old, Huan Rong entered his final illness. Emperor Ming sent doctors, medicine and gifts to his house, went in person to make enquiry, and even got down from his carriage. When he died the emperor changed his clothing, took part in mourning and granted him a special tomb.

Two of Huan Rong's nephews and eight of his students were granted special pensions, many of his former pupils became high officials, and his son Huan Yu inherited his high favour. The influence of his teaching of New Text *History* continued throughout Later Han. -HHS 37/27:1249-53*, 79/69A:2545 & 2566; Bn 79:58-59, 173-194, Bn 76:65-67, Bodde 75: 361-380, Tjan 49:148.

Huan Shao 桓邵; Pei. Huan Shao treated Cao Cao disrespectfully when he was young, and as Cao Cao later gained in power he took refuge in the far south. Cao Cao persuaded the local warlord Shi Xie to extradite him, and when Huan Shao came before him he rejected his apologies and had him executed. -SGZ 1:55.

Huan [Shaojun] 桓彦林, the Lady; Bohai. Towards the end of Former Han Bao Xuan 鮑宣 of Shangdang, a man of humble means, studied under the father of the Lady Huan, who admired him and gave his daughter to be his second wife. The Lady's family was wealthy, but at her new husband's wish she gave up the property her parents had given them and went with him to his home country pulling a simple handcart. A model of female conduct, she served her husband's mother in exemplary fashion.

Bao Xuan was killed about 5 AD for his opposition to the new government of Wang Mang, but the Lady lived until the late 20s, cared for by her step-son Bao Yong. When Bao Yong's son Yu asked about the early days she told how her mother-in-law would often quote the *Book of Changes*, that one could never be confident of the future and must always prepare for trouble: Wilhelm 66:341.

The biography of the Lady Huan appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74: 2781-82*; Ch'ü 72:283.

Huan Sheng 桓勝; Changsha. Son of Huan Zhao, Huan Sheng was well-known in the south of the empire. Like his father, he served in the provinces as an Inspector and an Administrator and he was also a member of the Imperial Secretariat. He died about

190. -SGZ 22:631.

Huan Shun 桓順; Pei. Huan Shun was a son of Huan Yan 焉. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Tan 桓譚 [Junshan 君山] (d.28); Pei. One of the leading philosophers of his day, though most of his work has been lost, Huan Tan was an independent thinker of the Old Text realist tradition, an associate of Liu Xin 劉歆 and Yang Xiong 楊雄, and very probably an influence on Wang Chong. His later reputation suffered, however, as he was considered too closely associated with the usurping regime of Wang Mang.

Born about 43 BC, Huan Tan held office under Emperor Ai and Wang Mang, with responsibility for music, and he served as a Palace Counsellor under the Gengshi Emperor.

About 27 the Excellency Song Hong recommended Huan Tan to Emperor Guangwu, and he was appointed a Consultant with supernumerary title as Serving within the Palace. He was commissioned to play the lute at imperial banquets, but Song Hong criticised him for playing the licentious Tunes of Zheng 鄭聲 rather than formal music suitable to state occasions. He threatened him with punishment and Huan Tan apologised, but when Guangwu called Huan Tan to play Song Hong accused himself of having made a bad recommendation. In order to ease the situation the emperor withdrew Huan Tan's privilege of Serving within the Palace.

Huan Tan unsuccessfully proposed a number of reforms, including an overhaul of the legal code, and he argued against reliance on texts of divination and portents. Guangwu had great trust in these, however, and at a court conference held to consider the establishment of a Spiritual Terrace he proposed that apocryphal texts 讖緯 should be consulted to determine its site. Huan Tan observed to his sovereign that he never read the apocrypha, and despite his former favour he was very nearly executed. Sent out instead to minor office as assistant to the Administrator of Liu'an, he died on the journey, aged in his seventies.

Huan Tan left a number of rhapsodies, essays and memorials, but his major work was *Xin lun* 新論, which was admired by Guangwu and whose fragments contain both philosophical argument and comments on economics and society. There was also an interrupted essay on the art of the lute 琴道 *Jin dao*, which was later completed by Ban Gu on the instructions of Emperor Zhang; during an imperial tour in 85 the

same emperor sent messengers to sacrifice at Huan Tan's tomb in Pei. -HHS 28/18A:955-962*, 26/16:904, XC 1:8a; Bn 79:33, 55, QHX:164-165, Tjan 49:151-153, *Texts*:158-160 [Pokora], Ch'en 86:763, 777-779, Ebrey 86:631-632, Nishijima 86:593-594.

Huan [Wenshan] 桓文山 see Huang Zhanzhong 桓壽終.

Huan Xian 桓賢 also as Huan Lan 覽. A eunuch, in 178 Huan Xian was a guard at the Yellow Gates. A man clad in white, presumably mad, entered the gate of the Hall of Virtuous Light of the Northern Palace. He claimed to have been told by Liang Boxia [*i.e.* the late General-in-Chief Liang Shang] that he should ascend the dais and become the new emperor; another version reports him as claiming himself to be Liang Shang. Huan Xian intercepted the intruder and called for help to arrest him, but by the time support arrived the man had disappeared. -HHS 8:341, 107/17:3346-47, DGHJ 3:5b, *Cai* 7:4; Bn 76:39. *Cf. sub* Xie Bu.

Huan Yan 桓延; Pei. Huan Yan was the second son of Huan Yu. -HHS 37/27:1257.

Huan Yan 桓焉 [Shuyuan 叔元] (d.143); Pei. Third son of Huan Yu, Huan Yan became a gentleman cadet through his father's position, but became well-known in his own right through his understanding of the classics and his fine conduct. In 107 he was brought into the palace as a tutor to the young Emperor An, and after various further appointments he became Palace Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army.

When Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, was named Heir in 120, Huan Yan was appointed as his Junior Tutor, and he became Senior Tutor a few weeks later. At that time senior officials were not permitted to take leave for mourning, but when Huan Yan's mother died he was made a junior Counsellor for the period of the mourning, and a few years later an imperial messenger was sent with wine and meat to call for his return. He became a Household Counsellor and then Minister of Ceremonies.

When Liu Bao was deposed as Heir in 124, Huan Yan and his colleagues Lai Li and Zhang Hao argued against the move. They had no success, but when Liu Bao came to the throne at the end of 125 Huan Yan was appointed Grand Tutor. He control of over the Imperial Secretariat, and hence formal command of the government, with the Grand Commandant Zhu Chong, and he had permission to enter the private apartments of the palace in order to carry out his

instruction of the ruler. He was offered enfeoffment for his courage in opposing the earlier dismissal of Liu Bao, but refused.

After three years in his high position, it was found that Huan Yan had appointed someone under proscription as a clerk in his office; he was reduced in rank to be a Household Counsellor.

In 133 Huan Yan was appointed Minister Herald, and Minister of Ceremonies a few days later. He became Grand Commandant in 140, but was dismissed in 142, and died in retirement at his home in the following year.

The Annals at *HHS* 6:272, record that Huan Yan and his colleague the Excellency Liu Shou both left office in the winter of 142. Huan Yan's biography says that he was dismissed on account of an eclipse, but the closest such event was in the autumn of 141, more than a year earlier. The Annals also record that in the autumn of 142 a special commission of eight senior officials was sent to inspect the empire, and *HYGZ* 10B:157 says that Zhang Gang, one of the commissioners, took the opportunity to report on the undue influence of the Liang family and on the corruption of Huan Yan and Liu Shou; the two were then dismissed. Zhang Gang's biographies in *HHS* and *XHS* say that he complained about the Liang group but that no action was taken. It seems likely *HYGZ* has exaggerated his effect, and that Huan Yan and Liu Shou left office for other reasons, possibly because Liang Ji wished to confirm his authority over the highest positions at court.

Huan Yan left several hundred disciples to carry on his tradition of scholarship; two of the most notable were Huang Qiong and Yang Ci. -*HHS* 37/27:1257*.

Huan Yan 桓嚴/嚴/嚴 see Huan Ye 桓曄.

Huan Ye 桓曄 or Huan Yu 煜 or Huan Yan 嚴/嚴/嚴 [Wenlin 文林]; Pei. Son of Huan Luan, he was skilled in divination and also a man of strict principle. His father's sister was married to the Excellency Yang Ci, and when Huan Luan died in 184 she came for the mourning. As she arrived, she halted at a lodging place and arranged herself and her escort before she came in for the ceremony. Huan Ye disapproved of such vanity, and when his aunt sought to offer condolences he responded only with sobs and cries. Yang Ci sent officers to take part in the funerary sacrifices, and the local county office prepared ritual objects, but Huan Ye refused to accept them. Later, when he went to the capital, he would never stay at Yang Ci's residence.

Followers and clients admired his independence.

Having served as commandery Officer of Merit, Huan Ye was nominated as Filial and Incorrupt and as Abundant Talent, received several special selections, and was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies at the capital. He always refused.

In the early 190s Huan Ye went south of the Yangzi to take refuge from the civil war. He went first to join Liu Yao, then to Wang Lang in Kuaiji. Each offered him gifts and provisions, but he refused them all. Having stayed for a time at the former residence of the earlier notable Zhongli Yi, Huan Ye moved to the house of the Attendant Official Qu Yu, where he forecast dangers by the fall of oranges from a tree in the courtyard.

When Wang Lang in his turn was obliged to surrender to Sun Ce, Huan Ye fled south along the coast by ship. In Jiaozhi, his Confucian virtue persuaded the non-Chinese Yue people to abandon their quarrelsome ways. He was later slandered by some ill-doer, and died in prison in Hepu. -*HHS* 37/27:1259-60*, *XC* 2: 2a.

The given name of this man appears as Ye 曄 in *HHS* 37/27, and this is the accepted reading. Xie Cheng, however, has Yan 嚴 and commentary to *DGHJ* 16:5a has Yu 煜. Both 曄 and 煜 have the meaning of a bright light, and the *DGHJ* edition has evidently chosen to avoid taboo. See also *sub* Fan Ye.

Huan Yong 桓雍; Pei. Eldest son of Huan Rong, in 57 Huan Yong was appointed a gentleman cadet by Emperor Ming in honour of his father. He died a year or so later. -*HHS* 37/27:1251-52.

Huan Yu 桓郁 [Zhong'en 仲恩] (d.93); Pei. Second son of Huan Rong, in 57 Huan Yu was appointed a gentleman cadet by Emperor Ming in honour of his father, and when Huan Rong died about 60 he was granted the succession to his secondary marquisate. He sought to renounce the title in favour of his nephew Huan Fan, son of his deceased elder brother Yong, but Emperor Ming would not agree, and he treated Huan Yu with great favour as the son of his former teacher.

Huan Yu continued his father's tradition as a scholar in the Ouyang tradition of the *Classic of History*; he was regularly consulted on the classics and on matters of government. He further abridged the work of his father, who had reduced the commentary of Zhu Pu from 400,000 to 230,000 words. Huan Yu's compilation contained 120,000 characters and, since he later held the same ministerial post as his father,

the editions were known as the "Greater and Lesser Commentaries of the Masters of Ceremonies the Lords Huan" 桓君大小太常章句.

In 71 Huan Yu was appointed a Consultant and then a Palace Attendant, in which capacity he edited the *Wujia yaoshuo zhangju* 五家要說章句, formally and nominally compiled by Emperor Ming. The work was placed in the main library of the Northern Palace [see Note below], and soon afterwards Huan Yu received supplementary appointment as General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

In 72 Huan Yu was named tutor for the classics to the Heir Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, and was transferred to be a colonel of the Northern Army. He was treated with great respect by all the imperial family, and his advice was taken on several occasions.

As Liu Da came to the throne in 75 Huan Yu's mother died. At this time senior officials were not permitted to take leave for mourning, so he sought leave to retire. Instead, however, he was made a Palace Attendant for the mourning period, and in 77 he was again appointed a colonel in the Northern Army. In 79 Huan Yu took part in the imperial conference on Confucianism called by Emperor Zhang and held in the White Tiger Hall.

When the young Emperor He succeeded in 88 the Dowager's brother Dou Xian recommended Huan Yu and Liu Fang as his resident tutors. Huan Yu became Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager, and on the occasion of a drought in the capital district he was called within the palace to give special lectures to the emperor and the Dowager Dou. He was then re-appointed Palace Attendant, with a sinecure office as Commandant of Equipage.

In 92 Huan Yu was made Minister of Ceremonies, the same post as had been held by his father, but in the following year he became ill and died. Tutor to two emperors, he had been treated with great respect and awarded gifts and pensions amounting to millions of cash. Two of his students, Yang Zhen and Zhu Chong, reached the rank of Excellency. -HHS 37/271254-56*; Bn 76:37, Tjan 49:161.

Note: There is some debate about the origin, nature and even the title of the compilation by Emperor Ming which was edited by Huan Yu. HHS 37/27:1255 mentions the *Wujia yaoshuo zhangju* 五家要說章句 prepared in 71, but according to the *Hou Han shu* of Hua Qiao [HQ 1:1a], cited by commentary to that

passage, the emperor's work was called *Wuxing zhangju* 五行章句, being a detailed commentary on the Five Powers. DGHJ, however, mentions two works: at 2:2a we are told that on the first occasion of his discussion of the classics in the Hall of the Circular Moat in 59 [see *sub* Huan Rong], Emperor Ming compiled *Wuxing zhangju*; at 16:4b, the biography of Huan Yu, we are told that he issued the *Wujia yaoshuo zhangju* 五家要說章句. The one may thus be seen as a continuation of the other, and the full title of the final version was probably *Wu[xing]jia yaoshuo zhangju* 五行家要說章句 "Detailed Commentary to Major Points of the Tradition of the Five Powers."

As Huan Yu and Huan Rong were both scholars of the New Text *Classic of History*, Hou Kang and Yao Zhenzong have catalogued the work in that section of their bibliographies. It seems probable that the text was centred on the *Hong fan* 洪範 chapter, the *locus classicus* for Five Powers theory, which emphasised the central role of the emperor in the cosmos and so justified his authority, while noting the importance of portents as warnings to him from Heaven [Nylan 92]. Though the work may have been thus formally restricted to the *Classic of History*, it in fact represented a broad interpretation of the spiritual and physical nature of the empire.

We may further note that the edict of Emperor Zhang in 79, giving instructions for the Discussions in the White Tiger Hall, refers to a proposal made to Emperor Ming by the scholar Fan Shu in 58: that Academicians should be convened to determine the meaning of the classics. The edict is translated by Tjan 49:6, and at 158 Tjan argues that the White Tiger Discussions were of a different nature to those held by Emperor Ming.

Given that Emperor Ming had been urged to hold discussions to settle disputed points in the classics, and that he is known to have held expository sessions at the time of the annual ceremonies in the Hall of the Circular Moat, we may suggest this scenario: Following the proposal of Fan Shu in 58, the emperor arranged a series of discussions on the five Confucian classics by his senior academic advisers. Based upon their research, he took the occasions of the formal exegeses at the Hall of the Circular Moat to announce their findings. The program began at the first ceremony in 59 and was maintained for several years. Huan Yu then edited the material, and the work, a general

philosophical and political survey based upon the *Hong fan* chapter of the *History*, approved by New Text scholars and promulgated by the emperor, was placed in the library at the palace.

If this is so, then the work carried out under the active patronage of Emperor Ming is comparable to that of Emperor Zhang's great conference in the White Tiger Hall, with two differences. Firstly, though Tjan suggests that Emperor Ming may have held one meeting in 58, he in fact carried out his study from 59 through the 60s; his successor held a single long meeting. Secondly, Emperor Ming, following the policy of his father Guangwu, was strongly committed to the New Text; while Emperor Zhang was attempting, albeit unsuccessfully, to challenge some aspects of that tradition. The White Tiger Discussions proved far more influential, for they were concerned with the general philosophy of the Confucian tradition, and the work of Emperor Ming was over-shadowed by the later compilation, but the general intention of the two rulers was similar, however, and Huan Yu's contribution was analogous to that of Ban Gu in 79. See also deC 2006B.

Huan Yu 桓虞 [Zhongchun 仲春 or Bochun 伯春]; Zuopingyi. Formerly a magistrate in Lu, Huan Yu left office to care for his aged parents, but returned to the imperial service after they died. He held senior office in the Secretariat was then Administrator of Nanyang, where his firm but clear government was greatly admired. In 79 Huan Yu was brought to that capital as Excellency over the Masses.

In 85 Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei reported that the Southern Shanyu, dependent of Han, had sent raiding parties to attack traders from the Northern Xiongnu. The initial consensus at court was that the southern allies should be allowed to keep their booty, but the minister Yuan An argued that the moral authority of the empire required the agreement for peaceful trade be honoured. Huan Yu was persuaded to support him, and there followed fierce debate: at one point the Grand Commandant Zheng Hong shouted at Huan Yu that "Anyone who says we should hand back the captives is a traitor!" Huan Yu responded in kind, and several other officials lost their tempers. The Director of Retainers reported all of them for lese-majesty, and the disputants apologised and offered their resignations.

The emperor finally decided that the government

would purchase the prisoners from the southerners, restore them to their own people, and pay blood-money for any who had been killed. The peace party was thus largely successful, but in the longer term the supporters of the Southern Xiongnu had the advantage. Even the agreement to pay ransom meant that aggression was rewarded, and over the following years, as the Northern Xiongnu became weaker the attacks on their trade-routes continued.

Huan Yu left the position of Excellency in 87, but was later Minister of the Household -*HHS* 3:137, 156, 45/35:1519, *DGHJ* 18:2a, *HHJ* 11:141; deC 84:263.

Huan Yuanjiang 桓元將. In Jing province in 208 he gave Wang Lang news of Xu Jing in Yi province. -*SGZ* Shu 8:968.

Huan Yuanqing 桓元卿; Pei. A kinsman of Huan Rong, when they were both young and poor he scoffed at Huan Rong for his devotion to learning and instead concentrated on farming. Later, when Huan Rong became Minister of Ceremonies, he came to call upon him and admired the rank and honour he had achieved. -*HHS* 37/27:1253.

Huan [Yudu] 環玉都; Pengcheng. When Liu Ju fell out with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji in the 150s, he went for shelter to his friend Huan Yudu. Huan Yudu agreed, but then became nervous and went away himself, while the people of his household neglected their guest. After a year, however, Liu Ju was restored to favour and high office, and Huan Yudu was embarrassed and ashamed. -*FSTY* 7:55.

Huan [Zhanzhong] 桓弄終 (d.139); Pengcheng. When Huan Zhanzhong died, his two brothers, one with the style Wenshan 文山 and the other recorded with only the second character of his style, *shan* 山, constructed a hall 食堂 in his memory. The work was completed in 141. -Nagata 94:84 [includes a rubbing of the decoration of the building].

Huan Zhao 桓超; Changsha. During the mid-second century Huan Zhao was a provincial Inspector and an Administrator. -*SGZ* 22:631.

Huang 黃, the Lady I; Nan. Elder daughter of Huang II and sister of Huang III, the Lady married Hu Chong and bore him the future Excellency Hu Guang and his brother Hu Kang. She died soon afterwards, and the children were brought up by her younger sister Huang Lieying. -*Cai* 4:4.

Huang 黃, the Lady II; Jiangxia. During the time of Emperor Ling the Lady went to bathe, but turned into

a tortoise. The tortoise lived in a deep pool, but when it emerged it could be recognised as the Lady Huang because it still wore her silver hair ornaments. -HHS 107/17:3348.

Huang 黃 I [personal name unknown]; Nan. Grandfather of the Lady Huang Lieying, wife of the future Excellency Hu Guang, his father had been head of a commandery under Wang Mang. About the middle of the first century this man was magistrate of Panyu in Nanhai, present-day Guangzhou. -Cai 4:5.

Huang 黃 II [personal name unknown]; Nan. In the second half of the first century this man was Registrar of the commandery and acted for a time as Administrator. He had three children: the Lady Huang, mother of the future Excellency Hu Guang and his brother Hu Kang; her sister the Lady Huang Lieying, who became their step-mother; and a son who became Inspector of Yu province. -Cai 4:4.

Huang 黃 III [personal name unknown]; Nan. Son of Huang II, in the second half of the first century he was Inspector of Yu province. -Cai 4:4.

Huang Ang 黃昂; Jiuquan. Member of a powerful local clan, about 210 his relatives were attacked and slaughtered by the Administrator Xu Yi. Huang Ang escaped the massacre and, using family resources to raise an army of a thousand men, he attacked Xu Yi's capital and killed him. Soon afterwards Huang Ang in turn was killed by Yang Feng. -SGZ 18:547 & 552-53.

Huang Bing 黃秉; Qinghe. Senior local officers of the commandery in 26, Huang Bing and Liu Shi planned to embezzle funds for the building of a new *yamen*. As the angry ghost of the former Administrator Xianyu Ji came to confront them, both men dropped dead. -SJZ 9:27b-28a.

Huang Bo 黃帛, the Lady; Jianwei. The Lady's husband Zhang Zhen travelled to study but was drowned. His brother searched, but could not find the body. Then the Lady Huang went, and when she too had no success she threw herself into the river at the head of the rapids where he had disappeared. Everyone was concerned, but fourteen days later she emerged at the foot of the rapids with the hand of her late husband. [The text is not specific, but one suspects the Lady was dead.]

People compared the devotion of the Lady Huang to that of the Lady Xian Luo in a neighbouring county, and the magistrate Han Ziran appointed her son to a local office. -HYGZ 10B:161, SJZ 33:10b quoting

Yibu qijiu zhuan. HYGZ 3:41 refers to the Lady by the Zhang surname.

Huang Chang 黃昌 [Shengzhen 聖真]; Kuaiji. A young man of humble family, Huang Chang lived near a school, and when he saw the respect that was shown to learning he embarked on classical scholarship. He also studied law and literature and became Officer for Legal Matters 決曹 in the commandery. The provincial Inspector admired him and appointed him to his staff.

Huang Chang was later magistrate in Wan, capital of Nanyang. He ruled firmly, and took pleasure in discovering wrong-doers. When someone stole the canopy from his official carriage he at first said nothing about it, but then sent one of his trusted retainers to the house of his Officer for Criminals 賊曹, and there they found the canopy. Huang Chang had the whole household arrested and executed. Even the leading families were frightened, and everyone praised his powers of deduction.

Because of his ability, the court appointed Huang Chang Administrator of Shu. His predecessor Li Gen had run a lax regime and the people had become unruly. As soon as he arrived Huang Chang settled a great number of law cases, then used an informant to discover and deal with wrong-doers in every county. Criminals fled to other jurisdictions.

At this time there occurred a remarkable reunion. When he was a junior official in Yang province Huang Chang's wife the Lady Dai had been kidnapped, taken to Shu, and married to someone else. Her son was later arrested for a crime and was brought before Huang Chang, now Administrator. Huang Chang suspected that the mother of the accused was not native to the region and asked her about it. She told her story, and confirmed it by describing a hidden birthmark on Huang Chang's foot. Huang Chang took the Lady back and gave her preference in the household above his later wife.

After four years Huang Chang was recalled and appointed Chancellor of Chen. The powerful Peng family had constructed a great house by the road, and the Lady Peng would climb the tower and stare at him each time he came out of his *yamen*. Huang Chang took offence at this, so he had the members of the family arrested and killed.

In 140, after further appointments in Henei and Yingchuan, Huang Chang became Court Architect, with charge of convict labourers. In 142 he was made

Minister of Finance but was later transferred to be a Palace Counsellor. He died in that office. Fan Ye classified Huang Chang as a Stern Official 酷吏. -HHS 77/67:2496-97*, XC 5:7a-7b, FSTY 3f:104.

Huang Chang 黃昌, wife of: see the Lady Dai 戴 of Kuaiji.

Huang Chang 黃昌; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Huang Chang joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Huang Chang 黃長. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Huang Chang, Zhang Pu and four other Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒 received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -LX 3:8a-9a cited by Qian Daxin in HHSJJ 75/65:2689 *jiaobu*.

Huang Chu 黃初 (d.71). According to the Treatise of Astronomy, Huang Chu was the name of one of those arrested and killed for involvement in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying the King of Chu. -HHS 101/11:3231; MBeck 90:128.

Huang Cuo 黃鉞; Ba. An elderly scholar in retirement, about 120 Huang Cuo was recommended to the Administrator Wang Tang. Some years later Huang Qiong commended him to the young Emperor Shun, and Huang Cuo was invited to court. Nothing further is heard of him, but we are told that all Wang Tang's nominees rose to high office. -HYGZ 1:5, HHS 61/51:2033.

Huang Dang 黃黨. An Imperial Clerk under the Gengshi Emperor, in 24 Huang Dang was sent with the Staff of Authority to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at that time a commissioner in the north. He was to enfeoff Liu Xiu as King of Xiao county in Pei, on condition that he disband his troops and return to the capital. Liu Xiu accepted the title but refused to demobilise. -HHS 1:15, XHS 1:1b.

This may be the same man as Huang Dang 黃讜 the later Administrator in the southeast.

Huang Dang 黃讜; Runan. Administrator of Kuaiji for Emperor Guangwu in the late 20s, Huang Dang appointed the scholar Bao Xian to his staff, and asked him to come and teach his sons. Bao Xian told him that students should attend the teacher, not the other way

round, so Huang Dang sent his sons to him.

Concerned to recruit men of ability, Huang Dang appointed Li Shou as his Officer of Merit, with instructions to find good candidates for office, and he had the Investigator Zhongli Yi act as a brevet magistrate. -HHS 79/69B:2570, HHSJJ 41/31:1492 Hui Dong, 79/69B:2847 *jiaobu* quoting Hou Kang.

This may be the same man as Huang Dang 黃黨 the former officer of the Gengshi Emperor.

Huang Fang 黃防. In 25 the officer Feng Yin, left in garrison in Youfufeng by Emperor Guangwu's general Deng Yu, killed his associate Zong Xin and turned against Deng Yu. When Deng Yu sent a messenger to the court for advice, the emperor asked the name of Feng Yin's favourite officer. Told that it was Huang Fang, responsible for discipline in the army, Guangwu felt confident the two men could not remain in agreement for long. He advised Deng Yu that Huang Fang would deliver Feng Yin into his hands, and Deng Yu sent Zong Guang, an officer of the Imperial Secretariat, with the Staff of Authority to invite the rebels to surrender. A few weeks later, as the troops returned from Anding after their defeat by the warlord Wei Ao, Huang Fang arrested Feng Yin and surrendered himself. -HHS 16/6:604.

Huang Feng 黃奉 see Huang Gong 黃恭.

Huang Fu 黃浮 [Yin'gong 隱公]; Runan. When aged about twenty, Huang Fu was a junior local officer, but he left that position and travelled to study at the capital. After some years he gained a junior post in the Imperial Secretariat, and because of his good work he was appointed as a county magistrate in Donghai. He gained a reputation there as a wise and firm official.

In the middle 160s Huang Fu was Chancellor of Donghai. The eunuch relative Xu Xuan was magistrate of Xiapi and ruled with the utmost ferocity. He asked to marry a daughter of the former official Li Gao, but was refused. Xu Xuan brought official troops to Li Gao's house, kidnapped the young woman, and shot and killed her for the fun of it.

Though the county of Xiapi was chief of the commandery of that name, we are told that it was at that time subject to the administrative authority of Donghai. Huang Fu arrested Xu Xuan and all members of his household, examining them by torture regardless of their age. His junior officers objected, but Huang Fu replied that Xu Xuan was a public menace, and that it was his duty to eliminate him regardless

of the consequences. He had Xu Xuan executed and displayed the corpse.

The eunuchs made formal complaint to Emperor Huan, and Huang Fu was arrested. He was sentenced to have his head shaved, be manacled about the neck, and sent to convict labour. The case of Huang Fu was associated with those of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi, administrators of Nanyang and Taiyuan, who had killed guilty men under amnesty, and with that of Zhai Chao in Shanyang, who attacked the property of the powerful eunuch Hou Lan. There was great interest among the reform party at the capital, and the Grand Commandant Chen Fan presented arguments in their favour. Such incidents are evidence of a general lack of order in the provinces of the empire, while Emperor Huan's insistence on punishing these officials damaged the relationship between his imperial court and the administration which should serve it. -*HHS* 78/68: 2521-22 & *JJ* at 2765, 66/56:2164-65; deC 89:71-73.

Huang Gai 黃蓋 [Gongfu 公覆]; Lingling. Huang Gai's family claimed descent from Huang Zilian of Yingchuan, sometime Administrator of Nanyang, by a cadet branch which had migrated to the south. When Huang Gai was young he was orphaned and was very poor, but he became a local officer in his commandery, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and was appointed to the offices at the capital. In 187 he joined Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha, and became a senior major.

After Sun Jian's death, he served Sun Ce and then Sun Quan, specialising in the colonisation of non-Chinese people and their territories and serving in several marginal counties. Popular with his troops, he paid chief attention to military affairs and appointed senior clerks to deal with civil matters; when two of them tried to cheat, he found out and killed them. He later became Commandant of Danyang.

In 208 Huang Gai was with Zhou Yu at the Red Cliffs. He was wounded and nearly drowned, but then planned and carried out the attack by fire-ships which destroyed Cao Cao's forces. He was promoted General of the Household and went to take over Wuling, where he settled the non-Chinese people of the hills and marshes. He put down trouble in neighbouring Changsha and was named a lieutenant-general, but died of illness soon afterwards.

People mourned him and offered sacrifices to his portrait, and when Sun Quan took the imperial title in

229 he enfeoffed Huang Gai's son Bing 柄 in memory of his father's service. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1284-85*.

Huang Gai 黃蓋; Nanhai. Administrator of Rinan at the end of Han, Huang Gai killed his Registrar because he had failed to make suitable preparations for his arrival at his post. He was driven out by his own people. -*SGZ* Wu 8:1252.

Given that the name is the same, that Lingling and Nanhai were both commanderies in the far south, and that both held commandery office in the south, this story could refer to Huang Gai in the entry above. On the other hand Xue Zong, who tells of the incident in Rinan, was a contemporary and should have known the difference, while modern commentators are sure there were two men of that name: *SGZJJ* Wu 8:14b.

Huang Gang 黃綱; Yingchuan. Huang Gang was a close associate of the Lady Cheng, who was the adopted daughter of the senior eunuch Cheng Huang II, and was a favourite of Emperor Ling. Relying upon her influence, about 180 Huang Gang sought an area of public wilderness to create a private park. On the advice of his officer Liu Yi, the Administrator Chong Fu rejected the proposal. -*HHS* 81/71:2695.

Huang Gao 黃高?; Wuling. *FSTY* 9:75; Nylan 83:549 refers to Huang Gao of Wuling as the leader of the non-Chinese rebellion which attacked Nan commandery in the early 160s. The troubles were settled by the general Feng Gun. *LS* 7:13b refers to the rebel leaders Huang Jiashao 黃加少 and Gao Xiang 高相; the name Huang Gao may represent a combination of those two.

Huang Gong 黃恭 or Huang Feng 奉. A magistrate in Liang, Huang Gong suffered a false accusation, but was fiercely defended by his Officer of Merit Che Zhang. -*XC* 7:13a.

Huang Guang 黃廣. In 123 Huang Guang was an Academician at the Imperial University. In debate at the court of Emperor An on a proposal to change the calendar, Huang Guang and Ren Qian argued for returning to a system of calculating lunar eclipses, based upon the course of the moon, which had been used in the past. Zhou Xing and Zhang Heng argued that the current system was more accurate, others supported them, and no change was made. -*HHS* 92/2:3034 and see *sub* Zhou Xing.

Huang Guo 黃國; Linhuai/Xiapi. During the 70s Huang Guo was Registrar of the commandery. When a white deer appeared on the road in front of the carriage of the Administrator Zheng Hong, Huang Guo foretold

that this was a sign Zheng Hong would become an Excellency. -HHS 33/23:1158.

Huang Hu 黃虎 see Yellow Tiger 黃虎.

Huang Hua 黃華; Jiuquan. Member of a local family and a kinsman of Huang Ang, from about 210 Huang Hua established himself as a warlord in the east of Jiuquan. In 220 he proclaimed himself Administrator and joined Zhang Jin of Zhangye in an alliance to reject the authority of Han/Wei. As Zhang Jin was killed by Su Ze, Huang Hua surrendered. -SGZ 2:59, 15: 474, 16:492; Fang 52:5-7.

In 251 Huang Hua the Inspector of Yan province was invited to join a conspiracy against Sima Yi, but revealed the plan and was rewarded with enfeoffment. It is unlikely this is the same man. -SGZ 28:758-59; Fang 65:82.

Huang Jiashao 黃加少; non-Chinese of Wuling. A leader of rebels in 162, Huang Jiashao and other chieftains surrendered to the great imperial army led by Feng Gun. -LS 7:13b. See also *sub* Huang Gao and Gao Xiang.

Huang Jing 黃鏡. Administrator of Kuaiji in the 80s, Huang Jing nominated Xu Jing as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHS 76/66:2472.

Huang Jing 黃景. A Consultant at the court of Emperor Shun, in 136 he was commissioned with Fu Wuji to work, probably as cataloguers, on the imperial collections of Confucian classics, philosophical and other writings.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, about 151, another edict ordered Fu Wuji, Huang Jing, Cui Shi and others to commence work in the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 on a third instalment of *Han ji*, official history of the Later Han dynasty, known later as *Dongguan Hanji*. The compilation included annals, tables of kings, marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, while Fu Wuji and Huang Jing also compiled a Treatise of Geography 地理志, which was edited by Sima Biao to compose the Treatise of Administrative Geography 郡國志 for his *Xu Han shu*. -HHS 26/16:898; Bn 54:11, MBeck 90: 19-27, 129-130, 187-189.

Huang Jiu 黃就; Liang. A county magistrate in Anping as the Governor Jia Cong came to Ji province in 187, Huang Jiu was one of the few officials prepared to remain in their posts and withstand the reformer's scrutiny. -HHS 31/21:1112.

Huang Jun 黃儁. In 159 Huang Jun was Director

of the Imperial Secretariat. Emperor Huan wanted to make him a marquis in order to continue a fief once held by a different branch of his family. The Minister of the Household Chen Fan objected, and Huang Jun received only a secondary fief.

After the general Feng Gun returned from his campaign in the south in 162, his subordinate Zhang Chang accused him of having taken two female slaves with him in military garb, and also of having a stele carved to record his achievements. Zhang Chang asked the matter be investigated, but Huang Jun argued that the offences were not specified by the codes, so there was no occasion for a formal enquiry. -HHS 66/56:2181, 38/28:1281; deC 89:23.

Huang Jun 黃雋; Jiuquan. Formerly an Administrator of Wuwei, at the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 Huang Jun was ordered to raise troops to aid the imperial forces. When he arrived late, the Inspector Liang Gu was going to recommend that he be executed. Liang Gu's adviser He Xun spoke for Huang Jun, and Liang Gu took no action. Huang Jun offered He Xun a present of gold, but He Xun replied that he had argued on legal principles; he was angry if anyone thought his opinion could be purchased. -HHS 58/48:1880.

The Kyoto Index identifies this man with the preceding, but some texts present the characters of the personal name differently, and the appointments and dates of the two men do not match. On the other hand, another very similar story is also told about He Xun, so this second incident is questionable.

Huang Kuang 黃況; Jiangxia. Probably during the 70s, Huang Kuang held local appointment in the commandery office. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a county magistrate in Nanyang.

The family was poor, with no slaves or servants, but Huang Kuang's son Huang Xiang studied diligently, joined the Imperial Secretariat and became an influential officer of Emperor He.

Huang Kuang died in the middle 80s. -DGHJ 19: 6a, HHS 80/70A:2615.

Huang Lang 黃朗 [Wenta 文達]; Pei. A man of spirit and ambition, though his father was only a trooper in the local county office, Huang Lang travelled for education, and he became respected by the leading men of the region. He was a particular friend of Wang Huiyang of Dongping, who treated Huang Lang's mother with the same courtesy as his own.

Having held his first appointment under Cao Pi,

Huang Lang rose to be a commandery Administrator. Remembering his own humble origins, he was always polite to his subordinates, addressing them by their full names. He died about 230. -*SGZ* 23:676.

Huang [Lieying] 黄列嬴, the Lady (79-169); Nan. The Lady Huang's family had held senior office, and the family had local consequence: her grandfather had been a county magistrate, her father was commandery Registrar, acting for a time as Administrator, and her brother became Inspector of Yu province.

The Lady's elder sister was married to Hu Chong and bore him two sons, Hu Guang and Hu Kang. She died soon afterwards, and Hu Chong took the twelve-year-old Huang Lieying as his second wife so that she could care for the children. When he in turn died Huang Lieying arranged the education for both children.

When Hu Guang became an Excellency, the Lady lived with him in his residence until she died at the age of ninety. Hu Guang mourned her deeply, the emperor sent an Internuncio to offer funerary sacrifice, and Cai Yong composed her obituary. -*Cai* 4:4, *HHSJJ* 44/34: 1607-08 & 1612 Hui Dong.

Huang Long 黄龍. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Huang Long took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquissate in Changsha.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Huang Long and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Huang Long was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -*HHS* 78/68: 2516-18.

Huang Long 黄龍 [Yellow Dragon] see Huanglong.

Huang Mu 黄穆 [Zijing 子敬]; Runan. As Registrar of the commandery, Huang Mu dealt excellently with both senior officials and lower ranks and kept good order in the office. The Administrator Jing Yu was going to recommend him as Filial and Incorrupt but Huang Mu objected, saying that his colleague Yin Tao was far more worthy. Claiming to be ill, he returned the nomination and took to his bed. So Jing Yu had to accept his advice.

In 167, as the local hero Fan Pang returned from prison at Luoyang after the First Faction Incident he was met by a crowd of leading local gentry, and Huang Mu and Yin Tao acted as his escorts and attendants. Warning them that their good intentions only added to his danger, Fan Pang went into strict retirement. -*HHS* 67/57:2206 & *JJ* at 2415.

Huang Qiong 黄瓊 [Shiying 世英] (86-164); Jiangxia. Son of Huang Xiang the Director of the Imperial Secretariat, through the *ren* right of his father Huang Qiong was appointed to the Suite of the Heir, but excused himself on grounds of ill health. Then his father died, but even when the mourning period was ended, though he received invitations from each of the Excellencies to join their offices he steadfastly refused.

In 127 Huang Qiong's name was raised by many senior officials and a special carriage was sent to him and to two other celebrated hermits, He Chun and Yang Hou. As Huang Qiong was on the road he again pleaded illness and refused to go on. This time he was threatened with a charge of Disrespect and was obliged to proceed. Li Gu, who had encouraged the emperor to call such talented men to join him, also wrote to Huang Qiong, urging him to serve, and arguing that he had a duty to demonstrate his ability and put paid to claims that hermit scholars were charlatans. So Huang Qiong came to court. He was appointed a Consultant and then succeeded Yu Xu as Deputy Director of the Secretariat.

In this position Huang Qiong presented three major memorials. The first observed the great number of portents which had appeared lately, and urged that the Stone House should be opened. This library had been founded by Emperor Guangwu to hold the works of apocrypha which he had proclaimed as canonical [Bn 79:197], and no doubt also held the records of previous omens. Huang Qiong proposed that the patterns of omens since the beginning of the dynasty should be compared with those of recent years and used as a guide to future policies. Given the opportunity for interpretation by the officers responsible for such a project, there was strong potential to influence imperial policy by Confucian tenets of the New Text. Huang Qiong also encouraged the emperor to make use of scholars in retirement such as himself, and he recommended Huang Cuo and Ren Tang. Though it is not clear whether the Stone House was opened and

the portents collated, Emperor Shun did issue further invitations.

In the following year there was drought, and Huang Qiong took the occasion to encourage the emperor to avoid wasteful expenditure on luxury goods, to consult regularly with the Excellencies and Ministers, and with good Confucian scholars. Soon afterwards, in a third memorial, he noted that the emperor had not yet carried out the Ploughing 籍 ritual, due to take place each spring. Huang Qiong encouraged him to do so, and his advice may be seen as an attempt to have the young ruler involve himself not only in the ceremonial duties of his office but also in his wider responsibilities of state.

In all these presentations, like Yu Xu and Zuo Xiong before him, Huang Qiong may be seen as attempting to consolidate the interests of Confucian officials in the bureaucracy, and persuading the ruler to consult with his regular senior ministers rather than with his personal favourites within the palace. It is said that his comments were well received, but it is less certain that they had any great effect.

In 134 Huang Qiong succeeded Zuo Xiong as Director of the Secretariat. Under reforms introduced by Zuo Xiong, men who were nominated Filial and Incorrupt were supposed to be forty years of age and qualified either for their Confucian Scholarship 儒學 or their Literary Ability 文吏. As many failed such tests, it appears there was a shortage of recruits. Huang Qiong suggested two further categories [*ke* 科] be added: Filial and Fraternal Affection 孝悌 and Able to Deal in Affairs of State 能從政者. This was eventually agreed, and while the new criteria provided a balance of morality against technical ability, they were also more difficult to assess and thus perhaps easier to satisfy.

Zuo Xiong had also provided that candidates should be examined by the Excellencies and then by the Secretariat. Zhang Sheng, a member of that office, suggested that the second test might be abolished, but Huang Qiong argued its value and no change was made.

In 136 the elder statesman Yu Xu took over as Director of the Secretariat, while Huang Qiong was sent out as Administrator of Wei commandery. It appears that he retired from office some time later, for a memorial from the reformer Li Gu in 143 appears to suggest that he was no longer in service and urged that

he be given substantial office.

In the mid-140s Huang Qiong was Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Liang, and in that office he supported the candidacy of Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, against those of the youthful Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, and then of Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan [*FSTY* 3:22]. His opposition to the interests of the Liang family may have brought a temporary eclipse, but by 150 he was Minister of Ceremonies, with special access to the private apartments of the palace, and in 151 he was promoted Excellency of Works.

A few months later there was a proposal to grant Liang Ji extraordinary honours. It was supported by Hu Guang and other senior officials, who compared him to the legendary Duke of Zhou 周公, but Huang Qiong argued that Liang Ji was not so special and that he might rather be compared to Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager who had ruled for Emperor An. The parallel was not complimentary, for the Dowager had held power longer than she should, Deng Zhi had held limited authority, and the family had come to a sad end, but the court accepted Huang Qiong's argument. Liang Ji was predictably angry, and soon afterwards an earthquake gave him occasion to have Huang Qiong dismissed.

In 153 Huang Qiong was again promoted to Excellency over the Masses, and in the following year he succeeded Hu Guang as Grand Commandant. He regularly defied Liang Ji, and refused to appoint any men that he recommended, even those of good quality. In 158 he left office on account of an eclipse and became Minister of Finance, but in the following year Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan and the eunuchs; all three Excellencies were dismissed for collusion and Huang Qiong was re-appointed Grand Commandant. He was offered a marquiseate, but refused.

Huang Qiong recommended a number of men who had suffered for their opposition to the Liang group, and so gained support for the changed regime. As Zuo Guan, Xu Huang and other eunuch favourites of the emperor displayed increasing power, however, Huang Qiong found that he was unable to deal with the situation. Claiming to be ill, he retired to bed, and left office in 161. He was briefly restored as Excellency of Works, but quit for good in the autumn.

In 164 Huang Qiong presented a last memorial, warning the emperor of the danger to his dynasty from

his lack of discrimination, the influence of the eunuchs and his rejection of loyal officials. Huang Qiong died early that year at the age of seventy-nine, and was granted posthumous honours as General of Chariots and Cavalry and title as a marquis. In 177 Emperor Ling ordered that his portrait and that of Hu Guang be painted in the inner apartments of the palace.

It is notable that Huang Qiong was able to oppose the Liang family on several significant matters, but that he appears to have suffered only minor set-backs for doing so. -*HHS* 61/51:2032-38*; Vervoorn 90:161-162.

Huang Quan 黃權 [Gongheng 公衡] (d.240); Ba. A junior officer in his commandery when he was young, Huang Quan became Registrar to Liu Zhang the warlord Governor of Yi province. In 211, when Zhang Song urged Liu Zhang to invite Liu Bei to come and assist him, Huang Quan opposed the idea, without success.

Soon afterwards Huang Quan was sent out as a county magistrate in Guanghan. As Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang he sent his troops to demand that all local officials acknowledge his authority. Unlike his colleagues, Huang Quan held out until Liu Zhang surrendered, but then accepted appointment under Liu Bei and became one of his senior officers.

In 215 Huang Quan warned Liu Bei of the danger that the fall of Hanzhong presented to the security of Ba commandery, and Liu Bei sent him north as Protector of the Army to invite Zhang Lu. Zhang Lu had already surrendered to Cao Cao, but Huang Quan attacked and drove away the non-Chinese chieftains Fuhu, Duhu and Yuan Yue, whom Cao Cao had named as administrators in Ba.

When Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong in 219, he named Huang Quan as his Headquarters Officer for Yi province, which he kept under his personal control. Following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in 220 Huang Quan, now ranked as a lieutenant-general, joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title.

In 222 Huang Quan warned of the dangers of the attack down the Yangzi against Wu, though he asked nonetheless to command the van. He was instead given charge of the northern flank against Wei, and as Liu Bei's main army was destroyed Huang Quan was isolated and forced to surrender. He was received with

honour by Cao Pi, and later became titular Governor of Yi province, a general of Excellency rank at the court of Wei, and was enfeoffed as a marquis.

Liu Bei accepted that he had left Huang Quan isolated, and did not punish his family. One son, Huang Yong 邕, had accompanied Huang Quan to Wei and later succeeded to his marquisate; another, Huang Chong 崇, became a senior official in Shu. -*SGZ* Shu 13:1043-44*; deC 96:429-430, 473, Fang 52:98-105.

Huang Rang 黃穰; Lujiang. A local bandit about 180, he combined forces with non-Chinese of Jiangxia to trouble the border region for almost ten years. At one time he claimed ten thousand followers and occupied four counties, but about 188 Lu Kang was sent as Administrator to Lujiang and settled the disturbance. -*HHS* 31/21:1114, 86/76:2841.

Huang Shang 黃尚 or Huang Xiang 向 [Bohe 伯河]; Nan. Formerly Director of Retainers, in 133 Huang Shang was Minister of Finance when the reformer Li Gu was attacked by the Lady Song E and the palace eunuchs. Huang Shang spoke to the General-in-Chief Liang Shang on his behalf.

In 134 Huang Shang was promoted to Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 138. -*HHS* 6:264-68, 61/51:2027-28, 63/53:2078.

Huang Shao 黃邵 (d.196); Runan. Leaders of Yellow Turbans, during the early 190s Huang Shao and his fellows allied themselves with Yuan Shu and Sun Jian. By the middle 190s their troops were numbered by the tens of thousands, but in the spring of 196 Cao Cao led an army against them. Huang Shao was killed and the other leaders surrendered. -*SGZ* 1:13.

Huang She 黃射 or Huang Yi (d.199). Eldest son of Huang Zu, Huang She became Administrator of Zhangling in the service of Liu Biao.

In 199 Huang She was sent to assist Liu Xun against Sun Ce on the Yangzi by the Pengli 彭蠡 lake and marshes, the region of the present-day Poyang Lake in Jiangxi. The army was defeated and Huang She was killed. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1108; deC 90:190.

Huang Tuo 黃他; Kuaiji. Formerly a junior county officer, in the early 190s Huang Tuo was listed by Yu Fan among those who had risked their lives in battle to protect their senior official. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1325.

Huang Tu 荒秃 or Dongshan Huangtu 東山荒秃/Huang Tu from the Eastern Hills [the name may refer to his baldness]. Probably from the south of the Shandong hills, he became a leader of the Bronze

Horse bandits on the North China plain. Since the other named leader of the group is Shanghuai Kuang, who evidently came from the region of the upper Huai River in the hill country of the Dabie Shan, it appears that the Bronze Horses must have been formed from at least two other bands which arose separately.

In the autumn of 24 the Bronze Horse group and others were defeated in Julu by the forces of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who pursued them into Wei commandery, where they surrendered. Huang Tu and other chieftains were enfeoffed as marquises, while their troops were incorporated into Liu Xiu's army. - *HHS* 1A:16-17; Bn 59:79-83.

Huang Wan 黄琬 [Ziyan 子琰 or Gongyan 公琰] (141-192); Jiangxia. Huang Wan's parents died when he was young and he was raised in the household of his grandfather Huang Qiong, who was impressed by his quick thinking and wit. When Huang Qiong became Excellency over the Masses in 153, Huang Wan was twelve years old. As the grandson of an Excellency, he was entitled to become a Junior Gentleman 童子朗, a post which offered early entrance to probation for a commission in the civil service. Huang Wan refused on grounds of illness, and he became known throughout the capital for his modesty and restraint.

About 163 Huang Wan became General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, senior of the commanders of gentlemen cadets who had been nominated for office by their local authorities and were under probation. According to the established system, the Minister of the Household had the power to promote some cadets as Abundant Talent, which gave immediate entrance to the commissioned bureaucracy. The system had become so corrupted by favour to powerful families, however, that it was a scandal and a joke. Huang Wan and the minister Chen Fan now recognised talents, not connections, and several good men were promoted. In the process they offended many people of influence, and their opponents had the matter referred to the Imperial Censorate. The officers there, Wang Chang and Diao Wei, admired the initiative and took no action, but then all involved were accused of faction: Wang Chang was demoted, Chen Fan was dismissed, and Huang Wan and Diao Wei were proscribed from office altogether.

Huang Wan remained in disgrace for twenty years, but in the early 180s, with the support of Yang Ci he became Inspector of Jing province and then Palace

Attendant. About 184 he was head of Youfufeng, returned to the capital as Court Architect, and was then Minister Steward and Minister Coachman. In 188, as offices were being sold in increasing numbers because of the emergency in Liang province, Huang Wan sent in a memorial of protest: though money was certainly needed for the army, corruption of the civil service was even more dangerous for the state.

That year, as the office of Governor was re-established to consolidate power in the provinces, Huang Wan was appointed to Yu province. He put down local disturbances, his administration became a model for the empire, and he was rewarded with a secondary marquise.

As Dong Zhuo seized power in 189, Huang Wan was named Excellency over the Masses to give credit to the new regime. He was soon afterwards appointed Grand Commandant, but he and his colleague Yang Biao were dismissed in 190 when they opposed Dong Zhuo's plan to shift the capital. Huang Wan's reputation was high enough for Dong Zhuo not to harm him; he later made formal apology and was appointed a Household Counsellor.

When the capital was moved to Chang'an Huang Wan became Director of Retainers, and he joined Wang Yun and others in planning to overthrow Dong Zhuo. The plot succeeded in 192, but Wang Yun's government proved arrogant and inept, and the capital fell a few weeks later to the forces of Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo. They captured Huang Wan and killed him. - *HHS* 61/51:2039-40*, *XC* 3:11b-12a.

Huang Wu 黄武 (d.161); Nanyang. In 161 Huang Wu ["Yellow Warfare"?] joined Hui De and Yue Ji in the leadership of a heterodox cult with branches across three counties. They were arrested and executed. - *HHS* 7:309.

Huang Xian 黄显 (d.22); Nanyang. General of the Household under Wang Mang at Chang'an in 22, Huang Xian was a close friend of Li Shou. When Li Shou's son Li Tong planned rebellion in Nanyang, Li Shou received only very brief warning. Huang Xian suggested that Li Shou be sent to persuade his son to surrender: he undertook to escort him, and guaranteed to kill Li Shou if he failed. Wang Mang was initially prepared to agree, but as further reports came to hand he rejected the proposal and ordered that both Li Shou and Huang Xian be executed. - *HHS* 15/5:574-75; Bn

54:102-103, *QHX*:227-228.

Huang Xian 黃憲 [Shudu 叔度]; Runan. Of humble family, his father having been a cow doctor, when he was fourteen years old Huang Xian met Xun Shu at an inn. Xun Shu was enormously impressed by Huang Xian's skill in conversation, halted his journey for several days to keep his company, and praised him to the local gentleman Yuan Lang as a second Yan Hui 顏回, the favourite disciple of Confucius.

Other gentlemen such as Chen Fan and Zhou Ju then took him up, remarking to one another that "If a month goes by without my seeing Huang Xian, a mean spirit stirs once more in my heart," and years later, when Chen Fan was appointed an Excellency in 165 he observed that he would have been ashamed to take the position if Huang Xian were available.

Huang Xian lived a hermit's life. Though he was nominated for office about 150 [see *sub* Li Chang 儗], we are told that he stayed at Luoyang only briefly before returning home, and he otherwise rejected official contacts. On the other hand, when Guo Tai came to the commandery he called upon both Yuan Lang and Huang Xian; he left Yuan Lang after a few hours, but he stayed with Huang Xian for several days. He explained that Yuan Lang's capacity was like waves of water on the surface, pure but easy to draw upon; Huang Xian, however, was like a vast reservoir, impossible to disturb and hard to fathom.

Huang Xian was seen as an exemplary recluse, his influence was widespread and "his peers all looked up to him as their standard." He died about 165 at the age of forty-eight. Like Yu Cheng and Jiang Gong, who were also called to office but did not accept, he was known as a "Summoned Lord" 徵君. -*HHS* 53/43:1744-45*, *XC* 3:1b; Mather 76:537, Vervorn 90:178-179.

FSTY 5:38 mentions Huang Shudu, presumably Huang Xian, as a nominee of the Administrator Li Zhang, but this passing reference does not seem entirely secure.

Huang Xiang 黃香 [Wenqiang 文彊]; Jiangxia. Huang Xiang was a son of Huang Kuang. His mother died when he was nine, and he was admired by his neighbours for his long display of fervent mourning. The Administrator heard of this and when Huang Xiang was twelve he gave him special appointment in his office as a model filial son and treated him with utmost favour. Though his mother had been

the sister of a marquis, his father's family was poor. Huang Xiang refused support, even clothing from his uncle, but devoted himself to scholarship, learned the magical arts, and was a fine literary composer. Even at the capital there was a song about his incomparable devotion and skills, and Emperor Zhang presented him with complete editions of *Huainan zi* and *Mencius*.

After service as a gentleman cadet, in 84 Huang Xiang was appointed to the library of the Eastern Pavilion, where he worked on rare and obscure texts. He took leave for a time to care for his father, but when he returned to the capital the emperor himself called him in to meet the kings of the imperial house, praised his abilities, and later discussed policies with him in a private audience.

Huang Xiang then joined the Imperial Secretariat, where he continued to attract Emperor Zhang's admiration for his analysis of affairs; he was equally successful with Emperor He. When the latter was capped in 91 Huang Xiang composed *Tianzi guan song* 天子冠頌 to hymn the occasion, and after a series of promotions he became Director of the Secretariat in 94. At one time it was proposed that he should become Administrator of Dong commandery, but he sent in an eloquent plea that such responsibility was beyond his capabilities. The emperor sympathised and kept him at the Secretariat, but with a salary of 2,000 *shi*, comparable to that of an Administrator and double the normal rate for the office, while he also received a donation of 30,000 cash. Henceforth Huang Xiang was at the centre of affairs, regarded with the utmost trust, and as concerned for matters of government as he was for his own family. About 100 he took part in a major debate at court with Jia Kui, Lu Pi and other scholars.

In 100 the governments of Dongping and Qinghe reported that a certain Qing Zhongliao had criticised the court and had as many as a thousand sympathisers. Huang Xiang took charge of the case and resolved it leniently, applying only light penalties to those suspected of involvement and being reluctant to order executions. He dealt similarly with problems on the frontier, maintaining a careful balance between civil administration and military intervention. The emperor recognised his skill and regularly granted favours and rewards, enquiring after his health and sending medicines if he was taken ill.

After the death of Emperor He the regent Dowager

Deng evidently felt the need for independence from such a leader of her late husband's regime, and in 106 Huang Xiang was sent off to be Administrator of Wei. Hitherto there had been a system of government-controlled fields and gardens, producing considerable crops and produce, but in Confucian tradition Huang Xiang objected to the involvement of officials in agriculture which should be the preserve of peasant farmers. He distributed the fields among the people.

When widespread flooding caused the harvest to fail, and people were starving, Huang Xiang gave his own money to relieve the poor, and his example encouraged wealthy families to follow suit and join the government relief efforts. Many were saved, but because of the floods Huang Xiang was dismissed. He died at home a few months later.

Besides his official career, Huang Xiang was also a noted literary figure, leaving five *pian* of rhapsodies, including *Jiugong fu* 九宮賦 on the Nine Palaces, together with hymns, letters and various documents. -HHS 80/70A:2613-15*, DGHJ 19:6a, XC 5:10b-11a.

HHS 50/40:1674 tells how in 120 the new king of Lecheng, Liu Chang was accused of Impiety; this charge could bring the death penalty, but Liu Chang was only degraded to a county marquitate. Commentary to that passage quotes HHJ 16:196-97, which says that the case was made by Ling Hong of the Imperial Secretariat, and that his argument is preserved in the Collected Works 集 of Huang Xiang, who was evidently the instigator of the appeal. This must be an anachronism, however, for Huang Xiang left the Secretariat in 106 and was probably dead by 110.

Huang Xiang 黃向 [Wenzhang 文章]; Yuzhang. Huang Xiang found a sack of treasure on the road. He returned it to the owner, who proposed to halve it with him, but Huang Xiang walked away.

On another occasion Huang Xiang described the close friends Lei Yi and Chen Zhong as two wings of the same bird. -XC 6:11b.

Huang Xiang 皇象 [Xiuming 休明]; Guangling. In the early third century, combining the styles of Zhang Chao and Chen Liangpu, Huang Xiang became the finest calligrapher of his age. He took refuge for a time in the hill country of Kuaiji, but later came to the court of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 18:1425-26.

Huang Xiang 黃向 see Huang Shang 黃尚.

Huang Xing 黃幸. Administrator of Guanghan during

the 30s, Huang Xing had some disagreement with Li Rong the Administrator of Hanzhong, and both were called to the capital. Huang Xing's officer Guo He studied the stars and advised Huang Xing to present himself at the imperial prison; if he did he would escape punishment. Li Rong did not do this, and he was executed. -HYGZ 10B:146.

Huang Yan 黃衍. A former Administrator of Jiuquan, in 187 Huang Yan was with the rebel forces of Liang province besieging Fu Xie in Hanyang. Wang Guo sent him to persuade Fu Xie to surrender, but his embassy was rejected with contempt. -HHS 58/48:1878.

Huang Yi 黃猗. A son-in-law of Yuan Shu, Huang Yi was with him when he died in 199. He and Yuan Yin took their family and followers to refuge in Lujiang with Liu Xun. -SGZ Wu 1:1108.

It is possible that Huang Yi died soon afterwards, and his widow entered the harem of Sun Quan: see *sub* the Ladies Yuan IV and V.

Huang Yi 黃射 see Huang She 黃射.

Huang Yu 黃毓; Pei. An Assistant Officer of Yu province, Huang Yu died at the age of twenty-five. His Inspector Yin was blamed, and other officials set up a stele to his memory. -SJZ 24:7b.

Huang [Yuannai] 黃元艾 see Huang Yun 黃允. -HHJ 23:276.

Huang Yun 黃允 [Zi'ai 子艾 also miswritten as Yuannai 元艾]; Jiying. During the 160s Huang Yun acquired a reputation at the capital for outstanding ability. He was warned by Guo Tai, however, that when he reached the age of forty he should be careful of his conduct.

Later, about 172, the [future?] Excellency Yuan Wei admired Huang Yun and was considering him as a husband for his niece. Huang Yun was already married, but he was prepared to repudiate his wife the Lady Xiahou in order to gain alliance with such a distinguished family. The Lady abused him in most public fashion, and Huang Yun was utterly shamed. -HHS 68/58:2230, HHJ 23:276.

This is probably the same person as Huang Zi'ai, colleague of Jin Wenjing *qq.v.*, but there are serious anachronisms about their stories. See deC 89:48, 336.

Huang Yun 黃允, wife of, see also the Lady Xiahou 夏侯.

Huang Zhang 黃長 see Huang Chang 黃長.

Huang Zhen 黃真 [Xiafu 夏甫]; Chenliu. A junior officer in his commandery, Huang Zhen was a friend

of Wu You. Trusting Wu You's good judgement, the Administrator Leng Hong nominated Huang Zhen as Filial and Incorrupt. He became a magistrate in Runan and was celebrated for his honesty and fine sense of morality. -HHS 64/54:2100.

Huang Zhen 黄珍. About 200 Huang Zhen was commandery assistant to He Kui on the north of the Shandong peninsula. He Kui sent him to persuade the bandit Guan Cheng to surrender. -SGZ 12:379.

Huang Zhong 黄忠; Chenliu. In the late 180s the General-in-Chief He Jin sent several invitations to Shentu Pan to join his offices but Shentu Pan always refused. He Jin had Shentu Pan's fellow-countryman Huang Zhong write with arguments for him to accept, but Shentu Pan made no reply. -HHS 53/43:1753.

Huang Zhong 黄忠 [Hansheng 汉升] (d.220); Nanyang. A senior officer under Liu Biao, Huang Zhong was posted with Liu Biao's nephew as a county magistrate in Changsha. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he confirmed Huang Zhong in his post, with brevet appointment as a major-general. As Liu Bei took control of the region after the battle of the Red Cliffs, Huang Zhong took service with him and gave hostages as surety.

Huang Zhong accompanied Liu Bei into Yi province in 211, and as Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang in 212 he sent Huang Zhong and Zhuo Ying to occupy the approaches to Chengdu. Regularly in the front line of combat, Huang Zhong was admired for his bravery and became a general in the new regime.

In 219 Huang Zhong led the decisive charge to defeat Xiahou Yuan at Dingjun Mountain in Hanzhong, and as Liu Bei took the royal title he was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. Huang Zhong died in the following year. -SGZ Shu 6: 948*.

Huang Zhu 黄柱; Nanyang. When Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in 219, he named Huang Zhu his Minister of the Household.

Following the abdication of Emperor Xian in favour of Cao Pi of Wei in 220, Huang Zhu was a signatory to the memorial urging Liu Bei to take the imperial title. He later received a secondary marquisate and became Minister of Ceremonies. -SGZ Shu 15:1082, Shu 2:888.

Huang [Zi'ai] 黄子艾; Jiyin. During the 160s Huang Zi'ai and Jin Wenjing were celebrated for their intelligence. They came to stay at the capital

for medical reasons, and though neither would accept appointment and they kept no clients or retainers, they attracted great attention. High officials sent messengers to enquire about their health and crowds of junior officers gathered at their gates in the hope of seeing them.

About 166, however, at the urging of Fu Rong, the Director of Retainers Li Ying investigated the two men. They lost their influence and reputation and each later suffered public rejection. -HHS 68/58:2232-33.

This Huang Zi'ai may well be the same as Huang Yun above, but the reasons for loss of favour appear different and should probably be ascribed to different times. It appears that two anecdotes are ascribed to the same man. -deC 89:48, 336.

Huang [Zilian] 黄子廉; Yingchuan. Formerly Administrator of Nanyang, Huang Zilian was an ancestor of Huang Gai of Wu. -SGZ Wu 10:1284.

Huang Zu 黄祖 (d.200). When Sun Jian, general of Yuan Shu, attacked Liu Biao in Nanyang in 191, Liu Biao sent his commander Huang Zu in a sortie. Huang Zu was driven back, but Sun Jian was killed in a skirmish and his army then withdrew.

As Administrator of Jiangxia in the late 190s Huang Zu faced the growing power of Sun Jian's son Sun Ce in the lower Yangzi. He attempted to expand downstream and to support Liu Xun in Lujiang in 199, but was defeated and forced back by Sun Ce.

In 203 an attack by Sun Quan's forces destroyed Huang Zu's fleet, and after a pause of some years for consolidation Sun Quan returned to the offensive in 207. In 208 the Sun soldiers and ships stormed Huang Zu's defences on the junction of the Han with the Yangzi at present-day Wuhan, destroyed Huang Zu's army and killed him. -HHS 74/64B:2420-21, SGZ Wu 1:1100, 1108; deC 90:135, 187-191.

Huangfu Gui 皇甫规 [Weiming 威明] (104-174); Anding. Son of Huangfu Qi, in 141 Huangfu Gui was a private gentleman when the non-Chinese Qiang people raided the region of Chang'an. The general Ma Xian led commandery troops against them, but Huangfu Gui sent in a letter criticising his conduct of operations. Soon afterwards Ma Xian was defeated and killed, and the local officers recognised Huangfu Gui's prescience. They recommended his appointment as Officer of Merit for the commandery, and in that capacity Huangfu Gui led eight hundred men to engage the Qiang. He defeated a troop of the enemy, killed

their leaders and forced the rest to surrender. He was then named Reporting Officer and sent to the capital.

In the following year the Qiang ravaged Longxi in even greater numbers, and Huangfu Gui asked for a military command. He also criticised the greed and cruelty of officials on the frontier, and claimed this was a core reason for the rebellions of non-Chinese people and for the failure of Chinese arms. He did not receive appointment at this time.

Following an earthquake in the winter of 144 senior ministers were ordered to present special nominations, and Huangfu Gui's name was put forward. At this time the Dowager Liang held the regency for the young Emperor Zhi, and the court was dominated by her brother Liang Ji. In his memorial responding to the nomination, Huangfu Gui ostensibly praised the Liang family for having reformed the government left in disorder by Emperor Shun, but warned against poor selection of officials and undue influence from the eunuchs of the palace. Recognising and resenting the criticism, Liang Ji had Huangfu Gui graded at the lowest rank of cadets.

Huangfu Gui promptly pleaded ill health and went home but the local authorities, encouraged by Liang Ji, made several attempts to kill him. He stayed in retirement, but collected some three hundred disciples for his teachings of the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Book of Changes*: aside from the benefits of scholarship, his students may have served as an informal guard.

After Emperor Huan destroyed Liang Ji in 159 Huangfu Gui was several times invited to office. He did not accept, but sent in several petitions on behalf of his friend Zhang Huan, a frontier commander proscribed from office as a former subordinate of Liang Ji.

In 160 the bandit Shusun Wuji killed the Commandant of Taishan and drove back an initial attack by the general Zong Zi. A special carriage was then sent for Huangfu Gui, and this time he accepted appointment as Administrator. Zong Zi eventually defeated the rebels, but Huangfu Gui used both military and civil measures to settle the commandery.

In 161 the Lianyu tribe of the Qiang led a rebellion, and after the Protector Duan Jiong was dismissed the rebels gained in numbers and ravaged Bing and Liang provinces. Huangfu Gui volunteered his services, and in the winter he was named a General of the Household and sent to command troops about Chang'an.

In a first attack he defeated the enemy and brought

a large number to surrender, among them the Xianlian group. He then organised these men as an auxiliary corps and in early 162 he advanced up the Long Road into Liang province. The way was blocked, however, and illness broke out among the troops. Huangfu Gui visited the sick, which raised morale, and the Qiang people made peace and opened the road. Huangfu Gui was appointed Protector of the Qiang.

He impeached Sun Jun, Guo Hong and a number of other officers who were cruel, corrupt or incompetent. They were variously dismissed or executed, but their friends at court now claimed that Huangfu Gui had bribed the Qiang and that the surrenders were false and short-lived. Emperor Huan sent a reprimand and Huangfu Gui, concerned the matter might go further, sent in a memorial to deny the charge and justify his policy, arguing that his program had saved over a hundred million cash, and expressing resentment that his achievements and personal sacrifice were rewarded only with calumny.

Huangfu Gui was recalled to the capital as a Consultant, and there was talk of enfeoffing him for his achievements. Xu Huang and Zuo Guan, eunuch favourites of the emperor, tried to extract a bribe, and when Huangfu Gui refused they raised once more the question of his alleged bribery of the Qiang. He was demoted to a junior position, and was then sent to convict service on the grounds that the Qiang were still in revolt. Led by the three Excellencies and the student Zhang Feng of the Imperial University, hundreds of people went to the gates of the palace to protest on his behalf. As an amnesty was proclaimed soon afterwards Huangfu Gui was set free and went to his home.

During this period Cai Yong presented a memorial extolling his achievements and abilities, and in 164 Huangfu Gui was sponsored by the Excellency Chong Gao and appointed General on the Liao. He asked to cede the post to Zhang Huan, and took Zhang Huan's position as Emissary to the Xiongnu. Two years later Zhang Huan was called to ministerial office at the capital and Huangfu Gui returned to the Trans-Liao command.

Now in his sixties, Huangfu Gui was reluctant to continue in military service. Having made several requests to retire on grounds of ill health, he sought to force the hand of Hu Fang the Inspector of Bing province: he first left his official territory and then sent someone to tell Hu Fang. Hu Fang refused to be

drawn, and Huangfu Gui was obliged to remain at his post.

Later that year, as the reformists in Luoyang were proscribed from office, Huangfu Gui was upset that he had been neither recognised at the capital nor included in their clique. He sent in a memorial expressing support for the cause and seeking to share their punishment, but his offer was ignored by both sides of the conflict. This may demonstrate the lack of interest shown by the men at court for those on the frontier; but Huangfu Gui's protest may also be seen as one more attempt to escape from office.

Since Zhang Huan's biography says that the people of the northern frontier caused trouble as soon as Huangfu Gui left the region, it would appear that his tenure in the Trans-Liao command was not an easy one. No details are given of his fighting, and the disturbance was put down only after Zhang Huan returned to the north.

In 167 Huangfu Gui was called to the capital to join the Imperial Secretariat. That summer there was an ominous eclipse, and when an edict called for submissions Huangfu Gui presented harsh criticism of Emperor Huan's selection of officials and his conduct of affairs. Perhaps fortunately, his remarks went unnoticed.

Huangfu Gui was then transferred to be Administrator of Hongnong, but he declined the offer of a village marquisate. In the early 170s he was transferred once more to be Protector of the Qiang, but was at last allowed to retire on grounds of ill health in 174. He died on the way home.

Like his friend and comrade Zhang Huan, Huangfu Gui was a prolific writer: he left twenty-seven *pian* of poetry, essays, letters, inscriptions and memorials.

Fan Ye placed Huangfu Gui's biography in the same chapter as those of Zhang Huan and Duan Jiong. The three generals maintained the weakened Chinese position in the north before its eventual collapse under pressure from the Xianbi and from the disturbances of the Xiongnu, Wuhuan and Qiang. -HHS 65/55:2129-37*, XC 4:2a; Young 84, deC 84:130-135, 322-329.

Huangfu Gui 皇甫規, wife of. Substantially younger than her husband, the Lady was a skilled student of literature and an expert calligrapher in the *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." She acted as Huangfu Gui's secretary and her work was widely admired.

When Huangfu Gui died in 174 the Lady was still

young and attractive. As Dong Zhuo took supreme power in 189 he sent her a proposal of marriage. It was accompanied by a hundred wagons of treasure, twenty horses, slaves, cash and valuable cloth, but the Lady went to Dong Zhuo's residence in plain clothing and begged her excuses.

Dong Zhuo was furious that, as master of the world, he was defied by a woman, and he ordered his house slaves to surround her with drawn swords. Realising she had no escape, the Lady cursed Dong Zhuo for his disloyalty and usurpation of power; Dong Zhuo had her crushed by chariots.

The Lady was commemorated for her fidelity, and her biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2798*.

Huangfu Jianshou 皇甫堅壽; Anding. Son of Huangfu Song, Jianshou was nonetheless a friend of Dong Zhuo. After Dong Zhuo had transferred the capital to Chang'an early in 190, he summoned Huangfu Song and intended to kill him. Huangfu Jianshou, however, travelled to Luoyang and publicly pleaded with Dong Zhuo at a banquet. All those present joined the supplication, and Dong Zhuo gave orders for Huangfu Song's release.

Huangfu Jianshou became well known, and he was invited to become a Palace Attendant at the puppet court of Emperor Xian. He declined, and died of illness. -HHS 71/61:2307-08.

Huangfu Jie 皇甫節; Anding. Son of Huangfu Qi and an elder brother of Huangfu Gui, Huangfu Jie became Administrator of Yanmen. He died about 165. -HHS 71/61:2299.

Huangfu Jun 皇甫雋. Administrator of Anding early in Later Han, Huangfu Jun was the first to move the lineage there, though he himself later returned to Jingzhao. -HHS/JJ 65/55:2323 Hui Dong quoting Sun Mian 孫佃 of Tang.

Huangfu Leng 皇甫棱; Anding. Administrator of Dingxiang, in 90 Huangfu Leng was appointed Acting General Who Crosses the Liao. When the Southern Xiongnu chieftain Shizi took refuge in Wuyuan from his cousin the Shanyu Anguo in 93, Huangfu Leng protected him. He left office in the following year. -HHS 65/55:2129, 89/79:2953-55.

Huangfu Li 皇甫麗/麗; Anding. In 189 the general Dong Zhuo was appointed as Governor of Bing province and ordered to hand over his troops to his commanding officer Huangfu Song. When he failed to

do so, Huangfu Song's nephew Li urged him to attack Dong Zhuo. Huangfu Song did no more than send in a report, and the emperor allowed Dong Zhuo to keep his men.

Huangfu Li accompanied his uncle to Chang'an in 190 and became Supervisor of Internuncios under the ramshackle regime of Li Jue and Guo Si. When the two men quarrelled in 195 Emperor Xian sent Huangfu Li to make peace. Guo Tuo was willing, but when Li Jue refused Huangfu Li warned him to his face and then criticised him to the emperor.

Emperor Xian sent Huangfu Li away, but Li Jue sent Wang Chang after him. Wang Chang did not want to see such a loyal man killed, so he reported that he could not catch him, and Huangfu Li escaped. -HHS 71/61:2306, SGZ 6:184; deC 89.9-10, 153-154.

Huangfu Ling 皇甫陵 see Huangfu Leng 皇甫陵.

Huangfu Qi 皇甫旗; Anding. Son of Huangfu Leng, in 115 Huangfu Qi was Commandant of Youfufeng. He accompanied Sima Jun in the disastrous attack on the rebel fortress of the Qiang chieftain Dingxi in Beidi. -HHS 65/55:2129, 87/77:2889; deC 84:107-108.

Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩 [Yizhen 義真]; Anding. Son of Huangfu Jie and a nephew of Huangfu Gui, as a young man Huangfu Song was skilled in both military and scholarly pursuits. He was well acquainted with the *Classic of History* and the *Poetry* and was also an expert archer and horseman. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he served as a magistrate in Jingzhao and in Hedong, but left office when his father died. He was later nominated by his province and was also invited to join the offices of the Grand Tutor Chen Fan and the General-in-Chief Dou Wu, but he would not go. Later, Emperor Ling sent a special carriage and an invitation as a Consultant, and this he accepted. About 180 he became Administrator of Beidi.

As the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, Huangfu Song was called to Luoyang; he urged that the Proscription be ended lest disaffected gentlemen join the insurgents. This proposal was supported by the senior eunuch Lu Qiang, and Emperor Ling approved. It was also agreed that the central treasury and the emperor's private holdings in the Western Garden should be used to raise an army. Lu Zhi had already been sent northeast against Zhang Jue, and Huangfu Song was named General of the Household on the Left in joint command with Zhu Jun, General of the Household on the Right, for operations southeast against Yingchuan.

Both men had the Staff of Authority, and each had a nominal force of twenty thousand men, including troops from the Northern Army with conscripts and volunteers from the commanderies about the capital. The Northern Army was a professional force, the strategic reserve of the empire stationed at Luoyang, and though other units were not of that standard, their enemies were for the most part equally untrained.

At first, Zhu Jun was defeated by the rebel leader Bo Cai, and Huangfu Song was placed under siege in Yingchuan. He was heavily outnumbered, but dismayed the enemy by a fire attack against their flimsy encampments, and in the fifth month Zhu Jun and a contingent led by the junior commander Cao Cao joined him to defeat the enemy. Huangfu Song was rewarded with enfeoffment, and the combined armies harried the rebels from Yingchuan through Runan and Chen. At the end of summer the three territories were pacified and Huangfu Song was sent on to Dong commandery, which he settled within a few weeks.

In the ninth month Huangfu Song was ordered north against Zhang Jue, and in the tenth month, after an initial set-back, he thoroughly defeated the major rebel army led by Zhang Jue's brother Liang at Guangzong in Julu. Zhang Liang was killed, together with vast numbers of his followers, while many others drowned in the Yellow River. Zhang Jue had earlier died of illness, but the victors dug up his body and sent the head to Luoyang.

In the following month Huangfu Song joined the local Administrator Guo Dian to defeat and kill Zhang Bao. So great were the enemy losses that it is said they could form a "Capital Observatory" 京觀: a macabre conceit based upon the idea that the heads were piled so high one could see the capital from the top. Huangfu Song was named General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left and Governor of Ji province, while his fief was increased by the revenues of a second county.

Huangfu Song was known for his care of his soldiers, ensuring their food and lodgings ahead of his own, and he now asked that Ji province be excused taxation for a year to relieve the people's distress. This was approved, and a popular song was composed in his honour. About this time the judge of character Yan Zhong urged that he should take advantage of his current authority and prestige to take over the government and introduce reforms, but Huangfu Song resolutely refused the opportunity.

At the beginning of 185 Huangfu Song was sent west to guard Chang'an from the threat of the Liang province rebels, and he went forward to attack them. Though he was given a grand official send-off, he had offended the leading palace eunuchs, firstly by having Zhao Zhong's grand mansion at Ye city confiscated to the state, and then by refusing a bribe to Zhang Rang. These two now claimed that Huangfu Song was achieving no success, and in the autumn he was recalled. His seal as general was withdrawn, and his fief was reduced to a district with revenue from two thousand rather than eight thousand households.

In the winter of 188, as the rebels led by Wang Guo laid siege to Chencang in Youfufeng, Huangfu Song was appointed General on the Left with Dong Zhuo, General of the Van, as his subordinate; each had twenty thousand men. Dong Zhuo wanted to relieve Chencang, but Huangfu Song was confident the city could hold out. It did indeed, and as the rebels withdrew early in the following year Huangfu Song followed and defeated them. Dong Zhuo had argued against this offensive, and Huangfu Song left him to serve as rearguard. This was a justified strategy to fix the enemy for the attack, and Dong Zhuo himself had used it in 185, but we are told he was angry at the apparent slight.

Soon afterwards Dong Zhuo was appointed Governor of Bing province and was ordered to transfer his troops to Huangfu Song, but he refused to do so. Huangfu Song's advisers urged him to take direct action, but he only sought instructions, and though Dong Zhuo received a reprimand nothing more was done.

A few months later Dong Zhuo seized power, and early in 190 he shifted the capital to Chang'an. Intending to kill him, he called Huangfu Song to be Colonel of the City Gates. Huangfu Song still commanded an army of thirty thousand men, and both his staff officer Liang Yan and the Intendant He Xun urged him to act to preserve the state. Once again, however, Huangfu Song obeyed formal orders and accepted the summons.

Inspired by Dong Zhuo, senior officials accused Huangfu Song of disloyalty, and he was in danger of execution until his son Jianshou pleaded on his behalf. Huangfu Song was released and appointed as a Consultant. He later became head of the Imperial Censorate, and when Dong Zhuo teased him about the

change in their status he accepted with good grace.

After Dong Zhuo was assassinated in 192 the new government led by Wang Yun again named Huangfu Song as a general, and he was soon afterwards promoted General of Chariots and Cavalry. As Li Jue and his fellows occupied the capital Huangfu Song was named Grand Commandant, but he left office in the winter on account of a meteor [or because of a halo 珥 around the sun: *XHS* 5:6b; *Ho* 66:139-140]. He became a Household Counsellor and then Minister of Ceremonies, titles largely meaningless under the ramshackle regime. When he died of illness about 195 he was awarded posthumous honours as General of Agile Cavalry, with one of his sons entitled to appointment as a gentleman cadet.

Huangfu Song was widely admired as a loyal, honest and generous man who presented excellent advice to the throne. He was, sadly, too honourable for his time. -*HHS* 71/61:2299-2307*, *XC* 4:11b-12a; *deC* 84:150-159.

Huangfu Wen 皇甫文 (d.34). Adviser to Wei Ao's general Gao Jun, after Wei Ao died in 33 Huangfu Wen accompanied him to Anding. Geng Yan laid siege to his position but Gao Jun held out for a year.

As Emperor Guangwu was approaching with the main army, he sent Kou Xun with an imperial letter to obtain Gao Jun's submission. Huangfu Wen was sent out to meet him, but he refused to bow to the imperial command. Furious, Kou Xun beheaded Huangfu Wen and sent his deputy back to tell Gao Jun that this would be the fate of anyone who refused to submit. Gao Jun surrendered at once.

When Kou Xun's officers congratulated him, Kou Xun explained that Huangfu Wen had been Gao Jun's closest counsellor, and his refusal to kowtow showed they had no intention of surrendering. By killing him, he deprived Gao Jun of his advice and left him shocked and isolated. -*HHS* 16/6:625-26.

Huangfu Yuan 皇甫援; Anding? An Internuncio, in 75 Huangfu Yuan and his colleague Wang Meng were sent with Qin Peng on the expedition to rescue the garrisons in Jushi which were under siege from the Northern Xiongnu. At the beginning of 76 an army of seven thousand men, recruited from commandery levies with auxiliaries from the state of Shanshan, advanced along the Northern Road, defeated the Xiongnu, relieved the remnant garrison in Nearer Jushi and returned that state to its allegiance. -*HHS*

19/9:722.

Huangfu Zhen 皇甫禎; Anding? As a county magistrate in Hanyang in the 150s, Huangfu Zhen acted wrongly. When Qiao Xuan arrived as Administrator, he had him flogged to death in the market-place of the capital. -*HHS* 51/41:1695.

Huanglong 黃龍 [Yellow Dragon] or Huanglong *xiaowei* 黃龍校尉 [Yellow Dragon Colonel] (d.193). A leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, he was killed by Yuan Shao. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, 74/64A:2381, *SGZ* 8:261, 6:194.

Huanglong Luo 黃龍羅 [Yellow Dragon Luo] (d.196); Kuaiji. When Sun Ce occupied Kuaiji in 196, Huanglong Luo and Zhou Bo were local leaders south of Hangzhou Bay. They were defeated and killed by Sun Ce and his new officer Dong Xi. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1291.

Huangtu 荒秃 see Huang Tu 荒秃.

Hucheng 呼徵 see Huzheng 呼徵.

Huchuquan 呼廚泉; Xiongnu. Son of the Southern Shanyu Qiangqu, and younger brother of the claimant Shanyu Yufuluo, when Yufuluo died in 195 Huchuquan took over the nominal title. He attempted to regain his legitimate position, but was driven back by the same faction that had killed his father and expelled his brother. The exiles were also under pressure from the Xianbi, and command of the group was effectively taken over by the Worthy King of the Right Qubi, while Huchuquan maintained a shadow court at Pingyang, on the Fen River in northern Hedong.

In 202 Huchuquan joined the Yuan family commander Gao Gan in an attack on Hedong, but Cao Cao's officer Zhong Yao came to besiege Pingyang. Yuan Shang sent Guo Yuan to the relief, but Zhong Yao defeated and killed him, and Huchuquan then surrendered.

In 216, no doubt under the pressure from agents of Cao Cao, Huchuquan came with his court to Ye city, capital of Wei, where he was held as an honoured prisoner. The remnant Xiongnu state, now largely restricted to the valley of the Fen River, was divided into five divisions under the supervision of Qubi.

Huchuquan attended the accession ceremony as Cao Pi took the throne from the Han dynasty at the end of 220, and he was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. After his death, no new Shanyu was proclaimed to succeed him. -*HHS* 89/79:2965, *SGZ* 1:47, *LS* 19:4a; *deC* 84:349-354.

Hui 龐 see Xiaowei Hui 校尉龐 [Colonel Hui]; Wuhuan.

Hui 徽 [surname unknown] [Zi'nan 子歟]; Wu? Uncle of Gu Yong 顧雍, being the younger brother of his mother, Hui travelled for study when he was young and was a most accomplished orator. About 200 he became Registrar to Sun Quan. He persuaded him to spare the life of a young man due to be executed for robbery, arguing that he would be more useful as a soldier.

About 204 Sun Quan became concerned that Cao Cao might be planning an attack, and he sent Hui as his envoy to the north. Recounting the prosperity of the south, he warned Cao Cao indirectly against any ambition in that direction. He was well treated, but when he returned he told Sun Quan that there was indeed a potential threat, but that for the present Cao Cao was engaged in the north against the remnants of the Yuan family.

Later, probably about 210, Hui was given nominal title as Administrator of Badong in the far west, territory which Sun Quan hoped to gain, but which was outside his control. He died soon afterwards. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1228.

Hui De 惠得 (d.161); Nanyang. In 161 Hui De, Huang Wu and Yue Ji were joint leaders of a heterodox cult with branches across three counties. They were arrested and executed. -*HHS* 7:309.

Hui Yan 惠衡; Langye. In 194 Yuan Shu named Hui Yan as Inspector of Yang province to rival Liu Yao. He achieved no success. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1102.

Huitou 槐頭 see Huaitou 槐頭 and *sub* Kuitou.

Huiyang Hong 鮒陽鴻 see Guiyang Hong 鮒陽鴻.

Huli 扈栗 see Xianli 賢栗. -*HYGZ* 4:60.

Humu Ban 胡母班 [Jiyou 季友] (d.190); Taishan. During the 160s, Humu Ban was named among the popular heroes in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University. He and his friend Yang Zhi, from the same commandery, were admired by the reformists, though it does not appear that either man was directly involved with the cause; they did not suffer the persecution and proscription of those who opposed the eunuchs at that time.

Humu Ban became an Imperial Clerk, but about 178 he and Yang Zhi were accused of factionalism. Both were proscribed from office, while the charges extended to Cai Yong and Cai Zhi, who were connected to the Yang family by marriage and who had opposed the eunuch group headed by Cheng Huang.

In 190 Humu Ban was Bearer of the Mace in the regime of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an. He was sent as ambassador to the rebel alliance in the east, but Yuan Shao ordered the Administrator of Henei Wang Kuang, Humu Ban's brother-in-law, to arrest him. Humu Ban wrote him an eloquent letter, but he died in prison. -*HHS* 9:370, 60/50B:2001, 67/57:2187, 74/64A:2376, *XC* 5:1b-2b, *SGZ* 6:192-93, *FSTY* 3:22.

Humu Biao 胡母彪; Taishan. Early in 190, as Wang Kuang the Administrator of Henei was raising troops to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo, he sent officers out to arrest those who could be accused of any crime and to confiscate their goods. One of the victims was an uncle of Chang Lin, but Chang Lin approached Humu Biao, as a fellow-countryman of Wang Kuang, and suggested that a show of leniency would benefit the cause. Humu Biao wrote to Wang Kuang in these terms, and Chang Lin's uncle was released.

It seems likely that, besides being a man from the same county as Wang Kuang, Humu Biao was also connected to him by marriage: though that was not necessarily a long-term advantage, it may have served its purpose at this time. See *sub* Humu Ban above. -*SGZ* 23:658-59.

Humu Guan 胡母官; Kuaiji. Nominated by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, Humu Guan later achieved high office. -*HYGZ* 10A:133.

Humu [Jipi] 胡母季皮 see Humu Ban. *FSTY* 3:23 refers to Humu Jipi as an Imperial Clerk about 178. It seems probable that Jipi has been miswritten for Jiyou 季友, which was the style of Humu Ban.

Hun Dian 阡典 [Shuze 叔則] (85-169); Nanyang. A worthy scholar, Hun Dian remained in private life. Cai Yong composed an inscription for him. -*Cai* 2:9.

Huo 獲. Marquis of Sha'n'an in Yunzhong, he was commemorated by a stele set up in the Western Regions near the Pulei Lake, present-day Barkol, in 141. -Nagata 94:82.

Huo Du 霍篤; Nan. Elder brother of Huo Jun, Huo Du had a private army of several hundred retainers. He died about 205, comparatively young. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1007.

Huo Jun 霍偶; Wei. Son of Huo Xu, Huo Jun became Administrator of Anding. -*HHS* 48/38:1617.

Huo Jun 霍峻 [Zhongmiao 仲邈] (178-217); Nan. After the death of his brother Huo Du, the Governor Liu Biao had Huo Jun take over his troops. When Liu Biao died in 208 Huo Jun joined Liu Bei, who gave

him title as a General of the Household. Huo Jun later accompanied Liu Bei into Yi province.

As Liu Bei moved south against Liu Zhang in 213, he left Huo Jun to guard his base at Jiameng in Guanghan. Liu Zhang's generals Fu Jin and Xiang Zun came to attack, but though heavily out-numbered Huo Jun held out for several months and eventually drove the enemy away with a sortie, killing Xiang Zun.

When Liu Zhang surrendered in 214 Liu Bei named Huo Jun as an Administrator with rank as a major-general. He died after three years in office, and Liu Bei mourned him. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1007*.

Huo Kuang 霍匡; Yanmen. In 36 Huo Kuang was a conscript officer under Lu Fang's general Yin You, holding Yanmen commandery against Guangwu's forces under Du Mao. As Lu Fang was driven to flight and his position in China collapsed Huo Kuang joined his colleagues Jia Dan and Xie Sheng to kill Yin You and surrender to Guo Liang, Guangwu's Administrator of Yanmen. On Guo Liang's recommendation all three men were granted marquises, to encourage others. -*HHS* 22/12:777.

Huo Lang 霍郎; Hongnong. A local leader who had taken title as a general, he surrendered in 26 to Emperor Guangwu's officer Feng Yi. -*DGHJ* 9:3b.

Huo Nu 霍奴 (d.205); Zhuo. Local leaders in the commandery, Huo Nu and Zhao Du rebelled in 205, killing the Administrator and the Inspector of You province. They were attacked and killed by Cao Cao. -*SGZ* 1:27.

Huo Rong 霍融. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy in 102, Huo Rong reported that the official clepsydra water-clock was insufficiently accurate, primarily because of the arrangements for changing indicator-rods to measure the hours: since day and night were divided into equal parts, the length of an hour varied through the year. After investigation, the rods were changed not, as hitherto, according to the observed declination of the sun, but regularly each calendrical fortnight. This system was maintained for a thousand years, and Huo Rong compiled one of the earliest manuals on the clepsydra, the *Louke jing* 漏刻經. -*HHS* 92/2:3032-33; Needham 59:322, 328.

Huo Shou 霍收. In 124 Huo Shou was an assistant magistrate in Ji'nan. As Emperor An came on tour to the east, the chancellor's office of the kingdom reported that a flock of phoenixes had gathered in a tree above his house. The ruler awarded bales of silk

to the magistrate, to Huo Shou and other officers of the county, exempted from the annual land tax each district where the magical birds had appeared, and granted two ranks of nobility to each man. -HHS 5:238.

Huo Xing 霍性 (d.220). In 220 Huo Xing was General of the Household at the court of Wei. As Cao Pi was going on an inaugural tour of inspection and display of strength to the south Huo Xing presented a memorial of protest against such energetic action, which he claimed was inappropriate.

In fact it would appear that Cao Pi's enterprise was a considered method of demonstrating his new authority in the empire. Angry at this interference, Cao Pi ordered Huo Xing tortured and killed. It is claimed he sought to rescind his orders, but it was too late. -SGZ 2:60.

Huo Xu 霍諝 [Shuzhi 叔智]; Wei. A keen scholar when he was young, Huo Xu had wide knowledge of the classics. About 140, when he was still only fifteen, someone accused Song Guang, Huo Xu's maternal uncle, of forging an imperial edict. The General-in-Chief Liang Shang had Song Guang arrested and questioned under torture, but Huo Xu pleaded his innocence in an eloquent memorial. Song Guang was pardoned and released, and Huo Xu became well known.

Having served as a local officer in his commandery, Huo Xu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and later became Administrator of Jincheng, where his generosity and good faith gained the respect of the Qiang and other non-Chinese people. He left office on the death of his mother, but when the mourning period was ended he was again invited to office, serving as Chancellor of Beihai and then as Deputy Director of the Secretariat.

At this time the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and his family dominated the court. Senior ministers were afraid to oppose them, but Huo Xu joined Yin Xun, Director of the Secretariat, in presenting memorials of criticism. When Emperor Huan overthrew Liang Ji in 159 he remembered Huo Xu's loyalty and display of principle and awarded him a marquiseate.

At various times Huo Xu sought to leave office and return to private life, but his requests were denied, and he was appointed successively as Intendant of Henan and Director of Retainers, then Minister Steward and Minister of Justice. On the other hand, when Ju Yuan and Zuo Guan were disgraced in 165 and various

eunuch favourites suffered demotion, Huo Xu and his colleagues had their fiefs taken away altogether.

At the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167 the reformist Jia Biao came to Luoyang to ask Huo Xu and the General-in-Chief Dou Wu to urge the emperor to leniency. [HHS 67/57 describes Huo Xu as a member of the Secretariat at this time, but this is an anachronism, for he already held ministerial rank.] Their pleas were effective, there was a review of the cases, and Li Ying and the reformers were released. -HHS 48/38:1615-17*, 57/47:1858, 67/57:2216; deC 89:84-85.

Huo Yan 霍延. Captain of a police district in Luoyang under the Prefect Zhou Yu, one night in the early 80s Huo Yan halted the cortège of Dou Du, brother of the empress, as he was returning to his residence after visiting the palace. One of the slaves escorting Dou Du attacked Huo Yan, but he drew his sword, arrested Dou Du and swore at him.

Dou Du sent in a complaint and serious enquiries were made, but the emperor endorsed the policy of keeping his powerful relatives under control. -HHS 77/67:2495.

Huo Yi 霍弋 [Shaoxian 紹先]; Nan. Son of Huo Jun, after his father's death in 217 Huo Yi was appointed a companion to Liu Shan, Heir of Shu-Han. He later became a general and Administrator, and guarded the Yangzi Gorges.

As Shu-Han fell to Wei in 263 Huo Yi made a good submission and held back an attempted invasion by Wu. Wei and Jin maintained him in his former rank and position. -SGZ Shu 11:1007-08.

Huo Yu 霍玉, the Lady. The Lady was an attendant in the Yongle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling. It appears that she received the emperor's favour and held influence at court: in a memorial of 177 Cai Yong observed that she had recommended the Grand Commandant Zhang Hao. -HHS 60/50B:1999.

Huo Yu 霍圉. Magistrate of Linrong county in Shuofang, about 178 Huo Yu transmitted to the throne of Emperor Ling a letter from Cai Yong seeking an end to his exile in the north and presenting some completed parts of the Treatises which he had been working on for the official history of Later Han. -HHS 60/50B:2004, 93/3:3083-84; MBeck 90:43-44.

Huyan 呼演 see Huzheng 呼徵. -HHJ 24:288.

Huyouhui 呼尤徽 or Huyouzheng 呼尤徵. A king

of the Northern Xiongnu in the early 120s, Huyouhui came to the Chinese frontier seeking refuge from the Xianbi. With followers recruited from amongst his fellow-refugees, Huyouhui became a commander of auxiliaries for the General on the Liao Geng Kui, defending the territory against their mutual enemy.

In 124 another chieftain, Azu, planned to escape back across the frontier. He and his comrades asked Huyouhui to join them, but he replied that he was now old, he had received favour from the Han, and he would rather die than desert. Azu wanted to kill him, but someone intervened and Huyouhui survived. -HHS 89/79:2959; deC 84:289.

Huyouzheng 呼尤徵 see Huyouhui 呼尤徽.

Huyuqiu 護于丘; Xiongnu. A chieftain of the Northern Xiongnu, in 59 he brought about a thousand people to surrender to the Southern regime. -HHS 89/79:2948.

Huzheng 呼徵 or Huyan 呼演 (d.179); Xiongnu. Son of the Tuteruo shizhujiu Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu, Huzheng succeeded his father in 178. He quarrelled with the Emissary Zhang Xiu, and in 179 Zhang Xiu killed Huzheng and set the Worthy King of the Right, Qiangqu, in his place. -HHS 89/79:2964 [as Huzheng], HHJ 24:288 [as Huyan]; deC 84:345, deC 89:162 [both as Hucheng].

J

Ji 祭 [surname] see Zhai 祭 *passim*.

Ji 棘 [surname] see also Zao 棗.

Ji Bao 籍褒. Chancellor of Donghai about 130, Ji Bao reported on the excellent conduct of the king Liu Zhen and his brother Liu Jian. Both men were rewarded with enhancement of their fiefs. -HHS 42/32:2426.

Ji Ben 吉本 (d.218); Zuopingyi. Court Physician of Han at Xu city in 218, Ju Ben and his sons Miao and Mu joined the plot of Jin Wei and Geng Ji to take over the administration and invite Guan Yu to come from the south. They attacked Cao Cao's agent Wang Bi, but he made his escape and next morning gathered troops to destroy the rebels. Ji Ben and his family were executed. -SGZ 1:50; deC 89:518-519. [The personal name also appears as Pi 丕 or Ping 平.]

Ji Bo 紀伯. A neighbour of Chen Ao, he attempted to encroach on his land, but was embarrassed into returning it. -XC 7:3a.

Ji Chang 姬常 (d.29). Following a tradition estab-

lished by Emperor Wu of Former Han, Ji Chang was recognised as the senior descendant of the ancient imperial house of Zhou 周; he was enfeoffed as a duke at the end of Former Han and again by Wang Mang.

In 26 Emperor Guangwu of Later Han enfeoffed Ji Chang as Duke Who Succeeds to the Greatness of Zhou 周承休公. -HHS 1A:29-30; QHX:181, Bn 67:36-37.

Ji Chang 紀常, the Lady: see Chang Ji 常紀.

Ji Huang 吉黃 (d.208); Zuopingyi. Elder twin brother of Ji Mao, about 207 Ji Huang was appointed as a clerk under the Excellency Zhao Wen, and soon afterwards became a county magistrate in Jingzhao. At this time there were regulations against senior local officials leaving their positions, but when Zhao Wen died in 208 Ji Huang left his post to attend the funeral as a former officer and client. The Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, head of the provincial administration, arrested Ji Huang and executed him. -SGZ 9:718.

Ji Ji 戚寄. A commander under Yuan Shu, about 197 Ji Ji was persuaded by Liu Fu to transfer allegiance to Cao Cao. His decision surely reflects concern at Yuan Shu's assumption of the imperial title; Cao Cao at that time controlled the formal imperial government of Han. -SGZ 15:463.

Ji Jian 籍建. A eunuch, in 124 he was a member of the staff of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. When Liu Bao was dismissed by his father Emperor An, Ji Jian was exiled on a false charge to Shuofang on the northern frontier. After the coup of Sun Cheng and his associates restored Liu Bao to the succession in the following year, Ji Jian returned. He was appointed a Regular Attendant and was later enfeoffed. -HHS 15/5:591-93, 78/68:2518.

Ji Jin 季進 see Li Jin 李進 of Jiyin.

Ji Lian 汲廉. Chancellor of Pengcheng in 192, Ji Lian joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal. -HHS 71/61:2312.

Ji Liao 蒯遼 [Zixun 子訓]; Qi. A Secondary Biography of Xu Kui, quoted from *Taiping yulan* by Shen Qinhan at HHSJJ 82/72B:3020, identifies Ji Zixun 蒯子訓 below with Ji Liao, whose style was also Zixun, who came from Qi and was a disciple of the long-lived medicine man Li Shaojun 李少君 in the time of Emperor Wu [QHX:227].

According to the Secondary Biography, Ji Liao was

a local officer in his commandery and in the provincial administration, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after serving in the army became a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. He studied the healing techniques of Li Shaojun and compiled a textbook on medicine, *Yi fa* 醫法. It is uncertain whether the text indicates that Ji Liao was in personal contact with Li Shaojun – a claim that stretches credulity – or whether he adopted his techniques well after the master's death: such longevity is hard to assess. See also Ji Zixun.

Ji Ling 紀靈. In 196 Ji Ling was a general in the service of Yuan Shu, who sent him against Liu Bei, then stationed in Pei. Ji Ling's troops heavily outnumbered the defenders, but the warlord Lü Bu came to the rescue as an honest broker. By a celebrated feat of archery, hitting the spike on top of a halberd, he so impressed Ji Ling that he withdrew his men. -SGZ 7:222-23; deC 96:205-206.

Ji Mao 吉茂 [Shuchang 叔暢]; Zuopingyi. Ji Mao was so fond of learning that it was said he would rather dress badly and eat poor food than fail to know something. About 200 he was living in the Qin Ling ranges as a hermit scholar with Su Ze, but in 208 he was nominated by the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao and became a magistrate in Hedong. Such was his quiet authority that none of his officers dared to act wrongly.

There is a sad story to Ji Mao's nomination. Earlier in the year Zhong Yao had arrested and executed Ji Mao's elder twin brother Ji Huang, because he had left his post as a county magistrate in order to attend the funeral of his former patron the Excellency Zhao Wen. Ji Mao was at this time still a commoner, but he had a fine reputation in the region. He was bitterly angry that his brother had been killed for carrying out his duty as a gentleman, but he was not willing to weep for him.

At the end of that same year, when the time came for reports and nominations Zhong Yao proposed Ji Mao as Abundant Talent. Most people assumed Ji Mao would refuse, but when the appointment was offered he accepted. There was disagreement whether he was frightened of Zhong Yao, or whether this demonstrated his fine quality.

Ji Mao was later transferred to the household of the youthful Cao Rui, son of Cao Pi, but in 218 he was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the plot of his kinsman Ji Ben against Cao Cao. His former patron Zhong Yao, now Chancellor of State, testified

that there was no close connection between Ji Mao and the conspirators, and Ji Mao was released. We are told that he was initially concerned because he owned various books on occult and military arts, which had been forbidden by Cao Cao and which he had hidden and not handed in to the government.

Ji Mao held later appointments as chief of various commandery units, then came to court as a Consultant. He died about 237. -SGZ 23:660-61.

Ji Miao 吉邈 [Wenran 文然] (d.218); Zuopingyi. Son of Ji Ben, he took an active role in the attempt to seize Xu city in 218, and led the attack on Cao Cao's agent Wang Bi. Wang Bi, however, escaped, and next morning, as Ji Miao's men were confused and disorganised, they were routed by loyal troops led by Wang Bi and Yan Kuang. Ji Miao and his family were executed. -SGZ 1:50; deC 89:518-519.

Ji Mou 吉茂 see Ji Mao 吉茂.

Ji Mu 吉穆 [Siran 思然] (d.218); Zuopingyi. Son of Ji Ben and younger brother of Ji Miao, he joined the plot to seize Xu city in 218. The rebels were defeated and Ji Mu and his family were executed. -SGZ 1:50.

Ji Pi 吉丕 see Ji Ben 吉本. -HHS 23:661.

Ji Ping 吉平 *i.e.* Ji Ben 吉本. -HHS 9:718.

Ji [Shuyang] 紀叔陽; Bohai. In the early second century Ji Shuyang was a scholar and a teacher. -HYGZ 10B:148.

Ji Wu 姬武. Son of Ji Chang, on his father's death in 29 Ji Wu succeeded to his title as Duke Who Succeeds to Greatness 承休公, in recognition of his position as representative of the ancient Zhou 周 dynasty. In 37 his title was changed to Duke of Wei 衛, a county in Dong commandery. Though the fief was evidently maintained throughout Later Han, no successors are recorded. -HHS 1B:61, 111/21:3450; Bn 67:36-37. [HHS 1B miswrites the personal name of Ji Wu for that of his father Ji Chang, but the modern commentator Hui Dong notes the error.]

Ji Yi 集一 was a magistrate in Chenliu. -FSTY 6f: 139.

Ji Yong 季雍; Ganling. An officer of Yuan Shao, about 192 Ji Yong changed sides to support Gongsun Zan and held Yu city in Ganling on his behalf. He was attacked by Zhu Ling, but he held Zhu Ling's mother and younger brother. He sought to use them as hostages, but Zhu Ling stormed the city and captured Ji Yong. -SGZ 17:530.

Ji [Zhongkao] 吉仲考; Zuopingyi: see *sub* Zhang

Ziping.

Ji [Zixun] 蒯子訓. Though Ji Zixun's place of origin is unknown, a man who was a hundred years old at the turn of the second and third centuries claimed to have seen him when he was a child, selling medicines in Kuaiji; his appearance had not altered since that time.

About 200 Ji Zixun was in Ji'nan. He killed an infant there by dropping it, but brought it back to life a month later and returned it to its parents. The child had been buried, but when the tomb was opened the body was gone – and the restored infant clearly recognised its father and mother.

When this incident became known at the capital, now Xu city, Ji Zixun received several invitations, and he travelled there with his disciples, in a carriage drawn by a donkey. At one stopping place the donkey died, but after a leisurely lunch Ji Zixun restored it to life by a tap of his stick.

He was followed by more than a thousand people and when he arrived at Xu city he was welcomed by hundreds of officials. He provided an inexhaustible supply of wine and food for all who were there.

Soon afterwards, Ji Zixun disappeared, accompanied by a remarkable display of clouds, but he was seen again in the vicinity of Chang'an a generation later, accompanied by another old man. They claimed to be more than five hundred years old, then walked away apparently slowly but in fact moving more swiftly than a horse at full gallop. [A similar skill is ascribed to Zuo Ce.]

A biography in the fourth-century *Shenxian zhuan* tells how Ji Zixun was popular with the imperial favourites and on one occasion appeared in twenty-three places at once. It is also said that he foretold the day of his death but his grave was later found to contain only a pair of sandals: this is a model of the false death 尸解, a device to reach the world of the immortals.

The Secondary Biography of Xu Kui, quoted from *Taiping yulan* by Shen Qinhan at *HHSJJ* 82/72B:3020, identifies him with Ji Liao *q.v.*, whose style was also Zixun, a man from Qi who was a disciple of the long-lived medicine man Li Shaojun 李少君 [*QHX*:227]. -*HHS* 82/72B:2755-56*; *Ngo* 76:134-137, *DeWoskin* 83:81-82. See also Ji Liao above and Ji Zixun 計子勳 immediately below.

Ji Zixun 計子勳. No-one knew where Ji Zixun came from, but he was believed to be several hundred years

old. Having travelled widely, he announced one day that he would die at noon. Taking a shroud, he laid himself down and expired on schedule. -*HHS* 82/72B:2758*; *Ngo* 76:140, *DeWoskin* 83:86. Although this man has a separate entry in *HHS* 82/72B, the similarity of the pronunciation of the names makes it likely his story relates to some alternative manifestation of Ji Zixun 蒯子訓 immediately above.

Ji [Zixun] 計子勳 also written as 蒯子訓. *FSTY* 5f:131 mentions a man named Ji Zixun 計子勳 who was at some time a clerical officer under the Excellency of Works. *FSTY* 6f:147, however, refers to a man named Ji Zixun 蒯子訓 and claims that he was Excellency of Works. There was no Excellency of Works with that name; the two citations evidently suffer from the same confusion as afflicts the entries immediately above.

Jia 賈, the Lady; Nanyang. About 55 the Lady Jia was brought by selection into the harem of the Heir, Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, and in 57 she gave birth to his fifth son, Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang.

That same year Liu Zhuang succeeded to the throne, and the Lady Jia was appointed an Honoured Lady, most senior rank of concubine. The infant Liu Da, however, was taken from his natural mother by the Dowager Yin, mother of Emperor Ming, and she entrusted the nurture of the child to the Honoured Lady Ma, a cousin of the Lady Jia: her mother was an elder sister of the late mother of the Lady Ma. We are told that the Lady Ma brought up the child with devotion, more than if he had been her own, while Liu Da responded to her with the utmost affection.

In 60, at the nomination of the Dowager Yin the Lady Ma was appointed empress and Liu Da was designated Heir on the same day. Despite their connection to the throne and their relationship to the Ma, no male members of the Jia family gained any preferment. They were evidently not in a position to withstand the rivalry of other factions, and one must assume that sponsorship by the Dowager and takeover by the Ma were the best options open, even if the Jia gained little from the arrangement.

When the Dowager Yin died in 64 the Honoured Lady Jia was given royal insignia, a "comfortable carriage" 安車, two hundred maid-servants and quantities of silk, gold and cash. She remained secluded in the rear palace, there is no record of her date of death, and she received no recognition when her son came to the throne in 75. -*HHS* 10A:414-15;

Bn 86A:280.

Jia Biao 賈彪 [Weijie 偉節]; Yingchuan. Jiao Biao was one of three brothers. All were talented, and they were known as the Three Tigers 三虎, but Jia Biao was considered to be outstanding. As a young man he was a student of Chen Shi and travelled to the capital, where he and Xun Shuang became known for their public spirit. The two were not friends, but Jia Biao was an associate of Li Xie and others.

Jia Biao first held appointments in his local commandery and province, was recommended Filial and Incorrupt, and became a county magistrate in Runan. Many of the people were poor, and in their distress they would not care for their children. Jia Biao made firm regulations that infanticide should be punished in the same fashion as the murder of an adult.

At one time there were two separate cases: south of the city bandits had killed some people, while to the north a woman had killed her child. As Jia Biao was going out on assizes, his officers urged that he deal first with the bandits, but Jia Biao remarked angrily that it was in the nature of things for bandits to harm people, but against all the laws of Heaven for a mother to kill her child. So he went north and punished the mother. When the bandits heard this they were so impressed they surrendered of their own accord. [*Shishuo xinyu* attributes a similar story, probably mistakenly, to Chen Shi: Mather 76:81.]

As a result of Jiao Biao's show of concern, moreover, within a few years there were thousands of children who would formerly have been left to starve but were now cared for by their parents. The people said "It is Father Jia who has given them life," and named their off-spring "Son of Jia" 賈子 or "Daughter of Jia" 賈女.

In the mid-160s Jia Biao was again at the capital. He held no official post, but he and Guo Tai were recognised as leaders of the student reformists, who judged the quality of their peers and officials and praised or blamed them with rhyming seven-character couplets. The name of Jia Biao, however, does not appear among any of the lists of heroes and exemplars recorded in the texts, he took no active part in opposition to the eunuch favourites of the emperor, and by 166 he had left the city.

When the Administrator of Nanyang Cheng Jin was arrested for executing the merchant and eunuch

associate Zhang Fan at a time of amnesty, his former adviser Cen Zhi fled into hiding. Though many sympathised with him and offered help, Jia Biao turned him away. Some people criticised him, but Jia Biao explained that he considered Cen Zhi to have been too aggressive and troublesome, and that he had brought his problems upon himself.

On the other hand, when the First Faction Incident broke out soon afterwards and the reformists were arrested, Jia Biao travelled to Luoyang to urge Dou Wu, father of the empress, and Huo Xu of the Imperial Secretariat to use their influence with the emperor. Dou Wu did apply pressure, Emperor Huan issued an amnesty, and the reformist leader Li Ying specifically acknowledged the value of Jia Biao's intervention.

At the time of the Second Faction Incident in 169, Jia Biao was implicated and proscribed from office. He died at home. The people of his former county in Runan remembered him with a temple. -HHS 67/57: 2216-17* & 2187, XC 4:9a-b, YSS:18a-b, SJZ 30:5a; deC 75A:24, deC 89:70-78.

Jia Bin 賈邠; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Bin was a son of Jia Yuan; see *sub* Jia Xu 翽.

Jia Bing 賈冰; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Bing was a son of Jia Ye; he would have lived in the first century. See *sub* Jia Xu 翽.

Jia [Bosheng] 賈伯升; Youfufeng. Presumably a son of the scholar-official Jia Kui, Jia Bosheng was a scholar of *Zuo zhuan*, and was probably the teacher of Yan Du of Nanyang [see below].

When Jia Kui died his sons were appointed to the suite of the Heir, but they did not have a notable official career. -HHS 36/26:1240.

HHS 64/54:2103 says that Tangxi Dian was the teacher of Yan Du, but I note that the ages of these two men were very close, with Yan Du perhaps the elder. The *Jingdian* [*xuanru dayi*] *xulu* of the sixth century, cited by Hui Dong in HHSJJ 64/54:2293, says that Yan Du studied *Zuo zhuan* under Jia Bosheng. Jia Bosheng may be identified as one of the otherwise unnamed sons of Jia Kui, and one may note similarity between Bosheng 伯升 and Bobing 伯并, which was probably the style of Tangxi Dian. There may have been confusion in the texts.

Jia Can 賈參 or Jia Shen; Nanyang. Son of Jia Zong, he inherited his fief in 88. -HHS 17/7:668.

Jia Chang 賈昌. In 137 Jia Chang was an Imperial Clerk, officer of the Censorate, currently in Rinan,

when the non-Chinese chieftain Oulin attacked Han positions in that commandery. The Inspector Fan Yan brought troops from Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen, but his men mutinied and the banditry continued to spread.

Jia Chang managed to raise further local troops to attack the insurgents, but he was defeated and then besieged for a year. There was a proposal at court to send a major relief expedition, but on the advice of the staff officer Li Gu two experienced officials, Zhu Liang and Zhang Qiao, were sent to the region, and they restored order by a combination of power, prestige and bribery. -HHS 86/76:2837-39.

Jia Chang 賈長; Nanyang. Son of Jia Yu, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 17/7:667.

Jia Cong 賈琮 [Mengjian 孟堅]; Dong. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Jia Cong became a successful county magistrate in Henan.

In 184, resentful at years of extortion by a series of imperial officials, the people of Jiao region in the far south rose in rebellion under a leader who styled himself General Who is Pillar of Heaven 柱天將軍, and they seized the Inspector and the Administrator of Hepu. Jia Cong was chosen as replacement Inspector.

When he arrived he enquired about the reasons for the trouble and was told that taxation was too heavy. Because of its distance from the imperial capital the territory was not formally established as a province: the Inspector had very wide powers and could block complaints or petitions. With executive authority Jia Cong issued a proclamation to reduce government demands, while he set up centres to care for refugees and announced that only ringleaders and troublemakers would be punished. He also reviewed the local officials and members of their staffs and selected good men to govern the counties. Within a year the rebellion was ended and the people sang his praises, claiming they would never have rebelled if Father Jia had come sooner. The region was assessed as the best governed in the empire.

In 187, after three years in the south, Jia Cong was recalled to become Governor of Ji province, formerly a centre of the Yellow Turban rebellion. It was at this time that the change was made to appoint Governors 牧 rather than Inspectors 刺史 in several provinces; Governors had executive authority, while Inspectors were supposed only to report on wrong-doing.

By custom the carriage of a provincial head was shielded by red screen curtains, but Jia Cong had

these removed, as symbol of his determination to look carefully at every part of the administration. The people were impressed, and many local officials chose to abandon their posts rather than face his scrutiny.

Also as a sign of his policy, Jia Cong erected stele to commemorate recent worthies, such as the man of Faction Ba Su and the earlier critic Li Yun.

After the death of Emperor Ling in 189, the regency government controlled by the He family appointed Jia Cong as General on the Liao. He died in that office. -HHS 31/21:1111-12*, 57/47:1853, 67/57:2203, XC 1: 10a-b; deC 89:183-184.

Jia Dan 賈丹; Yanmen. In 36 Jia Dan was a conscript officer under Lu Fang's general Yin You, holding Yanmen commandery against Guangwu's forces under Du Mao. When Lu Fang was driven to flight and his position in China collapsed, Jia Dan joined his colleagues Huo Kuang and Xie Sheng to kill Yin You and surrender to Guangwu's Administrator of Yanmen, Guo Liang. On Guo Liang's recommendation all three men were enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 22/12:777.

Jia Fang 賈訪 [Shengqing 升卿?]. Jia Fang was a student of calligraphy who became a gentleman cadet under Emperor He. Among other works, he compiled *Pang xi pian* 滂喜篇, a commentary to the manual *Cang jie* 蒼頡, which had originally been composed by Li Si 李斯, minister of Qin 秦, as part of the reform of script carried out by that dynasty. -Sui shi 32:942; Hou Kang:2116, Yao Zhenzong:2340-41 [also QHX:229 and 677].

Jia Fang 賈訪; Wuwei. Younger son of Jia Xu, when Cao Pi came to the throne of Wei in 220 Jia Fang was granted a fief in respect of his father. -SGZ 10:331.

Jia Fu 賈復 [Junwen 君文] (d.55); Nanyang. As a young man Jia Fu was fond of scholarship, with particular attention to the *Classic of History*. He studied under the local Master Li 李生, who praised him to his other pupils as worthy of the highest official positions.

As a local officer in his county about 20, Jia Fu was sent to bring salt from Hedong. There were many bandits at this time, but while other convoys were robbed Jia Fu brought his load in safely. He was admired for his energy and honesty.

As rebellion broke out in 22, and the Troops from Xinshi and the Lower Yangzi entered Nanyang, Jia Fu took to the hills, gathered hundreds of followers and styled himself a general.

When the Gengshi Emperor took power in 23 Jia Fu brought his men to Liu Jia, King of Hanzhong, and was given rank as a colonel. Observing the disorder of the new regime, he urged Liu Jia to take an independent role. Liu Jia would not move against the emperor, but in 24 he sent Jia Fu with a letter to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, north of the Yellow River, and Jia Fu entered his service. Deng Yu recommended him as a competent military commander, and Liu Xiu took him onto his staff as officer responsible for police and discipline.

Since Jia Fu had only lately joined the cause, some of Liu Xiu's followers were concerned at his holding such authority and urged that he be transferred to a local administration. Liu Xiu was confident of his loyalty, and when he found that Jia Fu's horse was worn out and exhausted he gave him one of the team from his own carriage. As Liu Xiu gathered his forces in Xindu to attack Wang Lang in his capital of Handan, he named Jia Fu a lieutenant-general. Jia Fu took part in the capture of Handan, and was then made General Controller and Protector, probably still responsible for military police, but at a substantially higher rank.

In the autumn of 24 Jia Fu joined the attack on the Datong, Green Calf and other bandits at Shequan in Henei. After the enemy had held their ground through half a days' hard fighting, Liu Xiu sent a message to recall his troop for a meal. Jia Fu sent back word that they would defeat the enemy first. With feathers tied to his back so his followers could see him, he broke the enemy line and drove them to flight. All the army admired his courage.

Jia Fu then defeated the Wuxiao bandits in Zhending on the east of the plain, but he was badly wounded in the fighting. Liu Xiu, very upset, observed that the reason he had not given him an independent command before was that he had too little regard for his own danger in the face of the enemy. Jia Fu was one of his finest officers, and he now heard that his wife was having a child. He promised that if the baby proved to be a girl she should marry one of his sons, and if it was a boy he would take one of his daughters; Jia Fu need have no concern for the future of his widow and child. Jia Fu recovered, and as he returned to headquarters he was guest of honour at a great banquet. He then went to attack local bandits in Wei commandery.

As Liu Xiu took the throne in the autumn of 25 he named Jia Fu as Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at

the capital, and enfeoffed him as marquis of his home county. He was one of the first to cross the Yellow River south against Zhu Wei in Luoyang, and he forced the surrender of the enemy commander Chen Qiao. Early in 26 he took part in the campaign of Wu Han against more bandit groups in Wei commandery, and his fief was increased by two counties.

At that time Guangwu was faced with two enemy forces in Nanyang, Yin Zun at Yan city, and Wan the capital. At a council of war, as his officers hesitated, he struck the staff of mobilisation on the ground and observed, "Yan is strongest, Wan is the second. Who will attack them?" Jia Fu volunteered, and Guangwu remarked that with him in charge he had no further concern.

Despite initial defeat in Yingchuan, by the late spring of 26 Jia Fu had brought an army into Nanyang. Yin Zun capitulated after a month's siege, and Jia Fu then moved east through Runan into Huaiyang, where he received the surrender of the Administrator Bao Si. In the autumn he advanced to the Huai and confirmed the frontier on the southeast. Despite his official concern with discipline, it is recorded that on the march through Runan some of his men were executed by Kou Xun, Administrator of Yingchuan, for looting and killing. As Jia Fu returned he intended to take revenge on Kou Xun, but Kou Xun sent wine to get his followers drunk, and the emperor was able to make peace between them.

In the spring of 27 Jia Fu was appointed General on the Left and sent to face the Red Eyebrows in the north of Hongnong. He drove back their sortie, then rejoined the imperial army for the final manoeuvres which enclosed the rebels and forced their surrender.

In all his campaigns, Jia Fu was never defeated, and he had several times fought his way out of encirclement as a forlorn hope or broken the opposing line. He had been wounded a dozen times, most seriously against the Wuxiao at Zhending. Because of his readiness to drive deep into enemy positions, Guangwu was reluctant to use him on campaigns at a distance, where he was likely to get into trouble, but he greatly admired his physical courage. When other officers spoke of their successes, Jia Fu stayed silent; the emperor observed on one occasion that there was no need for him to speak, for he knew Jia Fu's merits.

In 37 Jia Fu received definitive enfeoffment as a marquis in Jiaodong with revenue from six counties.

Now that the civil war was ended, he realised Guangwu wished to reduce the military style of his regime, and that he was unwilling to have even his most worthy ministers maintain troops in the capital. He and Deng Yu, therefore, Generals of the Left and the Right, offered to resign their commands and disband their forces. Guangwu readily accepted, and rewarded them with the right to live at the capital as marquises and attend the court. Though they held no office in the civil administration, Jia Fu and Deng Yu were treated with the same courtesy as the emperor's brother-in-law Li Tong, and the three were regularly consulted, along with Excellencies and ministers, on great affairs of state.

Recognising Jia Fu as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 17/7:664-68*, 22/12:789-91, DGHJ 8:5a-6a; Bn 59:151-152, 211, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:81.

Jia Fu 賈福. In 142 Jia Fu was Administrator of Beidi when the commandery was attacked by the Gongtang tribe of the Qiang. Jia Fu attacked them with the aid of the regional commander Zhao Chong, but the enemy proved too strong and the administrative headquarters of Beidi were soon afterwards withdrawn south to Zuopingyi. -HHS 87/77:2896.

Jia Gong 賈龔; Henan>Wuwei. XTS 75B:3387 says that Jia Gong, father of Jia Xu 詡, held a military appointment and that he settled his family in Wuwei.

Jia Han 賈邯; Nanyang. A younger son of Jia Fu, after his father's great fief was abolished in 76 due to the crime of Jia Min, Emperor Zhang approved restoration of the marquissate for Jia Han, but with only a single county. See also Jia Zong. -HHS 17/7:667.

Jia Hong 賈洪 [Shuye 叔業]; Jingzhao. A keen and talented scholar, with particular interest in *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, in the late 190s Jia Hong held local office in his commandery. He was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer, then joined the staff of the province under the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao. Among all the local officers, only Jia Hong and Yan Bao were scholars of any quality.

Jia Hong served as brevet magistrate in three counties, and in each place he set up and taught in an informal school.

When Ma Chao rebelled with the other north-western warlords in 211 he captured Jia Hong and

forced him to write a proclamation for him; Zhong Yao recognised his calligraphy. After the defeat of the warlords Jia Hong was appointed to Cao Cao's staff, but because of the proclamation he was not fully trusted. He was later sent out again as a magistrate, this time in the east of the empire.

When Cao Pi took the imperial throne in 220 he appointed Jia Hong as Chancellor to Cao Biao, Duke and then King of Boma. Cao Biao was also fond of scholarship, and the two men became close friends. When Jia Hong died about 225, aged a little more than fifty, there was general regret that he had not risen to higher rank.

Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, identified Jia Hong as one of seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in times of disorder. -SGZ 13:421; Fang 52:170-171.

Jia Hu 賈護. Having studied composition and calligraphy, Jia Hu became a favourite of Emperor Ling and was a senior Palace Attendant. In 177 Cai Yong criticised him as a man of mean family, with frivolous skills, leader of a gang of sycophants. -HHS 60/50B:1992.

Jia Hui 賈徽 [Yuanbo 元伯]; Youfufeng. Descended from a long line of scholars and officials, at the end of Former Han Jia Hui studied *Zuo zhuan* under Liu Xin 劉歆, and compiled a commentary entitled *Zuoshi tiaoli* 左氏條例. He also studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Old Text school of Mao, the Old Text *History*, *Ritual*, and *Guo yu*. He served for a time as a county magistrate in Yingchuan.

Jia Hui's son Kui was born in 30, and began his studies under his father's guidance. -HHS 36/26:1234; Tjan 49:153-155.

Jia Ji 賈期 see Jia Qi 賈期.

Jia Jian 賈建; Nanyang. Son of Jia Can, he inherited his fief. In 114 he married the Princess Liu Li, daughter of the late Emperor He, who possessed the income from three counties in her own right. The regent Dowager Deng regarded Jia Jian with great favour and appointed him a Palace Attendant. In the time of Emperor Shun he became Minister of the Household. -HHS 17/7:668.

Jia Kui 賈逵 [Jingbo 景伯] (30-101); Youfufeng. Son of Jia Hui, Jia Kui followed his father's scholarly interest in *Zuo zhuan* and while still a child he was familiar with the basic texts of all the classics. As a young man he studied at the University in Luoyang,

and was noted both for his devotion to learning and for his unusual height of eight feet two inches [190 cm]. A popular rhyming couplet claimed there was no question "Tall-Boy Jia" 賈長頭 could not answer.

Jia Kui's preference was for the Old Text tradition, but he taught the *Classic of History* according to the New Text school of Xiahou, and he was well acquainted with scholarship on the Guliang commentary to *Chunqiu*. Like his father, he had particular understanding of *Zuo zhuan* and *Guo yu*, and he compiled an "Explanation and Commentary" 解詁 to the two texts in fifty-one *pian*. He presented the work to Emperor Ming, who admired it and had it placed in the imperial collection, and he also compiled a detailed commentary to the *Li sao* 離騷 of Qu Yuan 屈原, parallel to that of his colleague Ban Gu [Yao Zhenzong:2414].

At this time a flock of strange birds gathered at the palace. Emperor Ming asked his cousin Liu Fu about them, and Liu Fu suggested he consult Jia Kui. Jia Kui explained that they were the spirits of non-Chinese northerners who had surrendered to Emperor Xuan of Former Han. Impressed by this, the emperor appointed Jia Kui to the library of the Orchid Terrace, and had him compile *Sherjue song* 神雀頌 "Hymn to the Sacred Birds." Wang Chong has a slightly different story: all officials were invited to compose hymns, but only those of Jia Kui, Ban Gu, Fu Yi, Yang Zhong and Hou Li were of high quality [*Lun heng* 25; Forke 11: 274].

Jia Kui joined Ban Gu in editing books in the imperial library. Liu Da, Emperor Zhang, was interested in Confucianism, with particular concern for the Old Text of *History* and for *Zuo zhuan*. Soon after he came to the throne, in 76 he called Jia Kui to discuss questions of scholarship both in the White Tiger Hall of the Northern Palace and at the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace. Delighted with his presentations, he commissioned Jia Kui to expound the manner in which *Zuo zhuan* was superior to the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to *Chunqiu*. Jia Kui presented a long memorial, preserved in his biography, which argues that only *Zuo zhuan* agrees with the established texts of prognostication 圖讖. This was again received with approval, Jia Kui was rewarded with presents, and orders were given that he should select twenty good young scholars from amongst those currently studying the Gongyang commentary, instruct them in *Zuo zhuan*, and compile a new edition of the classic

and the commentary.

The emperor frequently called Jia Kui to discuss the Old Text *History* and expound its connection to other classics and to the *Er ya* 爾雅 dictionary, while he commissioned him to prepare comparisons between the Old and New Texts of both *History* and *Poetry* and also a commentary to *Zhou li*, an Old Text work which had been sponsored by Liu Xin 劉歆 of Former Han but had since fallen from favour. Concerned that he should have no distractions from his work, the emperor sent twenty thousand cash to Jia Kui's aging mother, while Jia Kui himself was appointed commander of the guards in the Northern Palace.

Scholars of the official New Text were increasingly concerned at this support for their rival, and the Academician Li Yu was a leader of opposition to *Zuo zhuan*. In 79, on a proposal of Yang Zhong, a formal conference was held in the White Tiger Hall 白虎觀, under the patronage and in the presence of the emperor, to resolve the multitude of disagreements [see *sub* Ban Gu]. It is known that Jia Kui took part in the conference, but the surviving record of the discussions, *Bohu tong* 白虎通, reflects almost entirely the teachings of New Text. There is question of how much may have been amended, interpolated, or even forged since the original compilation, but it would appear, as Tjan suggests, that the academic establishment carried the day, and the interests of Jia Kui and his imperial patron were defeated.

On the other hand, as Tjan also observes, Emperor Zhang maintained his support. An edict of 83 expressed concern at the deterioration of learning and the proliferation of detailed and over-long commentaries. At the same time there were renewed instructions for good students to be introduced to the study of *Zuo zhuan* with the Guliang commentary, together with the Old Text of the *History* and the Mao interpretation of the *Poetry*, also in Old Text tradition, while the emperor appointed nominees of Jia Kui to be gentlemen at the court of his senior son Liu Kang the King of Qiansheng.

In the long term, though New Text retained formal dominance until the end of Han, the most energetic and imaginative scholars were those of the Old Text tradition which had been largely revived by Jia Kui.

In 85, with advice from Bian Xin and Li Fan, officers of the Bureau of Astronomy, Emperor Zhang promulgated a new calendar based upon an amended

version of the ancient *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system. There remained, however, several questions of fine tuning, and because of his experience of historical dating Jia Kui was commissioned to consult with various experts and present a report. In 92, moreover, after the accession of Emperor He, Jia Kui prepared *Li lun* 歷論, a fuller "Essay on the Calendar:" extensive quotations are preserved in the Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar 律歷志 of Sima Biao.

In 91 Jia Kui was made a General of the Household in charge of a corps of gentleman cadets at the court of Emperor He, and in 97 he became a Palace Attendant and a Commandant of Cavalry. He continued to receive high trust, was influential in study and debate, and compiled a quantity of scholarly commentary and literary compositions, but his manner was considered too informal for senior administrative office. When he died at the age of seventy-one Jia Kui received official mourning, and his two sons were appointed to the suite of the Heir. -HHS 36/26:1234-40*, 92/2:3027-30, XC 1:14a-b; Tjan 49:154-165, Texts:347-356 [Loewe] and 27 [Boltz], MBeck 90:24, 59, Needham 59:200, 287. **Jia Kui** 賈逵 or Jia Qu 衢 [Liangdao 梁道] (174-228); Hedong. Jia Kui's father died when he was young, and though the family was of good quality they were so poor that Jia Kui had no trousers to wear in winter; he took a pair from his uncle Liu Fu. He was a keen scholar, with broad knowledge of the classics and particular interest in *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*.

In 202 Jia Kui was brevet magistrate of Jiang county in Hedong, his home commandery, on the middle Fen River. Guo Yuan, named Administrator by the Yuan group, invaded the commandery from the east, and though Jia Kui attempted to hold the city for Cao Cao he was compelled to surrender. The elders of Jiang obtained a promise from Guo Yuan that he would not harm Jia Kui, and though Jia Kui abused Guo Yuan, and he threatened to kill him, the people clamoured in his favour and Guo Yuan sent him to prison in Shangdang. He was rescued by Zhu Gongdao.

Jia Kui had earlier noted that the county of Pishi, by the junction of the Fen with the Yellow River, was of critical strategic importance, and while the siege of Jiang was still in progress he sent an urgent message to the commandery authorities that they should occupy that city. After he was captured, he persuaded Guo Yuan's adviser Zhu Ao to keep Guo Yuan halted for a week. During that time Cao Cao's men were able to

enter Pishi and prepare their defences.

Jia Kui received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent and was appointed full magistrate of Mianchi in Hongnong. As Gao Gan of the Yuan family attacked Hedong, the local leader Zhang Yan planned to join the invaders but Jia Kui, having first pretended to support him, turned and destroyed him.

Jia Kui later joined the offices of Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor. On one occasion he angered Cao Cao when he and two colleagues wrote to protest against a foolhardy plan to attack Sun Quan during unfavourable weather. Jia Kui insisted that the responsibility was his alone; he was sent to prison, but Cao Cao came to appreciate his loyalty.

As Cao Cao attacked the western warlords in 211 Jia Kui was named Administrator of Hongnong. He was dismissed after a demarcation dispute with the head of a military colony, but when Cao Cao attacked Liu Bei in 219 Jia Kui served as his scout and adviser, and he was then appointed Counsellor Remonstrant.

When Cao Cao died at Luoyang in 220, there was a mutiny among the Qingzhou Troops, originally formed from surrendered Yellow Turbans. Jia Kui settled them, then disbanded the force and had the men return to their home country in the east. Cao Cao's second son Cao Zhang came to Luoyang and enquired about the royal insignia, but Jia Kui rebuked him and sent him away. He reported Cao Cao's death to Cao Pi at Ye city, took part in arrangements for his succession, and was appointed Prefect of Ye and then Administrator of Wei commandery, restoring order in the heartland of the new empire.

Jia Kui was later Inspector of Yu province, where he maintained a strict administration and firm defence. He took part in several campaigns to the south, and in 228 he rescued Cao Xiu, a personal rival, from a trap set by the Wu. He was granted enfeoffment, and when he died the people of the province erected a stele and held sacrifices in his honour. -SGZ 15:479-84*.

Jia Lan 賈覽 (d.36?). A general in the service of Lu Fang, in the summer of 30 Jia Lan defeated and killed Liu Xing, Guangwu's Administrator of Dai commandery, and took over the territory.

Later that year Jia Lan was in Beidi with a force of Xiongnu led by a king. The Han general Feng Yi, advancing from the Wei valley, drove them away and took the territory south of the Ordos.

In 33 Jia Lan was faced by a major offensive

against Gaoliu from an army of Guangwu under Wu Han, but he received support from Min Kan and a force of Xiongnu cavalry. Aided by a heavy rainstorm they defeated the imperial forces, and further attacks in the winter and spring were resisted with equal success.

In 36 Jia Lan was ordered to support Lu Fang's attack on Yunzhong commandery by a simultaneous invasion from the east, but then his colleague Sui Yu changed sides, Jia Lan was put to flight and was probably killed. Dai commandery returned to the control of Han. -HHS 12/2:507, 17/7:651; Bn 67:106-110.

Jia Lang 賈朗. A member of the Imperial Secretariat, Jia Lang was a friend of the eunuch Zhang Fang. When the Director of Retainers Yu Xu accused Zhang Fang of conspiracy and extortion in 126, the matter was referred to the Secretariat. Jia Lang reported against Yu Xu, but on the urgings of the eunuchs Sun Cheng and Gao Fan, Zhang Fang was found guilty and was exiled. Jia Lang and other officers of the Secretariat were either executed or sentenced to convict service. -HHS 58/48:1871.

Another report of conspiracy involving Zhang Fan appears in the Treatise of Astronomy, HHS 101/11:3243. There it is said that two members of the Secretariat were executed, while other officials at the court, in the provinces and on the frontier were able to expiate their faults by paying a fine. Though there is no mention of Jia Lang, this would appear to be the same affair. Cf. *sub* Zhang Fang.

Jia Long 賈龍 (d.191); Jianwei [some texts, probably mistaken, say that he came from Shu]. A man of family, Jia Long was Assistant Officer of the provincial government in 188 when the Inspector Que Jian was killed and the north of Yi province was over-run by rebels under the leadership of Ma Xiang. With a nucleus of family troops, Jia Long collected a loyalist force of a thousand men for a counter-attack. Ma Xiang was defeated and killed, the rebellion was settled, and Jia Long led his men north to receive the new Governor Liu Yan, who appointed him as a colonel.

In 191, as Liu Yan made himself independent of the court of Han, Jia Long led troops against him. Sources disagree whether he acted in close alliance with the Administrator of Jianwei Ren Qi, who also led an insurrection about this time, or whether he acted separately in response to encouragement from Zhao Qian, an officer of the government at Chang'an. In any

event, the attack was defeated and Jia Long was killed. -HHS 75/65:2432, SGZ Shu 1:866-67, HYGZ 5:70.

Jia Min 賈敏; Nanyang. Son of Jia Zhong, he inherited the marquisate of Jiaodong which had first been awarded to his grandfather Jia Fu. In 76 he was found to have wrongfully accused his mother of murder; the fief was abolished. -HHS 17/7:667.

Jia Mu 賈穆; Wuwei. Eldest son of Jia Xu, he succeeded to his fief in 223 and held regional appointments under Wei. -SGZ 10:331.

Jia Na 賈納; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Na was a son of Jia Yuan; see *sub* Jia Xu 詡.

Jia Pi 賈丕; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Pi was a son of Jia Yuan; see *sub* Jia Xu 詡.

Jia Qi 賈期 (d.26); Henan. Leader of a group of bandits in south-eastern Henan, Jia Qi joined Yan Zhong and Zhao Dun of Yingchuan to plunder the region. In 26 Kou Xun was sent as Administrator to Yingchuan, aided by the general Hou Jin. Jia Qi was captured and executed and the territory was settled. -HHS 16/6:623.

Jia Qiang 賈彊 (d.25). In 25 Jia Qiang was second in command to Su Mao in his attack on Henei. They were defeated by Liu Xiu's Administrator Kou Xun, and Jia Qiang was killed. -HHS 16/6:622.

Jia Qu 賈衢 see Jia Kui 賈逵. Jia Kui's original personal name was Qu, but he changed it. -SGZ 15:481.

Jia Shen 賈參 see Jia Can 賈參.

Jia Shu 賈淑 [Zihou 子厚 or Ziyu 子序]; Taiyuan. A fellow-countryman of Guo Tai, and a man of old official family, Jia Shu was aggressive by nature and the local people disliked and feared him.

About 160 Jia Shu killed a man to avenge his uncle Song Yuan. He was arrested by the county officers and condemned to death. Touched by his mother's distress and impressed by Jia Shu's own show of remorse, Guo Tai interceded for him, first with the county magistrate and then with the commandery authorities. Jia Shu was released.

When Guo Tai's mother died Jia Shu attended the funeral. Another gentleman, Sun Weizhi, who was also present, was offended that someone of such poor quality as Jia Shu should be there, and he was going to leave. Guo Tai explained that Jia Shu had great potential, and so Sun Weizhi stayed.

Jia Shu overheard Guo Tai's comment. Resolving to change his ways, he made amends to the neighbours

he had offended, and became known as a gentleman of the finest quality. -HHS 68/58:2229-30, XC 4:10a-b.

Jia Tingyu 賈廷玉; Henan. XTS 75B:3387 says that Jia Tingyu was a son of Jia Yi and brother of Jia Xiuyu. I suspect, however, that this generation did not exist: see *sub* Jia Xiuyu.

Jia [Wuzhong] 賈武中 (36-64); Nanyang. Fifth son of Jia Fu, Jia Wuzhong married Ma Jiang, a daughter of the general Ma Yuan. He died at the age of twenty-nine *sui*. -Nagata 94:44.

Jia Xi 賈習; Hedong. Grandfather of Jia Kui, he prophesied a military career for him after watching how he played with toy soldiers as a child. -SGZ 15: 479.

Jia Xian 家羨 was a county magistrate in Beihai. -FSTY 5f:132.

Jia Xin 賈信. Early in 203, as Cao Cao made a temporary withdrawal from his offensive against Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang, he left Jia Xin in garrison in Wei commandery.

In 212 Jia Xin was sent to deal with the north-eastern rebels Tian Yan and Su Bo. -SGZ 1:23, 14:429.

Jia Xiuyu 賈秀玉; Henan. XTS 75B:3387 says that Jia Xiuyu, great-grandfather of Jia Xu 詡, was Administrator of Wuwei. It is hard to believe, however, that a man of that name could exist in Later Han, because the character *xiu*, personal name of the founding Emperor Guangwu, was subject to taboo. I suspect the generation did not exist.

Jia Xu 賈栩 [Yuanji 元集]; Guanghan. Because of his father's death in a family feud, Meng Boyuan wanted to kill Jia Xu. He was arrested by the local authorities, but Jia Xu killed himself in order to end the chain of violence. Jia Xu was praised by the moral commentator Li Sheng. -HYGZ 10B:150-51.

Jia Xu 賈許 [Weikang 偉康]. Working in the market as a butcher or a wine-merchant, both regarded as disgraceful occupations, Jia Xu was appreciated by Guo Tai and became well-known. -XC 4:10a.

Jia Xu 賈詡 [Wenhe 文和] (147-223); Wuwei. Though Jia Xu's biography in SGZ 10 has no mention of his ancestry, high officials of the Jia surname under Tang claimed descent from him, and XTS 76B:3387-88 presents a long and detailed lineage, including the Former Han statesman Jia Yi 賈誼, a man of Luoyang, and says that Jia Xu's father Gong held military office and moved his family to Wuwei. There are doubts about dating, and apparent anachronisms: see, for

example *sub* Jia Ye, Jia Yi and Jia Xiuyu. I nonetheless provide entries for the names of Jia Xu's putative ancestors back to Jia Ye.

SGZ says that when he was young Jia Xu was not well recognised, but the judge of character Yan Zhong admired his potential and about 170 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet at the capital. Leaving on account of illness, on the journey home he was captured by rebel Di, but while the others of his party were killed Jia Xu falsely claimed kinship with the frontier general Duan Jiong and was escorted by his captors to safety.

When Dong Zhuo seized power at Luoyang in 189 Jia Xu was a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies, but then held a series of military appointments. At the time Dong Zhuo was assassinated in 192 Jia Xu was a colonel with the army of Niu Fu, but Niu Fu was killed in a mutiny soon afterwards. As Li Jue and Niu Fu's other subordinates felt threatened by the new regime at Chang'an under Wang Yun, Jia Xu persuaded them that their best hope was to attack the capital directly. The enterprise was completely successful, Li Jue and his fellows gained power, but Jia Xu refused any rewards and took an ordinary post in the Imperial Secretariat, though he had responsibility for appointments. He retired from that office when his mother died, then became a Household Counsellor, still influential in the counsels of the leaders. He tried to keep peace and some order amongst them, and on his advice and that of Zhou Zhong the new regime called the potential enemy Zhu Jun back into imperial service at Chang'an, evidently in the hope he might serve as an ally against the excesses of the ramshackle warlords.

In 195, as Li Jue and Guo Si fought in the capital and the emperor began his escape to the east, Jia Xu remained with Li Jue and acted to keep him under some moral control. He persuaded the Qiang and other non-Chinese groups to leave the capital before they plundered it, and he saved several officials from death after Li Jue captured them.

Soon afterwards Jia Xu joined his fellow-countryman Duan Wei in western Hongnong. Many among Duan Wei's troops knew and admired him, and Jia Xu became anxious that Duan Wei might be jealous and suspicious. He therefore left his family in Duan Wei's care and went to Zhang Xiu in Nanyang, who was fighting Cao Cao on behalf of Liu Biao. Jia Xu established himself as a close adviser.

In 199, when Yuan Shao sent an envoy to seek support against Cao Cao, Jia Xu persuaded Zhang Xiu to a *volte-face*, allying himself with Cao Cao instead. Cao Cao, suitably grateful, granted Jia Xu ministerial rank and enfeoffment, and kept him regularly in his council. Jia Xu, for his part, recognising he had no long and close connection, was careful to give Cao Cao no cause to suspect his loyalty or ambition.

Jia Xu accompanied Cao Cao to Jing province in 208, where he advised against the risky advance which led to defeat at the Red Cliffs, and to the northwest in 211, where he encouraged Cao Cao to a pretence of negotiations with the enemy warlords as a means to divide them.

In 213 Jia Xu was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. About 217, as Cao Cao was considering whether to appoint his eldest son Pi, or his favourite Zhi, as Heir, Jia Xu supported Cao Pi, citing the example of Yuan Shao and Liu Biao, who had ruined their families by allowing a younger son to succeed in despite of the eldest.

As Cao Cao died and Cao Pi succeeded him in 220, Jia Xu became Grand Commandant of the kingdom of Wei, and he was a sponsor of the stele which commemorated Cao Pi's accession to the imperial throne. He continued as Grand Commandant of the new dynasty for three years until his death, but he had limited authority, and Cao Pi did not accept his advice to avoid further campaigns against Wu and Shu-Han. -SGZ 10:326-31*.

Jia Yan 賈衍; Henan. XTS 75B:3387 says that Jia Yan, grandfather of Jia Xu 詡, was Inspector of Yan province.

Jia Yao 賈瑤 see Jia Cong 賈琮.

Jia Ye 賈曄; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Ye was a descendant of the statesman Jia Yi 賈誼 of Former Han, and that he became Administrator of Xiapi. Generation count indicates that this should have been early in Later Han, but Linhuai commandery was named Xiapi only in 72. See *sub* Jia Ye's putative descendant Jia Xu 詡.

Jia Yi 賈沂; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Yi was the son of Jia Pi, and that he became Custodian of the Private Library (*mishu jian* 祕書監). This office was not established until 159, and the statement appears anachronistic, for XTS also says that Jia Yi was the great-great-grandfather of Jia Xu 詡, who was born in 147.

Jia Yu 賈育; Nanyang. Son of Jia Han, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 17/7:667.

Jia Yuan 賈淵; Henan. XTS 76B:3387 says that Jia Yuan, a son of Jia Ye, became Administrator of Liaodong. This would have been in the first century; see *sub* Jia Xu 詡.

Jia Zhang 賈長 see Jia Chang 賈長.

Jia Zhong 賈忠; Nanyang. Son of Jia Fu and elder brother of Jia Han and Jia Zong, he inherited their father's fief in 55. -HHS 17/7:667.

Jia Zong 賈宗 [Wuru 武孺] (d.88); Nanyang. Son of Jia Fu and younger brother of Jia Zhong and Jia Han, Jia Zong was a man of fine principles, known for his wise counsel. After their father's great fief was abolished in 76 due to the crime of their nephew Jia Min, Emperor Zhang approved renewal of the marquise for Jia Han, and another was created for Jia Zong. Each, however, had only a single county.

Jia Zong became a gentleman cadet, and about 80 he was sent as Administrator to Shuofang. Hitherto, when people from within the empire were transferred to the frontier they were generally poor, oppressed by the locals, and were not eligible for commandery office. Jia Zong, however, allowed immigrants to be selected along with the native-born. As each group checked the other, wrongdoers were removed, while those who did well received senior posts and gave utmost loyalty. Impressed by this, and by Jia Zong's reputation as a son of Jia Fu, the Xiongnu ceased raiding the borders.

Returning to the capital as a colonel in the Northern Army, Jia Zong developed his Confucian scholarship. At a time of drought in 85 he proposed unsuccessfully that punishments should be applied outside the traditional winter season, and he held a number of debates with the celebrated scholar and Minister Steward Ding Hong. All the court mourned his death. -HHS 17/7:667-68.

Jia Zong 賈琮 see Jia Cong 賈琮.

Jian 建 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. King of Qiuzi by favour of the Northern Xiongnu, Jian shared control of the Northern Road of the Tarim basin with the state of Yanqi [Karashar]. In 73 he attacked Shule [Kashgar], killed its King Cheng and set his own officer Douti on the throne. Later that year, however, the Chinese envoy Ban Chao restored the native dynasty there and sent Douti back to Qiuzi.

In 75 Jian sent troops to Yanqi to destroy the Han Protector-General Chen Mu, then made another attack

on Shule and again forced its submission. Ban Chao returned and restored the situation. -*HHS* 47/37:1574-75, 88/78:2926.

Jian 建 of Yutian [Khotan] (d.152). In 151 the Chinese agent Zhao Xu died at Yutian. King Jian of that state was slandered by his rival King Chengguo of Jumi [present-day Yutian], who told Zhao Xu's son that he had poisoned him. The young man believed this and reported it to Ma Da the Administrator of Dunhuang, who encouraged the new officer Wang Jing to investigate.

As Wang Jing was on his way to Yutian, Chengguo repeated the story, and Wang Jing attempted to hold Jian for investigation during a feast. Before any arrest could be made, Chengguo's staff officer Qinmu, who was present at the gathering, came forward and killed him. -*HHS* 88/78:2916.

Jian Fu 堅浮; Yingchuan. Son of Jian Hong, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 22/12:784.

Jian Hong 堅鴻; Yingchuan. Son of Jian Tan, he succeeded to his fief in 50. -*HHS* 22/12:784.

Jian Lan 蹇蘭 was an Inspector of Jiaozhi.

Jian Lang 蹇朗 see Han Lang 寒朗.

Jian Qiong 賤瓊 became Administrator of Youbeiping. -*FSTY* 6f:144.

Jian Shi 蹇碩 (d.189); Yingchuan. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates, Jian Shi was strong and warlike. In 188, as Emperor Ling established the eight colonels of the Western Garden, evidently planned as his personal army, he appointed Jian Shi Colonel of the First Army 上軍校尉. Not only was he chief among his fellows, but the General-in-Chief He Jin, formal commander of the regular Northern Army, was also placed under his orders.

After the death of Emperor Ling in the following year, Jian Shi planned to assassinate the General-in-Chief He Jin, uncle of the elder imperial son Liu Bian, and place the younger brother Liu Xie on the throne. Warned by Jian Shi's junior officer Pan Yin, He Jin withdrew from the palace, gathered his troops, and forced the succession through from a distance.

Jian Shi made plans against He Jin, but his conspiracy with other senior eunuchs was revealed by Guo Sheng. Jian Shi was arrested and killed, and He Jin took over his troops. -*HHS* 8:356-58, 69/59:2247-48, *HHJ* 25:303-07.

Jian Tan 堅鐔 [Ziji 子伋 or Zipi 子皮] (d.50); Yingchuan. A local officer in his county, Jian Tan was

recommended to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, when he was sent as commissioner in the north by the Gengshi Emperor in 24. Jian Tan was a fellow-countryman of Fu Jun, who had served Liu Xiu before, and it is likely that Jian Tan accompanied him to Liu Xiu and received his nomination.

Because of his clerical experience Jian Tan was first appointed as Registrar, but he then became a lieutenant-general and took part in all the campaigns in the north. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 Jian Tan was made a full general and enfeoffed with a county in Runan.

He went with the imperial army to attack Luoyang, still held by the Gengshi Emperor's commander Zhu Wei. One of Zhu Wei's officers, responsible for the eastern wall of the city, wrote secretly to Jian Tan and undertook to open one of the gates at dawn. Jian Tan and the general Zhu You got in and fought with Zhu Wei's men. Though they were obliged to withdraw, they had inflicted heavy losses, and the incident confirmed Zhu Wei's decision to surrender.

Early in 26 Jian Tan took part in the campaign of Wu Han against the Tanxiang bandit group in Wei commandery, and soon afterwards he was sent under the general Wan Xiu into Nanyang. The campaign was initially successful, but in the autumn the local leader Dong Xin led a rebellion which seized Wan city, capital of the commandery, and captured the administrator Liu Lin. Returning to Wan, Jian Tan selected a group of volunteers to climb the wall by night and open the gates. Dong Xin abandoned the city and returned to his home territory nearby on the east.

About this time the general Deng Feng rebelled and drove off his erstwhile commander Wu Han, while Jian Tan's own superior, Wan Xiu, died of illness. Faced by Dong Xin on the north and Deng Feng to the south, Jian Tan and his men were isolated in Wan, cut off from the main imperial forces and from their sources of supply. With a diet of simple vegetables, Jian Tan shared his men's hardships and took the lead in the defence. Though he was wounded three times, he held the troop together for several months. Then Guangwu brought an army into Nanyang early in 27, and Dong Xin and Deng Feng were defeated and surrendered.

Jian Tan was once more appointed to the emperor's staff, and accompanied him thereafter on his campaigns. In 30 his fief was transferred to a county in Jiujiang. It

is not known when he retired from the imperial service, but he died in 50 without any further incident recorded against his name. When Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Jian Tan was one of those who were honoured. -*HHS* 22/12:783*; Bn 59:153-154, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:86.

Jian Wei 蹇威; Ba. A local commandery officer, Jian Wei was killed by brigands about 150. -*HYGZ* 1:6.

Jian Ya 堅雅; Yingchuan. Son of Jian Fu, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 22/12:784.

Jian Yin 蹇胤; Ba. In 201 Jian Yin persuaded Liu Zhang the warlord Governor of Yi province to change the names of the various divisions which had been made from Ba commandery of Later Han. -*HYGZ* 1:8.

Jian Yong 簡雍 [Xianhe 憲和]; Zhuo. The surname of Jian Yong was originally Geng, but the two characters 簡 and 耿 were pronounced the same in northern dialects, and so it changed.

A friend of Liu Bei when they were young, Jian Yong accompanied him on his travels, served on his staff and, with Mi Zhu and Sun Gan, was a close confidant. He treated Liu Bei with marked informality and gave him jocular but outspoken advice. When Liu Bei entered Yi province in 211, the Governor Liu Zhang had shown his admiration for him, and as Liu Bei laid siege to Chengdu in 214 he sent Jian Yong into the city to persuade Liu Zhang to surrender. Jian Yong was given title as a general, but remained on Liu Bei's personal staff. -*SGZ* Shu 8:970-71*.

Jian Yu 賤虞 of Lu is mentioned in *FSTY* 6f:144.

Jian Zhong 諫忠 was an officer of the Censorate. -*FSTY* 6f:144.

Jiang 姜 [a woman bandit] see *sub* Zheng Jiang.

Jiang 姜, the Lady I; Ba. The Lady Jiang was the mother of Xian Ni, but nothing more is known of them. -*HYGZ* 12:222.

Jiang 姜, the Lady II (d.213). Mother of Jiang Xu, she had also cared for her nephew Yang Fu when he was a child. In 213, when Yang Fu urged Jiang Xu to make a rising against Ma Chao in Hanyang, she encouraged the plan. Ma Chao was defeated, but as he retreated he captured Li city where the Lady was living.

When she was brought before him, the Lady abused Ma Chao for abandoning his father Ma Teng [who had been killed as a hostage by Cao Cao] and for murdering his lord the Inspector Wei Kang. Ma Chao

killed her and some of her children.

Yang Fu later reported on the Lady's conduct, and Cao Cao issued a proclamation to honour her courage. -*SGZ* 25:701-03; deC 96:454-456.

Jiang 蔣 [personal name unknown] (88-152). A man of old official family, he became chancellor of a county marquisate in Yuzhang. When he died in office at the age of sixty-five, he was deeply mourned by his daughter and a stele was erected in his honour. -*LS* 6:15a-17a.

Jiang Chong 蔣崇. Chancellor of Beihai, Jiang Chong sent his Officer of Merit Xu Meng to tour his territory as the "eyes and ears" of his administration. -*XC* 7:12b.

Jiang Gan 蔣幹 [Ziyi 子翼]; Jiujiang. Known as the finest debater of the region, about 209 Jiang Gan was sent by Cao Cao in an attempt to suborn Sun Quan's commander Zhou Yu. Zhou Yu received him courteously but rejected his advances. -*SGZ* Wu 9:1265.

Jiang Ge 江革 [Ciweng 次翁 or Cibo 次伯]; Qi. When Jiang Ge was young his father died and he lived alone with his mother. During the troubles at the end of Han he was caught by bandits, but persuaded them to let him go so that he could find food for her. They travelled to Xiapi, where they lived very poorly, but Jiang Ge always provided for her.

They returned home about 50, by which time his mother was old, and in order to avoid disturbing her he pulled the carriage himself rather than using an ox or a horse. The people nicknamed him Great Piety 巨孝, and the Administrator invited him to office, but because of his mother he would not accept. When his mother died he lived in a hut by her tomb during the mourning period, but eventually accepted office in the commandery.

Early in the reign of Emperor Ming Jiang Ge was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as a gentleman cadet, and was then Coachman to Liu Ying the King of Chu. He left that office after a few weeks, and despite threats and blandishments he refused to go back. He later accepted invitations from the Excellencies, but again left soon afterwards.

About 77 the Grand Commandant Mou Rong nominated Jiang Ge as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, and he became head of the office of the Excellency of Works. Emperor Zhang was impressed by the fact that he refused contact with his distaff

relatives Ma Liao and Dou Xian. He appointed him a General of the Household, showed him special respect and attention at court, and when Jiang Ge was taken ill he sent him special delicacies.

Because of his illness Jiang Ge asked to retire, but instead he was granted a less onerous position as Counsellor Remonstrant. Eventually he was allowed home, but in the late 80s Emperor Zhang recalled his fine conduct: he wrote to the Chancellor of Qi to enquire about his health. Referring to Jiang Ge's old nickname of Great Piety, which thus became widely known, the ruler ordered that he receive an annual donation of meat and wine, and when Jiang Ge died his family was granted a great quantity of grain. -*HHS* 39/29:1302-03*, *XC* 2.b.

Jiang Gong 姜肱 [Bohuai 伯淮] (96-173); Pengcheng. Jiang Gong and his brothers Zhonghai and Jijiang were men of established family: their father had been Chancellor of Rencheng and their grandfather Administrator of Yuzhang. Celebrated for filial piety and close friendship, they slept under the same coverlet and even when they married they were unwilling to be separated. Having bedded their wives just long enough to sire an heir, they sent the women back home.

Jiang Gong had broad knowledge of the Confucian classics and of astronomy. Thousands of students came to attend him, while his brothers were only slightly less celebrated. On one occasion Jiang Gong and Jiang Jijiang were travelling at night to the commandery capital when they encountered robbers upon the road who intended to kill them. Each, however, begged for his brother's life, Jiang Gong explaining that Jijiang was his parents' solace and was not yet married, while Jijiang argued that his elder brother was of far greater virtue and value. Impressed by such self-sacrifice, the bandits took their goods but let both men go.

When the two men arrived at the city, they were asked how they had lost their clothes. They gave some excuse, but neither mentioned the bandits. When the robbers heard about this, they were very impressed and went to the brothers' lodging to apologise and return what they had taken. Jiang Gong refused to take back his property, but instead treated the robbers to wine and food, then sent them away. Another version of the story says that the robbers overlooked some money lying in the bottom of the carriage. Jiang Gong sent someone after them to give them this too, and when they demurred he pressed it into their hands himself.

Jiang Gong thus displayed his indifference to worldly things, and though they received many invitations and nominations neither he nor his brothers would accept office. When Chen Fan became Director of the Secretariat under the personal government of Emperor Huan in 159, he recommended Jiang Gong as one of the five most worthy men of the empire. A special carriage was sent to invite him to the capital, but he would not go. The emperor sent an artist to Pengcheng to paint his portrait, but Jiang Gong claimed to be suffering from dizzy spells; he lay in the dark with a cover over his face, and the man was obliged to return without a likeness.

After the eunuchs had overthrown the government of Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168, Jiang Gong was again noted as one of the most admired men of the empire. He was named Administrator of Jianwei, but refused to go and fled to the coast. The emperor himself sent an edict in his own hand asking him to accept appointment as a Palace Counsellor, but when this came to his door Jiang Gong fled away completely, taking an assumed name and making his living by the practice of divination. Not even his family knew where he was, and it was not for some time, after the edict of invitation was revoked, that he returned.

Jiang Gong died in his own home, and his disciples Liu Cao, Shentu Pan and others composed and erected a stele in his honour. -*HHS* 53/43:1749-50*, *XC* 3:3a-4a, *Cai* 2:6; Vervorn 90:179-181, deC 89:15-17.

FSTY 5:40; Nylan 83:474-476, which mistakenly gives Jiang Gong's style as Boya 伯雅, says that Jiang Gong fled the invitations he received from the eunuch government by sailing away on a raft [*cf. Analects* V.6], and that he was never seen again. Ying Shao contrasts his refusal to serve the eunuch regime with that of the weaker position taken by Wei Zhu.

Jiang Gong 江宮 (d.200); Runan. A local bandit, Jiang Gong and his group were destroyed by Li Tong, who sent his head to Cao Cao. -*SGZ* 18:535

Jiang Han 江漢 [Zifu 子甫]. For several years in the early 140s the territory of Danyang was ravaged by bandits and pirates led by Yu Lai and Lu Gong. When Jiang Han was appointed Administrator he trained a volunteer militia, and by 145 he had defeated the enemy and killed their leaders. The imperial government rewarded him with a sword and a belt. -*HHS* 6:278, *XC* 8:11a.

Jiang Hao 姜昊. Holder of a small fief in Ba command-

ery, Jiang Hao was attacked by bandits about 150. - *HYGZ* 1:6.

Jiang He 姜合 (d.219); Wudu. Celebrated in the northwest of the empire for his study of the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*], in 213 Jiang He came to the court of Zhang Lu the theocratic warlord of Hanzhong. Claiming authority from the oracular *Kongzi ban* 孔子版 "Tablet of Confucius," he advised Zhang Lu's officer Li Fu that the state of Wei would take over the empire.

About 215 Li Fu passed this prophecy to Zhang Lu, encouraging him to surrender to Cao Cao, while Jiang He was one of the first to welcome the forces of Wei.

In 220 Li Fu presented a report of Jiang He's claim to the throne of Cao Pi, urging him to fulfil the destiny of his state. This began the process which led to the abdication of Han to Wei. - *SGZ* 2:62-63; Goodman 98: 78-79.

Jiang Ji 姜濟 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Jiang Ji joined the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Jiang Ji joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. - *HYGZ* 2:16, 10C: 169.

Jiang Ji 蔣濟 [Zitong 子通] (d.249); Jiujiang. Having been Reporting Officer for his commandery, Jiang Ji became Attendant Officer of Yang province. Fond of wine, he was frequently drunk, and at one time, infuriated by his discourtesy, the magistrate Shi Miao set up a wooden figure, labelled it "the Drunkard Jiang Ji" 酒徒蔣濟, and shot arrows at it each morning and evening.

In 208, however, as Cao Cao's main army was engaged in Jing province, Sun Quan came to attack Hefei. Though Cao Cao had ordered the general Zhang Xi to bring relief it would be some time before he could arrive, while the Inspector of the province was outside the city and had too few troops to break the siege. Jiang Ji, however, told the Inspector that he had received a letter to say Zhang Xi was coming with forty thousand men. The Inspector believed him and sent men through the enemy lines to encourage the

defence. More importantly, Sun Quan captured some of the messengers; he too believed the report, and he led his army away.

In 213 Cao Cao proposed to transfer the people from the territory between the Huai and the Yangzi so as to deprive Sun Quan of the opportunity to make use of them. Jiang Ji argued that this would only unsettle them, but Cao Cao put the policy into effect nonetheless. When the people fled south across the Yangzi, Cao Cao acknowledged his mistake and named Jiang Ji as Administrator of Danyang – since that territory was outside his control the appointment was not necessarily a compliment. In practice, Jiang Ji was soon transferred to his old position as Attendant Officer in Yang province, assisting the Inspector Wen Hui. At one time there was a rumour that Jiang Ji was planning to change allegiance to Wu, but Cao Cao expressed complete confidence in him, and later transferred him to his Imperial Chancellor's offices.

When Guan Yu attacked up the Han River in 219, there was a proposal to shift the capital from Xu city to Ye in order to avoid the threat, but Jiang Ji and Sima Yi argued that the enemy's position was unstable, and Sun Quan should be encouraged to make an attack on his rear. This indeed happened.

As Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220, he promoted Jiang Ji in the Chancellor's offices. When Cao Pi took the imperial throne, Jiang Ji was sent out briefly with a military command, then returned as a personal adviser. He held various appointments at the capital and in the field, notably as an adviser on campaigns against Wu and as a member of the Secretariat. He continued as a counsellor to Cao Rui, but protested at his extravagance. In 242 Jiang Ji became Grand Commandant to Cao Fang, and in 249 he supported Sima Yi in the coup which destroyed Cao Shuang. He died that year.

Author of *Wanji lun* 萬機論 "Myriad Subtleties" and *Sanzhou lun* 三州論 "Essay on the Three Provinces," prepared for Cao Pi, Jiang Ji is sometimes referred to as "Master Jiang" 蔣子. - *SGZ* 14:450-55*, 23:662.

Jiang Ji 蔣奇 see Jiang Qi 蔣奇.

Jiang [Jijiang] 姜季江 of Pengcheng was the youngest brother of Jiang Gong 姜肱 *q.v.*

Jiang Jing 江京 (d.125). A eunuch, in 106 Jiang Jing received Liu You, the future Emperor An, when he came to stay at the royal residence for Qinghe in

Luoyang before the Dowager Deng placed him upon the throne. When the emperor took full power after the death of the Dowager in 121, he granted Jiang Jing a fief and promoted him from Attendant at the Yellow Gates to Regular Attendant.

Holding great influence at court, Jiang Jing took part in the destruction of the family of the late Dowager, of the Excellency Yang Zhen and of the Lady Wang Nan, who had been wet-nurse to the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Concerned that Liu Bao might later avenge his former favourite, he then joined the accusations which brought Liu Bao's dismissal as Heir. Closely associated with the Empress Yan, her brother Yan Xian and other members of her clique, Jiang Jing became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, head of the Lady Yan's household, and was a leader of her supporters among the eunuchs.

After the death of Emperor An in 125 Jiang Jing was involved in the selection and appointment of the Little Emperor Liu Yi. Later that year, as Liu Yi was taken ill, Jiang Jing warned Yan Xian that he must continue to exclude Liu Bao, and urged him to call potential candidates from among the imperial clan to find a successor. Before this could be done, however, the Little Emperor died, and a few days later the eunuch Sun Cheng and others ran a coup which restored Liu Bao to the succession. In their first move the conspirators attacked Jiang Jing, Li Run and others in the Northern Palace, and they killed Jiang Jing. -HHS 78/68:2514-15.

Jiang Jun 蔣均; Guiyang. When Xu Jing was Administrator of Guiyang about 100, Jiang Jun came to him concerning a dispute with his brothers about property. Xu Jing was ashamed that his teaching of proper conduct had so little effect, and he sent in a report asking to be punished for his failure. Jiang Jun and his kinsmen promptly abandoned their case and asked that they might suffer instead. -HHS 76/66:2472.

Jiang Lan 江覽. When Emperor Ling set up the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital in 178 the new building contained thirty-two portraits of members of the School. Two of the men so honoured were Yue Song and Jiang Lan, but in a memorial written at that time both men were described by the scholar-official Yang Qiu as petty fellows, of mean origin and minimal capacity.

Yue Song was actually a scholar and calligrapher of some ability, and a favourite of Emperor Ling, but

nothing more is known of Jiang Lan. -HHS 77/67:2499.

Jiang Mengying 姜孟穎. A disciple of Zhang Zhi, at the end of Han Jiang Mengying was a celebrated calligrapher in the *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." -JS 36:1065.

Jiang Mian 江免; Qi. Son of Jiang Ge, when his father was ill Emperor Zhang still hoped to keep him at the capital, but Jiang Ge sent Jiang Mian to assure that it was truly serious, and that he needed to return home. -HHJ 11:135.

Jiang Mo 姜謨; Hanyang. A younger cousin of Jiang Xu, in 213 Jiang Mo was sent into Ji city to co-ordinate the local revolt against Ma Chao. -SGZ 25:701.

Jiang Mu 姜穆; Guanghan. Father of Jiang Pin, Jiang Mu was a magistrate in Longxi. He was found guilty of some offence, and was sent to Shuofang with all his family. He died there in exile. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Jiang Pin 姜嬪 [Yijiu 義舊], the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Jiang Mu, who was a magistrate in Longxi, the Lady was betrothed to her fellow-countryman Sima Ya when her father was found guilty of some offence and was sentenced to exile in Shuofang with all his family.

Despite this forced separation, Sima Ya maintained his connection to the Lady, but when he died soon afterwards she had to arrange for other people to carry out the funeral. Then her parents died, and the Lady remained in exile with her young brother for another ten years until she eventually sought permission to return home. The emperor sympathised with her, and gave orders that in future a woman who was betrothed should not be obliged to go into exile with her family. -HYGZ 10B:153, 12:227.

Jiang Qi 姜岐 [Ziping 子平]; Hanyang. Jiang Qi's father died when he was young, and he cared for his mother until her death. He then gave the best of the family land to his brother and retired to the wilderness where he herded pigs and kept bees. Widely known as a scholar of *Chunqiu*, the *Book of Changes* and of magical arts, he had more than three hundred students. He refused all offers of appointment from both local and central governments, even under threat of force. He died of old age at home. -HHS 51/41:1695.

Jiang Qi 蔣奇 [Yiqu 義渠?]. During the fighting at Guandu in 200, Ju Shou urged Yuan Shao to send Jiang Qi with troops to cut Cao Cao's supply lines; Yuan Shao would not agree. After the defeat, Jiang Qi and

Meng Dai accused Shen Pei of potential disloyalty. - *HHS* 74/64A:2400-02. See also Jiang Yiqu.

Jiang Qin 蔣欽 [Gongyi 公奕] (d.219); Jiujiang. Jiang Qin and his fellow-countryman Zhou Tai joined Sun Ce in 194. They accompanied him south of the Yangzi and were appointed as senior majors. Jiang Qin then took part in the conquest of Danyang, Wu, Kuaiji and Yuzhang, and having served as magistrate in three counties he became Commandant for the west of Kuaiji under Sun Quan.

About 205 Jiang Qin put down the rebellion of Lü He and Qin Lang along the southeast coast; he was promoted General of the Household and rewarded with revenue from two counties. He took part in operations in the Poyang region, and later assisted He Qi against the hills people of southern Danyang.

In 215 Jiang Qin accompanied the abortive assault on Hefei, but distinguished himself amidst the rout. He was promoted to be a general and shared command at Ruxu with Lü Meng when Cao Cao attacked in 217. He was later recalled to the capital and appointed Protector of the Army on the Right, responsible for discipline and military law.

Jiang Qin was noted for his modesty, simplicity and generosity: though Xu Sheng had acted against one of his followers, he always recommended him as a loyal and capable officer. On one occasion Sun Quan visited his house and found his women-folk in the humblest garb. He personally presented them with brocade for clothing and arranged new curtains and, as with Lü Meng, he encouraged Jiang Qin to study.

In 219 Jiang Qin took command of the fleet in the surprise attack on Guan Yu in Jing province, but became ill and died on the road back. Sun Quan wore mourning for him, granted his widow and children a tax pension and land, and later enfeoffed his son Jiang Yi 壹. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1286-87*.

Jiang Qiong 姜冏; Hanyang. Toward the end of Han Jiang Qiong was Officer of Merit in his commandery. During an attack by Qiang tribespeople he protected the Administrator with his own person and was killed. -*SGZ* Shu 14:1062; Fang 52:271.

Jiang She 江舍 (d.147); Chenliu. According to *HHS* 7:292-92 TC quoting *Dongguan Hanji*, Jiang She and Li Jian took the imperial title but were captured and executed in 147. The present text of *DGHJ* 3:4b does not contain that passage, and it is uncertain whether Jiang She was an associate of Li Jian or whether he

was a predecessor or successor in making the imperial claim.

Jiang Shi 姜詩 [Shiyou 士遊]; Guanghan. Jiang Shi was noted for his filial piety. His mother was fond of water from the river which flowed some two kilometres away. His wife the Lady Pang Xing would go each day to fetch some, but when she returned late one day Jiang Shi sent her away. She was later permitted to return.

The old lady was also very fond of shredded carp, but did not like to eat alone. Each day, therefore, Jiang Shi and his wife prepared the fish and served it to his mother and to a neighbour woman. Eventually, in reward for their good conduct, a stream appeared alongside their dwelling, with just the same taste as the water of the more distant river, and every morning there were two fresh carp. The source, moreover, extended to form a great lake and marshland, where a temple was erected in honour of Jiang Shi.

During a period of famine in the late 30s, a gang of brigands came by Jiang Shi's village, but they spared it on account of his fine reputation, and even provided him with food. He kept the supply hidden, and later handed it to the local authorities.

In 60 Jiang Shi was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and Emperor Ming was delighted to welcome a man of such reputation. As a magistrate in Jianwei, he governed the county well, and when he died in office the people set up a shrine to worship him. -*HHS* 84/74:2783-84, *HYGZ* 10B:148, *SJZ* 33:12a; Ch'ü 72:285.

Jiang Shi 姜詩, wife of: see the Lady Pang Xing 龐行.

Jiang Shi 蔣石; Xiping/Jincheng. A local leader in the Xining valley, the western part of Jincheng, in 215 Jiang Shi, Qu Yan and others sent Han Sui's head to Cao Cao as a sign of submission. It is not certain whether they killed him, or simply took advantage of his death from old age. -*SGZ* 1:45. See also *sub* Han Sui, where other accounts are cited.

Jiang Shu 姜述 (d.127). A junior officer of the Imperial Secretariat, in 126 Jiang Shu was accused of conspiring with the eunuch Zhang Fang, the Prefect Gaotang Zhi and other members of the Secretariat, together with a number of frontier officials. Most of the accused were able to purchase relief, but Jiang Shu and his colleague Yin Jiu were executed. -*HHS* 101/11:3243 and see *sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Jiang Shuang 江雙. As Prefect of Luoyang in 135, Jiang Shuang was involved in the construction of the

Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang: see *sub* Ma Xian. -*SJZ* 16:14b.

Jiang Wan 蔣琬 [Gongyan 公琰] (d.246); Lingling. As young men, Jiang Wan and his cousin Liu Min had local reputations. Jiang Wan held a junior clerical post under Liu Bei, and accompanied him to the west in 211.

After Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 Jiang Wan became a magistrate in Shu. As Liu Bei chanced to visit he found him drunk and everything in disarray. He was going to execute him, but Zhuge Liang pleaded on his behalf. Jiang Wan suffered only dismissal and he was later reappointed.

When Liu Bei proclaimed himself king in 219 Jiang Wan joined his Secretariat, and in 223 he was given senior office on Zhuge Liang's staff. As Zhuge Liang went on campaign to the north in 227 Jiang Wan remained at Chengdu, and he succeeded Zhang Yi in charge of affairs at the capital in 230. After Zhuge Liang died in 234 Jiang Wan held dominant position in the state for the next ten years. -*SGZ* Shu 14:1057-59*.

Jiang Wei 姜維 [Boyue 伯約] (d.264); Hanyang/Tianshui. Son of Jiang Qiong, who died when he was young, Jiang Wei was a keen scholar in the tradition of Zheng Xuan. He gained his first advancement in the service of Wei on account of his father's fine conduct, but when Zhuge Liang attacked in 228 he was forced to surrender.

Admired and promoted by Zhuge Liang, Jiang Wei became one of the leading generals of Shu-Han. Following the surrender to Wei, he was killed when he attempted a counter-coup. -*SGZ* Shu 14:1062-69*; Fang 52:271, 65:456-458.

Jiang Xu 姜敘 [Boyi 伯奕]; Hanyang. In 213 Ma Chao seized Ji, capital of Hanyang, killing the Administrator and the Inspector Wei Kang. Jiang Xu held command of troops at Li city, south of Ji. His cousin Yang Fu came to persuade him to attack Ma Chao and, encouraged by his mother, Jiang Xu agreed. In alliance with Zhao Ang and other local leaders they defeated Ma Chao and drove him south.

In the following year Ma Chao returned. He besieged Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang at Qi Mountain, on the edge of the Qin Ling ranges to the south of Hanyang, but they held out for a month and were then rescued by Xiahou Yuan. Jiang Xu received enfeoffment. -*SGZ* 25:701-02.

[This man must be distinguished from Jiang Xu 蔣詡 of Jingzhao at the end of Former Han, who was admired for refusing to serve Wang Mang: *QHX*:193.]

Jiang Xuan 姜宣. A colonel of the Northern Army in 195, Jiang Xuan was among the senior officials taken hostage by Guo Si during his conflict with Li Jue in Chang'an. -*HHJ* 28:334.

Jiang Yiqu 蔣義渠. Officer commanding the camp at Liyang in Wei commandery, he received Yuan Shao after his defeat at Guandu in 200. -*HHS* 74/64A:2401. It is possible that Yiqu was the style of Jiang Qi 蔣奇 *q.v.*

Jiang Yin 姜隱; Hanyang. A local leader, in 213 Jiang Yin joined Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang to attack Ma Chao and drive him from the commandery. -*SGZ* 25:701.

Jiang Ying 江英; Jincheng. A local officer under the Administrator Yin Hua, when Yin Hua died in 178 Jiang Ying joined Bian Zhang and Han Sui in setting up a stele to his memory. -*Guwen yuan* 19:8a-b.

Jiang Zhen 蔣震; Jingzhao. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the Red Eyebrows' invasion of Chang'an, Jiang Zhen became a local warlord. He and other leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu.

In 27 they were attacked by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. Jiang Zhen and his colleagues Lü Wei and Zhang Han asked Gongsun Shu for help, and Gongsun Shu sent an army under his officer Cheng Wu. Feng Yi defeated the allied force, and Jiang Zhen is not heard of again. -*HHS* 17/7:647; Bn 59:161.

Jiang [Zhonghai] 姜仲海 of Pengcheng was the second brother of Jiang Gong 姜肱 *q.v.*

Jiang Zuan 蔣纂; Pei. A refugee scholar, Jiang Zuan crossed the Yangzi and joined the entourage of Lu Mao, who treated him well. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1336-37.

Jiang Zun 蔣遵; Runan. A clerk in the offices of the Excellencies, Jiang Zun was slandered to Emperor Guangwu, who excluded him from office. The imperial adviser Dai Ping, also a man from Runan, spoke in Jiang Zun's favour, and though Guangwu initially rejected the advice and accused Dai Ping of factionalism, he later had the matter reviewed by the Imperial Secretariat. Jiang Zun was restored to office. -*HHS* 79/69A:2553; Bn 79:142.

Jiangzi 蔣子 "Master Jiang" see Jiang Ji 蔣濟.

Jiao Can 焦參. Inspector of Yi province about 120,

Jiao Shen sought to meet the local scholar Yang Hou. You Hou objected to Jiao Can's cruel government, and refused to leave his farm in the marshes. To persuade Yang Hou to emerge, Jiao Shen took his wife and children prisoner, but Yang Hou continued to stay in hiding and Jiao Shen eventually let them go. -*XS*:3a, *XC* 7:15a-b.

Jiao Chu 焦觸. In 205 Jiao Chu and Zhang Nan were senior officers in Zhuo commandery under Yuan Xi, but they rebelled and drove him and his brother Yuan Shang away to the Wuhuan. Taking title as Inspector of You province, Jiao Chu went over to Cao Cao and was enfeoffed. -*SGZ* 1:27, 6:206, *HHS* 74/64B:2417.

Jiao Chu's name does not appear again in the histories, but in 220 a general with the personal name Chu and enfeoffment as a village marquis was among the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Goodman suggests this may have been Jiao Chu. -*LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Jiao He 焦和 (d.190). Skilled in Pure Conversation 清談, Jiao He believed in divination and the spirits. In the late 180s he became Inspector of Qing province.

In 189 Qiao He wanted to join the rebel alliance against Dong Zhuo, but his territory still had a great number of Yellow Turbans, who ravaged the cities and towns. Though Jiao He had limited practical experience and possessed no military ability, he used sorcerers to summon assistance. Concerned the rebels might attack him across a frozen river, he had special pills made to break up ice, and when he threw them into the stream the enemy were scattered.

Soon afterwards Jiao He became ill and died. -*HHS* 58/48:1886, *SGZ* 7:232, *HHJ* 26:313; deC 96:51.

Jiao Jian 焦儉. Assistant to Yang Xu the Administrator of Nanyang, about 186, Jiao Jian sought to ingratiate himself by presenting Yang Xu with a fish. Though Yang Xu was fond of fish, he left the gift hanging in his office, and when Jiao Jian came again in the following year he showed him the dried-out remains.

After Yang Xu's death in 189 Jiao Jian followed the terms of his will and refused to pay his family the funerary payment due to such a high-ranking official. -*XC* 1:9b, *HHS* 31/21:1111.

Jiao Jiao 焦矯; Kuaiji. Head of a powerful local family, Jiao Jiao had been magistrate of Zhengqiang in Runan, and was thus also known as Jiao Zhengqiang.

During the 190s Bu Zhi and Wei Jing, impoverished

refugees from the north, went to call upon him. He made them wait, then fed them plain food while he feasted himself. Wei Jing was angry, but Bu Zhi accepted the discourtesy as a fair reflection of his currently humble position. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1236-37.

Jiao Kuang 焦貺 or Jiao Yong 永 (d.70); Kuaiji or possibly Chenliu. Some time an Academician and later Administrator of Hedong, Jiao Kuang was accused of involvement in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying the disgraced King of Chu. He died on the road to his trial, while his wife and children were sent to prison, with occasional floggings. They were eventually released through the advocacy of Jiao Guang's former student Zhang Hong. -*HHS* 33/23:1155 [as Kuang 貺], 43/33:1477 [as Yong 永].

Jiao Li 焦立; Nanyang. A marquis, Jiao Li was remembered with a stele. -*SJZ* 31:3a.

Jiao Qian 焦廉; Wei. A local chieftain, about 25 Jiao Qian attacked and drove away Feng Qin, the local officer loyal to Emperor Guangwu. -*HHS* 26/16:909.

Jiao Qiang 佼彊; Shanyang. A bandit leader, in 24 Jiao Qiang became a general under Liu Yong. When Liu Yong was driven from his capital at Suiyang in Liang by Guangwu's general He Yan in 26, Jiao Qiang brought new troops to join Su Mao and Zhou Jian in a counter-attack. They were again defeated, and Jiao Qiang went with Liu Yong and Zhou Jian northeast to Huling city in Shanyang.

During 27, as Liu Yong's short-lived revival at Suiyang was followed by his death, Jiao Qiang remained in Huling. Su Mao and Zhou Jian took refuge with him, and when they proclaimed Liu Yong's son Yu as King of Liang at Chuihui in Pei commandery, Jiao Qiang recognised the succession. He returned to his home district of Xifang, and after the fall of Chuihui in the spring of 29 he took in the fugitive Liu Yu.

Soon afterwards Xifang was attacked by Han troops under Du Mao, and Jiao Qiang fled with Liu Yu to take refuge with Dong Xian. In the summer Dong Xian sent Jiao Qiang and Su Mao to take reinforcements to Guangwu's rebel general Pang Meng, and they laid siege to the city of Tao in Dongping/Rencheng. The main imperial army came to the relief and the besiegers were heavily defeated, and a few weeks later the combined armies of the south-eastern warlords were defeated by Guangwu at Changlū in Donghai. Jiao Qiang surrendered and is not heard of again. -*HHS* 12/2:494-95; Bn 59:135-146.

Jiao Shen 焦參 see Jiao Can 焦參.

Jiao Shen 橋慎 [Zhongyan 仲彥]; Youfufeng. A devotee of Huang-Lao from the time he was young, Jiao Shen lived as a hermit in a cave in the hills and practised the ancient arts of immortality. A fellow-countryman of Ma Rong and Su Zhang, celebrated scholar-officials, he was regarded as being of higher quality than either of them.

Jiao Shen never married, and he ignored approaches from would-be disciples. Eventually, when he was aged over seventy, he returned to his home, foretold the day of his death and fulfilled that prophecy. There were later claims that he had been seen at Dunhuang, like the sage Laozi, and some believed he had become an immortal. -HHS 83/73:2771-72*; Vervorn 90:188.

Jiao Shen 橋慎 miswritten for Jiao Shen 橋慎.

Jiao Yi 焦已; Danyang. A local leader, in 197 Jiao Yi joined Zu Lang in alliance with Cao Cao's agent Chen Yu against Sun Ce, but he was defeated and driven away. -SGZ Wu 1:1107.

Jiao Yong 焦永 see Jiao Kuang 焦睪.

Jiao Zhengqiang 焦征羌 see Jiao Jiao 焦矯.

Jiaolesu 交勒蘇; Xiongnu. In 88 Jiaolesu was a senior king of the Southern Xiongnu. In the autumn the Shanyu Tuntuhe sent a memorial to the Han court with an account of turmoil among the Northern Xiongnu and plans for a campaign to take over the steppe. He proposed that Jiaolesu and the prince Anguo should lead a force of ten thousand horsemen out from the Juyan frontier, north of the Gansu corridor. The campaign indeed took place under the command of Dou Xian in the following year, but Jiaolesu is not mentioned again. -HHS 89/79:2952.

Jiatenu 加特奴 of Further Jushi. In 125 the Chinese agent Ban Yong executed King Junjiu of Further Jushi, and in the following year he compelled the princes Jiatenu, Bahua and others, sons of the former King Nongqi, to attack the Northern Xiongnu, their former allies. They were successful, and captured a nephew of the Shanyu. Jiatenu was placed upon the throne as successor to Junjiu, who had been killed in the previous year, but to ensure his commitment to China Ban Yong had him kill the Xiongnu prisoner with his own hand. The Shanyu made a counter-attack, but was driven back with Chinese assistance.

In 134 Jiatenu took his army under Chinese command to attack the Northern Xiongnu; and they captured the Shanyu's mother with many women of his

household. When the Xiongnu made a counter-attack in the following year, however, the Han forces and their allies were defeated. Further Jushi was over-run, and though it was apparently regained for Han later [see sub Pei Cen] it is likely Jiatenu was killed at that time. -HHS 6:264, 47/37:1590, 88/78:2930.

Jie 解 [surname] see Xie 解 *passim*.

Jie Tan 街彈 see Wei Tanquan 衛彈勸. -LS 25:23b.

Jiechang 且昌; Qiang. A chieftain of the Zhong tribe, in 135 Jiechang was associated with the rebel Liangfeng. He was attacked by the Protector Ma Xian and surrendered to the Inspector of Liang province. -HHS 87/77:2894.

Jiliusi 稽留斯; Xiongnu. A tribal chieftain of the Northern Xiongnu, in 83 Jiliusi brought 38,000 people, with twenty thousand horses and over a hundred thousand cattle and sheep, to surrender at the Wuyuan frontier. -HHS 89/79:2950.

Jimo Wei 卽墨威 was a county magistrate in Yunzhong. -FSTY 5f:129. [Under Former Han, Jimo Cheng 成 from Qi became Chancellor of a state: QHX:195. That man, however, was known as a scholar of the *Changes*, and despite the similarity of the personal names the two are probably distinct.]

Jin 金; Zhao. A slave of Liu Qian, King of Zhao about 118, he escorted the king on one of his incognito journeys. Travelling south into Wei, the party halted for the night at a village post-station. When Liu Qian sent Jin to commandeer some bedding he was accosted by the post officer Meng Chang, and stabbed him. Liu Qian's party fled, but they were followed by a posse. Qian sought to escape involvement by hiding Jin, then strangled him and left the body hanging from a tree by the roadside. -DGHJ 7:2a.

Jin 金 [personal name unknown]; Guanghan. An Assistant Officer of Yi province, he was the father of the young scholar Jin Ya, who died on his way to Luoyang and was buried by Wang Jun. Having learned of Wang Jun's good deed and seen his supernatural reward, he told the local magistrate and Wang Jun became well known. -HHS 81/71:2680-81.

Jin 金 [personal name unknown]; Shu. Formerly Administrator of Julu, he was commemorated by a stele. -LS 13:5a.

Jin Chang 金敞 see Jin Shang 金尚.

Jin Dan 金丹 [Zhaoqing 昭卿]; Jingzhao. A man of literary ability, Jin Dan compiled a continuation to the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian. In the time of troubles which

followed the fall of Wang Mang and the failure of the Gengshi Emperor in 25, he brought his people west into Tianshui and took service with Wei Ao. -HHS 13/3:522.

Jin Fu 靳富; Zuopingyi. A local bandit, Jin Fu drove whole communities away into the hills. He was put down by the administrator Zheng Hun about 212, and the people were brought back. -SGZ 16:511.

Jin Gong 金恭 [Zisu 子肅]. Son of Jin Yuan, Jin Gong died young. -LS 13:9a-b, 15:10b-13a.

Jin [Guangyan] 金廣延; Ba. Jin Guangyan was a grand-nephew of Jin Yuan, who adopted him after the death of Jin Gong, his own son by his wife the Lady Xu II.

Jin Guangyan held local office in the commandery, and at the age of eighteen he married the Lady Xu III, presumably a kinswoman of his step-mother. The couple had children, but Jin Guangyan died at the age of twenty.

Though both Jin Guangyan and his wife had shown great filial piety, the family property was passed to Jin Yongzhi, son of Jin Yuan by a concubine, who had evidently put pressure on his father and then threatened his widow the Lady Xu II. -LS 15:10b-13a.

Jin Ji 金奇 see Jin Qi 金奇.

Jin [Jiben] 金季本 see Jin Yuan 金援.

Jin Liang 金梁 (d.32). An officer under Wei Ao, Jin Liang held command at Lueyang in Tianshui. At the beginning of 32 the city was taken by Guangwu's officer Lai Xi and Jin Liang was killed. -HHS 15/5:587.

Jin Qi 金奇; Danyang. Leader of a group of Chinese renegades in the Huang Shan range of southern Danyang, he and his allies were conquered by He Qi in 208. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Jin Qian 金遷. Jin Qian was Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the time of Emperor Ai of Former Han. When Dou Rong was named Excellency of Works in 37 he was reluctant to receive such honour ahead of closer companions to Emperor Guangwu; he had Jin Qian, as an elder statesman, support his request to decline the office. The emperor would not agree. -HHS 23/13:807; QHX:197.

Jin Shang 金尚 or Jin Chang 敞 [Yuanxiu 元休]; Jingzhao. Men of local reputation, Jin Shang, Wei Duan and Diwu Xun were known as the "Three Xiu" from the common character in each man's style.

In 192 Jin Shang was named Inspector of Yan province by the court at Chang'an, probably when it

was controlled by Wang Yun after the assassination of Dong Zhuo. Cao Cao, however, had already been invited by the local gentry, and Jin Shang could not enter the territory. He went south to Yuan Shu.

As Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197 he wanted to make Jin Shang his Grand Commandant, but Jin Shang would not accept. He tried to escape back to the north, but Yuan Shu caught and killed him.

Later that year, Cao Cao drove Yuan Shu from his capital and recovered the bodies of his victims Ma Midi and Jin Shang. As they were brought to the capital, Emperor Xian came out in person to honour Jin Shang, while his son Jin Wei was appointed a gentleman cadet; Ma Midi received no such honours. -SGZ 7:223.

Jin Xuan 金旋 [Yuanji 元機] (d.208); Jingzhao. Formerly a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, in the early 190s Jin Xuan was Administrator of Hanyang. Returning to the Han court under Cao Cao, he became a Consultant and then a General of the Household.

As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 Jin Xuan was sent south as Administrator of Wuling, but after Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs later that year he was attacked, captured and killed by Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 2:879-80.

Jin Wei 金瑋; Jingzhao. Son of Jin Shang, in 197 Jin Wei was appointed a gentleman cadet in recognition of his father's martyrdom. -SGZ 7:223. [Though the names are slightly different, it is possible that the man Jin Yi 金禕, described below as leader of an attempted coup against Cao Cao, was this same Jin Wei.]

Jin [Wenjing] 晉文經; Hanzhong. During the 160s Jin Wenjing and Huang Zi'ai [or Huang Yun q.v.] were celebrated for their intelligence. They came to stay at the capital for medical reasons, and though neither would accept appointment and they kept no clients or retainers, they attracted great attention: high officials sent messengers to enquire about their health and crowds of junior officers gathered at their gates in the hope of seeing them.

About 166, at the urging of Fu Rong the Director of Retainers, Li Ying investigated the two men. They lost their influence and reputation and both suffered public rejection. -HHS 68/58:2232-33; deC 89:48.

Jin Yan 金彥; Guanghan. A young scholar, Jin Yan died of illness on his way to Luoyang. Wang Jun cared for his corpse and was later rewarded by supernatural means. -HHS 81/71:2680-81.

Jin Yi 金禕 [Deyi 德禕 or Dewei 德偉] (d.218); Jingzhao. Perhaps the son of Jin Xuan [but see below], as scion of a family of Han loyalists Jin Yi resented Cao Cao's control of the imperial court and hoped to restore the power of the dynasty. His friend Wang Bi was in charge at Xu, but Jin Yi planned to attack him, seize the city and call in Liu Bei's general Guan Yu. He persuaded Geng Ji, Wei Huang, Ji Ben and others to join him.

At the beginning of 218 Ji Ben's son Miao led an attack on Wang Bi's camp. Wang Bi was wounded and fled to Jin Yi, not realising that he was behind the plot. As he approached, however, Jin Yi's men mistook him for Ji Miao, and from what they said Wang Bi realised the true situation. He managed to get away and next morning he obtained reinforcements from Yan Kuang and led loyal troops to destroy the rebels. Jin Yi and his fellows were executed with their families. -SGZ 1:50; deC 96:518-519.

SGZ Shu 2:880 identifies Jin Yi as a son of Jin Xuan, Administrator of Wuling in the service of Cao Cao who was killed by Liu Bei in 208. As Lu Bi observes in *SGZJJ* at 18a, however, it is hard to believe Jin Yi would have sought alliance with the warlord who had killed his father. It may be that this Jin Yi should be identified with Jin Wei 瑋 the son of Jin Shang.

Jin [Yongzhi] 金雍直; Ba. Son of Jin Yuan by a concubine, Jin Yongzhi initially received part of the family estate. He thereafter maintained a separate establishment, and later put pressure on his father's chief wife the Lady Xu II, now widowed, to obtain the rest of the property. -LS 15:10b-13a.

Jin Yuan 金援 [Jiben 季本]; Ba. Jin Yuan married the Lady Xu II and became the father of Jin Gong, who died young. He adopted Jin Guangyan, but also had a son, Yongzhi, by a concubine. Though Jin Guangyan and his wife the Lady Xu III both showed great filial devotion, the bulk of the family property was passed to Jin Yongzhi. -LS 15:10b-13a.

Jin Yun 靳允. In 194, as Lü Bu came to take Yan province from Cao Cao, Jin Yun was magistrate of Fan in Dong commandery. His family was held hostage by Lü Bu, but Cheng Yu persuaded Jin Yun to remain loyal, and Jin Yun killed Lü Bu's officer Fan Yi. -SGZ 14:426-27.

Jin Zong 晉宗. An officer of Sun Quan, he went over to Wei, established himself at Qichun in the southwest of Lujiang, and raided the Yangzi about Jiangxia. In

223 he was attacked and taken by He Qi. -SGZ Wu 15:1380.

[**Jinde** 進德] see Jiu 就 [surname unknown]. -LS 13:7b-8a.

Jing 營 [surname] see *sub* Rong He 榮郃.

Jing 景 [personal name unknown] (d.114); Rencheng. A former Internuncio, he was commemorated by stele at his tomb. -LS 6:1a-4a.

Jing 景 [personal name unknown] (d.117); Rencheng. Formerly a county magistrate in Donghai, he was commemorated by a stele at his tomb. -LS 6:1a-4a.

Jing 景 [personal name unknown] (d.143); Rencheng. A former Chancellor of Beihai and Inspector of Yi province, he was commemorated by a stele sponsored by eighty-seven gentlemen. -LS 6:9a-11a, LX 16:3b-8a, Nagata 88-90.

Jing Bao 景豹 of Chenliu was chancellor of a county marquisate in Nanyang. -LS 27:8a.

Jing Bao 景苞; Zuopingyi. Son of Jing Shang, he inherited his fief. -HHS 22/12:774.

Jing Bi 井畢. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy about 90, Jing Bi was consulted by the commissioner Jia Kui on Fu An's introduction of an ecliptic ring for the armillary sphere. -HHS 92/2:3029.

Jing Dan 景丹 [Sunjing 孫卿] (d.26); Zuopingyi. As a young man Jing Dan studied at Chang'an and was Versed in the Four Classes: conduct, rhetoric, administration and literature, a nomination which led to junior office in one of the ministries at the capital. He was noted for his ability in public speaking, and was later praised for his administration as a county magistrate.

As Wang Mang was destroyed in 23 Jing Dan held county office in Shanggu commandery, and he became Chief Clerk to the Administrator Geng Kuang. Geng Kuang accepted the new regime of the Gengshi Emperor, and when Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24 Geng Kuang sent Jing Dan, with Kou Xun and his own son Geng Yan, to support the Han cause with the troops of the Administrator of Yuyang Peng Chong under his officer Wu Han. They destroyed Wang Lang's position in the north, killing hundreds of his officials and taking over twenty counties, then relieved Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at Guang'e city in Julu. Their intervention turned the tide of the campaign.

Appointed a lieutenant-general and given title as a marquis, Jing Dan commanded the cavalry as Liu Xiu

moved against Wang Lang. A counter-attack by the enemy generals Ni Hong and Wang Rao gained initial success, and the Han forces were driven from their camp and their baggage, but Jing Dan saw a weakness in the enemy position. Leading a charge, he threw them into utter confusion, then pursued them over five kilometres and inflicted heavy casualties.

Jing Dan continued to play a leading role in the conquest of the territory north of the Yellow River; when Liu Xiu took the imperial title in the autumn of 25, there was debate whether he or Wu Han should be appointed Grand Marshal. Guangwu chose Wu Han on account of his success in destroying the Gengshi Emperor's officers Xie Gong and Miao Zen, but Jing Dan was named Chief General of Agile Cavalry, with understanding that precedent from Former Han gave the two titles equal status.

Jing Dan was then sent with Geng Yan and Chen Jun to the Ao Granary in Henan. They forced the surrender of Liu Mao, former general of the Gengshi Emperor, and defeated his renegade troops, opening the way towards the capitals Luoyang and Chang'an. In 26 Jing Dan was granted the exceptional honour of a marquisate at Luoyang 櫟陽, his home county in Zuopingyi, with revenue from ten thousand households.

In the spring of that year Jing Dan was sent with a large army to put down bandits in Hedong and Hongnong, then joined the imperial campaign against the Wuxiao group in Wei commandery north of the Yellow River. A few months later, the local rebel Su Kuang plundered Hongnong and captured the administrator, and since Jing Dan had established authority in that territory, Guangwu intended to send him. Jing Dan was ill but the emperor thought little of his excuses and obliged him to go, with a court eunuch to provide medical care, arguing that he could deal with the rebels even from his sick-bed. Jing Dan did lead his army into Hongnong, but after ten days there he died.

Recognising Jing Dan as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 22/12:772-74*; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:85.

Jing Dan 井丹 [Dachun 大春]; Youfufeng. As a young man, Jing Dan studied at the Imperial University, where he learned the Confucian classics and was noted

for his ability in conversation and discussion. He was very independent, and would not present himself to any potential patron.

During the 50s, when five of Emperor Guangwu's sons were still living at Luoyang, they sought eagerly to gather clients around themselves, but Jing Dan would accept none of their invitations. Yin Jiu, brother of the Empress Yin, undertook to bring Jing Dan if his nephews would pay him a hefty commission. When they agreed he put such pressure on Jing Dan that he was obliged to attend.

For a joke, Yin Jiu provided Jing Dan only with food considered suitable for a hermit: boiled wheat and onion leaves. Jing Dan was obliged to put up with this, but as Yin Jiu prepared to leave in his palanquin Jing Dan observed with a laugh that such a "carriage drawn by men" had been used by the evil King Jie 桀 of the legendary state of Xia 夏. Everyone was appalled, and Yin Jiu was obliged to send the litter away.

The well-connected official Liang Song 松 also invited Jing Dan, who similarly refused, but when he was taken ill Liang Song sent medicine. Some time later Liang Song's eldest son Lei died, and Jing Dan went with condolences, but he would deal with no-one else. -HHS 83/73:2764* & JJ at 3045; Vervorn 90:286.

Jing Fang 景防. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy, in 62 Jing Fang joined his colleague Zhang Sheng in calculating corrections to the calendar to fit with the phases of the moon, and in 69 the two men were placed in charge of a special Office for the Moon [see *sub* Zhang Sheng]. -HHS 92/2:3025, XHS 1:3a [surname miswritten as 京].

Jing Gu 景顧; Guanghan or Shu [see *sub* Jing Yi]. Jing Gu's father Jing Yi placed him as a student to the scholar-official Li Ying, but before Jing Gu's name had been formally registered Li Ying was killed in the Faction Incident of 169. The family could have avoided implication, but Jing Yi declared his connection and left office. -HHS 67/57:2197, HYGZ 10C:174.

Jing Han 荆邯; Youfufeng. A man from the same commandery as Gongsun Shu, he accompanied him into Shu and became a Commandant of Cavalry. In 30, realising that Emperor Guangwu of Han had almost settled the east of the empire, Jing Han sought to persuade Gongsun Shu to adopt a more aggressive strategy. In particular he urged him to send his new associates Yan Cen north to occupy the Wei valley and

Tian Rong to move east through the Gorges into the middle Yangzi. By this means he would confirm the alliance with Wei Ao in Liang province and threaten Guangwu from the west and the south.

Though some preparations were made, the ambitious project was opposed by the Academician Wu Zhu on the grounds that there was no wide support for Gongsun Shu in the east and such a long-range venture was too risky. Jing Han derided Wu Zhu as an irrelevant classicist, claiming falsely that Guangwu's position in the east was insecure. There was, however, more general feeling against the plan, and Gongsun Shu's brother Guang was a spokesman for the opposition. Despite urgings by Yan Cen and Tian Rong, the matter was shelved.

In 33 Jing Han's proposal was to some extent revived, but by this time Wei Ao was dead and the implementation was on too small a scale. -HHS 13/3:539-40; Bn 59:186-187.

Jing He 營郤 see *sub* Rong He 榮郤.

Jing Ji 景奇 see Jing Qi 景奇.

Jing Ju 景遽; Zuopingyi. Son of Jing Shang and younger brother of Jing Bao, in 117 the regent Dowager Deng granted him a village marquisate to restore the family fief which had been abolished when Jing Bao's son Jing Lin died without an heir. -HHS 22/12:774.

Jing Lin 景臨; Zuopingyi. Son of Jing Bao, he inherited the family marquisate. He died without sons and the fief was ended. -HHS 22/12:774.

Jing Lü 景慮; Rencheng. In the early 140s Jing Lü was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Chancellor Yang Bing. Some ten years later Yang Bing was dismissed from office at the capital and retired to his home country, where he lived in some poverty. Jing Lü came to offer a great quantity of cash, but Yang Bing closed the gates of his house and refused even to see him. -HHS 54/4 4:1771.

Jing Luan 景鸞 [Hanbo 漢伯]; Guanghan. As a young man Jing Luan travelled through seven provinces of the empire to study the classics under different teachers. He became an expert in the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Qi and the Shi interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, and he received instruction on the apocrypha and on prognostication. He compiled *Yi shuo* 易說 "Discussion on the *Changes*" and *Shi jie* 詩解 "Explanation of the *Poetry*," linking them to mystical diagrams and naming his work *He-Luo jiaoji* 河洛交集 "Connected Collection to [the Diagrams

from] the Yellow River and [the Book from] the Luo." He also compiled *Li lue* 禮略 "Outline of Ritual," a study of divination techniques, and *Yueling zhangju* 月令章句, detailed commentary on an ancient calendrical text. His works amounted to more than half a million characters, and he several times presented advice to the throne on the interpretation of portents.

His commandery and provincial governments several times invited Jing Luan to office, but he would not accept. He died of old age at home. -HHS 79/69B:2572*, HYGZ 10C:174.

Jing Qi 景奇; Shu. Husband of the Lady Luo Gong, Jing Qi died young. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Jing Shang 景尚; Zuopingyi. Son of Jing Dan, he inherited his marquisate. The fief was later transferred to a county in Shangdang. -HHS 22/12:774.

Jing Shao 敬詔; Hedong. XTS 75A:3249 mentions a Jing Shao who was Inspector of Yang province at the end of [perhaps Later] Han.

Jing Xiu 荆修 became Administrator of Jiujiang. -FSTY 5f:133.

Jing Yi 景毅 [Wenjian 文堅]; Guanghan or Shu. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt and sponsored by the Excellency over the Masses, Jing Yi served as magistrate in two counties, encouraging learning and good conduct. He then became an Administrator and was later an Imperial Clerk at Luoyang.

Jing Yi had placed his son Jing Gu as a student and attendant to Li Ying, but when Li Ying was killed in the Second Faction Incident of 169 Jing Gu had not formally registered his name. Jing Yi could therefore have avoided involvement, but he nonetheless declared his connection, left office and returned to his homeland. [On this incident, see also below.]

Jing Yi later once more became a magistrate in Wudu, and when he was transferred to be Administrator of Yizhou about 177 the people wept as they farewelled him.

Li Yong, Jing Yi's predecessor in Yizhou, had put down rebellion among the non-Chinese people, but after he died in office the trouble began again and Jing Yi had to restore order. Following those disturbances, grain was in short supply and the price was high, but through his good government there were soon abundant harvests and the price fell to a fraction of its former level.

Jing Yi was later called to the capital as a Consultant, but instead retired and went home. Some time after

190 he was invited to office under the Governor Liu Yan, but died about this time at the age of eighty-one. -HHS 67/57:2197, 86/76:2843, 2847, HYGZ 10C:174.

In describing the incident of 169 involving Li Ying, HHS 67/57 refers to Jing Yi as a man from Shu, which would indicate a different person to Jing Yi of Guanghan. HYGZ, however, has the incident as part of the biography of Jing Yi of Guanghan, and it seems certain they were the same man.

Jing Yin 敬愼 of Hedong became Inspector of Yang province. -FSTY 6b.140.

Jing Yin 敬愼 (129-181); Hedong. FSTY 6b.140 says that Jing Yin of Hedong became Inspector of Yang province, and LS 27:4a lists a stele to Jing Yin.

At LS 25:18b-19a, Zhao Mingsheng discusses a stele set up in honour of a man of the Jing surname who had been Inspector of Yang province. The personal name was illegible but his dates were given, while it was also stated that he had been an Attendant Officer under the Director of Retainers and then a member of the Censorate. It this is surely the man mentioned by FSTY.

The heading of the stele refers to him as Jing *shijun* 敬使君, *shijun* being the courtesy style for the head of a province. At LS 22:14b-15a, however, Ouyang Fei reads the character 使 as 仲 and has no mention of the appointment to Yang province. Ouyang Fei then takes 敬仲 as the man's style and suggests he had the surname Tian 田. Zhao Mingsheng disagrees, and his interpretation appears more likely.

Jing Yixiao 京邑蕭. When they were at the Imperial University in Luoyang, Jing Yixiao and his friend Liang Hong swore an oath not to take office under the corrupt government. When Jing Yixiao later accepted appointment in his commandery office, Liang Hong wrote to criticise him and break off their relationship. -DGHJ 18:9a.

Jing Yu 荊寓. Administrator of Runan in the 160s, he wanted to nominate his Registrar Huang Mu as Filial and Incorrupt. Huang Mu, however, argued that Yin Tao was the more worthy candidate and compelled Jing Yu to follow his advice. -HHSJJ 67/57:2415.

[**Jingzhong**] 敬仲 see Jing 敬 [personal name unknown].

Jiu 就 [surname unknown] [Jinde 進德]. A former magistrate in Shu commandery, in 160 he was commemorated with a stele. -LS 13:7b-8a.

Jiu Dan 就耽/耽. In 180 the calendrical scholar Zong

Zheng complained that the Court Astronomer Xiu had chosen to use the calculations of the officer Feng Xun [or Zhang Xun] to forecast eclipses of the moon rather than those of his brother Zong Cheng, which were more accurate. The Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan was ordered by Emperor Ling to convene a committee of enquiry. After lengthy argument it was found that Zong Cheng's work was better, and it was restored, but all the contenders were punished as trouble-makers. -HHS 92/2:3041-42.

Jiu Ren 救仁 was a Counsellor Remonstrant. -FSTY 6f:136.

Jiwu 飢五; Qiang. A chieftain of the Dangjian tribe, in 120 he attacked Jincheng while the Protector Ma Xian was occupied with raiders in Zhangye. Ma Xian turned back and drove Jiwu and his men back across the frontier. -HHS 87/77:2192.

Jixu 闕須 [Korean: Kyesu] of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. According to *Samguk-sagi*, a Korean chronicle compiled in the twelfth century but based upon older material, Jixu was a younger brother of King Yiyimo [Yanyou: i.e. Yon-u] and about 208 he commanded the army against an attack by the Chinese warlord Gongsun Kang in support of their elder brother Baqi/Faqi [i.e. Pakgi]. The invaders were defeated and Baqi killed himself.

Chinese records indicate, however, that the invasion was a success and that Baqi was settled in conquered territory under the protection of Gongsun Du; Gardiner observes that there are a number of instances where *Samguk-sagi* seeks to reverse the reality of a defeat. Jixu's existence is almost as doubtful as his victory. -Gardiner 72A:87-88.

Jizhi 飢指 (d.137); Qiang. During the 130s, the White Horse tribe of the Qiang, which lived on the Wudu frontier, had been troubling the territory. In 137 they were defeated by the Commandant of Guanghan, and later that year the Protector Ma Xian also attacked them, killing two of their chieftains, Jizhi and Leizu, and taking three hundred heads. -HHS 87/77:2194.

Ju 車 [surname] see Che 車 *passim*.

Ju Bao 具褒 He became Chancellor of Zhongshan. -FSTY 5f:125.

Ju Gong 具恭; Wei. Elder brother of the palace eunuch Ju Yuan, Ju Gong became Chancellor of Pei. In 165 the Director of Retainers Han Yan accused him of corruption, and Ju Gong was sent to the prison of the Ministry of Justice. His brother pleaded for him, and it

appears that Ju Gong was freed, but he was demoted in fief and forced into private life. -HHS 78/68:2522.

Ju Gu 沮鵠; Julu. Son of Ju Shou, in 204 Ju Gu commanded Yuan Shang's garrison at Handan in Zhao. Cao Cao attacked and stormed the city. -SGZ 1:25.

Ju Guo 舉國. A poor man, of slight build, Ju Guo was a junior officer at the base camp in Liyang in Wei commandery when it was commanded by the Internuncio Deng Xun.

In 81 Deng Xun was transferred to be Protector of the Wuhuan, stationed on the northern frontier. Knowing that a medicine Deng Xun used was not easily available in the north, Ju Guo pulled a handcart to Luoyang to purchase a supply in the market there, then went through Zhao to collect a quantity of the special green paste which Deng Xun preferred to use to seal his letters, and finally came to Shanggu and presented his offering.

Dongguan Han ji gives this as an example of the affection which Deng Xun inspired among his followers and subordinates. -DGHJ 8:2a, cited by HHS 16/6:609 TC.

Ju Jun 沮儁 (171-195). A colonel of the Northern Army, Ju Jun accompanied the escape of Emperor Xian from Chang'an. Wounded in battle in Hongnong, he was captured by Li Jue. He cursed Li Jue for the disorder he had brought to the empire, and Li Jue killed him.

As the imperial court came into Cao Cao's control in 196 Ju Jun was granted posthumous title as Administrator of Hongnong, in recognition of his heroic defiance and death. -HHS 9:378-80, 72/62:2339-40 & 2342, YSS:21b.

Ju Kang 苴康 (d.174); Kuaiji? Presumably a chieftain under the religious rebel Xu Chang, at the end of 174 Ju Kang was defeated and killed by the provincial army led by Zang Min and Chen Yin. -HHS 102/12:3258; MBeck 90:128.

Ju Lan 巨覽; Hanyang. As the new General-in-Chief Liang Shang was making appointments to his staff in 135, Ju Lan was amongst those chosen. Liang Shang was admired for the quality of his officers. -HHS 34/24:1175.

Ju Shou 沮授; (d.200); Guangping. After service in the administration of Ji province, Ju Shou was nominated Abundant Talent, held county magistracies and was then Commandant of Cavalry to Han Fu. He may have opposed Han Fu's decision to cede the province, but

when Yuan Shao took over he promptly joined his staff and was appointed Attendant Officer. Encouraging Yuan Shao in his broader ambitions, he became a close favourite and was named a general with disciplinary authority over all his officers.

In 195 Ju Shou unsuccessfully urged Yuan Shao to receive Emperor Xian as he came from the west, and he protested against the favour that Yuan Shao showed his youngest son Shang.

In 199 Ju Shou objected to the plan to attack Cao Cao, but was over-ruled and obliged to share his command with Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong. In 200, as they crossed the Yellow River, Ju Shou claimed to be ill and asked for leave. Angry, Yuan Shao removed him from command but kept him with the army.

Ju Shou continued to urge caution, but his advice was ignored. He was captured in the flight from Guandu, and though Cao Cao was an old friend and asked him to join his service, he refused. He later sought to escape and was executed. -HHS 74/64A:2378, SGZ 6:192-200.

Ju Xing 處興. Administrator of Beihai for Emperor Guangwu about 30, Ju Xing was kidnapped by the rebel Xiazhang Si, head of a leading local family. Li Zhang the Administrator of neighbouring Langye brought a thousand men to destroy the enemy stronghold, and he restored Ju Xing to his position. -HHS 77/67:2493.

Ju Yuan 具瑗; Wei. A eunuch, in 159 Ju Yuan was Prefect of the Yellow Gates. When Emperor Huan asked Tang Heng who might help him get rid of Liang Ji, he recommended Ju Yuan and Xu Huang, for they had spoken privately against the dominance of the Liang family. They accordingly joined the conspiracy with Zuo Guan and Shan Chao.

Liang Ji became suspicious, and on 9 December he sent in his eunuch agent Zhang Yun to spy out the private apartments. Ju Yuan used his authority as Prefect to arrest Zhang Yun for trespass without authorisation. Then, as the emperor took control of the Imperial Secretariat, Ju Yuan led a body of guards to join the Director of Retainers Zhang Biao, surround Liang Ji's residence, and force Liang Ji to surrender his seal. Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou both killed themselves, and other members of their families were arrested and executed.

The five leaders of the successful coup were granted county marquises and a cash donation, while Ju Yuan was probably promoted to be a Regular Attendant

[HHS 78/68 says that he already held that position, but HHS 34/24:1186 refers to him as Prefect of the Yellow Gates, and his actions during the coup indicate that he held some appropriate executive authority].

Shan Chao died a few months later, but the four other eunuchs presumed on their favour and influence to live in luxury, building great mansions and taking women of good family as [decorative and titular?] concubines. They adopted unrelated children and even slaves to maintain their lineages, while their kinsmen held high office.

Popular discontent was supported by fierce criticism from regular officials, but they were generally ignored by Emperor Huan, though in 163 the Excellencies Yang Bing and Zhou Jing succeeded in forcing Ju Yuan's brief exile from court. In 165 the Director of Retainers Han Yan secured the dismissal and death of Zuo Guan, and he went on to accuse Ju Yuan's brother Ju Gong of corruption. Ju Yuan went to court to apologise and handed in his seal as a marquis. He was granted a fief of lesser rank and was forced from public life. -HHS 78/68:2520-22*; Ch'ü 72:476-480, Bn 76:94-95, deC 89:12-14.

Ju Yuanjin 睢元進 see Sui Yuanjin 睢元進.

Ju Zhou 車胄 see Che Zhou.

Ju Zong 沮宗; Julu. Younger brother of Ju Shou, in 199 Ju Shou told him of his forebodings about the campaign against Cao Cao. -SGZ 6:199.

Juan Cheng 圈稱 [Youju 幼舉 or Mengju 孟舉]; Chenliu. Juan Cheng compiled a *Chenliu qiji zhuan* 陳留耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Chenliu" and also *Chenliu fengsu zhuan* 陳留風俗傳 "Record of the Customs of Chenliu." The former was presumably the work sponsored by the Administrator Yuan Tang or a continuation of it, and both were examples of the interest in local history during the second century. -*Sui shu* 33:974, 983; Yao Zhenzong: 2369.

Juche'er 居車兒 (d.172); Xiongnu. At the death of the Shanyu Toulouchu in 147, Juche'er succeeded him, with dynastic title as Yiling shizhujiu 伊陵尸逐就 Shanyu. His position in the royal lineage is not known, nor his relationship to his predecessor. It is doubtful whether he held any more than marginal authority over the vast majority of his nominal subjects

In 166, after the General on the Liao Zhang Huan left the frontier to take up a ministerial post at the capital, the Xianbi across the frontier arranged

an alliance with the Wuhuan, and also with Juche'er and his followers, and in the summer and autumn of that year they joined in raids on Chinese positions. Zhang Huan was promptly sent back to the north with emergency powers, and the Xiongnu and Wuhuan immediately surrendered.

Zhang Huan arrested Juche'er and recommended he be dismissed, both for his disloyalty and for his clear lack of authority among his people. Emperor Huan was unwilling to remove an established ruler, and accepted that Juche'er had been an innocent party forced into rebellion. He was permitted to maintain his position until his death, after a reign of twenty-five years. -HHS 89/79:2963-64; deC 84:314, 323-324, 329.

Jue Hong 角閼; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the Red Eyebrows' invasion of Chang'an, Jue Hong took power in his home county of Qian. He and other warlords in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -HHS 17/7:647.

Juli 車利 see Cheli 車利.

Jun Xi 鈞喜 became a Palace Attendant. -FSTY 6f: 139.

Juyun 且運 of Suoju [Yarkand]. In 61 Juyun was chief minister to King Xian of Suoju. He and other senior officials were discontented with his harsh government, which had caused the former tributary of Yutian [Khotan] to attack the capital.

As King Guangde of Yutian approached he called Xian to a meeting. Juyun reassured Xian it was safe to go, but when he went out he was taken prisoner and Juyun and his fellows then opened the gates to the enemy. -HHS 88/78:2925-26.

Junde 君得 of Suoju [Yarkand] (d.60). An officer under the hegemon King Xian of Suoju, in the late 50s Junde was appointed governor of the subordinated state of Yutian [Khotan]. He ruled very harshly, and in 60 he was assassinated by the local nobleman Dumo. -HHS 88/78:2925.

Ju'niu 車紐 see Che'niu 車紐.

Junjiu 軍就 of Further Jushi (d.125). King of Further Jushi, in 120 Junjiu and his mother Shama killed the Chinese agent placed at his court, then joined the Northern Xiongnu to destroy the military colony set up by Suo Ban and drive the ruler of Nearer Jushi from

his kingdom. Taking general control of the states along the Northern Road, Junjiu joined the Xiongnu in raids against the Chinese northwest.

In 125 Ban Yong brought Chinese cavalry and central Asian allies to attack him. He captured Junjiu and his Xiongnu associates and executed them at the place where Suo Ban had met his death. -*HHS* 5:231, 242, 47/37:1589-90, 88/78:2930.

K

Kaifeng, Lady of 開封君 see the Lady Yin 陰 V.

Kan Ze 闕澤 [Derun 德潤] (d.243); Kuaiji. A man of poor peasant family, Kan Ze nonetheless became known for his devotion to scholarship and for his calculations of the calendar. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and served as a county magistrate in Wu and in Guiyang.

In 220 Kan Ze was appointed to Sun Quan's headquarters staff and later held senior clerical office in his imperial government. He prepared convenient summaries of the classics and rituals, and also a commentary to correct the *Qianxiang* 乾象 [Celestial Appearances] calendar which was adopted by Wu in 223. His advice was regularly asked on scholarly matters, and he was later rewarded with enfeoffment.

Sun Quan held mourning for his death, and in 258, during a discussion with Puyang Xing 濮陽興, Administrator of Kuaiji, his officer Zhu Yu 朱育 cited Kan Ze as one of the local worthies of the commandery. -*SGZ* Wu 8:1249-50*, Wu 12:1326.

Kang 康 of Suoju [Yarkand] (d.33). Son of King Yan 延 of Suoju in the west of the Tarim basin, Kang succeeded his father in 18 AD. Yan had been staunchly pro-Chinese, and Kang maintained that tradition. Though Chinese control in central Asia was disrupted after the fall of Wang Mang, he led his neighbouring states to oppose the Xiongnu and took in a number of Chinese officials and others who had been associated with the Protectorate and were now stranded in the Western Regions.

In 29 Kang sent an embassy to China, including representatives of other states, and escorting the widow and children of Li Chong 李崇, Wang Mang's former Protector of the Western Regions [*QHX*:218]. The road to Guangwu's capital was blocked at that time by the warlord Wei Ao, but the Han ally Dou

Rong received the envoys. Guangwu instructed him to confirm Kang's royal title and to give him title as Grand Chief Commandant of the Western Regions 西域大都尉, with authority over all fifty-five states of Han central Asia. -*HHS* 88/78:2923; Chavannes 07:197-198, Bn 67:131-132, Yü 86:413-414.

Kang 亢 [surname unknown] see [Liu] Kang 劉亢.

Kang Xu 抗徐 [Boxu 伯徐]; Danyang. Serving in his home commandery, Kang Xu was recognised for his courage and intelligence and was given probationary office as a county magistrate in Changsha. He put down banditry and settled the non-Chinese of the forests and hills.

In 160 Kang Xu served as a senior major under Zong Zi against the bandits of Taishan. Outstandingly successful, he was rewarded with enfeoffment and made Commandant of the commandery.

In 165, as the rebellion of Hu Lan and Zhu Gai in Changsha became serious, the Excellencies recommended Kang Xu as a man with the ability to deal with them, and he was appointed Administrator. He joined Xu joined Du Shang in putting down the trouble. He died soon afterwards, but his reputation as a military commander was equal to that of Du Shang, and Emperor Huan issued a special edict to double the value of his fief. -*HHS* 38/28:1286, 7:315, *XC* 8:8a.

Kebineng 軻比能 (d.235); Xianbi. Member of a minor clan, Kebineng gained wide recognition for his personal qualities, and by the late 190s he was a leader on the frontier west of Dai commandery. He took in a number of Chinese fleeing from the civil war, and some of these men gave instructions in civil learning and in the making of weapons and the techniques of drill.

Following Cao Cao's defeat of the Wuhuan at White Wolf Mountain in 207 and through the agency of the Protector of the Qiang Yan Rou, Kebineng and other Xianbi leaders paid tribute and received royal titles. In 211 Kebineng sent assistance against the rebel Tian Yin.

Kebineng briefly supported the rebel Wuhuan in Dai in 218, and he murdered his rival Fuluohan, grandson of the great war-leader Tanshihuai. Then Cao Zhang attacked and forced him back across the frontier. Kebineng returned to his allegiance, and when he acknowledged Cao Pi as emperor in 220 he was confirmed as a king.

At the same time, Kebineng had been steadily

expanding his state. By the early 220s the territory under his general control extended along the frontier region from the Ordos into Manchuria, and he became increasingly independent and aggressive. His rival Budugen, however, received protection from China, and an attack on the chieftain Suli was frustrated by the Wei officer Tian Yu.

Turning against Wei, Kebineng sent a number of raids against the frontier, but though they defeated local forces and inflicted serious damage, his troops could not withstand a major army. He was killed by a Chinese agent in 235 and his confederacy disintegrated. -*SGZ* 30:838-39; Fang 52:62, 96, 180-182, 482.

Kezui 柯最; Xianbi. During the 170s Kezui was a commander in the central region under Tanshihuai in the 170s. -*SGZ* 30:838.

Kong 孔, the Lady I? (202-208); Lu. Daughter of Kong Rong, when her father was charged with Impiety and he and her mother were to be executed, it was proposed that she and her elder brother, nine years old, be spared on account of their youth.

As Kong Rong was arrested the two children were playing chess; they continued the game, and when taxed for making no move or comment explained that "When the nest is broken, the eggs cannot survive." They were later offered broth, but as the boy took some, his sister observed that their future was too uncertain to expect they would ever see the meat. This was reported to Cao Cao, and both children were killed.

As they went to the headsman, the girl remarked to her brother that if there is life afterwards, they would see their parents again soon; what more could they wish? Fully composed, she stretched her neck to the blade. -*HHS* 70/60:2279.

SGZ 12:373PC quotes different texts, which also describe the chess-game but identify the children not as brother and sister, but as two boys, both eight years old.

Kong 孔, the Lady II. Wife of Fu Shipu, she left a body of collected works. -*Sui shu* 35:1058.

Kong 孔 [personal name unknown] (d.155); Lu. A descendant of Confucius in the nineteenth generation, he had a memorial stele set up for him which was discovered in 1793. -Nagata 94:122.

Kong 孔 [personal name unknown] (201-208): see *sub* the Lady Kong (202-208) above.

Kong An 孔安. Presumably a descendant of Kong Ji

吉 and Kong Heqi 何齊, who had been recognised by Wang Mang as representatives of the ancient royal house of Shang/Yin 商/殷, in 29 Kong An was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu as Duke Who Continues and Honours the Yin 殷紹嘉公. In 37 his fief was changed to Duke of Song, a county in Runan. Though the fief was evidently maintained through the dynasty, no successors are recorded. -*HHS* 1B:61, 110/20:3424; *QHX*:209, Bn 67:36-37.

Kong Bao 孔褒/褒 [Wenli 文禮] (d.169?); Lu. Eldest son of Kong Zhou, in 169 Kong Bao was among the sponsors of the ceremony and inscription organised by Shi Chen the Chancellor of Lu at the Temple of Confucius: *LS* 1:28a.

Kong Bao was a friend of the reformist Zhang Jian, and as the eunuch party began the purge of their opponents in 169, Zhang Jian fled the capital and came to Kong Bao's house for refuge. Kong Bao was at that time away from home, but his younger brother Kong Rong took Zhang Jian in and gave him a hiding place.

After Zhang Jian had left, the local authorities arrested both Kong Bao and Kong Rong. Kong Rong sought to take the blame, as the person who had aided Zhang Jian, but Kong Bao claimed responsibility, for Zhang Jian had initially come to seek his aid and Kong Rong had acted only as his agent. Even their widowed mother demanded punishment, for she was the senior member of the household. Unable to decide, the Chancellor referred the question to the court, and an edict declared that responsibility lay with Kong Bao. He was executed. -*HHS* 70/60:2262, *SGZ* 12:371.

Some time later the Chancellor of Lu, surnamed Chen, had a stele set up in honour of Kong Bao. -Nagata 94:272.

Kong Biao 孔彪 [Yuanshang 元上] (123-171); Lu. A descendant of Confucius, Kong Biao travelled to study and later received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. After probation as a gentleman cadet, he was appointed as a magistrate in Le'an. He became ill, however, and then left office to mourn his father.

Returning to the imperial service, Kong Biao passed an examination, served successively in the Imperial Secretariat and the Censorate, and was then appointed Administrator of Boling. At that time a gang led by the commoner Zhang Bing was carrying out armed attacks in broad daylight, but Kong Biao dealt firmly with the bandits as soon as he took up his post, and the whole territory was restored to order, so that

"items dropped on the roads were not picked up by others" 路不拾遺 and the people considered him as their father and mother.

Kong Biao then served as Chancellor of Xiapi and as Administrator of Hedong, in each case to good effect. In 169 he was among the sponsors of the ceremony and inscription organised by Shi Chen the Chancellor of Lu at the Temple of Confucius, and when he died at the age of forty-nine his former subordinates in Boling, led by the local gentleman and future Excellency Cui Lie, set up a stele to his memory. -LS 8:14b-18a, Nagata 94:192-94, LS 1:28a, Nagata 94:180.

Kong Chang 孔常. At the beginning of the rebellion in Liang province in 184, the Assistant Officers Kong Chang and Xin Zeng were stationed with their colleague He Xun at an outpost in Hanyang. The Inspector Zuo Chang was attacked in the capital of the commandery and called for help. Kong Chang and Xin Zeng were reluctant to respond, but He Xun threatened to execute them by military law if they failed in their duty, so they took their troops and Zuo Chang was rescued. -HHS 58/48:1880.

Kong [Changchan] 孔長彥; Lu. Sons of Kong Xi, when their father died in Zuopingyi about 88 Changchan and his younger brother Jichan were in their early teens. They refused to return to their home country, but remained in the west to arrange his burial and tend his tomb.

Both brothers were active scholars, with hundreds of students, and Kong Changchan was particularly interested in detailed commentaries to the classics. He died about the same time as his brother, in 124. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Kong Chou 孔疇 [Yuanzhi 元知]; Lu. A descendant of Confucius, about 140 Kong Chou was Administrator of Jiangxia. He and other officials were reported by the Inspector Li Gu for corruption, but they bribed the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and had Li Gu transferred.

In 149 Kong Chou was Chancellor of Chen. The government of the young Emperor Huan, controlled by the Liang family, had a temple to Laozi constructed in Hu county, believed to have been the birthplace of the sage. One of the walls of the temple bore a portrait of Confucius, and Kong Chou had a stele set up before it. -HYGZ 10C:165, SGZ 16:514-15, SJZ 23:5b; Seidel 69:36-37, Seidel 78:38.

Kong Dan 孔耽 [Boben 伯本]; Liang. A senior local officer, Kong Dan held temporary position as head of

the state after the Chancellor left office on grounds of illness. He had a funerary temple constructed for his family at the cost of 300,000 cash. -LS 5:5a-7a; Ebrey 80:336.

Kong Fen 孔奮 [Junyu 君魚]; Youfufeng. Kong Fen's great-grandfather had held court office under Emperor Yuan in the mid-first century BC, and when Kong Fen was young he studied *Zuo zhuan* under Liu Xin, who admired his ability.

As trouble broke out at the end of Wang Mang's reign Kong Fen took his family to refuge in the far west. In the late 20s he became a junior member of the staff of Guangwu's ally Dou Rong and then held a county post in Wuwei. His territory became one of the best-governed and most peaceful in the empire, and had excellent contact with the non-Chinese through open markets. In a time of confusion and plunder, Kong Fen was noted for his restraint and honesty and for the manner in which he served his elderly mother, so that she ate fine food while his wife and children had to content themselves with onions. The Administrator Liang Tong called to pay respects to his mother and Kong Fen was awarded a secondary marquissate.

Kong Fen later became Commandery Assistant of Wudu. After the death of Wei Ao in 33 his kinsman Wei Mao surprised the headquarters, killed the Administrator and took Kong Fen's family hostage. Kong Fen nonetheless raised the non-Chinese Di people against them. The enemy used his wife and son as shields to cover their retreat, but Kong Fen still led an attack. Wei Mao was killed, but so was Kong Fen's family.

Issuing a special edict to praise Kong Fen, Guangwu appointed him Administrator; in that office he continued to inspire people by his moral quality. Though he was more than fifty years old, he managed to sire another son, Kong Jia, to replace the one killed by Wei Mao. He later retired on grounds of ill health and died at home. -HHS 31/21:1098-99*, 86/76:2860.

Kong Fu 孔扶 [Zhongyuan 仲淵]; Lu. A nineteenth-generation descendant of the sage, in 132 Kong Fu was involved in the reconstruction of the Imperial University as Minister of Ceremonies; in the following year he was promoted Excellency of Works.

In 134 when Emperor Shun invited Zhou Ju of the Imperial Secretariat to identify bad officials, Zhou Ju named the Excellency Liu Qi as a man who held office without useful effect; Liu Qi was dismissed. Kong Fu

also left office on the same day, and it is likely that he too had been criticised by Zhou Ju.

In 168 a memorial stele for Kong Fu was placed at the site of Confucius' tomb. -HHS 6:262-64, LX 11:1b-2b.

Kong Gang 孔綱; Lu. In 169 Kong Gang was among the sponsors of the ceremony and inscription organised by Shi Chen the Chancellor of Lu at the Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:28a.

Kong Gui 孔桂 [Shulin 叔林]; Hanyang. About 200 Kong Gui served as an emissary to Cao Cao for the north-western warlord Yang Qiu. He ingratiated himself with Cao Cao, who admired his skill at football 便辟 and at "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese Go]. He became a constant companion, with considerable influence, though he mistakenly allied himself with Cao Zhi and treated the eventual Heir, Cao Pi, with limited respect.

In the time of Cao Pi, Kong Gui was found to have embezzled quantities of goods from the Western Regions; he was executed. -SGZ 3:100-01.

Kong He 孔龢; Lu. A literary officer and a scholar of the Zhuang/Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu*, in 153 Kong He was selected for a new appointment to supervise ceremonies at the local Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:16a.

Kong Hong 孔宏; Lu. Having served in the Imperial Secretariat, Kong Hong became Administrator of Hedong. -LS 27:6a.

Kong Ji 孔奇 see Kong Qi 孔奇.

Kong Jia 孔嘉 [Shanpu 山甫]; Youfufeng. Son of Kong Fan, Kong Jia followed the model of his uncle Kong Qi and also composed *Zuo zhuan shuo* 左氏說, a commentary to the classic. He became Colonel of the City Gates. -HHS 31/21:1099; Yao Zhenzong:2327-28.

Kong [Jichan] 孔季彥 (d.124); Lu. Jichan was a son of Kong Xi, who died in Zuopingyi about 88 when Jichan was some ten years old. Jichan and his elder brother Changchan refused to return to their home country, but remained in the west to arrange their father's burial and tend his tomb. Both became active scholars, with hundreds of students.

Though his father had accepted the more rational Old Text tradition, Kong Jichan was skilled in mystical arts. When great hailstones fell in the northwest of the empire in 121 and Emperor An called for men to explain the portents, Kong Jichan went to the capital.

Received in audience, he advised the emperor that the government was too much influenced by the family of the late Dowager Deng and other relatives by marriage. His advice shocked the court and the emperor did not respond, but he soon afterwards purged the Deng family and their supporters.

Kong Jichan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but did not take up the offer and died at home a few years later. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Kong Lan 孔覽; Lu. A local officer, in 153 Kong Lan was an unsuccessful candidate for the new appointment of an official to supervise ceremonies at the Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:16a.

Kong Li 孔立 see Kong Yu 孔昱.

Kong [Linlian] 孔麟廉; Lu. A descendant of Confucius in the nineteenth generation, in the early 150s Kong Linlian petitioned Yi Ying the Chancellor of Lu to appoint an official to supervise ceremonies at the temple of the sage. An edict of 153 gave approval, and a commemorative stele was set up. -LS 1:17a.

Kong Qi 孔奇 [Ziyi 子異]; Youfufeng. Younger brother of Kong Fan, Kong Qi travelled to Luoyang to study. Expert in the classics, he compiled a commentary, *Chunqiu Zuoshi shan* 春秋左氏刪. -HHS 31/21:1099.

Kong Qian 孔謙 [Derang 德讓] (131-154); Lu. Son of Kong Zhou, he became a clerk in the commandery but died of illness at the age of twenty-four. -LS 6:17a-b, Nagata 94:152.

Kong Qian 孔潛; Liang. JS 78:2051 says that Kong Qian was Junior Tutor to the Heir 太子少傅, but left his home country during the troubles at the end of Han and settled in Kuaiji, where his descendants held office under Wu.

There was, however, no Heir proclaimed during the last fifty years of Later Han, so there can have been no position as a Junior Tutor. It is possible Kong Qian's appointment was to low-ranking probationary office as a Member of the Suite of the Heir 太子舍人.

Kong Qiao 孔喬 [Zisong 子松]; Nanyang. A scholar of the Old Text *Classic of History* and of *Zuo zhuan*, Kong Qiao was so diligent and reclusive that he kept to his house for years. In 121 Emperor An sent carriages and escorts to invite him and other hermit scholars to court, but Kong Qiao ignored the courteous summons. He died at home. -HHS 82/72A:2722, XC 6:5b; Vervorm 90:292.

Kong Rong 孔融 [Wenju 文舉] (153-208); Lu. Sixth son of Kong Zhou, Kong Rong was a precocious

child, and there are several anecdotes concerning his quick wit and his pretensions. At the age of ten he accompanied his father to the capital, where he impressed the judge of character Li Ying, and in 169 he sheltered the fugitive Zhang Jian on behalf of his brother Kong Bao; Bao was later executed on that account. Kong Rong's reputation was comparable to those of Taoqiu Hong and Bian Rang.

Having initially refused all offers of appointment, in the late 170s Kong Rong joined the offices of the Excellency Yang Ci, from which position he reported on the corrupt conduct of several associates of the palace eunuchs, defending his cases successfully when questioned by officers of the Imperial Secretariat. In 184 he was sent to pay respects to the new General-in-Chief He Jin, but left in disgust when he could not gain an audience. He Jin's staff wanted to kill him for his lack of respect, but the assassin they nominated persuaded He Jin that he would lose by such a deed and that it would be better to make friends with such a well-known figure. So He Jin took Kong Rong onto his staff. Graded First Class, Kong Rong then joined the Imperial Censorate, but resigned on grounds of illness after a disagreement with its head Zhao She.

Kong Rong later returned to the offices of the Excellencies, then became Adjutant of the Northern Army, and after three days he was made a General of the Household in charge of palace guards. As Dong Zhuo took power at the capital in 189 Kong Rong expressed opposition to several of his plans, including the deposition of the Little Emperor Liu Bian and the establishment of his brother Emperor Xian. He was transferred to be a Consultant and in 190 he was sent as Chancellor to Beihai, a territory with serious problems of banditry.

In idealistic Confucianist fashion, Kong Rong sought to restore order and settle the people by encouraging schools and rituals and by celebrating contemporary scholars such as Zheng Xuan and Bing Yuan, and various gentlemen of the past. He paid little attention to his local advisers, he was criticised as pretentious and ineffectual, and he achieved small success against the Yellow Turbans and other rebels. In 193 he was besieged by the bandit leader Guan Hai and sent his follower Taishi Ci to seek aid from Liu Bei. Surprised and delighted that Kong Rong had heard of him, Liu Bei sent a relief force and the enemy scattered and fled.

Isolated in the east, Kong Rong sought to keep aloof from the growing powers of Cao Cao and Yuan Shao, and when his adviser Zuo Chengzu suggested an alliance, he killed him for such treasonous talk. In 192 he joined an abortive petition of Tao Qian, urging the general Zhu Jun to advance on Chang'an and rescue the emperor, and after the death of Tao Qian in 194 he urged Liu Bei to take over Xu province. Yuan Shu, whose ancestors had held high official rank under Later Han, also wanted the territory, but Kong Rong decried his claim: "Dry bones from a tomb, why bother about them?" [Such strictures, of course, could not apply to a man who claimed seven hundred years and twenty generations descent from Confucius.]

Liu Bei nominated Kong Rong as Inspector of Qing province, but in 196 Yuan Shao's son Yuan Tan came to attack him. The conflict lasted several months, but we are told that Kong Rong paid little attention, preferring literary pursuits and elegant conversation. Eventually, as the enemy entered his capital he fled to Cao Cao, leaving his wife and children to be captured by Yuan Tan.

Cao Cao named Kong Rong Court Architect at the puppet court of Han, and in 198 he became Minister Steward. His rhetoric influenced the formalities of the court: he opposed the award of posthumous honours to Ma Midi, protested at Cao Cao's impeachment of Yang Biao, rejected a proposal to restore mutilating punishments, and argued against special sacrifices for Liu Feng, a son of Emperor Xian who had died young and without heirs.

Kong Rong also made himself unpopular with Cao Cao through criticisms with classical tags. One story tells how, objecting to Cao Pi taking the Lady Zhen, widow of Yuan Xi, as his wife, he claimed that the *Classic of History* recorded how King Wu of Zhou had given the concubine of his defeated enemy the king of Shang/Yin to his brother the Duke of Zhou. Because of Kong Rong's great scholarship, Cao Cao at first believed him; when he found that history and tradition held King Wu had killed the woman, Kong Rong explained that he was simply reconstructing the past in terms of the present: the parallel was not complimentary. He also ridiculed Cao Cao's victory over the Wuhuan, and opposed his restrictions on alcohol. His letter to Cao Cao on this last matter is a paean to intoxication, referring among other items to the future founding Emperor Gao of Former Han

killing the mystical white snake when he was drunk [Dubs 38:34-35], and the fact that Liu Fa, ancestor of the restoring Emperor Guangwu, was conceived only when Emperor Jing was too befuddled to know which concubine he was dealing with [HS 53:2426; QHX:294]. In a second letter Kong Rong argued that trouble with women was more dangerous to a dynasty than trouble with wine [HHS 70/60:2273].

Kong Rong was respected and popular at all levels of the court and among leaders of the empire, so for a long time, Cao Cao was obliged to tolerate him, but eventually Kong Rong went too far, arguing that Cao Cao should leave the capital and be sent to his fief. Though cast in terms of precedent, this was a direct attack upon Cao Cao's structure of power, and Cao Cao's follower Chi Lü now accused Kong Rong of breaking the law and had him dismissed from the ministry. Cao Cao wrote to warn Kong Rong that he was pressing too hard. His letter is long and carefully composed, a mark of his concern, but Kong Rong replied with defiant self-righteousness. He returned to office as a Palace Counsellor, and gathered an increasing following of clients.

In 208 a renewed attack by Chi Lü, joined by Cao Cao's staff officer Lu Cui, claimed that Kong Rong had planned treason when he was in Beihai, that he had held secret talks with envoys of Sun Quan, and that he and Ni Heng had compared themselves to Confucius and his close disciple Yan Hui 顏回. This ragbag of charges was classified by the pejorative terms Great Refractoriness and Impiety, and Kong Rong was arrested and killed with his family. Because of his reputation, Cao Cao had a special statement circulated, condemning Kong Rong's conduct and seeking to justify his punishment; but it was not a good mark for his regime.

Kong Rong left a quantity of literary material, including poetry, essays, letters, inscriptions and official documents. When Cao Pi took the throne of Wei he offered rewards for any item by his hand, and in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" he honoured Kong Rong as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -HHS 70/60:2261-79*, XHS 5:3b-6a, SGZ 12:370-73*; Mather 76:544.

Kong Shang 孔尚; Lu. A descendant of Confucius, Kong Shang was Administrator of Julu. -SGZ 12:370.

Kong Shun 孔順. Clever but wicked, about 200 Kong Shun was a trusted counsellor to Yuan Tan. -SGZ 6:

196.

Kong Song 孔嵩 [Zhongshan 仲山 or Jushan 巨山]; Nanyang. A man of humble family, Kong Song studied at the University in Luoyang, but later changed his name and went to a neighbouring county to become a local policeman. When the Inspector Fan Shi came on tour, Kong Song was ordered to hold his horse for him. Fan Shi, an old friend from their student days, recognised Kong Song. He urged the county authorities to put someone else in his place, but Kong Song, fortified with examples from the past, insisted on doing his duty with no feeling of embarrassment.

Kong Song had great influence for good in his adopted community, and he was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies. As he was travelling to the capital, thieves stole his horse, but when they learned whom it belonged to they returned it with apologies.

Kong Song later became Administrator of Nanhai in the far south. -HHS 81/71:2678, XC 5:14b, XHS 5:14b, HQ 2:6a-b.

Kong Sun 孔損; Lu. Son of Kong Zhi and a direct descendant of Confucius in the eighteenth generation, Kong Sun inherited the family title as Marquis in Recompense of Perfection [褒成侯 *Baocheng hou*]. In 85 Emperor Zhang held a ceremony at Lu in honour of the sage, and gave presents to Kong Sun and his kinsmen.

In 90 the government of Emperor He transferred the fief to a village, Baoting 褒亭. The title appears to have been restored soon afterwards, but Baocheng was not the name of a county and the value of the fief is not recorded. At Kong Sun's death the marquisate passed to his son Yao. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Kong Wan 孔完; Lu. Son of Kong Yao and a direct descendant of Confucius in the twentieth generation, Kong Wan inherited the family title as Marquis in Recompense of Perfection 褒成侯. The fief was ended during the time of troubles about 190, but Cao Pi, Emperor of Wei, later granted Kong Xian 羨, a descendant in the twenty-first generation, title as Marquis Who Honours the Sage 崇聖侯. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Kong Xi 孔僖 [Zhonghe 仲和 or Zihe 子和]; Lu. A descendant of Confucius, Kong Xi attended the University at Luoyang and was a friend of Cui Yin. A jealous fellow-student, Liang Yu, reported them for having spoken disrespectfully of Emperor Wu of Former Han, and the two young men were threatened

with execution. Kong Xi wrote to Emperor Zhang to apologise and explain, and the emperor put a stop to the process.

When Emperor Zhang made a tour to the east in 85 he arranged a special ceremony at Lu in honour of Confucius and his disciples. All adult males of the Kong clan were called to take part, and scholars were ordered to recite the *Analects*. Kong Xi excused himself, and when the emperor asked why he did not appreciate the honour done to his family he replied that the ceremony was no more than appropriate courtesy from a wise ruler to the sage. Emperor Zhang was amused and impressed. Presenting gifts to his kinsmen, he made Kong Xi a gentleman cadet and appointed him a compiler at the library of the Eastern Pavilion.

Kong Xi, however, was a scholar of the Old Text *History* and *Poetry*, and he had limited concern for the apocryphal texts which had been favoured by previous rulers. Emperor Zhang could tolerate such idiosyncrasy, but at the end of the year he sent Kong Xi away from the capital to be magistrate of a county in Zuopingyi. Kong Xi's old friend Cui Yin took a prognostication from the *Book of Changes* and warned that the omens were unlucky, but Kong Xi replied that it was wrong to pick and choose appointments, and that fortune rested with oneself, not with yarrow sticks. He died in office three years later. -HHS 79/69A:2560-63*.

Kong Xia 孔峽 of Lu served as Minister of Finance. -LS 27:6a.

Kong Xian 孔顯. An officer of the guards in 124, Kong Xian joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125 Kong Xian and his colleagues were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Kong Xian 孔憲; Lu. A local teacher, in 153 Kong Xian was an unsuccessful candidate for the new appointment of an official to supervise ceremonies at the local Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:16a.

Kong Xin 孔訢; Liang. See *sub* Zhongli Yi. -HHS 41/31:1410.

Kong Xin 孔信; Hanyang. A local leader, in 213 he joined Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang to drive Ma Chao from

the commandery. -SGZ 25:701.

Kong Xun 孔恂 [Juqing 巨卿]; Yuzhang. Kong Xun became Attendant Officer to the Inspector of Yang province. By tradition, when they went on tour the Attendant Officer had screen curtains on his carriage, the same as the Inspector. On one occasion the Inspector was angry and wanted to remove his screen, but Kong Xun protested that the screen was official regalia: the Inspector could dismiss him as an official, but he could not remove the screen. The Inspector accepted his argument. -XC 8:7a, HHS 119/29:3648.

Kong Yao 孔曜 [Jianshou 建壽?]; Lu. Son of Kong Sun and a direct descendant of Confucius in the nineteenth generation, Kong Yao inherited the family title as Marquis in Recompense of Perfection 褒成侯. At his death the fief passed to his son Wan. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Kong Yi 孔翊. HHS 65/55:2136 tells how a memorial from Huangfu Gui presented in the late 160s referred to Kong Yi as a worthy man who had not received the high position he deserved. From the context, it seems probable this is a reference to Kong Yu 孔昱 below.

LS 27:6a lists a stele dedicated to Kong Yi 翊, who is described as a Imperial Clerk; this may also be a reference to Kong Yu.

Kong Yu 孔昱 also as Kong Yi 翊 [Yuanshi 元世 or Shiyuan 世元]; Lu. Through Kong Anguo 孔安國, Kong Yu was descended in the nineteenth generation from Confucius. His ancestor Kong Ba 孔霸 had held high office under Former Han, and his lineage had produced fifty-three ministers, heads of provinces or commandery units, while seven men had received enfeoffment.

As a young man, Kong Yu maintained the family tradition of scholarship in the *Classic of History*. In the middle 150s he refused an invitation to join the offices of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, and when he was recommended as Sincere and Upright his responses to questions opposed the attitudes of the court. He pleaded illness and retired, but it appears that he later returned to appointments at the capital: see below.

Kong Yu was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformists and students of the Imperial University, and he was proscribed from office at the time of the First Faction Incident of 166-167.

In 168, as Dou Wu and Chen Fan controlled the regent government for the new Emperor Ling, a special

carriage was sent to invite Kong Yu as a Consultant, and he became Prefect of Luoyang. When his former teacher died soon afterwards, Kong Yu used the excuse of mourning to leave office and return to private study. In 169 he was among the sponsors of the ceremony and inscription organised by Shi Chen the Chancellor of Lu at the Temple of Confucius, and he later died at home, probably in 172.

Kong Yu is often described as a moral scholar in retirement, but though he may have lived as a hermit during the time of Proscription, he does not appear to have had any long-term commitment to the role. -HHS 67/57:2213* & 2187 & JJ at 2423, 65/55:2332, SGZ 6:211, LS 1:28a, Nagata 94:180; Vervoor 90:173.

See also Kong Yi 孔翊 above.

Kong Yuan 孔冤 read as Kong Biao 彪. -LS 1:28a.

Kong Zan 孔讚; Lu. In 169 Kong Zan was among the sponsors of the ceremony and inscription organised by Shi Chen the Chancellor of Lu at the Temple of Confucius. -LS 1:28a.

Kong [Zhangchan] 孔長彥 see Kong Changchan 孔長彥.

Kong Zhi 孔志; Lu. A direct descendant of Confucius in the seventeenth generation, Kong Zhi was the son of Kong Jun 均鈞 [original personal name Mang 莽], who had been awarded a fief by Wang Mang in order to maintain the sacrifices to the sage [QHX:210-211]. The fief was abolished when Wang Mang was destroyed.

Kong Zhi became a magistrate in Henei under Emperor Guangwu, and in 38 he was granted title as Marquis in Recompense of Perfection 褒成侯. He was succeeded by his son Sun. -HHS 1B:63, 79/69A:2563; Bn 67:36-37.

LS 27:6a lists a stele dedicated to Kong Zhi, described there as an Academician.

Kong Zhi 孔芝 (d.181). Administrator of Nanhai in the late 170s, Kong Zhi joined the rebellion of Liang Long. In 181 the insurgents were destroyed by the Inspector Zhu Jun. -HHS 71/61:2308.

Kong Zhou 孔宙 [Jijiang 季將] (103-163); Lu. A descendant of Confucius, Kong Zhou was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. He later served as a magistrate and was Commandant of Taishan during the insurgency of the 160s. Following his death, a number of students, clients and other gentlemen set up a stele in his honour. -LS 7:4a-5b, Nagata 94:148-50, SGZJJ 12:6a-b; Mather 76:544.

HHS 70/60:2262, the biography of his son Kong Rong, says that his father died when he was thirteen, and at 2278 it says that Kong Rong was fifty-six *sui* when he was executed in 208: this would mean that he was born in 153 and his father died in 165. The inscription on the Kong Zhao's commemorative stele, however, dated 164, says that the memorial was set up one year after his death.

The personal name also appears as 侁, probably through confusion with Kong Zhou of Chenliu below. **Kong Zhou** 孔宙, wife/widow of. The Lady was the mother of Kong Bao and Kong Rong. In 169 they gave shelter to the fugitive Zhang Jian, and when the local authorities sought to allocate blame for the offence, both brothers claimed responsibility, while the Lady Kong also demanded punishment as being the senior member of the household. In the end the penalty was held against Kong Bao, and he was executed. -HHS 70/60:2262, SGZ 12:371.

Kong Zhou 孔侁/胄 [Gongxu 公緒]; Chenliu. Noted for his skill in Pure Conversation, during the 160s Kong Zhou was recommended by Fu Rong to the Administrator Feng Dai and made Reporting Officer.

In 189 Kong Zhou was appointed Inspector of Yu province by Dong Zhuo, but in the following year he joined the alliance against him and came to camp in Yingchuan. He died there soon afterwards. -HHS 68/58:2233, SGZ 1:6.

Kong Zhou 孔侁 of Lu: see Kong Zhou 孔宙 of Lu.

Kou 寇, the Lady I; Shanggu. Grand-daughter of Kou Xun, she married Deng Zhi, brother of the Lady Deng who became Empress of Emperor He and regent Dowager for Emperor An. In 118 the Lady's son Deng Feng confessed to his father that he had been in private contact with the general Ren Shang, who had been executed for embezzlement. Deng Zhi was afraid of the reaction of his sister the regent Dowager, so he had Deng Feng's head shaved and also that of the Lady Kou. This symbol of servitude was taken as an apology for Deng Feng's ill-chosen friend; everyone was impressed.

Through their marriage connection to the Deng, the Kou became wealthy, powerful and well connected to the throne, but they suffered disgrace in the time of Kou Rong. -HHS 16/6:606, 626.

Kou 寇, the Lady II; Shanggu. A great-niece of Kou Rong, she entered the harem of Emperor Huan. -HHS 16/6:627.

Kou 寇 [personal name unknown]; Shanggu. Son of a cousin of Kou Rong, he married the Princess of Yiyang, younger sister of Emperor Huan. -HHS 10B:443, 16/6:627.

Kou Feng 寇封 see Liu Feng 劉封.

Kou Huan 寇權 [Wenyi 文儀]; Guanghan. About 150 Kou Guan was a disciple of Yang Hou, expert in Huang-Lao doctrines. -HYGZ 10B:144, 12:223.

Kou Li 寇釐; Shanggu. Son of Kou Sun, he succeeded to his father's county marquisate in Xindu. The fief was later reduced to a district. -HHS 16/6:626.

Kou Rong 寇榮 (d.164?); Shanggu. A great-grandson of Kou Xun, his family enjoyed prosperity after the marriage of the Lady Kou I to Deng Zhi, brother of the Dowager Deng who ruled as regent for Emperor An. Later, a junior cousin of Kou Rong married the younger sister of Emperor Huan, and one of his great-nieces entered the imperial harem. Kou Rong himself had a fine reputation when he was young, and he became a Palace Attendant under Emperor Huan. A man of moral principle, there were few people he was prepared to have dealings with, and the emperor's favourites, particularly the eunuchs, disliked him and were concerned at his potential influence as a relative by marriage.

About 160 Kou Rong was accused of various crimes, and he and his kinsmen were sent back to the family's original home country in the north. Seeing the political situation, local officials in Shanggu also began to apply pressure. Despairing of escape from this persecution, Kou Rong fled back to the capital in hope of pleading his case. Before he arrived there, however, Zhang Jing the Inspector of You province, who was an old associate of the palace eunuchs, reported him for crossing borders without authority. Orders were issued for his arrest and Kou Rong went into hiding for several years; even when amnesties were issued he was specifically excluded from their benefits. Eventually, in distress and despair, he wrote most eloquently to the emperor from his place of exile, complaining of the falsehoods that had been told against him and of the ruler's own implacable hostility. The letter occupies the greater part of Kou Rong's biography in HHS, and came to be regarded as a classic literary composition by an innocent man, wrongly accused. Emperor Huan, however, was only made more angry by this appeal.

It appears that Kou Rong was captured soon afterwards. He was executed, probably in 164, and

the family fortunes were ended. [Though members of the family had held high rank at court, surprisingly few of Kou Rong's kinsmen are named or referred to specifically in the histories.] -HHS 16/6:627-33*; deC 89:52-54.

Kou Qi 寇祺 [Zaichao 宰朝]; Guanghan. Kou Qi went to study in Liang province. A fellow-student, Hou Man was later murdered by Wang Xiang of Bohai, and Kou Qi went to take revenge. As he arrived, Wang Xiang pleaded that he was ill and he went away, but he waited until Wang Xiang recovered and then returned to kill him.

As a result of this, Kou Qi was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He became a county magistrate in Jingzhao and then Chancellor of Jiying. -HYGZ 10C,175.

Kou Shou 寇壽; Shanggu. Son of Kou Xun by a concubine, and elder half-brother to Kou Sun, in 37 he was enfeoffed with a county marquisate in Pei. -HHS 16/6:626.

Kou Sun 寇損 or Kou Yi 揖; Shanggu. Son of Kou Xun by his chief wife, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in 36. The fief was later transferred from Yuyang into Xindu. -HHS 16/6:626.

Kou Xi 寇襲; Shanggu. Son of Kou Li, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 16/6:626.

Kou Xu 寇盱; Shanggu? Administrator of Longxi in 88, Kou Xu drove back a raiding force led by the Qiang chieftain Mitang.

Ten years later, as the general Liu Shang brought an army to deal with a far more substantial incursion by Mitang, Kou Xu was major in charge of militia from the local commanderies. At a great battle near Lintao in southern Longxi, Kou Xu's men killed hundreds of the enemy and took great numbers of cattle, horses and sheep. Chinese losses, however, were also heavy, and as Mitang withdrew the Han troops did not follow. -HHS 87/77:2883-84.

Kou Xun 寇恂 [Ziyi 子翼] (d.36); Shanggu. A man of noted local family and a keen scholar, in the time of Wang Mang Kou Xun became Officer of Merit to the Administrator Geng Kuang, who admired him greatly.

After the fall of Wang Mang in 23 the Gengshi Emperor dispatched commissioners to persuade local authorities to give allegiance to his new regime, and it was announced that those who did so would be confirmed in their positions. Geng Kuang duly went to meet the envoy Han Hong and handed over his official

seal in token of submission. Presumably seeking to show his authority, Han Hong did not immediately return the insignia but kept it overnight. Kou Xun led armed men to his tent to demand the seal, and when Han Hong refused he overpowered him, called Geng Kuang to join them, and himself tied the seal and ribbon about his waist. The commissioner could only add formal approval to this *démarche*, and so Geng Kuang was confirmed in his position.

In the winter of 23/24 Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in Handan, and he sent an officer to seek support from Geng Kuang. Kou Xun urged him to refuse, and Geng Kuang sent him to make alliance with Peng Chong in neighbouring Yuyang. They agreed to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu but currently Han commissioner in the northeast; as he returned Kou Xun killed Wang Lang's envoy and took over his troops.

Wang Lang had strong local support and at first achieved considerable success, but Geng Kuang sent cavalry under his assistant Jing Dan, with Kou Xun and his own son Geng Yan, to aid the Han. Combining with Peng Chong's officer Wu Han, they destroyed Wang Lang's position in the north, killing hundreds of his officials, took over twenty counties, then joined Liu Xiu at Guang'e city in Julu. Kou Xun was made a lieutenant-general and given title as a marquis. By summer Wang Lang had been destroyed, and the horsemen of Shanggu had played a leading role in the victory.

Kou Xun frequently discussed plans with Liu Xiu's close assistant Deng Yu and they became close friends. As Liu Xiu moved south through Henei against Luoyang in 25 he asked Deng Yu whom he should put in charge there. Emphasising the importance of the region for future planning, Deng Yu strongly recommended Kou Xun. He was named Acting Administrator with the authority of a chief general.

As Liu Xiu returned to the north, Kou Xun sent letters to all the counties with orders for the men to practise archery. He also had the bamboos in Qi Park, at the north of the commandery on the edge of the Taihang ranges, cut to make a million arrows, collected two thousand horses and levied great quantities of tax grain to supply Liu Xiu's army.

Soon afterwards Zhu Wei attacked Henei. Leading his own men against Guangwu's general Feng Yi at the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River, he sent his

subordinate Su Mao downstream to outflank Feng Yi with an attack on Wen county.

As soon as the news reached Kou Xun's capital in Huai, he sent orders to his county officials to bring their troops to Wen. His subordinates argued that he should keep back to await developments, but Kou Xun replied that Wen was of critical importance. He hurried there by forced marches with his own men and engaged the enemy for a full day. Then the county troops arrived and Feng Yi also sent reinforcements. Kou Xun ordered his men to climb their ramparts, beat the drums and shout that Liu Xiu's army was approaching. As Su Mao's men wavered, Kou Xun charged. He achieved complete victory: several thousand enemy were killed, including Su Mao's second-in-command Jia Qiang, and over ten thousand captured. They maintained a pursuit across the Yellow River to Luoyang and then returned; Feng Yi achieved equal success.

Liu Xiu's first news from Henei indicated that Kou Xun had been defeated. When he learnt of the victory he congratulated himself on the appointment, and the success inspired him to take the imperial title.

Kou Xun also applied himself to maintaining the supplies of the imperial army, and Guangwu wrote several times to thank him and enquire after him. Observing that the officers of Kou Xun's command were almost all his kinsmen, his old colleague Dong Chong warned him that the emperor's apparent solicitude could indicate that he was unsure of his loyalty. He urged him to send some of his relatives as quasi-hostages. So Kou Xun claimed to be ill and, as Guangwu passed through Henei on his way to attack Luoyang at the end of 25, he asked to resign and accompany the army. Guangwu refused, for the post in Henei was too important, but Kou Xun then offered the services of his nephews Kou Zhang and Gu Chong with their troops of good cavalry. The emperor was very pleased, and appointed them lieutenant-generals.

In the following year Kou Xun was nonetheless briefly dismissed because he had arrested and questioned a man bearing a letter for the emperor. A few months later he was named Administrator of Yingchuan and sent with the general Hou Jin to attack a large group of bandits led by Yan Zhong, Zhao Dun and Jia Qi. After several weeks they took Jia Qi's head. As the commandery became peaceful, Kou Xun once more raised quantities of supplies for the imperial forces. He was enfeoffed as a county marquis, with

revenue from ten thousand households.

The Bearer of the Mace Jia Fu was at this time on campaign in Runan. When some of his officers and men crossed the border and killed people in Yingchuan, Kou Xun had them arrested and executed. Jia Fu was offended at such discourtesy to a fellow-commander, and as he returned to the capital through Yingchuan he told his officers that he would kill Kou Xun if they met. Kou Xun learnt of this, and though his nephew Gu Chong wanted to fight, he observed that his duty to the state took precedence.

Ordering his local officials to ply the troops with food and wine, he set out to receive Jia Fu, but then pretended to be taken ill and returned to his camp. When Jia Fu ordered his men to chase after him they were too drunk to do so. Then Kou Xun sent Gu Chong with a report to the throne, and Guangwu called both men to audience, scolding them: "The empire is not yet settled, and you two tigers start a private quarrel? You must end it today." Kou Xun and Jia Fu apologised and made up. They rode out in the same carriage and became friends thereafter.

Within a year Kou Xun had given peace and security to Yingchuan, and in 27 he was transferred to Runan, this time to assist the general Du Mao deal with local bandits. They too were swiftly settled, and Kou Xun encouraged the establishment of schools; he personally took tuition in the classics from an expert in *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*.

In 31 Kou Xun was called to the capital as Bearer of the Mace, and in 32 he accompanied the emperor on campaign against Wei Ao. As rebellion broke out again in Yingchuan, the main army turned back to deal with it. Apologising for the apparent reduction in rank, Guangwu asked Kou Xun to return to the commandery as Administrator, for he was the only person who might restore order. Kou Xun remarked that as soon as the army appeared the rebels would surrender, and this indeed was what happened. He did not take the administrator's position, but stayed in the territory a year to confirm its submission.

In 34 Kou Xun rejoined the imperial army, which at this time was moving against Gao Jun, a former general of Wei Ao who had taken refuge in Anding. He had already withstood a year's siege by Geng Yan, and even when Guangwu approached he refused to surrender. Since the situation in the east was still unstable, Kou Xun warned against too great a commitment to the

operation. Guangwu was determined that Geng Yan should make a full attack, but he did agree to send Kou Xun with an letter to try once more for Gao Jun's submission.

When Kou Xun arrived Gao Jun sent his staff officer Huangfu Wen to greet him, but Huangfu Wen refused to bow before the imperial envoy. Kou Xun was furious and wanted to execute him, but his subordinates objected that Gao Jun had a strong defensive position, it could take years to reduce him, and killing his envoy was no way to bring about his surrender. Kou Xun did not agree: he beheaded Huangfu Wen and sent his second-in-command back to tell Gao Jun that this would be the fate of anyone who refused to submit: "If you are going to surrender, do it quickly; otherwise, look out!" Gao Jun opened the gates and gave himself up.

As Kou Xun's officers congratulated him, they asked how he had known what would happen. Kou Xun replied that Huangfu Wen had been Gao Jun's closest adviser, and when he refused to kowtow it was clear the enemy had no intention of giving up. By killing him, however, he deprived Gao Jun of his counsellor and left him shocked, lonely and vulnerable.

Influential and popular at the imperial court, Kou Xun was admired for his ability to solve confrontations by skill rather than force. Many believed he had ability for the highest office, but he died two years later. When Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Kou Xun was one of those who were honoured.

Besides his own enfeoffment, Kou Xun's twin brother and his nephews, eight men in all including Kou Zhang and Gu Chong, received marquises for their military achievements. Only Kou Xun, however, left a son and heir, Kou Sun. The family later gained high rank at court through the marriage of Kou Xun's grand-daughter to Deng Zhi, brother of the Dowager, but comparatively few of Kou Xun's descendants are recorded specifically in the histories [*cf.* also *sub* Kou Rong]. -HHS 16/6:620-28*; Bn 59:39, 72, 102-104, 211, 216, 218, Ch'ü 72:290-291.

Kou Yi 寇儀 (d.142); Shanggu? Probably a member of the great clan, in 142 Kou Yi was Chancellor of Lu. The commissioner Zhang Gang reported him to the throne for misconduct, and Kou Yi killed himself [but *cf. sub* Zhang Gang]. -HYGZ 10B:157.

Kou Yi 寇揖 see Kou Sun 寇損.

Kou Zhang 寇張; Shanggu. In 25 Kou Xun was concerned that Emperor Guangwu might be uncertain of his loyalty. As the imperial army passed through Henei on its way to attack Luoyang, therefore, he offered the services of his elder brother's son Kou Zhang and his sister's son Gu Chong with their troops of cavalry. The emperor, very pleased, appointed both men as lieutenant-generals. Kou Zhang later received a marquise for his military service. -HHS 16/6:622-23, 626.

Ku 庫 [surname] see She 庫.

Ku Jun 苦均 became Administrator of Kuaiji. -FSTY 5f:131.

Ku Jun 庫鈞 see She Jun 庫鈞.

Kuai Liang 蒯良 [Zirou 子柔]; Nan. Elder brother of Kuai Yue, in 190 he advised Liu Biao on the moral government of Jing province; his brother was more practical. -SGZ 6:211.

Kuai Qi 蒯祺 (d.219); Nan. No doubt a junior kinsman of Kuai Liang and Kuai Yue, in 219 Kuai Qi was Cao Cao's Administrator of Fangling, on the western border of Jing province against Liu Bei. He was attacked and killed by Meng Da. -SGZ Shu 10:991; deC 96:529.

Kuai Qin 快欽 is mentioned in FSTY 5f:124.

Kuai Yue 蒯越 [Yidu 異度] (d.214); Nan. A man of local distinction, he joined the offices of the General-in-Chief He Jin at the capital and in 189 urged him against the eunuchs. Realising that He Jin's lack of decision would destroy him, he left Luoyang for a magistracy in Runan.

Returning to his home country soon afterwards, in 190 Kuai Yue joined Liu Biao the newly-appointed Inspector of Jing province. He advised Liu Biao as he established his authority, assisted him to trap and kill several local leaders, and was later made Administrator of Zhangling commandery, set up from the east of Nanyang.

Cao Cao evidently admired Kuai Yue, and in 199 Kuai Yue urged Liu Biao to support Cao Cao against Yuan Shao; Liu Biao, however, remained essentially neutral. In 208 Kuai Yue encouraged Liu Biao's son and successor Liu Zong to surrender to Cao Cao, and when this was done Cao Cao enfeoffed him as a marquis. Kuai Yue became a senior adviser and a minister of Han. -SGZ 6:211-15.

Kuang of Shanghuai 上淮況 see Shanghuai Kuang 上淮況.

Kuang 貺 [surname unknown]. Administrator of Guanghan, he several times invited the scholar Jing Luan to take office, but was always refused. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Kuitou 魁頭; Xianbi. Son of an elder brother of Helian, he may probably be identified with Huaitou/Huitou 槐頭, one the leaders of the eastern region of the confederation of his grandfather Tanshihuai.

When Helian died in the mid-180s, Kuitou took the leadership of the Xianbi in place of his young cousin, Helian's son Qianman, who was still a minor.

When Qianman came of age, he sought his inheritance. He was unsuccessful and soon disappeared, but the conflict with Kuitou destroyed the last of the unity achieved by Tanshihuai. Kuitou evidently died in the early 220s. -SGZ 30:838, HHS 90/80:2994; deC 84:343.

Kujiu 苦蝟 [Dry Grub] was the sobriquet of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, possibly because of his lack of hair. -SGZ 8:261, HHS 71/61:2311 [where the second character appears as 晒].

Kunyang, Lady of 昆陽君 see the Lady Xuan 宣, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan.

Kyesu [Korean] see Jixu 屬須 of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

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Lai 來, the Lady; Nanyang. Younger sister of Lai Xi, she married Liu Jia, who became king of Hanzhong in 24. -HHS 15/5:585.

Lai Bao 來褒; Nanyang. Elder son of Lai Xi, in 35 he was granted succession to the fief which had been posthumously awarded to his father. -HHS 15/5:590.

Lai Chao 來超; Nanyang. Lai Chao was a younger brother of Lai Li, who led a protest against the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao in 124; Emperor An then ordered that he and his brothers be stripped of their official posts. After Liu Bao came to the throne in 125 Lai Chao became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 15/5:593.

Lai Da 來達. Administrator of Hepu in 184, Lai Da was captured by local rebels. -HHS 8:349.

Lai Ding 來定; Nanyang. Son of Lai Li, he married the Princess Liu Zhide, sister of Emperor An. He succeeded to his father's fief in 133, and was a General

of the Household under Emperor Shun. -*HHS* 10B:457, 15/5:593, 55/45:1804.

Lai Fu 來輔. In 26 Lai Fu was an attendant at the Temple of the Eminent Founder, Emperor Gao 高廟. As Emperor Guangwu's general Deng Yu entered Chang'an he put Lai Fu in charge of the temple and named him acting Assistant Intendant of Jingzhao, He was then sent to take the ancestral tablets of the Former Han emperors to Luoyang. -*XC* 1:3a; Bn 59:114.

Lai Gong 賴恭; Lingling. About 204 Lai Gong was sent by Liu Biao to take the place of the late Zhang Jin as Governor of Jiao province. He attempted to govern humanely, but his more warlike colleague, Wu Ju the Administrator of Cangwu, disagreed. Lai Gong was driven out and returned to Lingling.

As Liu Bei took over the south of Jing province in 208, Lai Gong joined him. He became a general, and when Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in 219 Lai Gong was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. He was then named Minister of Ceremonies, and in 221 he joined the petition for Liu Bei to take the imperial title. -*SGZ* Wu 4:1192, 8:1252, Shu 2:884, 888, 15:1082.

FSTY 6f:143 mentions a Lai Xian 先, Administrator of Jiaozhi. This is probably the same man.

Lai Hu 來虎; Nanyang. Son of Lai Ding, whom he succeeded to the family fief, in the time of Emperor Huan he was a colonel in the Northern Army. -*HHS* 15/5:593.

Lai Ji 來機. In 139 Lai Ji was appointed Inspector of Bing province; he and his colleague Liu Bing in Liang province were given shared responsibility for the office of Protector of the Qiang after Ma Xian left that position. They were urged by the General-in-Chief Liang Shang to treat the non-Chinese tolerantly, but both were cruel men, and they caused trouble as soon as they arrived at their posts.

In the following year, as the second great rebellion of the Qiang broke out, Lai Ji and Liu Bing were found guilty and dismissed. -*HHS* 87/77:2895.

Lai Leng 來陵 or Lai Ling 陵; Nanyang. Son of Lai Bao, he married the Princess Liu Hui, daughter of Emperor Ming. He became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -*HHS* 10B:460, 15/5:590.

Lai Li 來歷 [Bozhen 伯珍] (d.133); Nanyang. Lai Li was a son of Lai Leng and the Princess Liu Hui, daughter of Emperor Ming. His father died young and Lai Li later succeeded his grandfather Bao to the fief

which had been awarded posthumously to his great-grandfather Lai Xi.

About 100 Lai Li was named a Palace Attendant and then a commander of cavalry among the guards of the Feathered Forest. He became a colonel in the Northern Army in 109, and Bearer of the Mace in 120. In 121 Lai Li's mother was made a Senior Princess by Emperor An, and in the following year Lai Li became Minister Coachman.

In 124, as conflict between the imperial favourites and the leaders of the bureaucracy came to a head, the eunuch Fan Feng, the emperor's titular uncle Geng Bao and the Palace Attendants Zhou Guang and Xie Yun impeached the Excellency Yang Zhen and forced his suicide. To show their disapproval Lai Li and the Imperial Clerk Yu Xu refused further dealings with Zhou Guang and Xie Yun.

Soon afterwards Geng Bao and his party joined the Empress Yan and her family in urging the dismissal of the emperor's son Liu Bao from his position as Heir. Lai Li joined the Minister of Ceremonies Huan Yan and the Minister of Justice Zhang Hao in protest, but Liu Bao was indeed dismissed. Lai Li then led more than a dozen senior officials in a demonstration to the Gate of the Vast Capital at the Southern Palace, protesting that the former Heir was innocent of any fault. The emperor sent a senior eunuch to advise them that this was a matter between father and son, and instructing them to withdraw. His associates departed one by one, but Lai Li maintained a solitary protest for several days. Furious, the emperor stripped Lai Li and his brothers of their offices, reduced their fiefs, and banned the princess their mother from attendance at court.

Lai Li retired to his house. He had no contact even with his close kinsmen, and all the people were concerned for his fate. In the following year, however, when Emperor An died and the Little Emperor Liu Yi was placed upon the throne, the Dowager Yan appointed Lai Li as Court Architect. At the end of the year, when Liu Yi died and the coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng restored Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, to the succession, his protest was remembered. Lai Li was promoted to Minister of the Guards, and those who had joined him were also rewarded.

In 126 Lai Li was awarded honorary position as General of Chariots and Cavalry, but retired on the grounds of illness when his mother died two years

later. At the end of the period of mourning he was appointed Minister Herald, and died in that office in 133. -HHS 15/5:590-93*, Bn 76:28.

Lai [Lide] 來李德; Nanyang. *FSTY* 9:72; Nylan 83:538-539 tells how this man, although dead, rose up several times from his coffin and gave instructions to his household. He is described as an Excellency of Works, and the anecdote evidently refers to Lai Yan, whose style was Jide 季德.

Lai Ling 來陵 see Lai Leng 來陵.

Lai Miao 來苗. When Wu Tang was appointed first Acting General on the Liao in 65, Lai Miao became his Senior Colonel.

As a Commandant of Cavalry in 73, Lai Miao led a column of northern militia with Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries in the ambitious campaign against the Northern Xiongnu. When the main army failed to meet Lai Miao and his men at the agreed rendezvous, the enterprise was a failure. Wu Tang was among those held at fault, and Lai Miao took his place as Acting General on the Liao. In 76 Lai Miao was appointed Administrator of Jiyin in central China. -HHS 89/79: 2949, 23/13:810.

Lai Min 來敏 [Jingda 敬達]; Nanyang. Son of the Excellency Lai Yan, Lai Min was brother-in-law to Huang Wan. As the empire fell into chaos in the early 190s, Huang Wan was killed at Chang'an in 192, and Lai Min went with his widowed sister into Jing province. Huang Wan had been a cousin of Liu Zhang, the warlord Governor of Yi province, and about 195 Liu Zhang invited the Lady to join him. Lai Min accompanied his sister and was well received.

Expert in the formal writing style known as *Cangya* 倉雅, Lai Min was a noted scholar of *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, though he had disagreements with his colleague Meng Guang. As Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he named Lai Min as Colonel for Education 典學校尉 and had him work with a group of scholars on the codification of procedures and rituals; the project, however, dissolved in squabbles.

When Liu Shan was named Heir in 219, Lai Min became the head of his household. He later served Zhuge Liang, and rose to ministerial rank with title as a general. He died about 260, at the age of ninety-seven. -SGZ Shu 12:1025*.

Lai Xi 來歙 or Lai She [Junshu 君叔] (d.35); Nanyang. Descended from a frontier general who had served Emperor Wu of Former Han, Lai Xi's father Zhongchen

[or Chong 沖] held office at court. He married an aunt of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, so Lai Xi was a senior cousin. It is said that Liu Xiu was a close friend of Lai Xi, that he admired and looked up to him, and they were several times together in Chang'an.

As the Han rebellion led by Liu Bosheng broke out in 22, Lai Xi was once more in Chang'an. On account of his connection to the Liu, Wang Mang ordered his arrest, but Lai Xi's followers came in a mob to attack the prison, and Lai Xi was able to escape.

When Liu Xuan was proclaimed as the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Lai Xi was granted junior office, and followed the new regime to Chang'an. Finding that he had no influence at court and no prospect of advancement, he pleaded ill health and went away. His brother-in-law Liu Jia, King of Hanzhong, invited him to the south, and Lai Xi went to join him.

In 26 a three-cornered conflict broke out between Liu Jia, the rebel Yan Cen, and Gongsun Shu's general Hou Dan. Liu Jia eventually took refuge north in the Wei valley, but though he defeated an army of the Red Eyebrows he came under threat from Guangwu's general Deng Yu. Lai Xi persuaded him to make terms and negotiated a successful surrender. Guangwu welcomed Lai Xi, took his own robe to clothe him as a sign of affection, and appointed him a Palace Counsellor.

Guangwu's chief concern at this time was with the eastern part of the empire, but he asked Lai Xi's advice how he might keep the west under control. Lai Xi observed that he had been a friend of Wei Ao in the earlier days at Chang'an, and offered to try to persuade him to submit. Guangwu approved, and Lai Xi made his first approach in 27. Wei Ao gave formal submission, but he was reluctant to abandon hope of independence, and negotiations continued over the following years. In 29 Lai Xi escorted the local leader Ma Yuan from Guangwu's court to present an imperial letter to Wei Ao, and in a subsequent embassy, with Ma Yuan's help, he persuaded Wei Ao to send his son Wei Xun as a hostage.

It is possible that at this time Lai Xi and Ma Yuan also went on embassy to Gongsun Shu, though their proposal for his submission was firmly rejected: see *sub* Chang Shao.

As Guangwu came to Chang'an in 30 under the guise of an attack on Gongsun Shu, he sent Lai Xi to demand that Wei Ao permit the imperial army to

advance through his territory and support the campaign. Realising this would mean the end of his independence, Wei Ao temporised, and when Lai Xi pressed him for an answer he became angry and left the meeting. His officers became threatening, and Wei Ao's general Wang Yuan urged him to kill Lai Xi. During earlier visits, however, Lai Xi had gained respect and made several friends, and the general Wang Zun argued in his favour. Lai Xi was able to leave unmolested.

Wei Ao achieved a brief success against the first imperial attack, but his own advance was then driven back and his fellow-warlord Dou Rong refused an alliance. Wei Ao wrote once more to Guangwu, and Lai Xi was sent to a final meeting on the border to seek his submission and demand a further hostage. Wei Ao remained recalcitrant and negotiations were ended.

The offensive was renewed at the beginning of 32, and Lai Xi accompanied the general Zhai Zun in the van of the army approaching the Long Slope. As Zhai Zun was taken ill and forced to retire, he transferred his best soldiers to Lai Xi. Though this was Lai Xi's first significant command, he showed great courage and a fine grasp of strategy, leading two thousand men in a surprise attack to seize Lueyang in Tianshui. The city was promptly besieged by Wei Ao, aided by troops sent by Gongsun Shu, a combined army numbered at several ten thousand men. They cut trees from the hills to make siege engines and channelled the river in an attempt to flood the city, but Lai Xi and his men resisted all attacks. When short of arrows, they broke up the houses to get wood, and though utterly exhausted they held out until the autumn.

Wei Ao maintained defences on the north and east, but Lai Xi's forlorn hope weakened his position from behind and prepared the way for the attack of the main army under Guangwu. As the Han forces approached, Wei Ao's men scattered and Lai Xi and his men were relieved. Guangwu gave a banquet for him, set him in the highest position of honour, and granted his wife a thousand rolls of silk.

Lai Xi was sent back to Chang'an to take administrative command of all the army. When Wei Ao died at the beginning of 33 Lai Xi proposed a major campaign to occupy the Wei valley and deprive Gongsun Shu of this northern area of defence in depth. He was duly given command over the chief generals Feng Yi, Geng Yan and He Yan, with the generals Ma Cheng and Liu Shang, and sent to invade Tianshui. By 34 his forces

had destroyed Gongsun Shu's commanders Tian Yan and Zhao Kuang and forced Wei Ao's son Wei Chun to surrender, together with Zhou Zong, Zhao Hui and other former officers of Wei Ao.

Lai Xi and his generals He Yan and Liu Shang then moved against the Qiang of Jincheng and Longxi, former allies of Wei Ao who had turned to raiding after the death of their patron. With support from Ma Yuan he defeated the tribesmen, killing several thousand and capturing great numbers of cattle and sheep and quantities of grain. He then attacked the local bandit Fu Liqing and others, and settled Longxi commandery. The people were short of food, but Lai Xi arranged to import grain and distribute it to all the counties. So the territory was at peace, the White Horse Di of Wudu submitted, and the Han empire regained direct contact with the northwest.

In the summer of 35 Lai Xi attacked Gongsun Shu's generals Wang Yuan and Huan An in Wudu, broke their defences and continued to the south. This advance was the northern flank of Guangwu's campaign against Gongsun Shu, and was co-ordinated with the offensive under Cen Peng moving up the Yangzi from the east. In the sixth month, however, Lai Xi was stabbed by an enemy agent and died soon afterwards. He composed a last memorial to the emperor, and handed his command to He Yan. Operations then petered out, and the northern army played no significant role in the destruction of Gongsun Shu.

Expressing the utmost sorrow, Guangwu had Lai Xi's body brought back to Luoyang and attended the funeral in person. He granted Lai Xi posthumous enfeoffment as Marquis Who Subdues the Qiang 征羌侯, with fief territory of Dangxiang 當鄉 in Runan, changing the name of the county to Zhengqiang 征羌. -HHS 15/5:585-89*; Bn 59:165-191.

Lai Xian 賴先. *FSTY* 6f:146 refers to Lai Xian as Administrator of Jiaozhi. This may be the same man as Lai Gong 恭 the Governor of Jiaozhi *q.v.*

Lai Yan 來豔 [Jide 季德] (d.178); Nanyang. Son of Lai Ding and younger brother of Lai Hu, Lai Yan was a keen scholar as a young man and became known for his generosity. Minister of Ceremonies in 171, he was promoted Excellency of Works but left that office a few months later. In 178 he was again promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to Excellency of Works, but left office on grounds of ill health and died soon afterwards. -HHS 8:332-33:341, 15/5:593.

Lai You 來由; Nanyang. Lai You was a younger brother of Lai Xi, who had been granted posthumous enfeoffment in 35 to honour his achievements. That marquisate was inherited by Lai Xi's son Bao, but in 37, as further recognition, Lai You received a district fief. -HHS 15/5:590.

Lai Zhi 來祉; Nanyang. Lai Zhi was a younger brother of Lai Li, who led a protest against the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao in 124; Emperor An ordered that he and his brothers be stripped of their official posts. After Liu Bao came to the throne in 125 Lai Zhi was appointed as a colonel in the Northern Army. -HHS 15/5:593.

Lan Xiang 蘭襄; Zhao. Lan Xiang died and was buried, but his coffin was washed away. About 200 he appeared in a dream to Wen Shuliang, downstream in Ganling, and asked for a proper reburial. Wen Shuliang found the coffin and carried out his wishes. -S/JZ 5:18b.

Lang Sheng 郎勝 [or "Gentleman Sheng"] see Guo Sheng 郭勝. -ZZTJ 59:1895 *Kaoyi*.

Lang Yi 郎顗 [Yaguang 雅光]; Beihai. Son of Lang Zong, Lang Yi maintained his father's scholarly tradition in the *Book of Changes* and in esoteric arts, but he was widely learned in the classical texts, and his students were numbered in the hundreds. The local offices invited him to office, and he was nominated as Knowing the Way and as Sincere and Upright, but always refused.

In 133, after many portents had been reported, Emperor Shun sent a special carriage and asked for his advice. Lang Yi replied with three detailed memorials, on the essentials of good government [including the need to pay respect to worthy hermits], on the significance of portents, and on the importance of the emperor's personal virtue as a means to restore natural order. Foreshadowing further misfortunes to come, he protested at the numbers of women in the imperial harem, criticised the senior ministers, urged a general enquiry and purge of all officials, and opposed the recent reforms of the Filial and Incorrupt nomination process which had been lately introduced by Zuo Xiong. He also wrote strongly on the fine qualities of the potential reformers Li Gu and Huang Qiong.

Lang Yi received special summons to become a gentleman cadet, but this was only a probationary position and did not indicate any particular favour from the throne. He pleaded ill health and returned to his home. In following years there were a number

of natural disasters and several invasions from the non-Chinese along the frontier, much as Lang Yi had foretold. A special carriage was again sent with an invitation, but this time he did not accept.

A local strongman named Sun Li admired Lang Yi and wanted to establish a relationship with him. When Lang Yi paid no attention, Sun Li killed him. It may well be that the murder was instigated by some of Lang Yi's enemies at the capital. -HHS 30/20B:1053-75*, XC 1:8a-b; MBeck 90:166, Vervoor 90:192, Ngo 76:79, DeWoskin 83:172.

Lang Zhi 郎稚 (d.211); Wu. Leader of a clan rebellion about the head of Hangzhou Bay, he was destroyed by He Qi in 211. -SGZ Wu 15:1379.

Lang Zong 郎宗 [Zhongsui 仲綏]; Beihai. A scholar of the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, Lang Zong was also expert in astrology and divination by the wind. He wandered about in shabby clothes, carrying a bag of books and telling fortunes for a living, and no-one recognised him.

In 121 Emperor An sent carriages and escorts, with most courteous invitations, to Lang Zong and other hermit scholars, that they might take positions at court. Lang Zong and Yang Lun were the only two to obey the call; Lang Zong was appointed a Consultant and then a county magistrate in Wu.

A few weeks after he arrived in Wu, Lang Zong noted a fierce gust of wind and, remarking that there was a great fire at Luoyang, recorded the day and time. He was quite accurate: the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 104/14:3294, lists a fire at Luoyang in the autumn of 122. When senior officials referred the matter to an Academician for verification, however, Lang Zong was angry at his claim being questioned. He resigned his office and died at home. -HHS 30/20B:1053, 82/72A:2722, XC 6:6a-b; Vervoor 90:292.

Langfeng 良封 (d.135); Qiang. In 133 the Chinese established a commandant's district based on Lintao in the south of Longxi. Though there had been such a post during Former Han, this was a new development at the time and the local Qiang felt threatened by the expansion.

In the following year Langfeng led men of the Zhong tribe to attack Longxi and raid Hanyang. Ma Xu the Protector of the Qiang gained some initial success, but his predecessor Ma Xian [not a close kinsman] was then given command of operations and raised local troops in Longxi and auxiliaries from other groups of

the Qiang.

In 135 Ma Xian defeated and killed Langfeng and almost two thousand of his followers, and seized over 50,000 cattle, horses and sheep. Langfeng's kinsmen and household came to surrender. -HHS 87/77:2894.

Langmo 狼莫 (d.118); Qiang. At the death of Dianlian, leader of the rebel Qiang, in 112, his son Lianchang was too young to take full command. Langmo, a man from the same tribe, was in charge of strategy, while the Chinese renegade Du Jigong became a general. The new regime, however, lacked the authority of Dianlian, and though they gained some victories the fortunes of the rebellion declined thereafter and the Han armies pressed against them and sent raiding parties.

In 117 Du Jigong and Lianchang were both killed by Chinese assassins, and in the winter Langmo was attacked by the general Ren Shang and the Protector Ma Xian. After an initial success against Ma Xian, he was decisively defeated in Beidi. Langmo fled, but in the following year he was killed by a fellow-Qiang at the instigation of the general Deng Zun. -HHS 87/77:2888-91; deC 84:106-111.

Lao Bing 勞丙 (d.160); Langye. A leader of bandits in Langye, he was allied to Shusun Wuji of Taishan. In 160, however, Zong Zi took command of operations, defeated Lao Bing and Shusun Wuji and killed them both. -HHS 7:307, 82/72B:2732.

Lao Chuan 牢川 see Lao Xiu 牢脩.

Lao Shun 牢順 see Lao Xiu 牢脩.

Lao Xiu 牢脩 or Lao Shun 順 and, probably mistakenly, as Lao Chuan 川; Henei. Lao Xiu was a disciple of Zhang Cheng, an expert on divination by the wind. In 166 the Director of Retainers Li Ying executed Zhang Cheng's son for murder, and it appears that Zhang Cheng shared his fate. The palace eunuchs, however, old associates of Zhang Cheng, now arranged for Lao Xiu to accuse Li Ying and his colleague reformists of forming a faction, protecting students of the University, and seeking support throughout the empire for their own interests. Emperor Huan ordered that Li Ying and others be dismissed and imprisoned. This was the beginning of the First Faction Incident. -HHS 67/57:2187, 103/13:3283 [as Lao Chuan 川].

Lao Zizhangba 老髭丈八 [Old Man with the Long Moustache] see Zuo Zizhangba 左髭丈八.

Later Sovereign 後主 of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han 屬漢 see Liu Shan 劉禪. -SGZ Shu 3.

Le 樂 [surname] see Yue 樂 *passim*.

Le Jun 樂俊 see Yue Jun. -Bn 54:148.

Lei Pu 雷蒲 or Lei Bo. In 199 Lei Pu and Chen Lan, officers of Yuan Shu, were in the hill country of Lujiang. As his state collapsed, Yuan Shu came to them for refuge, but they drove him away. -HHS 75/65:2443, SGZ 6:209. [This is probably the same person as Lei Xu below.]

Lei Qian 雷遷 see Leiqian 雷遷.

Lei Shou 雷授; Yuzhang. Son of Lei Yi, Lei Shou became Administrator of Cangwu. -HHS 81/71:2688.

Lei Tong 雷銅/同 (d.218). An officer of Liu Bei, in 218 Lei Tong was sent with Wu Lan on detachment into Wudu commandery, but they were destroyed there by Cao Cao's forces. -SGZ Shu 2:884, 12:1020.

Lei Xu 雷緒 (d.209); Lujiang. A local leader, Lei Xu plundered the region of the Yangzi and the Huai about 200, but then accepted the authority of Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu.

After Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 Lei Xu changed allegiance to Liu Bei, but he was destroyed by Xiahou Yuan in the following year. -SGZ 15:463, 9:270, SGZ Shu 2:879. [This is probably the same person as Lei Pu above.]

Lei Yi 雷義 [Zhonggong 仲公]; Yuzhang. As a young man Lei Yi was a close friend of Chen Zhong, and they studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu and the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the tradition of Yan Anle.

Lei Yi became Officer of Merit in his commandery. Those whom he recommended were always of the highest quality, but he claimed no credit for such a remarkable record. On one occasion, after his intercession had saved a man from the death penalty, his protégé brought two catties of gold as a thank-offering. Lei Yi refused to accept the gift, but the man waited until he had gone out and then hid the gold in the ceiling of his house. As the roof was being repaired some time later the gold was discovered, but by this time the man was dead and Lei Yi had no-one he could return it to. He presented it to the local treasury.

About 112, when the Administrator Zhang Yun nominated Chen Zhong as Filial and Incorrupt, Chen Zhong urged that Lei Yi be given preference. Zhang Yun insisted on his choice, but in the following year he recommended Lei Yi. [Xie Cheng says that the contested nomination was that of Abundant Talent, awarded by the provincial Inspector.]

Lei Yi and Chen Zhong became gentleman cadets

and then entered the Imperial Secretariat. In 117 they attempted to persuade their colleague Zhang Jun not to report against the officers Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng. Zhang Jun was adamant, but Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng then implicated him in a major scandal.

Some years later, when another member of the Secretariat committed an offence and was due to be sentenced, Lei Yi took the blame for his crime and was sentenced to penal servitude. Other officers, knowing the situation, sent a delegation to ask for mercy on his behalf and offering to take the penalty instead. Emperor Shun ordered that no punishment be applied, but Lei Yi was dismissed from his office.

Lei Yi was again nominated Abundant Talent by his province. On this occasion he sought to cede the place to Chen Zhong, who had resigned in sympathy at his dismissal. When the Inspector refused, Lei Yi pretended to be mad, wore his hair in disarray and refused to respond to the summons. The local people explained that Lei Yi and Chen Zhong were bound closer than glue to varnish, while Huang Xiang described them as two wings of the same bird. The offices of the Excellencies at the capital called up both men together. [The biography of Chen Zhong says that he received one appointment as Abundant Talent, then resigned, and was re-appointed through the offices of the Excellencies.]

Lei Yi was made a probationary Internuncio and sent with the Staff of Authority to observe customs and government in a number of commanderies and kingdoms. He reported seventy administrators and magistrates for poor conduct, and was then appointed as an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. This tour of inspection is reminiscent of the major commission of eight sent out in 142 [see *sub* Dong Qiao], but Lei Yi was not one of that number, and his expedition probably took place a few years earlier, perhaps in the 120s.

Lei Yi later became a magistrate in Runan, and died in that office. -HHS 81/71:2687-88, 45/35:1524, XC 6:1b-2a.

Lei Zi 羸咨 see Ying Zi 羸咨.

Lei'ao 類牢 of Ailao 哀牢 (d.77). King of the Ailao people in the far southwest of China, possibly the son of Liumiao, in 76 Lei'ao quarrelled with his Chinese supervisor: the man was probably attempting to extract greater tribute and obedience from the empire's new subjects. Gathering three thousand men, Lei'ao killed

several Chinese officials, attacked the headquarters of Yongchang commandery on the Mekong by present-day Yongping in Yunnan, drove the Administrator Wang Xun back to the region of the Dali Lake, and destroyed the newly-established Chinese counties of the region.

The government of Emperor Zhang ordered a mixed force of nine thousand Han militia and non-Chinese auxiliaries from Yuexi, Yizhou and Yongchang commanderies to attack Lei'ao. In the following year he was defeated and killed, and his head was sent to Luoyang. -HHS 86/76:2851, 101/11:3232.

Leigong 雷公 see Zhang Leigong 張雷公.

Leiqian 雷遷; non-Chinese. A tribal chieftain in Nan commandery, Leiqian rebelled in 47 and attacked Chinese positions. The trouble was put down by the Han general Liu Shang, and seven thousand of Leiqian's people were transferred east across the Han River into Jiangxia. -HHS 86/76:2841.

Leizu 累祖 (d.137); Qiang. During the 130s the White Horse tribe of the Qiang, which lived on the Wudu frontier, had been troubling the territory. In 137 they were defeated by the Commandant of Guanghan, and later that year the Protector Ma Xian also attacked them, killing two of their chieftains, Leizu and Jizhi, and taking three hundred heads. -HHS 87/77:2194.

Leng 冷 [surname] see also Ling 冷/伶.

Leng Bao 冷苞. In 212, as Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, Leng Bao and other officers were sent to oppose him. They were defeated and compelled to surrender. -SGZ Shu 2:882.

Leng Feng 冷豐; Shu. A fellow-countryman of Yang You, he gave a banquet in his honour. -HYGZ 10A: 134.

Leng Hong 冷宏 or Cen Hong 岑宏 see Ling Hong 冷宏.

Leng Shouguang 冷壽光 see Ling Shouguang 冷壽光.

Leng Zheng 冷徵 see Ling Zheng 冷徵.

Li 李, the Lady I; Danyang. Daughter of Li Nan, she was married to a man of a neighbouring county. Like her father, the Lady was skilled in divination by the wind. One morning, a gust of wind blew through her kitchen from the stove to the well. Observing that this indicated the mistress of the kitchen would shortly die, she asked leave to return to her own family and even named the day of her death. Her prophecy was fulfilled. -HHS 82/72A:2717; Ngo 76:94-95, DeWoskin 86:58.

Li 李, the Lady II. A concubine of Emperor An, in 115 the Lady gave birth to his son Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Soon afterwards she was poisoned by the Empress Yan.

The Lady was buried north of Luoyang, but Liu Bao was told of his mother's fate only after he had come to the throne in 125. He had her remains exhumed, gave her special honours and a posthumous imperial title, and established a tomb and park for her immediately north of Emperor An's. -*HHS* 6:249, 10B:437-38.

Li 李, the Lady III; Yingchuan. Daughter of Li Yi, at the instigation of her grandfather Li Xiu she was married to her cousin Zhong Qin. -*HHS* 62/52:2064.

Li 李, the Lady IV; Runan. The Lady was first married to Deng Yuanyi, whose father Bokao became Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat at Luoyang. When Deng Yuanyi returned to Runan, the Lady stayed at the capital to care for her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law hated her, however, shut her away and refused to feed her. The Lady made no complaint, but eventually her son Deng Lang explained to Deng Bokao that she was not ill but starving. Bitterly ashamed at the treatment she had received from his wife, Deng Bokao sent the Lady Li back to her own family.

The Lady then became the second wife of Ying Shun, and when he became Court Architect in the 160s she returned with him to the capital. Deng Yuanyi saw her there and spoke of her with respect, but Deng Lang, now a gentleman cadet, destroyed her gifts and refused to reply to her letters. At last she tricked him into a meeting and pleaded with him, so the two were reconciled. -*HHS* 48/38:1607.

Li 李, the Lady V. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Zicheng, Cao Zizheng and Cao Zijiang. -*SGZ* 20:579.

Li 李, the Lady VI. A senior concubine of Cao Pi, the Lady became the mother of Cao Xie 協, who died young.

About 220 the favour the Lady Li and others were receiving caused the Lady Zhen, his senior consort, to become fatally jealous. In 221, on the other hand, when the Lady Zhen was slandered by her rival the Lady Guo and was ordered to commit suicide she entrusted her son Cao Rui to the care of the Lady Li. Despite her wishes, however, Cao Pi removed the young man from the care of the Lady Li and had him adopted by the Lady Guo, now empress.

After the death of the Dowager Guo in 235, the

Lady Li told Cao Rui, now Emperor, of the role she had played in his mother's death. The Lady Guo was posthumously disgraced. -*SGZ* 5:160, 166-167, 20:590; C/C 99.97, 110.

Li 李 [personal name unknown]; Runan. A magistrate in Pei, he mourned the death of the Attendant Officer Huang Yu and joined in setting up a stele to his memory. -*SJZ* 24:7b.

Li 李 [personal name unknown]; Liaodong. Son of Li Min, after Gongsun Du attacked the family he became separated from his father and was twenty years in refuge and exile beyond the frontier. Taxed by Xu Miao for failing to maintain his father's lineage, he married and bred a son, then repudiated his wife and resumed mourning for his lost parents. The son, Li Yin 胤, became a minister of Jin. -*SGZ* 8:253.

Li 李 [personal name unknown]. A general in Cao Cao's service in the early 200s, he consulted the doctor Hua Tuo about his wife, who had suffered a miscarriage and was not getting better. Hua Tuo told him that although one foetus had been expelled, another was still inside her.

The husband was unwilling to believe this, and his wife did appear to recover slightly. Three months later, however, her condition was worse and he asked Hua Tuo to return. Hua Tuo applied acupuncture and gave medicine to bring on labour, but the woman was unable to expel the foetus. Hua Tuo explained that it was now too dry, and had an assistant abort the foetus: it proved to be male, recognisably human, but black in colour. -*HHS* 82/72B:2738, *SGZ* 29:802; Ngo 76:121, DeWoskin 86:145.

Li 豐 or **Feng 豐** [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -*LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Li 李阿. An attendant to Liu Chang, King of Liang, in the early 90s he was an associate of Bian Ji and encouraged the king to seek support and guidance from the spirit world. As a result of these activities, Liu Chang was reported for Impiety. -*HHJ* 14:174.

Li Bao 李寶 (d.26); Nanyang. Probably a kinsman of Li Tong, he was a leader of the Han rebels when the Gengshi Emperor claimed the imperial title in 23. He was named a general, and when the Han troops took Wan city in the summer of that year Li Bao was enfeoffed as a titular marquis.

After the Gengshi Emperor had established his capital at Chang'an in 24 he sent Li Bao with the Inspector-designate Zhang Zhong to take control of Yi province, present-day Sichuan. The warlord Gongsun Shu, however, sent his brother Gongsun Hui to attack the invaders as they approached Chengdu. Li Bao and Zhang Zhong were defeated and withdrew into Wudu commandery.

Early in 26 the rebel Yan Cen attacked Liu Jia the King of Hanzhong, took over the commandery and pursued Liu Jia into Wudu. Li Bao came to the rescue, defeated Yan Cen and drove him north into Tianshui on the upper Wei. Liu Jia named Li Bao as his Chancellor, and they collected several ten thousand men to attack Hanzhong, which had been seized in the mean time by Gongsun Shu's general Hou Dan. Hou Dan defeated the invaders and forced them back into Wudu. Yan Cen returned, but after several engagements he was forced once more over the mountains to the north, this time into Youfufeng. Liu Jia and Li Bao followed him there, defeated him again, then moved north of the Wei.

Attacked by Red Eyebrows, they defeated them and killed their leader Liao Zhan. It was probably at this time that Li Bao was defeated and forced to surrender in a preliminary engagement, but stayed behind as battle was resumed, seized the enemy camp, displayed his banners, and turned their retreat into a rout: *HHS* 11/1:484; Bn 59:221 [Bielenstein observes that this anecdote is surely mistaken to describe Li Bao as fighting for Liu Jia's enemy Yan Can].

As Liu Jia's position near Chang'an was vulnerable to Guangwu's general Deng Yu, Li Bao and other officers persuaded him to surrender. When the party came to Deng Yu's camp Li Bao is said to have acted discourteously, and Deng Yu executed him. In revenge, Li Bao's younger brother gathered his followers to attack Deng Yu. They killed the general Geng Xin, but are not heard of again. -*HHS* 14/4:568, 16/6:604; Bn 59:20-21.

Li Bao 李寶; Zhongshan>Liaodong. *XTS* 72A:2593 says that Li Bao became Commandant of Xuantu and moved the family residence to the northwest.

Li Bao 李苞; Longxi. Local officers under the Administrator Liu Xu in 56, Li Bao and Xin Du were sent with five thousand men to assist the local forces of Wudu against a raid by the Shenlang tribe of the Qiang. Their initial success against the enemy encouraged the Wudu troops to rally; they defeated the raiders and

forced their surrender. -*HHS* 87/77:2879.

Li Biao 黎彪; Ba. Li Biao was Administrator of Yongchang during Later Han. -*HYGZ* 4:60.

Li Big-Eyes 李大目 see Li Damu 李大目.

Li Bing 李昺 [Ziran 子然]; Nanyang. A hermit scholar, with no concern for wealth or fame, Li Bing was an expert on the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu and on the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. He was frequently invited to office, and was nominated by the provincial government as Abundant Talent, but always refused. In 121 Emperor An sent carriages and escorts, with most courteous invitations, to Li Bing and other hermit scholars, that they might attend and take positions at court. Li Bing ignored this summons too. He died at home. -*HHS* 82/72A:2722, *XC* 6:5b-6a; Vervoor 90:292.

Li Bing 李冰. A former Administrator of Shu commandery, Li Bing had a pictorial stele erected in his honour in 168. -Nagata 94:164.

Li Bo 李伯 (d.154); Shu. Claiming membership of the imperial house, in 154 Li Bo took title as Emperor of the Grand Beginning 太初. He was defeated and killed. -*HHS* 7:300.

Li Boqing 黎伯卿. Early in 26 Li Boqing was among the leaders of bandits in the hill country on the edge of the Taihang ranges west of Wei commandery. Emperor Guangwu's general Wu Han brought a great army against Li Boqing and his fellows and wiped them out. -*HHS* 18/8:678.

Li Boyu 李伯玉: alternative personal name or style of Li Tong 李通.

Li Can 李參. At the time of the rebellion in Liang province in 185, Li Can was Administrator of Longxi. Ying Shao praised his ability. -*HHS* 48/38:1610.

Li Chang 李萇. A man of humble family, Li Chang cared for his mother, working in the fields by day and studying at night. -*XC* 8:2a.

Li Chang 李偃. Administrator of Runan about 150, Li Chang recommended six gentlemen for office. They duly received imperial invitations, but Li Chang died before they had left for the capital. As they went to attend his funeral Li Chang's widow urged that they should leave, for they had official responsibilities.

Zhou Ziju 周子居 observed that if they went they would be neglecting their duty to their late patron, while if they did not go they would be failing their public responsibility. He and Ai Bojian 艾伯堅 then

went to the capital, while Feng Wudian 封武典, Huang Xian 黃憲 [style Shudu 叔度], Zhi Boshang 鄧伯尚 and Sheng Kongshu 盛孔叔 stayed to carry out the mourning ceremonies. -HHSJJ 53/43:1879-80 Hui Dong quoting an anecdote included in a later edition of Ban Zhao's *Precepts for Women* 女誡.

FSTY 5:37-38; Nylan 83:462-465 has a version of this story, but the names are somewhat different. In that text, Li's personal name is written as Zhang 張, and his nominees are given as Zhou Cheng 周乘 [style Ziju 子居], Zheng Bojian 鄭伯堅, Feng Qi 封祈 [style Wuxing 武興], Huang Shudu [i.e. Huang Xian], Zhi Boxiang 鄧伯嚮 and Sheng Kongshu.

While the names of Zhou Ziju, Huang Shudu and Sheng Kongshu are fully compatible, and the differences between Chang 偃 and Zhang 張, between Wudian 武典 and Wuxing 武興, and between Boshang 伯尚 and Boxiang 伯嚮 can be explained by minor textual corruption, the difference between Ai Bojian and Zheng Bojian is awkward: see *sub* Zheng Gu.

Li Chang 離常 held probationary office as a Palace Cadet of the Heir. -XC 8:2a.

Li Chao 李超 (d.126). In the autumn of 126 Dai commandery was attacked by Xianbi tribesmen led by Qizhijian. The Administrator Li Chao faced the invaders with local troops, but was defeated and killed. -HHS 6:253, 90/80:2988.

Li Chao 李朝 [Yongnan 永南 or Weinan 偉南] (d.225); Guanghan. Brother of Li Miao and Li Shao, Li Chao became Officer of Merit in his commandery. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 215, he became a county magistrate and then Attendant Officer to Liu Bei. He was killed in the disastrous expedition against Wu in 222. -SGZ Shu 15:1088, HYGZ 10B:151.

Li [Chaobo] 李朝伯; Yuzhang. Internuncio in charge of the Camp at Liyang in Wei commandery in 150, Li Chaobo assisted the magistrate Zheng Chen, in neighbouring Henei, to set up a stele in honour of a local hero known as Lord Zhang 張公. -LS 3:12b-15a.

Li Cheng 李盛 see Li Sheng 李盛.

Li Cheng 栗成. Administrator of Wei for Yuan Shao in 193, he was killed in Ye city by bandits and mutineers. -SGZ 6:194.

Li Cheng 李成. A general in the service of Cao Cao about 200, Li Cheng suffered from a constant and violent cough, accompanied by blood. The celebrated doctor Hua Tuo diagnosed an ulcer and gave him a

powder to take. Li Cheng vomited a great quantity of blood and then recovered.

Hua Tuo warned that the malady would recur in eighteen years time, and gave him a repeat dose. A few years later, however, one of Li Cheng's kinsmen suffered from the same illness and asked Li Cheng for a dose to cure himself; he promised to go to Hua Tuo and get a new supply. When he did so, however, Cao Cao had just had Hua Tuo arrested, and the man was too frightened to make his request before Hua Tuo was executed. The illness duly returned and Li Cheng had no means to treat it, so he died. -SGZ 29:803, HHS 82/72B:2739; Ngo 76:122, DeWoskin 86:146-147.

Li Chong 李寵; Nanyang. Younger brother of Li Shu and Li Tong, in 22 Li Chong took part in the approach to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, on plans for a rising against Wang Mang. Li Tong was clearly the leader of the kinship group, and Li Chong does not appear again in the histories; it is probable that he and his eldest brother Shu were among those killed after the defeat of the rebels at Xiao-Chang'an in the winter of 22. -HHJ 1:2.

Li Chong 李崇. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy in 85, Li Chong was one of the experts consulted by Jia Kui when he prepared his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar for Emperor Zhang. -HHS 92/2:3027.

Li Chong 李充 [Daxun 大遜]; Chenliu. A poor man, Li Chong lived with his six brothers, sharing their food and clothing, and showing utmost respect to their mother.

Li Chong's wife, who had money of her own, suggested they should leave and live apart. Pretending to agree, Li Chong had her invite the neighbours for a farewell ceremony, but then repudiated her and sent her away. As Ch'ü observes, this was harsh treatment, but may have appeared justified by the fact that the wife proposed to abandon her mother-in-law rather than devoting herself and her property to her husband's whole family.

After Li Chong's mother died, a man stole a tree from her grave-mound; Li Chong killed him. When the mourning period was over he went to live alone and established a school. The Administrator Lu Ping invited him to become his Officer of Merit, and when he refused he had him arrested and forced him to become headman of the chief village of the county.

When Emperor He sent an official carriage for him

to come to court, Li Chong refused, but in 106 the new regency of the Dowager Deng issued a call for worthy Confucian gentlemen living in obscurity 隱士大儒. Li Chong received a special summons and became an Academician at the Imperial University. His former oppressor Lu Ping was also an Academician, and he paid his respects each time they met.

Li Chong then became a Palace Attendant. He was greatly admired by the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi, brother of the Dowager, who invited him to a feast and asked him how the government could encourage hermit scholars to emerge from retirement. When Li Chong expressed doubt concerning the quality and value of such men, Deng Zhi tried to persuade him to eat something rather than continue in this vein, but Li Chong threw down the food and left the gathering in disgust. Someone observed that such criticism offended Deng Zhi and would do little to enhance the fortunes of his descendants, but Li Chong replied that it was more important to be honest than to seek good fortune for his family.

Li Chong later became a General of the Household, and at the age of eighty he was honoured as Thrice Venerable, a central figure in the annual imperial ceremony of Serving the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat. Emperor An treated him with great favour, permitting him to use a staff and then to sit on a bench when he came to audience. Li Chong died at home about 125. -HHS 81/71:2684-85*, XC 6:1a-b; Ch'ü 72:303-304, Vervoor 90. 288.

Li Chong 李充; Guanghan. Grandson of Li You, he was also a man of literary ability. Appointed to the library of the Eastern Pavilion and later a member of the Imperial Secretariat, he composed a number of rhapsodies, essays, eulogies and hymns. -HYGZ 10B: 146, 12:224.

Li Chun 李春. When Deng Yu was given command in the west against the Gengshi Emperor, he appointed Li Chun to his staff. -HHS 16/6:601.

Li Chun 李純; Donglai. Son of Li Wei, he succeeded to the family fief. When his mother Li Li murdered her brother-in-law Li Ji, Li Chun was held responsible: in 59 or 66 his fief was ended. DGHJ 10:4a, says that the murder took place in 永平二, while HHS 21/11 says Li Chun lost his fief in 永平九.

In 113 the Dowager Deng granted Li Chun a new marquisate, but fief was a village, not a county as before. -HHS 21/11:756.

Li Ci 李慈 see Li Zi 李兹.

Li Damu 李大目 [Big-Eyes Li] (d.193). A leader of the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, he was defeated and killed by Yuan Shao in 193. -HHS 71/61:2310, 74/64A:2381, SGZ 8:262, 6:194.

Li Dangzhi 李當之. A disciple of the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo, Li Dangzhi continued his pharmacological work and also published his own compilation, *Lishi yaolu* 李氏藥錄, which became one of the texts forming a basis for the modern *Bencao jing* 本草經. Needham 86:246-248 says that Li Dangzhi was a man of Later Han, but other references date him well into the third century; he may not have been a direct student of Hua Tuo, who died before 208.

Li Deng 李登; Jibei. A local officer of the province, Li Deng became ill and was given sick leave. While still believing that he was sick, he received a summons to return, but persuaded his identical twin brother Ning to take his place. They were later found out, and Li Deng was executed. -FSTY 3f:106.

Li Di 李覲. About 214 Li Di had a high reputation in Yan province. The Inspector Sima Lang, however, disapproved of him and refused to recommend or appoint him to office. Li Di was later disgraced, and the people acknowledged Sima Lang's good judgement. -SGZ 15:468.

Li Dian 李典 [Mancheng 曼成]; Shanyang. A cousin of Li Zheng, Li Dian took over his troops after his death in 195. He was a man of scholarly interests, and Cao Cao at first gave him civil posts as a magistrate and administrator. In 200 Li Dian brought clan troops and provisions to aid in the campaign against Yuan Shao and he was made a major-general.

In 202 Li Dian joined the defence against Liu Bei's advance from Jing province. As Liu Bei burned his camp and retreated, Li Dian warned Xiahou Dun and his colleagues against the likelihood of an ambush. Xiahou Dun and Yu Jin did fall into Liu Bei's trap, but Li Dian came and rescued them.

When Cao Cao attacked Yuan Tan in 203 he put Li Dian and Cheng Yu in charge of transport. Yuan Shang sent his officer Gao Fan to occupy a position on the Yellow River and cut the supply line by water. Cao Cao suggested they should bring up the goods by land, but Li Dian argued that Gao Fan's troops were largely light-armed and not prepared for naval warfare. He and Cheng Yu proposed to attack them, and Cao Cao agreed. The offensive was completely successful and

the water route was opened.

After the capture of Ye city in 204 Li Dian and Yue Jin faced Gao Gan in Bing province and in 206 they defeated the pirate Guan Cheng on the eastern coast. Li Dian was promoted a general, enfeoffed, and permitted to shift his clans-folk to settle at Ye. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 Li Dian commanded one of seven divisions in Nanyang under the Area Commander Zhao Yan.

From 209 Li Dian was in garrison at Hefei, defending the line of the Huai River. He was an old enemy and rival of his fellow-commander Zhang Liao, but when Sun Quan came with a major offensive in 215, he joined Zhang Liao in a gallant defeat of the southern army. He was rewarded with an increase in the value of his fief.

Li Dian was fond of learning and honoured Confucian scholars. He would not compete for credit against other commanders, and he was always respectful to worthy gentlemen. He died about 217, aged thirty-six.

When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he commemorated Li Dian's defence of Hefei by increasing the fief inherited by his son Li Zhen and granting a secondary marquissate to one of Li Dian's other sons. -SGZ 18:533-34*.

Li Ding 李定; Nanyang. Son of Li Yin, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 15/5:576.

Li Ding 李定; Zhuo. About 170 Li Ding foretold that a great man would emerge from the household of Liu Bei. Liu Bei later became a warlord and claimed the imperial title as First Sovereign of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 2:872.

Li Du 李篤; Donglai. As Zhang Jian fled the eunuchs' persecution in 169, he took refuge with Li Du, and when the local official Mao Qin came to search for him, Li Du persuaded him to let such a worthy man go. He then assisted Zhang Jian to escape across the northern frontier. -HHS 67/57:2210, HHJ 22:262, XC 4:8a; deC 89:113.

Li E 李娥, the Lady; Wuling. In 199, aged over sixty, the Lady became ill and apparently died. She was buried some distance outside her home city. Two weeks later, however, when a certain Cai Zhong attempted to rob the tomb, the Lady shouted at him from inside her coffin. He was frightened and ran away, but was seen and captured, and the Lady Li was found alive. -HHS 9:381, 107/17:3348-49.

Li Er 李珣 [Jin'e 進娥], the Lady; Guanghan. After her husband Feng Jizai died young, the Lady's parents wanted her to marry again, but she cut off her hair to show her determination to remain a virtuous widow. -HYGZ 10B:153, 12:228.

Li Er 李兒. In an inscription of 150 Li Er is mentioned as an engineer dealing with the transport galleries on the Sanmen Gorges of the Yellow River. -Needham 71: 277.

Li Fa 李法 [Bodu 伯度]; Hanzhong. A man of wide learning and high morality, Li Fa was called to court as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright. Having presented an essay, he was made an Academician, and then became a Palace Attendant and Household Counsellor. He later presented a memorial against recent developments in government, including the growth of power of the eunuchs, while also criticising the accuracy of current historical writing. Such temerity offended the emperor: Li Fa was reduced to commoner rank and returned to his home country.

After eight years in private life, Li Fa was recalled to be a Consultant and then a Counsellor Remonstrant, though his comments were as critical as before. Appointed Administrator of Runan, he ran a successful government, and HYGZ claims he also served as Director of Retainers. He retired and died at home. -HHS 48/38:1601*, HYGZ 10C:167.

HYGZ says Li Fa was at court during the time of Emperor Huan, presumably in the 160s, but HHS dates him to the time of Emperor He in the 90s.

Li Fan 李汎; Nanyang. Younger brother of Li Song, in the autumn of 25 he was Colonel of the City Gates at Chang'an for the Gengshi Emperor. Li Song was captured by the Red Eyebrows, and Li Fan offered to open a gate to the enemy if they would spare his brother's life. The agreement was made and the Red Eyebrows took the city, but Li Song was killed. -HHS 11/1:475.

Li Fan 李梵; Qinghe. In 85 Li Fan and his colleague Bian Xin were members of the calendrical office. The *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar, which had been in use since that reign-period in 104 BC, had become seriously inaccurate, despite adjustments by the *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences] system of Liu Xin 劉歆 in the time of Wang Mang. The official Bureau of Astronomy was unable to propose a solution, and Emperor Zhang commissioned Bian Xin and Li Fan to prepare a better set of calculations.

In a major reform, Bian Xin and Li Fan proposed a new version of the ancient *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system, and an imperial edict put it into effect. Sivin 69:19-33 observes that the Quarter Day calendar was more accurate on the length of the year, but was no better at predicting eclipses.

Li Fan was also involved with Huo Rong's work on the clepsydra in 102. -HHS 92/2:3026-27:3032; Needham 59:247, 320, Loewe 86E:686.

Li Fang 李芳; Pingyuan. Li Fang's friend Hu Tan was unable to have proper intercourse with his wife, so he allowed Li Fang to bed her in the hope she might bear a child. -FSTY 3f:108.

Li Fen 李奮 see *sub* Li Hu 李護.

Li Feng 李封. After heated debate at court, in 28 Emperor Guangwu resolved to appoint an Academician for *Zuo zhuan* in the Old Text tradition. Li Feng, who was at that time an Attendant Officer under the Director of Retainers, was a scholar in the field. Though he was only second on the short list, he was given the position because the front-runner, Chen Yuan, had been too deeply involved in the earlier debate.

Opposition to the Old Text continued, and when Li Feng died a short time later the chair for *Zuo zhuan* was allowed to lapse. -HHS 36/26:1233; Bn 79:193.

Li Feng 李封 (d.195); Shanyang. When Lü Bu seized Yan province from Cao Cao in 194, Li Feng and Xue Lan joined his staff. They captured Cao Cao's officer Li Qian of Jiyin and killed him when he refused to change sides. In 195 they were attacked by Cao Cao in Shanyang; Lü Bu was unable to relieve them and both men were killed. -SGZ 18:533, 1:12.

Li Feng 李豐 (d.197). A general under Yuan Shu, in 197 he was posted with Qiao Rui at Hu city in Chen against Cao Cao. Cao Cao stormed the city and slaughtered the defenders. -SGZ 1:15.

Li Fu 李阜. A partisan of the Dou group, in the early 90s Li Fu was Prefect of Luoyang. He was criticised by Yue Hui for his failure to maintain order in the city. -HHS 43/33:1478.

Li Fu 李阜; Wei. Li Fu was the father of Li Gao. In the late 160s his tomb was broken into and his head was taken by the family enemy Su Buwei, to serve as an offering at the grave of his own father Su Qian. -HHS 31/21:1108.

Li Fu 李孚 [Zixian 子憲]; Julu. Li Fu originally held the Feng 馮 surname. When Cao Cao attacked Ye city in 204, Li Fu was Registrar to Yuan Shang.

He volunteered to bring news to Shen Pei that relief was coming, tricked his way through the siege lines by posing as an officer of military police, then escaped by mingling with a horde of old and sick pushed out of the city.

After Yuan Shang fled to the north, Li Fu joined Yuan Tan in Bohai, and when Cao Cao destroyed Yuan Tan outside Nanpi, capital of the commandery, Li Fu arranged the peaceful surrender of the city.

Li Fu served Cao Cao as a county magistrate, and later became Director of Retainers and a commandery administrator. He died aged seventy-eight. -SGZ 15:485-86.

Li Fu 李福 [Sunde 孫德]; Guanghan. Son of Li Quan, after Liu Bei had taken Yi province from Liu Zhang in 215, Li Fu joined his staff, became magistrate of Chengdu and later held senior office as a commandery Administrator, as an Area Commander, and as a member of the Imperial Secretariat of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 15:1087, HYGZ 10C:176; Fang 52:453.

Li Fu 李伏; Hanzhong? Sometime an officer under Zhang Lu, the theocratic warlord of Hanzhong, Li Fu joined the service of Cao Cao and became General of the Household on the Left.

In 220 Li Fu presented a memorial to Cao Pi, King of Wei, recalling the prediction of a change of Mandate made by his former colleagues Li Shu and Jiang He in 213, citing further auspicious signs which had followed his accession to his father's power, and urging the new ruler that he should now take the imperial position. This document initiated the process which led to the abdication of Han in favour of Wei. -SGZ 1:62-63; Fang 52:453, Leban 78:326-327, Goodman 98:73-78.

Li Gang 李剛. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Li Gang took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquissate in Nan commandery.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Li Gang and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Li Gang was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -HHS 78/68: 2516-18.

Li Gang 李剛 [Shuyi 叔毅] (d.172); Shanyang. A former Inspector of Jing province, Li Gang had an ornate tomb and temple, with a stele, established for him in his home country. -*SJZ* 8:23b.

Li Gao 李髡; Dong/Xiapi. A retired Administrator of Runan, during the 160s the local magistrate Xu Xuan, elder brother of the eunuch Xu Huang, asked to marry his daughter. When Li Gao refused, Xu Xuan brought official troops to his house, took the young woman, and shot and killed her for sport. Xu Xuan was arrested and executed by the Administrator Huang Fu. -*HHS* 78/68:2521-22; deC 89:71-72.

Li Gao 李髡 [Junqian 君遷]; Wei. A friend of the eunuch Ju Yuan, about 160 Li Gao became a magistrate in Youfufeng. He ruled with cruelty and greed, but because of his connections to the court no-one dared complain. The commandery Investigator Su Qian impeached Li Gao, confiscated his goods and had him sent to prison.

Some years later, in 166, Li Gao was Director of Retainers, and he took the excuse of an unauthorised visit to Luoyang by Su Qian to have him arrested. Su Qian died in prison, and Li Gao beat his corpse in revenge for the past humiliation.

Li Gao then became Minister of Finance. Su Qian's son Su Buwei had sworn vengeance for his father. Breaking into Li Gao's residence during the night, he killed Li Gao's concubine and his infant son, then went to Wei commandery where he dug up the head of his father Li Fu and presented it at the tomb of Su Qian.

Li Gao tried to catch Su Buwei, but without success, and he died of an apoplexy. -*HHS* 31/21:1107-08, *YSS*:21a-b; deC 89:127-128.

Li Ge 李邵 see Li He 李邵.

Li Gen 李根; Kuaiji. Nominated by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, Li Gen achieved high office. When Administrator of Shu in his old age, however, he ran a very lax regime. -*HYGZ* 10A:133, *HHS* 77/67:2497.

Li Gong 李躬. Described as an elderly man of wisdom and knowledge, Li Gong was Thrice Venerable at the inaugural ceremony of Serving the Aged 養老, held by Emperor Ming at the Hall of the Circular Moat in the winter of 59. -*HHS* 2:102.

Li Gong 李龔; Chenliu. Officer of Merit about 80, he was sent to the capital to report on the illness of the Administrator Ma Yan. -*DGHJ* 12:5a.

Li Gu 李固 [Zijian 子堅] (94-147 but see at the end);

Hanzhong. Son of the Excellency Li He, Li Gu was a man of distinguished appearance, with a physiognomy indicating he was destined for great things. As a young man he was eager for learning and travelled widely to find good teachers. He became expert not only in the Confucian classics but also in the apocrypha and the arts of fortune-telling. As a travelling student he used an assumed name, and when he attended the Imperial University he would visit his distinguished father only in secret.

Well-known and influential among the leaders of his generation, Li Gu was several times offered nomination by his province and appointment to the offices at the capital, but repeatedly refused, claiming ill health. When his friend Huang Qiong was reluctant to accept an invitation in 127, however, Li Gu wrote to encourage him, observing that though several retired scholars had failed to live up to their reputations when they took up office, men such as he could justify the ideal of eremitism and also contribute to the well-being of the state. It appears that Li Gu soon afterwards took appointment in the offices of the Excellency Wang Gong; though he later gained high office he had great respect for the ideal of philosophical withdrawal.

In 133, following a series of earthquakes and other ominous portents, there was a call for nominees to give advice. Li Gu was recommended by the senior official Jia Jian and endorsed by the celebrated recluse Lang Yi. His memorial expressed concern at the growing power of the consort Liang family, remarking on the precedent of the usurping Yan group, who had sought to keep Emperor Shun from the throne, and he objected to the numbers of high-ranking eunuchs, to their influence in government, and to the appointment of their family members to office. He also protested at the proposed enfeoffment of the emperor's former wet-nurse Song E.

Emperor Shun regarded Li Gu's presentation as the best he received: he sent Song E away from the palace, and the leading eunuchs kowtowed to confess their faults. In general, however, little was changed, and when it was proposed to confirm Li Gu's appointment as a Consultant the palace group made accusations against him. Through representations to the General-in-Chief Liang Shang and with the support of Huang Qiong Li Gu did obtain the post, but a few months later he was transferred to Yi province as a county magistrate. Evidently dissatisfied, Li Gu resigned,

returned home and stayed aloof.

In 135 Li Gu accepted an invitation from Liang Shang to become his senior assistant, and began an active political life. Urging Liang Shang to use his power to purge corruption, he also expressed concern at the lack of an imperial son. To solve this last problem, he suggested that there should be a search throughout the harem to find potentially fertile women, even those of humble birth, who might share the ruler's bed and give him a son. Such a proposal, of course, threatened the influence of the Liang family, and though the concubine Lady Yu later bore the imperial heir Liu Zuan, Liang Shang was hesitant to accept Li Gu's ideas.

In 137 there was wide-spread rebellion in Rinan followed by a mutiny of local troops, and the Imperial Clerk Jia Chang was besieged for several months. A major relief force was proposed, but Li Gu argued that the difficulties and dangers of such a long-distance enterprise were prohibitive. He recommended that officers and troops should be temporarily withdrawn from Rinan, while competent officials were sent to turn the various enemy groups against one another. This was agreed, the experienced Zhu Liang and Zhang Qiao were sent to the region, and they restored order.

In the late 130s the eunuchs attacked the Grand Commandant Wang Gong after he had expressed concern at the growth of their influence. As one of Wang Gong's former officers, Li Gu presented an eloquent letter to Liang Shang, urging him to speak to Emperor Shun. The matter was resolved.

About 140 Li Gu was appointed Inspector of Jing province, which had been troubled for several years. When Li Gu arrived, he investigated official misconduct and offered pardons to the bandits. The leader Xia Mi and six hundred of his fellows surrendered and Li Gu had them travel through the province encouraging others to trust in his good will. Within six months the troubles were ended.

Li Gu reported several Administrators, including Gao Ci of Nanyang, for maladministration and corruption. Gao Ci and his fellows sent bribes to the new General-in-Chief Liang Ji, who arranged Li Gu's transfer as Administrator of Taishan. That commandery too was infested with bandit groups and the official troops could make no headway.

Li Gu dismissed many of the soldiers to their

homes, keeping just a hundred good fighting men. Backed by this tougher force, he made a show of trust and good-will, and again within a few months the bandits had dispersed.

In 142 the special commissioner Du Qiao reported favourably on Li Gu's regime, and in the following year he was brought back to Luoyang as Court Architect. He promptly sent in a memorial expressing concern that noted scholars such as Huang Qiong and Yang Hou, who had given lustre to the court at the beginning of the reign, had since left office. Expressing his regrets at such losses, Li Gu urged they be asked to return, while he also arranged invitations for other retired scholars such as Yin Cun and He Lin, and spoke warmly of the abilities of his fellow-reformers Zhou Ju and Du Qiao. Li Gu had evidently gained the ear of the emperor, for Zhou Ju was made Minister Herald, and he himself became Minister of Finance.

Li Gu now presented two further memorials. He and his colleague Wu Xiong asked that the reports of Du Qiao, Zhou Ju and the other commissioners, which had earlier been put aside, should be reviewed. Turning to matters of recruitment, moreover, central to the reformists' agenda, they noted that appointments to the offices of the Excellencies and from the ranks of gentleman cadets into the Secretariat were not being properly examined but made through special favour. Emperor Shun was impressed, several provincial officials who had been criticised by the commissioners were dismissed, and the Excellencies were ordered to tighten their selection procedures.

Soon afterwards Li Gu and the Minister of the Household Liu Xuan presented a joint memorial, claiming that recent appointees to provincial and commandery office were unsuitable and ill-chosen, that they wasted their time on meaningless tours, and that they were harming the people by their poor government. Liu Xuan had himself been criticised by the commissioners when he was Administrator of Shu, but Li Gu was evidently willing to associate with him, and the emperor approved. Senior officers were to impeach any juniors who were cruel, and those who were corrupt would have their property confiscated.

This was to prove the last success of the reformers for some time, for in the autumn of 144 Emperor Shun died, and his infant son Liu Ping was subject to a regency government dominated by Liang Ji. With the support of the Empress Liang, now regent Dowager,

Li Gu became Grand Commandant and shared control of the Imperial Secretariat, but when Liu Ping died in the following year he was unable to arrange for his own candidate, Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, a young man of character, to receive the succession. In order that they might retain the regency, the Liang preferred the seven-year-old Liu Zuan.

During his period of influence under Emperor Shun, Li Gu had arranged the dismissal of more than a hundred officials. Looking for support from Liang Ji, many of these enemies now presented accusations against Li Gu. Liang Ji forwarded them to his sister the Dowager, but she took no action.

In 146 the young Emperor Zhi became fatally ill. He called Li Gu to attend him, but died before anything could be done. Li Gu insisted that the imperial physicians be impeached and the death investigated, but nothing more came of the matter and Liang Ji and his relatives maintained their power. Li Gu once more argued for Liu Suan to be granted the succession, and he was initially supported by the other two Excellencies Hu Guang and Zhao Jie. When Liang Ji pressed his point in open court, however, all except Li Gu and the minister Du Qiao acceded to his choice. Liang Ji dissolved the assembly, and when Li Gu continued to argue he persuaded his sister the Dowager to act on the previous accusations and dismiss Li Gu. The fourteen-year-old Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, was duly brought to the throne.

Some months later there was a plot to install Liu Suan upon the throne, and Liang Ji took the occasion to implicate Li Gu and send him to prison. A petition and a demonstration from his supporters persuaded the Dowager to order his release, and there was general rejoicing in the capital, but about this time the eunuchs Tang Heng and Zuo Guan told the young emperor how Li Gu and Du Qiao had opposed his accession. When Liang Ji returned to the charge a second time Li Gu was executed and Du Qiao shared his fate. Two of his sons, Li Ji and Li Zi were also killed, and Li Xie was the only male of the family to escape.

Li Gu had left instructions for a simple burial, but Liang Ji ordered anyone who attended his corpse to be killed. His former student Guo Liang defied the prohibition and escaped punishment, while Li Gu was mourned by seventy-two disciples [an auspicious number, likewise attributed to followers of Confucius]. A stele was set up in his home country.

Li Gu left eleven *pian* of writings, including official documents and inscriptions, while his student Zhao Cheng and other disciples collected records of his sayings to compile *De xing* 德行 "Virtuous Conduct." -HHS 63/53:2073-89*, 86/76:2837-39, XC 3:13a-14a, XHS 4:13b-15a, HYGZ 10C:165-66, SJZ 27:7b, Beitu 1:100; Vervoon 90:161-164.

HHS 63/53 says Li Gu was fifty-four when he died, but SJZ 33:5a quotes a letter to his brother Li Yu in which he describes himself as fifty-seven. It is not possible to decide which is correct, but the HHS figure is generally accepted.

Li Gu 李固 or Li Guo 國. A General of the Household in 195, Li Gu was sent by Emperor Xian to appoint Li Jue as Grand Marshal. -SGZ 6:185.

Li Guang 李廣 (d.41). A disciple of the religious leader Wei Si, who had been secretly executed about 40, Li Guang claimed that Wei Si had not died but had undergone spiritual transformation. In 41 he raised a rebellion in Lujiang, occupied Huan city, killed the marquis Liu Min, and styled himself Great Leader of the Southern Peaks 南岳大師. The Internuncio Zhang Zong was despatched against the rebels, but was defeated. Then the general Ma Yuan was sent. Calling up more than ten thousand troops, he stormed Huan city and killed Li Guang. -HHS 1B:68, 24/14:838.

Li Guang 李廣; Donglai. Son of Li Chun, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 21/11:757.

Li Guang 李光 [Boming 伯明]; Runan. Li Guang was Inspector of Yan province. When his mother died he went to mourn her. -XC 7:13b [this short text appears corrupt].

Li Guang 李光; Jianwei. Towards the end of Later Han Li Guang was Administrator of Shushi 朱提 commandery, established from the Dependent State of Jianwei. -HYGZ 11:190.

Li Gui 李貴. A bandit of the northwest, in 109 Li Gui was attacked by Qiang and other non-Chinese auxiliaries in the service of Han and was forced to surrender. -HHS 101/11:3239; MBeck 90:128.

Li Guo 李國 i.e. Li Gu 李固 (fl.195). -HHS 72/62:2338.

Li He 李邕 [Mengjie 孟節]; Hanzhong. Son of Li Jie, Li He followed his father's tradition of scholarship. He studied the Confucian classics at the Imperial University while earning his keep as a public scribe. He became an expert at divination by the trigrams, the wind and the stars, but because of his ordinary appearance his

abilities were not generally recognised.

Returning to his home country, Li He became private astrologer to his county magistrate, and in 89 he foretold the arrival of two imperial commissioners who had been sent out in plain clothes to gather popular songs as a means to assess the customs and feelings of the people. They came incognito to his residence, and were amazed when he told how he knew of the mission from his reading of the stars.

Three years later, in 92, one of the commissioners, Chang Feng, became Administrator of Hanzhong and appointed Li He to his local staff. At this time the General-in-Chief Dou Xian was taking a wife, and all the territories of the empire sent in congratulatory gifts. Li He objected, on the grounds that Dou Xian and his sister the Dowager were unworthy and overpowerful; a loyal official should avoid them. Chang Feng insisted that the present must be sent, but he agreed to give Li He charge of its delivery, and Li He proceeded very slowly to see if there would be changes. Before he reached Luoyang, Dou Xian had been destroyed. Emperor He, determined to eliminate his party, dismissed all officials who had had any dealings with the fallen leader; because of Li He's delay Chang Feng was one of the few to escape disgrace.

Recommended Filial and Incorrupt, and sponsored by Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager for Emperor An, Li He became an Internuncio and later joined the Secretariat, where he rose to become Director. He was then Minister of Ceremonies, and in 117 he became Excellency of Works. He sought to enhance the prestige of the University and he was respected for his good advice and loyal conduct. In 119 he successfully urged that worship of the Sixth Venerable One 六宗 should be restored to the official program of rituals, as in Former Han. [On the controversies concerning the Sixth Venerable One (or the Six Venerable Ones, sometimes identified as Heaven, Earth and the Four Directions), see Bn 76:77, Bn 79:163 and 79:232 note 5, MBeck 90:97-98.]

In 118 Li He and his colleague Ma Ying joined members of the Deng family in seeking to shield the successful general Ren Shang against charges of corruption. As the Excellency Liu Kai pressed the case, however, Ren Shang was executed and Li He and Ma Ying were reprimanded.

It appears that Li He later fell out with the Deng group, possibly because he opposed the appointment

of the Dowager's cousin Deng Bao as Intendant of Henan. In 120 he was dismissed for soliciting bribes, but in the following year, soon after the death of the Dowager, he presented a memorial citing a recent eclipse and an earthquake and suggesting there had been a plot to depose the emperor. When Emperor An investigated, the harem woman Zhao Ren confirmed the allegations and the emperor's favourites Li Run and Wang Sheng pressed the accusation; the Deng family was purged and destroyed.

After the death of Emperor An in 125, Li He was appointed Excellency over the Masses by the new regency government of the Empress Yan and her kinsmen, but when the young emperor became ill he joined the minister Tao Fan and the colonel Zhao Zhi in a plot to restore Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, to the succession. Before they could act the eunuch Sun Cheng and his associates carried out their own coup.

Early in the following year, at the instigation of his officer Zhou Ju, Li He persuaded the new ruler to show some leniency and courtesy to the Dowager Yan, an action which eased any embarrassment that might have arisen from the Lady's death soon afterwards.

A short time later, Li He left office on account of illness among the people. The Court Architect Zhai Fu/Pu then told the emperor how Li He had planned to restore him to power: Emperor Shun offered him a fief, but he refused.

Li He died at home aged over eighty. He was the father of the distinguished statesman Li Gu. - *HHS* 82/72A:2717-18*, 5:226 & 231 & 242, 6:252, 108/18:3364-65, *HYGZ* 10C:164-65; *Ngo* 76:95-98, *DeWoskin* 86:58-60.

Li Hei 李黑. In 192, under orders from Lü Bu at Chang'an, Li Hei and a dozen others dressed as guards to ambush and kill Dong Zhuo. - *HHS* 72/62:2332.

Li Hei 李黑; non-Chinese. In the early third century Li Hei was one of the leaders of the Zong people influenced by the teachings of Zhang Lu: see *sub* Li Hu. In 215 he and other chieftains submitted to Cao Cao, and when Liu Bei took over the territory in 219 they migrated to the valley of the Wei. - *HYGZ* 9:119. [See also Li Hu.]

Li Hong 李鴻; Yingchuan. Administrator of Runan about 80, Li Hong invited the scholar Li Xun to become his Officer of Merit. Li Hong died before Li Xun had taken up the post, but Li Xun escorted his body home, arranged his interment and mourned him

for three years. -HHS 51/41:1683.

Li Hong 李鴻 [Fengxun 奉遜]. Elder brother of Li Yu 育 V q.v., Li Hong was a clerical officer under the Grand Commandant. When Li Yu was arrested and due to be executed, Li Hong resigned his position, returned to his home country, and killed himself to expiate his brother's wrong-doing. -XC 6:12b-13a.

Li Hong 李泓. In 123 Li Hong was a member of the Suite of the Heir, attached to the Bureau of Astronomy. He took part in the general debate on change to the calendar, and joined the Intendant of Henan Cao Zhi as spokesmen for a large minority, arguing that the current *Sifen* system was acceptable and accorded with the apocrypha. The majority, led by the Grand Commandant Liu Kai, supported a reversion to the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] system of Former Han, with adjustments for the apocrypha, but the Director of the Secretariat Chen Zhong opposed any change, and the existing calendar was maintained. -HHS 92/2:3034.

Li Hu 李護 [Hongmo 鴻默]; Yingchuan. XTS 72A:2473 says that Li Hu, sometime Administrator of Jiuquan, was the father of Li Wu and the grandfather of Li Xiu, who was Grand Commandant early in the second century. It also says, however, that Li Hu and his brother Yuan 元 were sons of Li Chi 哆, who was active about 100 BC [QHx:218]. Some generations have evidently been omitted, and the genealogy is clearly in error. I nonetheless list below the immediate claimed descendants of Li Hu:

besides Li Wu, Li Hu had two other sons, Zhao 昭 and Fen 奮;

Li Wu had four sons, of whom Xiu was the second; the others were Zan 讚, Yi 弈 and Jiu 就.

Li Zhao, brother of Li Wu, may be the Li Zhao who was honoured by a stele: see *sub voce*. None of the others are mentioned elsewhere.

Li Hu 李虎; non-Chinese. A leader of the Zong people of Ba commandery in the early third century, he and his fellows were attracted by the religious and superstitious teachings of Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. Moving north to the hill country at the border of his territory, they settled on the Yangche Slope, where they plundered local people and travellers and were known as the Ba people of Yangche.

When Cao Cao took over Hanzhong in 215 Li Hu brought five hundred families to submit to him, and he was named as a general. As Liu Bei took the territory

in 219, Li Hu went with other tribal groups north to the valley of the Wei; they became known as the Di people from Ba. -HYGZ 9:119, JS 120:3022. [See also Li Hei.]

Li Huai 李恢 see Li Hui 李恢. -Fang 52.

Li Huang 李黃 or Li Ji 箕; Nanyang. Son of Li Ding, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 15/5:576.

Li Hui 李翬; Guanghan. When Li Ye killed himself rather than take office under Gongsun Shu, the claimant emperor sent envoys to the funeral and offered a gift of cloth, but Li Ye's son Li Hui refused. Later, under the regime of Emperor Guangwu Li Hui was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate. -HHS 81/71:2670, HYGZ 10C:174.

Li Hui 李恢 [Shuxing 叔興]; Yingchuan. XTS 72A:2473 says that Li Hui was a son of Li Jin and a grandson of Li Ying.

Li Hui 李會 see Li Xi 李翕.

Li Hui 李恢 [De'ang 德昂] (d.231); Yizhou. An Investigator in the commandery about 212, Li Hui reported against his aunt's husband Cuan Xi, and urged he be dismissed from his position as a magistrate. Because of Cuan Xi's local influence the Administrator Dong He took no action, but he recommended Li Hui to the provincial government of Liu Zhang.

Just at this time Liu Bei was moving against Liu Zhang, and Li Hui went over to him. Liu Bei sent him to invite Ma Chao, and when he had taken power he appointed Li Hui to his staff. He was accused of planning rebellion, but Liu Bei had complete confidence and promoted him.

In 221 Li Hui succeeded Deng Fang as Area Commander of Laixiang, controlling the southern part of Yi province, with the Staff of Authority and nominal control of Jiao province. He withstood local insurgencies, then joined Zhuge Liang in his southern expedition of 225. Enfeoffed and promoted general, he continued to deal with local troubles. Following the agreement with Wu in 229, the claim to Jiao province was dropped, and Li Hui was later transferred to Hanzhong to avoid holding office in his home country. -SGZ Shu 13:1045-46*; Fang 52:195 [as Li Huai].

Li Ji 李季 (d.22); Nanyang. As Li Tong and Liu Bosheng were planning their rebellion against Wang Mang, Li Tong's father Li Shou held official appointment at Chang'an, Wang Mang's capital. Li Tong sent his cousin Li Ji to warn Li Shou, but Li Ji was taken ill and died on the road, so Li Shou did

not receive any warning until some time later. -*HHS* 15/5:574; Bn 54:102.

Li Ji 李箕 see Li Huang 李黃. -*DGHJ* 24:4a.

Li Ji 李季 (d.59 or 66); Donglai. Son of Li Zhong and younger brother of Li Wei, he was killed by his sister-in-law the Lady Li Li, wife or widow of Li Wei. The Lady's son Li Chun was held responsible for her conduct and his marquise was abolished. -*DGHJ* 10:4a, *HHS* 21/11:756-57. *DGHJ* 10:4a, says that the murder took place in 永平二, while *HHS* 21/11 says Li Chun lost his fief in 永平九; the crime could have taken place in 59 and the dismissal in 66, but more probably the year number has been corrupted by one of the texts.

Li Ji 李幾 [Mengyuan 孟元]; Shu. About 70 Li Ji was Registrar to the Administrator Diwu Lun. When flooding occurred, there was question whether it should be reported to the throne. Against Li Ji's protests, Diwu Lun followed the advice of the provincial Inspector that it was not necessary to do so, for the price of grain had remained stable.

The grain transport was later affected by flooding, and a new Inspector was going to report Diwu Lun for having failed in his duty. Li Ji now argued that reporting natural disasters was outside the authority of his office, so Diwu Lun escaped censure.

When Diwu Lun was promoted Excellency of Works in 75, he brought Li Ji to the capital as a member of his staff. -*HYGZ* 10A:136.

Li Ji 李季; Yingchuan. *XTS* 72A:2473 says that Li Ji was a son of Li Xiu.

Li Ji 李基 [Xiangong 憲公] (d.147); Hanzhong. Son of Li Gu, Li Ji became a county magistrate in Henan. Realising that he would be destroyed by Liang Ji, in 147 Li Gu ordered his sons back to the family's home country, but Li Ji and Li Zi were arrested and executed by local authorities in Yi province; Li Xie was the only male of the family to escape. -*HHS* 63/53:2088-89.

Li Ji 李奇 see Li Qi 李奇.

Li Ji 李基; Jiangxia. Son of Li Tong, though a younger brother of Li Xu, he succeeded to their father's enhanced fief in 209/210. In 220 he was appointed a General of the Household by Cao Pi. -*SGZ* 18:536.

Li Jian 李建. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Li Jian took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquise in Nanyang.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Li Jian and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Li Jian was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -*HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Li Jian 李堅 (d.147); Chenliu. A local bandit chieftain, Li Jian took the imperial title in 147, but he was captured and killed. -*HHS* 7:291-92.

Li Jie 李頔; Yingchuan. Grandson of Li Wu, he gained a reputation for scholarship and became an Academician at the University. He later moved to Hanzhong, which became the registered homeland of his son Li He. -*HHS* 82/72A:2717.

Li Jin 李進. In 136 the Administrator of Wuling recommended that since the non-Chinese people of the hills had been quiet for many years, it was possible to raise their taxes. Emperor Shun approved, but a major insurrection broke out in protest.

Li Jin was sent to take over. Having defeated the rebels, he set good officials over them to regain their trust. He remained peacefully in office for nine years, and in 145 the new regent Dowager Liang awarded him an increased salary and a grant of 200,000 cash. -*HHS* 86/76:2833.

Li Jin 李瑾; Wudu. A local officer of the commandery, about 170 Li Jin was involved in the road construction projects of the Administrator Li Yu. -*LS* 4:9b.

Li Jin 李瑾 or Li Kui 珪? [Shuyu 瑜叔]; Yingchuan. A son of Li Ying, Li Jin became Chancellor of Dongping, and later went to Zhao to avoid the coming civil war.

As he was dying, some time about 190, Li Jin urged Li Xuan and other sons to support Cao Cao, even though Zhang Miao was a close friend and there were family connections to Yuan Shu. The family took his advice and so survived the troubles. -*XTS* 72A:2473. [*HHS* 67/57:2197, however, ascribes the chancellorship, the sons and the recommendation of Cao Cao to Li Zan, another son of Li Ying.]

Li Jin 李進; Ji Yin. A local leader, in 194 he defeated Lü Bu and drove him away. -*SGZ* 1:12. The surname also appears as Ji 季, but this man was probably a kinsman of Li Qian.

Li Jing 李敬; Runan. When Li Jing was Chancellor

of Zhao, one of his servants found pearl bracelets and ear-rings down a mouse-hole in the official residence. Li Jing asked his Registrar about it, and was told that the later wife of the previous Chancellor, the daughter of a marquis, had lost her jewellery. Suspecting that it had been stolen by her nominal daughter-in-law, the wife of the Chancellor's son, she had had the young woman sent away and killed her maid-servant.

Li Jing had the jewellery sent to his predecessor, who promptly repudiated his wife. -XC 6:15a.

Li Jiu 李就 see *sub* Li Hu 李護.

Li Jiu 李久; Liaodong. A local leader, in 111 Li Jiu and his followers slaughtered the last remnants of the pirate band formerly commanded by Zhang Bolu. -HHS 38/28:1277.

Li Jing 黎景; Ba. Towards the end of Later Han, Li Jing was named Administrator of Rinan. -HYGZ 10B: 147, 12:221.

Li Jue 李傕 (d.198); Beidi. An officer in the service of Dong Zhuo, in 190 Li Jue was sent on an unsuccessful embassy to make terms with Sun Jian, general of Yuan Shu.

In 192, under orders from Niu Fu and in the company of Guo Si, Li Jue attacked Zhu Jun, then raided Yingchuan and Chenliu. About this time Dong Zhuo was assassinated in Chang'an, and when Li Jue and his colleagues returned Niu Fu had also been killed.

Though Li Jue and his fellows offered submission, Wang Yun refused an amnesty. Increasingly fearful, they took the advice of Jia Xu and attacked Chang'an. Storming the city, they drove Lü Bu to flight, killed officials and civilians, and executed Wang Yun.

Now in formal command of the imperial regime, the victors gave themselves appointments and fiefs: Li Jue became General of Chariots and Cavalry, the most senior post, while Guo Si and Fan Chou shared in government. They attempted a rapprochement with the east of the empire, but their rule was brutal and incompetent and the leaders feuded amongst themselves. The capital was in disorder and there was constant shortage of food.

Li Jue was remarkably superstitious, believing in every form of divination and sorcery. He set up a throne for the spirit of Dong Zhuo at the entrance to the court, and held frequent sacrifices there. When the emperor gave him title as Grand Marshal, ranking above the Excellencies, he was convinced that this

came from his supernatural assistants and he redoubled his attentions.

In 194 there was a short war with Ma Teng and Han Sui from the west, while an internal conspiracy was put down. As rivalry came to a head early in 195, Li Jue killed Fan Chou and took over his troops; Guo Si then turned openly against him. As his men plundered and burnt the palace, Li Jue seized the emperor while Guo Si kidnapped the senior ministers.

After months of fighting, at the end of summer Li Jue and Guo Si were persuaded into a truce, but a few weeks later, taking advantage of disagreement between his jailors and trouble among Li Jue's men, Emperor Xian bluffed his way out of Chang'an and began a journey to the east, supported by a loose consortium of leaders. Early in winter he came to Huayin, by the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River.

Realising that their prize was escaping, Li Jue and Guo Si reunited to try to bring him back. They first intervened on the side of Duan Wei, warlord of Huayin, against the escort group, but Duan Wei supported for the emperor's plan to escape, and at the end of the year the cortège moved into Hongnong. In a series of engagements the emperor's party was alternately victorious and defeated, but the running battle ended at the Shan Crossing by the Sanmen Gorges on the Yellow River. The emperor, his family and a few dozen others escaped across the river into Hedong, leaving the remainder of his followers to the slender mercies of the escort soldiers and Li Jue's own troops.

A short time later, a form of peace was agreed, and Li Jue returned some prisoners and a part of his plunder. In 196 the emperor reached Luoyang and was then taken by Cao Cao into Yingchuan. Li Jue, deprived of his imperial hostage, returned to the desolation of Chang'an.

In the summer of 198 the imperial agent Pei Mao, under orders from Cao Cao, had Duan Wei and other local leaders attack and kill Li Jue and his family. His head was sent to Xu city. -HHS 72/62:2332-42*, SGZ 6:180-87*.

Li Jun 鄺峻 [Wenshan 文山]; Chenliu. Possibly a brother of Li Yan, Li Jun became a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang. -HHSJJ 80/70B:2902 Hui Dong quoting *Chenliu fengsu zhuan* 陳留風俗傳 [see Juan Cheng].

Li Jun 李俊; Wudu. Local leaders, in 213 Li Jun and Wang Ling joined Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang of

Hanyang to attack Ma Chao and drive him from that commandery. Li Jun was later enfeoffed and became a general.

After Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220, Li Jun was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. -SGZ 25:701, LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Li Kan 李堪 (d.211); Hedong. A bandit leader in the 190s, in 211 Li Kan was one of the north-western allies opposed to Cao Cao. He was killed at the battle of Huayin. -SGZ 8:266, SGZ Shu 6:946.

Li Kuang 李匡. In 25, as Bao Yong held out in Taiyuan for the lost cause of the Gengshi regime, he sent his younger brother Bao Sheng and his son-in-law Zhang Shu to capture Huangcheng in Shangdang, which was held by Guangwu's Administrator Tian Yi. Li Kuang, commandant of the county, made a rising inside the city and opened the gates to the invaders. -HHS 28/18A:976.

Li Kui 李逵; Runan. A fellow-townsmen of Xu Shao, Li Kui initially admired his honesty and fine spirit, but later found fault and quarrelled with him. -HHS 68/58:2235.

Li Kui 李隗 see Li Wei 李隗.

Li Kui 李恢 see Li Hui 李恢.

Li Kui 李珪 probably miswritten for Li Zan 李贇 or his younger brother Li Jin 李瑾. -HHS 67/57:2197 commentary citing Xie Cheng, also JJ at 2407.

Li Le 李樂; Xihe? A former leader of the Bobo bandits in Xihe commandery, in the winter of 195 Li Le came from Hedong south into Hongnong to assist the group escorting Emperor Xian east in his escape from Li Jue and Guo Si in Chang'an. Successful in one engagement, the allies were badly defeated in a second, but Li Le then brought boats so that the emperor and a small party could cross the Yellow River into Hedong.

Li Le's original plan had been to travel by boat downstream past the Sanmen Gorges, but Yang Biao and Liu Ai pointed out that the passage was extremely dangerous and there were now no competent boatmen: cf. Needham 71:277, where Li Le's personal name is transcribed as Yo>Yue.

Having held the emperor for a time, after some argument Li Le accepted an edict and allowed him to go on to Luoyang. He was granted title as a general and Governor of Liang province, but remained in Hedong and died there of illness. -HHS 72/62:2340-42, SGZ 6:185-87.

Li Li 李立; Zhuo. In 24 Li Li was Junior Tutor in the

claimant imperial government of Wang Lang. As Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, attacked Wang Lang's capital, Handan, Li Li opened the gates so that his troops could storm the city. -HHS 12/2:494.

Li Li 李禮, the Lady. Wife/widow of Li Wei, in 59 or 66 the Lady murdered her brother-in-law Li Ji. Her son Li Chun was held responsible for her conduct and his marquise was abolished. -DGHJ 10:4a, HHS 21/11:756-57. [On the dating, see *sub* Li Ji.]

Li Li 李歷 [Jizi 季子]; Hanzhong. A nephew of Li He, Li Li was a cousin of Li Gu, but much younger. Honourable and virtuous, he was a friend of Zheng Xuan, Chen Ji and other noted scholars. As a magistrate in Henan, he governed by the principles of limited action 無為, and during a year of drought his was the only county to receive good rain.

Li Li became a Commandant of the Equipage, and although he did not come from Ji province he may have been a member of the staff of the Governor Han Fu in 191; see immediately below. -HHS 82/72A:2719*, HYGZ 10C:168.

Li Li 李歷/曆. Headquarters Officer to Han Fu the Governor of Ji province in 191, he urged him not to yield his position to Yuan Shao. -SGZ 6:191. [This may be the same man as Li Li the nephew of Li He, above.]

Li Li 李利; Beidi. Nephew of Li Jue, in 194 Li Li accompanied Fan Chou on campaign against Ma Teng and Han Sui, but Fan Chou abused him for not fighting hard. Li Li then reported to Li Jue that Fan Chou had held a private conversation with Han Sui in view of their armies; Li Jue killed Fan Chou. -HHS 72/62:2335, SGZ 6:183.

Li Li 李立 [Jianxian 建賢]; Zhuo. After the surrender of Liu Zong in 208, Cao Cao appointed Li Li as Inspector of Jing province. -SGZ 6:215.

Li Liang 李諒 [Shiyi 世益]; Yingchuan. XTS 72A:2473 says that Li Liang was a son of the Grand Commandant Li Xiu. He became Chancellor of Zhao and was the father of the reformist Li Ying. HHS 67/57:2191 has the personal name as Yi 益, but it seems possible that the two characters 諒 and 世 have fallen out of the text, and that XTS is correct.

Li Liang 李亮 [Weiming 威明]; Liaodong. XTS 72A:2593 says that Li Liang, son of Li Xiong, became a county magistrate in Henan.

Li Ling 李陵. A member of the staff of Zhu Fu the Inspector of Yi province about 74, Li Ling was sent

to escort the clerical officer Tian Gong to Luoyang, where they presented the court of Emperor Ming with the text and translation of three songs in praise of Han sent in by the tribal chieftain Tangzou of the Zuodu people from the west of Shu. The emperor, delighted to receive such recognition from afar, had the texts and their Chinese rendering sent to the history office. -HHS 86/76:2855, DGHJ 17:5a.

Li Long 李隆 see Zhang Long 張隆.

Li Lu 李陸 (d.25); Wei. A man of local family, in 25 Li Lu planned to make common cause with the Tanxiang bandits and seize Ye city, capital of the commandery. His elder brother Li Xiong was an officer of the Administrator Yao Qi, and after several warnings Yao Qi questioned Li Xiong. Li Xiong asked that he and his aged mother be put to death to atone for the renegade, but Yao Qi ordered only that they be sent out of Ye. Li Lu came back with Li Xiong to the gate of the city and, bitterly ashamed, killed himself to show remorse. Admiring the brothers' conduct, Yao Qi buried Li Lu with full funerary rites, and restored Li Xiong to his former position. -HHS 20/10:733.

Li Mao 李茂. When the Shanyu Punu of the Xiongnu sent messengers to Han in 46, asking for a term of peace, the General of the Household Li Mao was sent as an envoy in return. At this time the Shanyu's senior cousin Bi believed he had a stronger claim to the throne, but he was uneasy about his current position. As the embassy passed his territory, Bi sent Guo Heng, a Chinese in his service, to present Li Mao with maps of Xiongnu lands in token of his willingness to submit to Han. -HHS 89/79:2942.

Li Mao 李卯 see Meng Fu 孟孚.

Li Meng 李蒙. A former follower of Dong Zhuo, in 192 Li Meng joined Li Jue and others in the capture of Chang'an. He was later killed by Li Jue. -SGZ 6:181.

Li [Mengchu] 李孟初; Nan. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, after a probationary period as gentleman cadet Li Mengchu became a county magistrate in Nanyang and then Inspector of Yi province. He died in that office.

In 154 a group of local gentlemen set up a stele at his shrine. -Nagata 94:116.

Li Miao 李邈 [Hannan 漢南] (d.234); Guanghan. Li Miao was a magistrate in Jianwei under Liu Zhang. He joined Liu Bei after he had taken Yi province in 214, but when he criticised Liu Bei's conduct he would have been executed if Zhuge Liang had not intervened

on his behalf.

Li Miao later became Administrator of Jianwei, served as an adviser to Zhuge Liang and then became a general. He later fell out with Zhuge Liang, and after his death in 234, he wrote to say that he had held too much power in the state and that his death was a relief. The Sovereign Liu Shan was angry and had Li Miao executed. -SGZ Shu 15:1086, HYGZ 10B:152.

Li Min 李旻 (d.190). Administrator of Yingchuan in 190, Li Min was with Sun Jian when he was defeated by Xu Rong, general of Dong Zhuo. Li Min was captured and boiled alive. -HHS 72/62:2328 and see *sub* Zhang An.

Li Min 李敏; Liaodong. Son of Li Liang and a man of local family, Li Min was sometime Administrator of Henei. In the early 190, as the local warlord Gongsun Du sought to have him join his service, Li Min fled to the sea with his household. Gongsun Du then desecrated his father's tomb and killed the kinsmen he had left behind.

Li Min's son Xin sought him for twenty years, travelling beyond the frontier, but Li Min was not found. -SGZ 8:252-53, JS 44:1253, XTS 72A:2593.

Li Mou 李茂 see Li Mao 李茂.

Li Mu 李睦. In 76 Li Mu was a local officer in Longxi. As the Bi'nan and other tribes of the Qiang attacked the frontier the Administrator Sun Chun sent Li Mu to join forces with the troops of Jincheng commandery. They defeated the raiders. -HHS 87/77:2881.

Li [Mujiang] 李穆姜, the Lady; Hanzhong. A sister of Li Fa, the Lady Li became the second wife of Cheng Zhi and bore him two sons [some editions of HHS have the name of the Lady's husband as Chen Wenzhi 陳文知].

When Cheng Zhi died, his eldest son Xing and three others by his previous marriage treated the Lady with hatred and contempt, but she nonetheless behaved to each according to his seniority, not favouring her own children. Eventually Cheng Xing and his brothers realised how wrongly they had behaved and went to the local prison to expiate their fault.

When the Administrator heard of this he paid special honours to the family and provided them with sacrificial meats twice a year. All the young men became local officers and received nominations from the commandery or the province, while the youngest, Cheng Ji, rose to be Administrator of Nanyang.

When the Lady Li died, aged over eighty, she asked

her sons to arrange a simple funeral in accordance with the principles of her brother Li Fa. Her biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2793-94*, HYGZ 10C:170.

Li Nan 李南 [Xiaoshan 孝山]; Danyang. A keen scholar when he was young, Li Nan became an expert on divination by the wind. About 95 the Administrator of his commandery, Ma Leng, was accused of involvement in robbery and banditry and his case was forwarded to the Minister of Justice at the imperial capital. Before any word had come, Li Na called upon Ma Leng and offered congratulations. Ma Leng asked what there was to be congratulated about, and Li Nan assured him that a messenger would come on the following day with news of his exoneration. The messenger did not arrive until late, but explained that he had been delayed when his horse went lame.

Li Nan was nominated as Knowing the Way, but claimed to be too ill to accept appointment. He died at home. -HHS 82/72A:2716-17*; Ngo 76:94, DeWoskin 86:57.

Li Niao 李嬈, the Lady. Formerly a member of the imperial harem, in 113 she was taken by Liu Jun, King of Chen, as a secondary wife 小妻. Liu Jun was punished for lese-majesty by loss of three counties from his fief. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Li Ning 李寧; Jibei. The Attendant Officer Li Deng persuaded his identical twin brother Ning to carry out his duties. They were found out, and Li Deng was killed. -FSTY 3f:106.

Li Pan 李攀. Administrator of Wei commandery for Yuan Shao about 193, he was killed fighting bandits. -SGZ 14:436.

Li Ping 李平 [Zhengliu 正流], the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Li Yuan, the Lady became the second wife of Yang Wen and bore him a son and a daughter. Some years later, Yang Wen was killed, and the Lady maintained herself and her children by weaving and making sandals.

The Lady's father wanted her to marry again, but she was quite unwilling and threw herself into a river. She almost drowned before some kinsmen rescued her; and there were no further plans for remarriage. The Administrator Wu Fang had a portrait of her painted for his *yamen*. -HYGZ 10B:153-54.

Li Ping 李平 see Li Yan 李嚴.

Li Qi 李奇; Henei. In 178 Cai Yong was accused of having sought private favours from the official Liu

He and planning revenge when he was not successful. Cai Yong agreed that when Liu He was Director of Retainers he had recommended the local commandery officer Li Qi to him for his staff, but denied any wrongdoing. -HHS 60/50B:2001.

Li Qian 利乾 became Chancellor of Zhongshan. -FSTY 5f:123.

Li Qian 李乾 (d.194); Ji Yin. During the early 190s Li Qian came to join Cao Cao with a group of kinsmen and retainers. He served against the Yellow Turbans in Qing province and against Yuan Shu, and he took part in the attack on Tao Qian in Xu province. When Lü Bu seized Yan province in 194, Cao Cao sent Li Qian back to his home country in Ji Yin to gather support, but he was captured by Lü Bu's officers Xue Lan and Li Feng. They tried to persuade him to change sides, but killed him when he refused. -SGZ 18:533.

Li Qing 李磬 [Wensi 文寺]; Shu. Li Qing was Registrar to the county magistrate Zhang Biao when there was a raid by the non-Chinese. Zhang Biao fled, but the enemy caught up. Li Qing then offered them his life if they would let his master go free. The tribesmen accepted the proposal: Li Qing was killed and Zhang Biao got away.

The commandery office heard of this, and honoured Li Qing by putting his portrait on the walls of the *yamen*. -HYGZ 10A:137.

Li Quan 李權 [Boyu 伯豫]; Guanghan. A man of family, Li Quan became a magistrate in Shu commandery. About 190, seeing him as a potential opponent in his drive for local power, the Governor Liu Yan had him arrested on some charge and executed. -SGZ Shu 1:867.

Li Rao 李嬈 see Li Niao 李嬈.

Li Ren 李仁 [Dexian 德賢]; Guanghan. A colleague of Yin Mo, Li Ren travelled with him to Nanyang to study under Song Zhong and Sima Hui. Widely read in the classics and philosophers, he was also expert in archery, medicine, mechanics, mathematics and divination by numbers.

Li Ren held appointment in the provincial office under Liu Bei, and later served in his royal Secretariat. He died about 220. -SGZ Shu 12:1026-27, HYGZ 10B: 175-76; Miao 82:73.

Li Rong 李容 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Li Rong joined the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Li Rong joined Cheng Xin and other officers in

an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. -HYGZ 2:16, 10C: 169.

Li Rong 李榮. Administrator of Hanzhong during the 30s, Li Rong had some disagreement with Huang Xing the Administrator of Guanghan. As both men were called to the capital, Huang Xing immediately presented himself at the imperial prison; he escaped punishment. Li Rong failed to do this and was executed. -HYGZ 10B:146.

Li Ru 李儒 [Wenyou 文優]; Youfufeng. A gentleman scholar, in 185 Li Ru held local office and contributed 500 cash to a stele in honour of the magistrate Cao Quan. -JSCB 18:3a-41; Ebrey 80:342-343. [Based upon dates, this could be the same man as in the entry below.]

Li Ru 李儒. In 190 Li Ru was Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace to the deposed emperor Liu Bian, King of Hongnong. At Dong Zhuo's orders he compelled the young man to take poison. -HHS 10B:450-51, YSS: 2b: the two texts record slightly different versions of Li Ru's advice to Liu Bian as "Drink this, and your troubles will be over 服此辟惡." [Based upon dates, this could be the same man as in the entry above.]

Li Run 李閏. A eunuch, Li Run was Attendant at the Yellow Gates from about 115 and became a confidant of Emperor An, then under the regency of the Dowager Deng. When the Dowager died in 121 and Emperor An took full power, Li Run and the emperor's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng persuaded him that the Dowager's brother Deng Kui and other members of the family had planned to depose him in favour of Liu Yi the King of Pingyuan. The emperor accordingly destroyed the Deng clan and reduced his putative rival from a king to a marquis, while Li Run and his colleague Jiang Jing were enfeoffed and promoted to be Regular Attendants.

Li Run was an ally of the emperor's uncle Geng Bao who, together with the Empress Yan and her family, dominated the court and government, arranging the dismissal of the Excellency Yang Zhen and the deposition of the Heir Liu Bao. In 125 Li Run aided the Dowager Yan to bring the Little Emperor Liu Yi to the throne. Despite his earlier association with Geng

Bao, when the Yan group destroyed him and his party Li Run was unaffected and remained in a position of power.

When the Little Emperor died at the end of 125, Sun Cheng and other eunuchs organised a coup to restore Liu Bao to his inheritance. In their first move they attacked Li Run, Jiang Jing and other eunuchs of the ruling clique. Killing his companions, they kept Li Run alive because of his influence, and forced him at knife-point to escort the new emperor and take control of the Imperial Secretariat. The coup was successful, but because of his association with the Yan clan and the fact that he had acted only under duress, Li Run received no reward.

Li Run kept his appointment as a Regular Attendant, but in the following year the Director of Retainers Yu Xu impeached a number of men who had been involved in the former regime. After some political debate they were all dismissed. -HHS 78/68:2514-16, 58/48:1870.

Li Shan 李善 [Cisun 次孫]; Nanyang. Li Shan was the household slave 蒼頭 of a certain Li Yuan. About 40 there was a great plague and all the family died except the new-born Li Xu. The other slaves wanted to kill the infant and steal the family property, and though Li Shan could do nothing against them he did rescue Li Xu and fled with him to Shanyang. There it is said, not only did Li Shan chew food to make it soft for the baby, but he also managed to produce milk from his breasts.

When Li Xu was ten, Li Shan brought him home to reclaim his inheritance, and the criminals were punished. The local magistrate Zhongli Yi reported the affair, and Emperor Guangwu had Li Xu and Li Shan appointed as members of the Suite of the Heir.

Li Shan became a clerk in the offices of the Excellencies under Emperor Ming. He served successfully, and after various appointments, including an assistant magistracy in Hedong, he became Administrator of Rinan. On the way to that post he paid respects at the grave of his former master Li Yuan.

In the far south, Li Shan managed well with the non-Chinese. He was then named Administrator of Jiujiang, but took ill and died on his way that post. -HHS 81/71:2679-80*, XC 5:14b-15a; Ch'ü 72:366-368.

Li Shao 李邵; Henei. Formerly an Inspector of Ji province, in 190 Li Shao was living at Yewang county when troops gathered in the east of the empire

against the usurping rule of Dong Zhuo. Believing that Yewang was too close to the mountain passes where fighting could take place, he planned to shift his household south towards the Yellow River. Sima Lang argued that this was not far enough to make a difference, while such a flight would make the people uneasy and give encouragement to trouble-makers. Li Shao paid no attention, and the territory did suffer from incursions and banditry.

Li Shao later became Administrator of Julu, but when Gongsun Zan attacked Yuan Shao in 192, he was afraid and planned to change sides. Hearing of this, Yuan Shao sent Dong Zhao to take the commandery. -SGZ 15:466, 14:436.

Li Shao 李邵 [Weinan 偉南 or Yongnan 永南] (d.225); Guanghan. Younger brother of Li Miao and Li Chao, after Liu Bei took over Yu province in 214 Li Shao became a member of his staff. In 223 he became a clerical officer under Zhuge Liang, Imperial Chancellor of Shu, and when Zhuge Liang went on campaign to the south in 225 he left Li Shao with authority at the capital. Li Shao died, however, in that same year. -SGZ Shu 15:1086, HYGZ 10B:151.

Li She 李歙 see Li Xi 李歙.

Li Shen 李參 see Li Can 李參.

Li Shencheng 李申成. About 213 Li Shencheng reported Liu Xun, an old friend of Cao Cao, for extortion and illegal conduct. Liu Xun was executed. -SGZ 12:387.

Li Sheng 李勝 [Maotong 茂通]; Guanghan. A man of literary ability and a fellow-countryman of Li You, Li Sheng served in the library of the Eastern Pavilion early in the first century. He compiled several dozen *pian* of rhapsodies, eulogies and hymns. -HHS 80/70A:2616, HYGZ 10B:146.

Li Sheng 李盛 [Zhonghe 仲和]; Henan. Administrator of Ba commandery in the time of Emperor Huan, Li Sheng enforced heavy taxes. The people sang of his greed. -HYGZ 1:5.

Li Sheng 李升 (d.188). Magistrate of Mianzhu in Guanghan in 188, Li Sheng was killed by the bandit group of Ma Xiang. -SGZ Shu 1:866, HYGZ 5:70. Cf. however, HYGZ 10B:150, which gives the name of the magistrate of Mianzhu killed by Ma Xiang and his fellows as Yi Pou.

Li Shi 李士; Chenliu? Li Shi was elder brother to the mother-in-law of the Lady Gou Yu. About 130 the two families were involved in a vendetta, and the Lady Gou

killed Li Shi to avenge the death of her own uncle. -HHS 53/43:1751.

Li Shi 李實 see Li Bao 李寶.

Li Shou 李守 (d.22); Nanyang. Li Shou's forebears had been merchants, but the family was established among the gentry in Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, and Li Shou held local office. Nine foot tall [208 cm] with a commanding presence, it is said that he and his household held the authority and respect of a regular official.

Sometime a pupil of the noted scholar and official Liu Xin 劉歆, Li Shou was interested in prognostication and apocryphal works, and he found a prophecy that "The Liu clan shall rise again, and the Li family will be its support" 劉氏當起 [or 復興], 李氏為輔: see *sub* Wang Kuang 王況. He told his son Li Tong, and Li Tong used it in negotiations with Liu Bosheng for a rebel alliance against Wang Mang.

In 22, as the rising was being planned, Li Shou held office at Chang'an, Wang Mang's capital. Li Tong sent his cousin Li Ji to warn Li Shou, but Li Ji died on the road, and Li Shou had only minimal warning. He sought permission to leave and went to the gates of the city, but before he had received approval for his departure there came news of Li Tong's rebellion, and Wang Mang had Li Shou arrested. His friend Huang Xian sought to persuade Wang Mang that he should send Li Shou to dissuade his son from the venture, but as further reports came to hand Wang Mang rejected the proposal and had both Li Shou and Huang Xian executed. -HHS 15/5:573-75; Bn 54:102-103, Bn 59:239.

Li Shou 李壽; Nanyang. Son of Li Huang, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 15/5:576.

Li Shou 李壽; Kuaiji. Li Shou had local reputation for intelligence and ability. During the late 20s the Administrator Huang Dang appointed him his Officer of Merit, encouraged him to find good candidates for office, and accepted his recommendations without question. -XC 7:9b, HHSJJ 79/69B:2847 *jiaobu* quoting Hou Kang.

Li Shou 李壽/壽 or Li Shouchang 壽長. Inspector of Qing province, Li Shou travelled widely through his region in a distinctive red carriage and made strict judgements. He recommended the dismissal of four heads of commandery units, and many other officials preferred to resign before he could act against them. He was also prepared to criticise neighbouring territories,

arguing that the basis of all good government was the same, and should not be limited by artificial barriers. -*XC* 7:9b-10a.

Li Shou 李壽 (d.179); Jiuquan. Li Shou killed his fellow-countryman Zhao An, but was himself killed by Zhao An's daughter E. -*SGZ* 18:548.

Li Shu 李儵 [Boyū 伯玉?]; Nanyang. In 22 Li Tong approached Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, about the possibility of a rising against Wang Mang. As Liu Xiu came to the first meeting, Li Tong was ill, and he had his brothers Li Shu and Li Chong go with their cousin Li Yi for preliminary discussions with Liu Xiu. Liu Xiu was suspicious, for there was a feud between the families, but Li Shu and his companions were able to persuade him to meet Li Tong.

Though Li Shu was his elder brother, Li Tong was clearly the leader of the kinship group and Li Shu does not appear again in the histories. It is likely that he and his brother Chong were among those killed after the early defeat of the rebels in the winter of 22. -*HHJ* 1: 2.

Li Shu 李叔; Yingchuan. *XTS* 72A:2473 says that Li Shu was a son of Li Xiu.

Li Shu 李術/述 (d.200); Runan. In 199, when Sun Ce captured Lujiang, he had Li Shu hold the commandery with headquarters at Huan city, present-day Qianshan in Anhui. Li Shu attacked and killed Yan Xiang, Inspector of Yang province for Cao Cao.

When Sun Quan succeeded Sun Ce in the following year, Li Shu rejected his authority, but because Li Shu had killed Yan Xiang, Sun Quan persuaded Cao Cao to allow him a free hand to deal with him. His army then stormed Huan city and killed Liu Shu. -*SGZ* 15:463, Wu 1:1108, Wu 2:1116; deC 90:231.

Li Shu 李庶; Wudu. Li Shu was an associate of Jiang He, who came to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong and foretold the imperial fortunes of the Wei dynasty of Cao Cao. -*SGZ* 2:62.

Li [Shucai] 李淑才/叔才; Runan. A common man of his village, he was recommended for office by the judge of character Xu Shao, and was later celebrated for his quality. -*SGZ* 23:658.

Li [Shujian] 李叔堅 see Wei Shujian 韋叔堅.

Li Shuo 李朔; Shanyang. In the late 180s Li Shou and a number of other local leaders gathered retainers and bullied the local people. They were brought to order by the Investigator Man Chong. -*SGZ* 26:721.

Li Si 李思. During the late 190s Li Si was an officer

under Pang Xi, Administrator of Ba commandery in the service of Liu Zhang, facing the threat from Zhang Lu and his adherents in the north. They achieved only limited success. -*HYGZ* 2:17.

Li Song 李松 (d.25); Nanyang. Member of a leading local family and a cousin of Li Tong and of Li Yi, in 23 Li Song and Shentu Jian commanded an army of the Gengshi Emperor which joined Deng Ye in the defeat of Wang Mang's Nine Tiger Army, then entered the passes to occupy Chang'an. They later brought items of imperial insignia to Luoyang.

By early 24 Li Song and Zhao Meng had emerged as leaders of the Nanyang gentry faction at the court of the Gengshi Emperor. Sending away potential rivals, the two men established a dominant position in the government. It was at Li Song's urging that the capital of the new regime was moved west to Chang'an, and he then replaced Liu Ci as Imperial Chancellor.

Early in 25 Li Song commanded the army which destroyed the party of Liu Ying the Young Prince in Anding, but a few weeks later, sent to face the Red Eyebrows in Hongnong, he was heavily defeated and driven back to the west.

In the autumn Li Song and Zhao Meng joined the Gengshi Emperor to fight their way into Chang'an and drive out Zhang Ang, Wang Kuang and other former chieftains. Li Song was then sent again to fight the Red Eyebrows as they approached, but was defeated and captured. Though his brother Fan opened a gate of the capital in exchange for his life, Li Song was killed, very likely at the instigation of the former chieftains who had joined the Red Eyebrows. -*HHS* 11/1:469-75, 15/5:575-77; Dubs 55:460-466, Bn 59:51-53, 91-92, 98-101.

Li Song 李嵩. In 48 the Internuncio Li Song was sent with the general Ma Cheng in an attempt to halt the raiding by the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery. They had no success. Ma Cheng resigned his appointment, and Li Song is not heard of again. -*HHS* 1B:6, 86/76:2832.

Li Song 李頌; Runan. About 163 the powerful eunuch Tang Heng recommended Li Song to Zong Zi the Administrator of Runan. Li Song was a man of bad character, and though he was related by marriage to the Officer of Merit Fan Pang, Fan Pang disapproved of him. Despite pressure from Zong Zi to call Li Song to office, Fan Pang refused to do so. -*HHS* 67/57:2205; deC 89:69-70, 373.

Li Song 栗嵩. Li Song was a eunuch Regular Attendant during the 180s and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 78/68:253.

Li Song 李嵩 see also Li Gao 李嵩.

Li Su 李肅 (d.162); Yingchuan. In 162 Li Su was Administrator of Nan commandery when the tribesmen of Wuling attacked his capital, Jiangling. Li Su ran away, and killed his staff officer Hu Shuang when he tried to stop him. The city fell, and vast quantities of cash, supplies and insignia came into the hands of the enemy. Li Su was arrested and publicly executed.

Li Su had previously been Administrator of Wu, and had nominated Lu Kang as Filial and Incorrupt. Lu Kang now collected his corpse and took it home to Yingchuan for burial. -HHS 7:311, 86/76:2834, 102/12:3256:1328.

Li Su 李肅 (d.192); Wuyuan. Commandant of Cavalry, in 192 he joined Lü Bu in killing Dong Zhuo. He was then sent to attack Niu Fu in Hongnong, but was driven away. Lü Bu had him killed. -HHS 72/62:2332, SGZ 6:179-181.

Li Su 李肅 [Weigong 偉恭]; Nanyang. Known for his abilities as a critic and literary stylist, Li Su served in Sun Quan's headquarters, and was responsible for the selection of many good men for office. He later became Administrator of Guiyang and then a minister, most likely in 229. He probably died during the 230s. -SGZ Wu 7:1238.

Li Tai 李泰 miswritten for Li You 李尤. -HHJ 17:206.

Li Tan 李譚. In 78 Li Tan was sent as an Internuncio to inspect the troops in the northwest. The general Ma Fang had disapproved of the plans of his subordinate Geng Gong to deal with the Qiang, and on his return to the capital he made his feelings known. Echoing this, Li Tan reported that Geng Gong was insufficiently concerned with his duties, and that he showed resentment when he received imperial orders. Geng Gong was recalled and arrested. -HHS 19/9:724.

Li Tan 李曇 [Ziyun 子雲]; Pingyuan. Friends of Pang Meng and scholars of *Yinyang* 陰陽, during the troubles of the 20s and 30s Li Tan and Xu Fang cared for some thousand refugees. -HHS 83/73:2760.

HHS 83/73 refers to this man by his style Ziyun, but in JJ at 3040 Wang Xianqian quotes the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi, which gives his personal name as Tan. Though the personal name and style are the same, this cannot be the same man as Li Tan below,

who lived more than a hundred years later.

Li Tan 李曇 [Ziyun 子雲]; Yingchuan. Li Tan's father died when he was young and Li Tan cared for his step-mother, who was tyrannical and fussy. He nonetheless treated her with utmost respect, obtained for her the most costly products of each of the seasons, and each time he brought them he would always bow first. His wife and children followed suit, and the people of his district took him as a model of good conduct.

In 159, when Chen Fan became Director of the Imperial Secretariat under the personal government of Emperor Huan, he recommended Li Tan as one of the five most worthy men of the empire. A special carriage was sent to invite him to the capital, but he would not go. -HHS 53/43:1748, XC 3:3a, HHS 3:21a; deC 89:15-17.

Li Tan 李覃; Anping. A Consultant at the Han court under Cao Cao, Li Tan was influenced by the adept Hao Mengjie/Xi Jian and attempted to practice his techniques of long life, including abstention from cereals 辟穀, eating the "China-root" fungus *Pachyma* or *Poria Cocos* 伏苓, and drinking cold water. He got diarrhoea, however, and very nearly died. -SGZ 29:805.

Li Tao 李陶. In 169 Li Tao joined other clients of the family in arranging a funereal stele for Hu Gen, young grandson of the Excellency Hu Guang. -Cai 6:4.

Li Tiao 李調. Chief Clerk under the general Ma Fang, in the spring of 78 he was sent with four thousand men to outflank the Qiang of Longxi on the west while his colleagues Xia Jun and Ma Peng led two other columns against the enemy. Attacking together, the three killed or captured over a thousand men and seized more than a hundred thousand cattle and sheep. -HHS 24/14:856.

Li Tiao 李條; Donglai. One of several leaders of bandits in his commandery, about 206 Li Tiao and his fellows were defeated and restored to order by a combined force from the commanderies of Qing province led by Cao Cao's officer Lü Qian. -SGZ 18:540.

Li Tiao 李條; Runan: see Wei Tiao 韋條.

Li Tong 李通 [Ziyuan 次元 or Wenyan 文元?] (d.42); Nanyang. Son of Li Shou and member of a leading family in Wan city, capital of the commandery, in the time of Wang Mang Li Tong was a clerk on the staff of a general and then became an assistant magistrate in an outlying county of Nan commandery. Praised for his administration, he nonetheless regarded these lowly

official positions as being less than his due as a leader in his home community. He did not maintain his career and retired to Wan.

Inspired by an apocryphal saying from his father, that "The Liu clan shall rise again, and the Li shall be their support" [see *sub* Li Shou], Li Tong and his cousin Li Yi considered rebellion against the government of Wang Mang. In 22 Li Yi approached Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was visiting the city, and Liu Xiu involved his elder brother Liu Bosheng. Liu Bosheng had earlier killed Shentu Chen, a half-brother of Li Tong, so there was an unresolved feud between the families and Liu Xiu came armed to the first meeting. Though Li Tong was chief of his party, he was ill at that time, so he sent his brothers Shu and Chong to accompany Li Yi to the rendezvous, and they persuaded Liu Xiu to visit Li Tong. Li Tong was able to convince Liu Xiu of his family's good faith, and when Liu Xiu reported to his elder brother Liu Bosheng the two groups agreed to an alliance.

The rising took place in the winter of 22, but after some initial success the rebels were heavily defeated at Xiao-Chang'an. Li Tong's father Li Shou and many of his household were arrested and killed in Chang'an, and sixty-four of their kinsfolk were executed in Wan, with their bodies burnt in the market-place. Li Tong, however, was able to escape, and he accompanied Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu to meet the commoner Troops from the Lower Yangzi. Negotiating with the bandit leader Wang Chang, they established an alliance to restore the position.

When Liu Xuan was proclaimed as the Gengshi Emperor, Li Tong was named a chief general and a marquis, but his influence as leader of the clan was gradually usurped by his cousin Li Song, who became a favourite of the emperor. When royal fiefs were awarded at Chang'an in 24, Li Tong was named as king of a county in Runan – Bielenstein observes that the pattern of grants reflected a changing balance of power, firstly to the advantage of the Nanyang gentry, but also marking the rise of Li Song and Zhao Meng at the expense of others.

Soon afterwards Li Tong was sent out from the capital as a commissioner into Jing province, and though he had lost status at the court of the Gengshi Emperor he restored his fortunes by marrying Liu Boyi, the sister of Liu Xiu. In 25, as the government at Chang'an collapsed into turmoil and Liu Xiu claimed

the imperial title, Li Tong went to join him and was named Minister of the Guards.

In the following year, as his wife was made a Senior Princess Li Tong was enfeoffed as a marquis and transferred to become Minister of Finance. Held in the greatest trust, he was given charge of the capital while the emperor was on campaign, and he paid particular attention to the repair of the palaces at Luoyang and to the re-establishment of schools.

In 29 Li Tong was named General of the Van and in the summer of 30 he was given command of a large force, including the generals Hou Jin and Wang Ba, which was sent west from Nanyang up the Han to attack Yan Cen in Hanzhong, who was allied to Gongsun Shu. In a limited campaign, the Han army defeated the allies, then withdrew and set military colonies to secure the front.

Claiming that the empire was now largely settled, Li Tong sought to retire from public life on the grounds of ill health, notably a weak stomach. When Emperor Guangwu asked for comments from his officials, the Excellency over the Masses Hou Ba compared Li Tong's inspiration of the original revolt with the work of the greatest ministers of Emperor Gao of Former Han, and insisted that he must not leave the court. The emperor supervised his medical treatment, and had him attend to such duties as he could.

In the summer of 31 the emperor had Li Tong appointed Excellency of Works, despite opposition from senior officials who had recommended Guo Ji. For his own part, it is said Li Tong was not anxious to hold high honours, and he asked several times to resign.

In the autumn of 32 Li Tong was sent with the chief general Wang Chang to deal with rebellion in Dong commandery and Jiyin. The disturbance was apparently soon settled through the good offices of Geng Chun, former Administrator of Dong.

In 36 Li Tong was permitted to leave his office, but remained at the capital with the senior title Specially Advanced, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. He continued to be treated with honour and favour.

In 39, on the same day as Guangwu's sons were enfeoffed Li Tong's younger son Xiong was also granted a marquisate, and each time the ruler visited Nanyang he made a point of arranging sacrifices at the Li family tomb. When Li Tong died in 42 both Guangwu and his

Empress Yin put on mourning and accompanied the funeral cortège, and when Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Li Tong was one of those who were honoured

Of the three cousins Li who had taken a leading role in the rebellion against Wang Mang, Li Yi and Li Song committed themselves to the Gengshi Emperor and paid the political penalty, but Li Tong, aided by his marriage to Guangwu's sister, obtained high honours at court and profitable fiefs for his descendants. On the other hand, despite the initial connection, the Li family was not closely associated with the throne thereafter and did not become one of the great families which regularly inter-married with the imperial house. -*HHS* 15/5:573-76*; Bn 54:55, 102-108, Bn 59:186, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:55, 60.

Li Tong 李統 [Shaoyou 少幼]; Runan. In the time of Emperor Zhang Li Tong was Chancellor of Zhao. Ruan Kuang the Inspector of Ji province reported that Li Tong was going blind and deaf. His officers were indignant and wanted to defend him, but Li Tong quietly resigned his post on grounds of old age; he was then approaching seventy.

At this time there was a difficult law case in the province and the emperor asked Li Tong's opinion. Impressed with his answers, he commented on the manner in which he had been forced from office, but Li Tong offered no criticism of Ruan Kuang. Emperor Zhang nonetheless dismissed Ruan Kang and appointed Li Tong to the high office of Palace Attendant. -*FSTY* 5:40; Nylan 83:476-478.

Li Tong 李通 [Wenta 文達; childhood style Wanyi 萬億] (168-209); Jiangxia. During the 180s Li Tong and his fellow-countryman Chen Gong were fighting men in the area of Runan commandery. A certain Zhou Zhi, who controlled another group, was seen as a rival, and Li Tong planned to kill him. Ignoring Chen Gong's concerns, he invited Zhou Zhi to a feast and killed him there. Then he and Chen Gong killed Zhou Zhi's subordinate commanders and shared his former followers between them.

Chen Gong was later killed by his brother-in-law Chen He, who took over his command. Li Tong then attacked Chen He, killed him in turn, and combined the Chen family troops with his own. He also captured the Yellow Turban leader Wu Ba and compelled his followers to surrender.

Li Tong was now the dominant local warlord, and he confirmed his authority by taking control of the distribution of grain at a time of famine. When Cao Cao brought the imperial court to Xu city in 196, however, Li Tong went to offer his allegiance. He was named a General of the Household and given charge of the western part of Runan, the territory he already controlled.

When Cao Cao was defeated by Zhang Xiu in 197, Li Tong brought reinforcements and was in the van of Cao Cao's successful counter-attack. He was granted titular enfeoffment, named a major-general and appointed Commandant in charge of Yang'an commandery, formed from two counties of Runan to guard the frontier against Liu Biao in Jing province. Soon afterwards the uncle of Li Tong's wife was found guilty of some crime, and the local magistrate Zhao Yan proposed to execute him. Though Li Tong had the right to over-ride the sentence, and his wife and children pleaded with him, he refused to intervene, and he made Zhao Yan a trusted adviser.

As Yuan Shao prepared to attack Cao Cao in 200, he sent agents to seek allies in Yu province, while Liu Biao also made offers. Several of Li Tong's family and followers urged him to turn to Yuan Shao, but Li Tong remained firm: he killed Yuan Shao's envoys and sent the insignia he had been offered to Cao Cao's headquarters. As his demand for taxes caused resentment, Zhao Yan urged him to greater leniency, but Li Tong explained that he feared Cao Cao might doubt his loyalty if he failed to maintain the rate of payments. Zhao Yan persuaded Cao Cao that the tax should be reduced, to reward the people who stayed loyal.

Li Tong then established control over the whole region between the Ru River and the upper Huai, destroying a number of local bandit groups and sending their leaders' heads to Cao Cao. He was promoted in fief and became Administrator of Runan.

After Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208, Liu Bei and Zhou Yu laid siege to Cao Ren in Jiangling. At the end of 209 they forced him to abandon the city, and Guan Yu was sent to construct an abatis to cut his line of retreat. Li Tong brought his army to the rescue and broke the blockade. As he escorted Cao Ren to the north he became ill and died.

Li Tong received posthumous enhancement of his fief, and when Cao Pi succeeded to the throne of Wei

in 220 he issued an edict granting him further honours, and gave rewards to his sons Li Ji and Li Xu. -SGZ 18:534-36*.

Li Wei 李威 see Lü Wei 呂鮪.

Li Wei 李威; Donglai. Son of Li Zhong, he succeeded to his fief in 43. -HHS 1/11:756.

Li Wei 李威, wife of: see the Lady Li Li 李禮.

Li Wei 李威; Jianwei. Member of a powerful local family, about 65 Li Wei was given appointment by the Inspector of Yi province. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Li Wei 李瑋/偉. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in 159, Li Wei was one of the non-eunuch supporters of Emperor Huan who were enfeoffed for their aid in the coup which destroyed Liang Ji. After the disgrace of the emperor's former favourites Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan in 165, Li Wei and others who had been rewarded in 159 were deprived of their fiefs. -HHS 7:305, 57/47:1858.

Li Wei 李隗. Inspector of Jing province in 165, Li Wei was captured by rebels. They released him soon afterwards, but he was punished for his military failure by execution. -HHS 102/12:3258; MBeck 90:128.

Li Weilong 李威龍 see Wei Weilong 韋威龍.

Li Wen 李文. When Deng Yu was given command in the west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he appointed Li Wen to his staff. After the conquest of Hedong in the following year Li Wen was made Administrator of that commandery. -HHS 16/6:601.

Li Wen 李文. About 90 Li Wen was a personal attendant of the General-in-Chief Dou Xian. He was sent to Wang Fu the Administrator of Yizhou with a request for six million cash, but was kept waiting until formal approval was received from the court. -DGHJ 18:5b.

Li Wen 李溫; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Li Wen joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree.

Li Wen later became Administrator of Guiyang, and when he died he had a tomb near that of Feng Gun in his home country. Mysterious occurrences were associated with the site, and people worshipped there. -HYGZ 1:5, SJZ 29:12a.

Li [Wende] 李文德; Nanyang. A former Administrator of Yuexi, Li Wende was a friend of Yan Du. About 160

he argued at court that Yan Du, then in retirement, should be brought back to office. In a letter, however, Yan Du extolled the pleasures of private life and scholarship, and asked Li Wende not to press the matter further. -HHS 64/54:2106.

Yan Du was one of the chief sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu, who died in 156, and Li Wende, described as a private gentleman 處士, also appears on the list. The character of his personal name has been lost. -LS 17:17a.

Li Wenhou 李文侯. In 184, Li Wenhou joined the mutiny of the Loyal Auxiliary of Barbarians in Liang province and was chosen with Beigong Boyu as joint leader of the rebellion. From his membership of the Auxiliary, it would appear he was non-Chinese, though he may have been a junior officer of Chinese origin.

Li Wenhou remained a chieftain through the rebel invasion of the region about Chang'an in 185, but he and Beigong Boyu disappear from the records after the retreat at the end of that year; they were probably eliminated in quarrels among the leadership. -HHS 72/62:2320-21; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:147-150, 492-495, and see *sub* Han Sui.

Li Wenji 李文姬, the Lady; Hanzhong. Daughter of Li Gu, she married the local gentleman Zhao Boying. After the destruction of her father in 147 she arranged the escape of her youngest brother Li Xie and, when he returned years later, warned him against any discussion of past politics. -HHS 63/53:2089-90, HYGZ 10C:172.

Li Wensi 李文思; Anding. Second husband of the daughter of Zhou Ba *q.v.*, Li Wensi became Administrator of Nanyang. -FSTY 3f:105.

Li Wu 李武 [Zhaoxian 昭先]; Yingchuan. Son of Li Hu, Li Wu was Administrator of Dong commandery and later became Minister of Ceremonies. -XTS 72A:2473.

Li Xi 李歙 or Li She. A palace eunuch, in 139 Li Xi was ordered by Emperor Shun to arrest Zhang Kui, Qu Zheng and other colleagues, who had laid false accusations against the General-in-Chief Liang Shang and had then arrested Cao Teng and Meng Ben. Zhang Kui and his fellows died in prison. -HHS 34/24:1176.

Li Xi 李翕 [Bodu 伯都]; Hanyang. In the early 160s Li Xi was Commandant of a Dependent State in Liang province. There was trouble with the Qiang people, but when some of them surrendered Li Xi killed them. As Huangfu Gui came to the northwest in 162 he

impeached Li Xi and had him dismissed.

Despite this unfortunate record, Li Xi later became Administrator of Wudu, where he carried out major projects to improve roads through the mountains. Favourable omens appeared and several stele were set up to commemorate his achievements. -HHS 65/55:2133-34, *JJ* at 2328 Zhou Shouchang & *jiaobu* at 2354 Hui Dong, *LS* 4:8b-13a 22:17a-18a [as Liu Hui 會], *LX* 11:9b-10a, Nagata 94:186, 196.

Li Xian 李憲 (d.30); Yingchuan. In the time of Wang Mang Li Xian was military commander of Lujiang. About 20 a bandit group of the Yangzi led by Wang Zhongong plundered the territory. Li Xian was named lieutenant-general and chief of the commandery to put them down. When Wang Mang was destroyed, Li Xian made himself independent in Lujiang, and he evidently also took over Jiujiang by killing Wang Mang's administrator Jia Meng 賈萌 [Bn 59:29]. Li Xian thus controlled the greater part of present-day Anhui between the Huai River and the Yangzi, and in 23 he styled himself King of Huainan 淮南王.

In 27 Li Xian took the imperial title and named a complement of Excellencies, ministers and other officials. He had not been active in the civil war, and it is difficult to see what purpose he thought to serve except perhaps to rally the south-eastern forces which had previously looked to the pretender Liu Yong, now dead. In any case, his pretensions drew the attention of Guangwu, who was already engaged with other warlords of the region.

The Han emperor sent Ma Cheng and three other generals to gather troops in the region of the lower Yangzi and the Huai and to attack Li Xian. Li Xian's position collapsed, and by the end of 28 he held only his capital city of Shu 舒.

At the beginning of 30, after a siege lasting more than a year the city fell to starvation and storm. Li Xian was killed by one of his own men as he fled, and his wife and children were captured and executed. -HHS 12/2:500-01*, *XC* 1:2b; Bn 59:133-149.

Li Xian 李咸 [Yuanzhen 元貞 or Yuanzhuo 元卓] (100-175); Runan. There are two accounts of Li Xian's early life, complementary but sometimes contradictory: the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, cited by HHS 44/34:1511 TC, and a stele composed in his honour by Cai Yong.

According to Xie Cheng, Li Xian was a man of poor family. After his father died, he farmed the land

to care for his mother while still studying the classics. He was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies at the capital and was nominated Abundant Talent by Hu Guang about 145. He served as a county magistrate in Beihai, where he was regularly cited for his excellent administration, and was later Inspector of Xu province and Administrator of Yuyang.

According to the inscription by Cai Yong, Li Xian came from an old official family, both his grandfather and an uncle had been commandery Administrators, and he himself was widely read and learned. With commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, he became a gentleman cadet, and was then granted further nomination as Abundant Talent. [The stele says that the nomination was made by the Minister of the Household, responsible for the corps of cadets, but HHS 44/34:1510 refers to Li Xian as a nominee of Hu Guang, so Xie Cheng's attribution appears more probable.] Li Xian was a successful magistrate in two counties, then Inspector of Xu and Administrator of Yuyang, and was later appointed General on the Liao. He left office when his mother became ill and died.

Again according to the stele, during the reign of Emperor He at the beginning of the second century Li Xian returned to office as member of the Imperial Secretariat. This date, however, must be wrong, for the stele itself says that he died in 175 at the age of seventy-six *sui*: Li Xian was actually born in the time of Emperor He.

Li Xian did become Deputy Director of the Secretariat, then served as Court Architect and held several ministries. In 171 he was appointed Grand Commandant.

When the Dowager Dou died in 172, the eunuchs argued that she should be buried with only the rites of a concubine. Though Li Xian was extremely ill, he attended court to speak against them and won the argument. In 173 he was permitted to resign his office on grounds of age and ill health. Widely honoured and admired, he died at home. -*XC* 2:9a-b, *Cai* 5:2, HHS 56/46:1833.

Li Xian 李暹; Beidi. A nephew of Li Jue, in 195 Li Xian was sent to bring Emperor Xian from his palace to Li Jue's camp in the north of Chang'an city. -HHS 72/62:2336, *SGZ* 6:183.

Li Xiang 李瓌; Yingchuan. *XTS* 72A:2473 says that Li Xiang was a son of Li Ying.

Li Xiangru 李相如. Administrator of Longxi in 186,

when his capital was attacked by the rebels of Liang province Li Xiangru joined the insurgents. -*HHS* 72/62:2321.

Li Xie 李燮 [Degong 德公] (135-187); Hanzhong. Youngest son of Li Gu, when his father was destroyed by Liang Ji in 147 Li Xie was sent for refuge in the family's home country. As Li Xie's brothers Ji and Zi were arrested and killed, his sister Wenji entrusted the boy to the care of Wang Cheng, a former client of Li Gu, who took the boy east into Xu province. Li Xie changed his name and served in a wine shop, while Wang Cheng told fortunes in the market. They acted as strangers to one another, meeting only in secret. [Another version of the story, from *XC* 3, says that he took refuge at the house of Teng Zi of Beihai.]

Impressed by Li Xie's concern for scholarship, the wine merchant had him marry his daughter. The year after the fall of Liang Ji in 159, Emperor Huan was persuaded by astronomers to order a search for the families of Liang Ji's victims, and Li Xie was able to return home. He carried out mourning for his father and brothers and later for Wang Cheng, but on the advice of his sister he avoided all discussion of past politics.

On the other hand, the local officer Zhao Zijian, who had urged the execution of Li Xie's brothers, was afraid he might seek revenge. He hired a man to kill him, but Li Xie found out and told the Administrator. Zhao Zijian was executed.

Li Xie was offered nomination by local authorities and positions in the offices of the Excellencies, but always refused. Eventually an official carriage was sent, and he became a Consultant, junior adviser at court. Chong Dai, a scholar in retirement who had also rejected nominations, was offered a similar post, but died before he could accept. Li Xie argued unsuccessfully that Chong Dai should be recognised by the state as a former official.

In office Li Xie was admired for his ability to plan long-term and for the quality of his associates. About 184 he became Chancellor of Anping. The king, Liu Xu, had been kidnapped by the Yellow Turbans, and the people of the kingdom were levied for his ransom. When Liu Xu returned, Li Xie argued he should not be restored to the throne, for he had failed in his duty as a vassal ruler. His advice was rejected, and Li Xie was sent to prison for slandering the imperial clan, but a few months later Liu Xu was found guilty of Impiety

and was executed.

Li Xie was re-appointed as Consultant, and was then named Intendant of the capital commandery Henan. Emperor Ling had instituted the purchase of offices, but Li Xie protested against the system, and he was not required to pay.

In one incident as Intendant, Li Xie arrested Zhen Shao, a former supporter of Liang Ji, denounced his immorality, and had him proscribed from office. The people sang praises of his administration, but he died after two years in office. -*HHS* 63/53:2089-91*, *XC* 3: 14a, *HYGZ* 10C:167-68.

Li Xin 李訢; Donghai. In 56 Li Xin was promoted from Director of Retainers to be Excellency over the Masses.

When Emperor Guangwu died in the following year Li Xin was formally responsible for the imperial coffin, and as Emperor Ming came to the throne Li Xin and his Excellency colleagues were awarded district marquises. [Vervoor 90:285 quotes *HHJ* 18:103, which gives one reason for the enfeoffment of the three men as their "labours in the mountains and forests" 以山林之勞; he relates this to their experience as hermits, but all three had active official careers, and the phrase "mountains and forests" in fact refers to their responsibilities for aspects of the funeral.]

In 60 Li Xin and his colleague Zhao Xi were dismissed, apparently for some irregularity in dealing with Xue Xiu, Chancellor of Zhongshan, which was the kingdom held by Emperor Ming's half-brother Liu Yan 焉. No further details are given of the affair. -*HHS* 1B:83, 2:96, 105.

Li Xin 李敏; Liaodong. Son of Li Min, after his father had fled from the local warlord Gongsun Du, Li Xin sought for twenty years to find him, travelling by sea beyond the imperial frontiers. He was eventually persuaded by Xu Miao that it was his filial duty to marry and conceive an heir to carry on the lineage; but as soon as this was done, he abandoned his wife and infant son to maintain mourning for his father, and died of grief a few years later. -*SGZ* 8:252-53, *JS* 44: 1253, *XTS* 72A:2593.

Li Xing 李興 (d.31); Wuyuan. A local warlord, in 28 Li Xing was persuaded by an emissary of the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu to support the pretender Lu Fang. In the following year he and his colleague Min Kan escorted Lu Fang from the court of the Shanyu into Wuyuan, where he established his capital on Chinese

soil. Li Xing was given title as Administrator of Wuyuan. In 31 possibly fearing Li Xing as a potential rival, Lu Fang killed him and his brothers. -HHS 12/2:506-07; Bn 67:105-107.

Li Xiong 李熊/雄; Shu. Officer of Merit to Gongsun Shu as Administrator of the commandery in the middle 20s, Li Xiong first urged him to style himself as a king, and then to claim the imperial title. When he took this advice in the summer of 25, Gongsun Shu appointed Li Xiong his Excellency over the Masses. -HHS 13/3: 534-35, HYGZ 5:68.

Li Xiong 李熊; Wei. A man of local family, in 25 Li Xiong was a military officer under the Administrator Yao Qi. Yao Qi was contending with Zhuo Jing, an officer of the Gengshi Emperor who sought to raise the leading clans of the commandery against the newly-proclaimed Emperor Guangwu.

Zhuo Jing was defeated and driven away, but Li Xiong's younger brother Li Lu planned to make common cause with the Tanxiang bandits and seize the capital, Ye city. Yao Qi was warned of this, and at first paid no attention, but when he heard it three or four times he called Li Xiong to ask him about it. Li Xiong kowtowed and asked that he and his aged mother be put to death to atone for his renegade brother, but Yao Qi ordered only that they be sent out of Ye to join Li Lu.

Li Xiong then brought his brother back to the gate of the city and Li Lu, bitterly ashamed, killed himself to show his remorse. Admiring the brothers' conduct, Yao Qi buried Li Lu with full funerary rites, and restored Li Xiong to his former position. -HHS 20/10:733.

Li Xiong 李雄; Nanyang. Li Xiong was a younger son of Liu Tong and the Princess Liu Boyi, sister of Emperor Guangwu. On the same day as Guangwu's sons were enfeoffed in 39, he was granted a county marquisate in his father's honour. -HHS 15/5:576.

Li Xiong 李雄; Liaodong. XTS 72A:2593 says that Li Xiong, son of Li Bao, served as Chief Clerk to a General of Chariots and Cavalry.

Li Xiu 李脩/修 [Boyou 伯游]; Yingchuan. Son of Li Wu, Li Xiu was a student of the New Text Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* under Fan Shu. He later became Minister of the Household, and in 111 he was appointed Grand Commandant.

That year, as the Qiang rebellion reached its height, the officer Pang Can argued that the empire should withdraw from Liang province. The proposal

was endorsed by the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi, but Li Xiu was persuaded by his subordinate Yu Xu that he should oppose the plan. He gained the support of the other Excellencies, and kinsmen of local officials and members of leading clans were recruited into the imperial service to encourage their loyalty and commitment. In practice, however, the northwest was largely abandoned to the enemy.

Li Xiu left office in 115. -HHS 5:21, 58/48:1866.

Li Xiu 李休 [Zicai 子材] (d.156); Nanyang. A scholar of the classics, with broader interests in divination and other strange arts, Li Xiu was known as the Gentleman of Mysterious Learning 玄文先生. He served as Officer of Merit in his commandery, then attracted the attention of the Excellency Hu Guang and rose in office to become Minister Herald. -Cai 2:8.

Li Xiu 李休 [Zilang 子朗]; Hanzhong? Known for his intelligence and ability in planning, 200 Li Xiu held military command under Zhang Lu, theocratic warlord of Hanzhong. Impressed by his strength, and inspired by a reported fall of sweet dew 甘露, he urged Zhang Lu to take an independent title. Zhang Lu, however, refused.

When Zhang Lu surrendered to Cao Cao in 215 Li Xiu was recognised as one of his leading counsellors and was rewarded with a secondary marquisate. He held court appointment, and served Cao Pi as Administrator of Shangdang and Julu. -SGZ 9:290.

Li Xu 李續; Nanyang [see *sub* Li Yuan]. Li Xu was the grandson of the wealthy Li Yuan, but about 40, when he was still an infant, all his family died of the plague. The household slaves divided the property amongst themselves and intended to kill Li Xu, but he was rescued and taken to Shanyang by the loyal Li Shan.

When Li Xu was ten, Li Shan brought him back to reclaim his inheritance, and the criminals were punished. The matter was reported, and Emperor Guangwu had both Li Xu and Li Shan appointed to the retinue of the Heir. Li Xu later became Chancellor of Hejian. -HHS 81/71:2679-80, XC 5:14b-15a.

XC 5 describes Li Xu as a grandson of Li Yuan; HHS 81/71 refers to him simply as a child 兒.

Li Xu 李緒; Jiangxia. Son of Li Tong, he distinguished himself in the defence against Guan Yu in 219, and in the following year he was made a General of the Household by Cao Pi. -SGZ 18:536.

Li Xuan 李玄. An officer under Cen Peng, general

of Emperor Guangwu, after the warlord Tian Rong of Nan commandery was driven up the Yangzi to take refuge with Gongsun Shu in 29, Li Xuan was left in garrison at Yidao, to maintain defence in depth against any incursion back through the Gorges.

In 30 Gongsun Shu sent Tian Rong in a counter-attack. The advance positions were overrun and the enemy entered the middle Yangzi, but were turned back without permanent effect.

In the spring of 33 Tian Rong and other commanders again attacked, and this time they broke right through the defences and established a position which defied the imperial troops for two years. It is likely that Li Xuan was killed in this campaign, for he is not heard of again. -HHS 17/7:659-60; Bn 59:184-187.

Li Xuan 李宣 [Gongxiu 公休]; Runan. In the middle 150s Li Xuan became a clerk in the office of the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong. When Huang Qiong complained to his staff that the balance of nature was awry and he felt responsible, some sought to encourage him by observing that even the legendary heroes of the past had experienced similar times of ill omen, but they would pass. Li Xuan, however, argued that such a situation required action to restore good government. -HHSJJ 61/51:2222 *jiaobu* quoting Hou Kang.

Li Xuan 李宣; Yingchuan. As Li Xuan's father was dying, he warned Li Xuan that the empire was falling into disorder and advised him that though Zhang Miao was a close friend and Yuan Shao was a kinsman by marriage, Cao Cao was the man to follow. Li Xuan and his brothers took this advice and so the family survived.

Li Xuan's grandfather was Li Ying, but there is disagreement whether he was a son of Li Zan or of Li Jin. Compare HHS 67/57:2197 and XTS 72A:2473.

Li Xuan 李譔 [Qinzhong 欽仲]; Guanghan. Son of Li Ren, Li Xuan joined the suite of Liu Shan, Heir of Shu-Han, who greatly admired his learning and steadily promoted him at his court.

Li Xuan was a prolific scholar of the Old Text, but he enjoyed singing and behaved frivolously, so his work was not well respected. He died about 260. -SGZ Shu 12:1026-27*.

Li Xun 李恂 personal name also miswritten as 珣 [Shuying 叔英]; Anding. Having studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Han, Li Xun became a teacher with several hundred students. The Administrator Li Hong invited him to become

his Officer of Merit, but before he could take up the post he received another invitation to be an Assistant Officer of the province. Just at this time, however, Li Hong died, so Li Xun refused the appointment and instead escorted Li Hong's body back to his home, saw to the raising of his tumulus and maintained mourning for three years.

In the early 80s Li Xun was appointed to the offices of the Excellency Huan Yu, then became an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. Sent with the Staff of Authority to You province, he behaved kindly toward both Chinese and non-Chinese, and prepared a set of maps and a geographical report in over a hundred *juan* 卷. It was presented to the throne as a sealed memorial, and Emperor Zhang was greatly impressed.

Li Xun was made Inspector of Yan province, where he was noted for his honesty and simple living, and was then transferred to be Administrator of Zhangye, where he gained a reputation for firm government.

In 88 Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager, came to the neighbouring commandery of Wuwei, to prepare his great expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. All the other officials of the region went to pay their respects, but Li Xun kept aloof, and Dou Xian reported against him and had him dismissed.

About 91, after the destruction of Dou Xian, Li Xun was named an Internuncio and was then sent with the Staff of Authority to act as Senior Colonel in the Western Regions; this appointment was no doubt made in association with that of Ban Chao as Protector-General.

The Western Regions were extremely wealthy, and the hostage princes of the various states, the local officers and the merchants trading abroad all sought Li Xun's favour with gifts of slaves, horses from Dayuan [Ferghana], gold and silver, perfumes and cashmere cloth. He refused all of them.

The Northern Xiongnu still attempted to interrupt traffic along the Northern Road to the west past Yiwu and Jushi [Turfan], but Li Xun offered rewards for heads of the leaders of the raiders, and when he got them he hung them at the gate of his camp. Thereafter trade proceeded peacefully.

Li Xun was transferred to be Administrator of Wuwei, but was dismissed on account of some fault. He went on foot back to his home country, built a hut for himself in marshland, and lived with his students, weaving mats to provide for himself. At the time of the

Qiang rebellion after 107, Li Xun fell into the hands of the insurgents, but they knew his fine reputation and set him free.

Li Xun then went to Luoyang to apologise for his involvement with the enemy. At this time the harvest had failed and there was famine. The Excellencies Zhang Min and Lu Gong sent their sons to give him food, but he would not accept, and he went to settle in the country west of the capital, and subsisted there upon acorns.

Despite his humble diet, Li Xun lived to the age of ninety-six. -*HHS* 51/41:1683-84*.

Li Xun 李訓; Yingchuan. *XTS* 72A:2473 says that Li Xun was a son of Li Xiu.

Li Xun 李巡; Runan. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates under Emperor Ling, Li Xun was respected for honesty and loyalty and for the fact that, unlike Zhang Rang and others, he did not contend for power.

In 175 Li Xun reported that the texts of the Confucian classics in the library of the Orchid Terrace were being altered by members of the Imperial University to support and fit their own theories. In response, Cai Yong and other scholars memorialised that five classics should be edited and engraved upon stone. Emperor Ling approved, Li Xun took part in the work, and the Stone Classics were completed in 183. See *sub* Cai Yong.

On his own account, Li Xun compiled a commentary to the *Er ya* 爾雅 dictionary. -*HHS* 78/68:2533, Hou Kang:2115; Bn 76:69.

Li Yan 李嚴. As Administrator of Jianwei, Li Yan sent wedding gifts for the expected marriage of his Investigator Wang Chong to the widowed Lady Cheng Zhenjue *q.v.*

Li Yan 李言; Henan. In 170 the local magistrate Li Yan requested that the Qing Dyke on the Ru River in Runan be restored. Endorsed by the Excellency Xu Xun, the project was duly carried out, irrigating a considerable area of farmland. A stele was erected to mark the completion of the work. -*SJZ* 21:18a.

Li Yan 李研; Guiyang. A local bandit leader, he caused widespread trouble in 163, and though he was defeated by Du Shang in 163 he was still active in 165. Chen Qiu was sent as Administrator to deal with him, and settled the disturbance. -*HHS* 7:312-13, 56/46:1831.

Li Yan 酈炎 [Wensheng 文勝] (150-177); Zhuo. Li Yan's family claimed descent from the scholar official Li Yiqi 酈食其 of Chenliu, who had been

enfeoffed with a county in Zhuo by Emperor Gao at the beginning of Former Han. In the time of Emperor Ling Li Yan was known as a man of literary ability, skilled in music and admired for his conversation and repartee. Invited to office by both his province and his commandery, he would not accept, though he expressed his fine ambitions in two poems preserved in his *HHS* biography, and he had other collected works.

Li Yan was extremely sensitive and suffered fits of insanity, and after his mother died his condition grew worse. His wife, who had just given birth, feared for herself and her child, so her family laid an accusation against Li Yan. Because of his illness, he could make no coherent answer to questions, and he died in prison at the age of twenty-eight.

The scholar-official Lu Zhi composed an epitaph for Li Yan, describing his fine qualities. -*HHS* 80/70B: 2647-49*.

Li Yan 李延 (d.190). A member of the alliance against Dong Zhuo, Li Yan was captured and then boiled alive. -*SGZ* 7:178. See also Li Min and Zhang An.

Li Yan 李嚴 also as Li Ping 平 [Zhengfang 正方] (d.234); Nanyang. Having served in a commandery office when he was young, Li Yan had a fine reputation, and the Governor Liu Biao sent him out to inspect his various territories. When Cao Cao came to the province in 208 Li Yan went west into Yi province and he served Liu Zhang well as magistrate of Chengdu.

As Liu Bei attacked in 213 Liu Zhang sent Li Yan against him, but Li Yan went over to the enemy and was promptly appointed a major-general. After Liu Bei's victory he worked with Zhuge Liang, Fa Zheng, Liu Ba and Yin Ji to compile the administrative code *Shu ke* 屬科, and was sent out as Administrator of Jianwei with rank as a full general.

In 218, as Liu Bei was engaged in Hanzhong the bandits Ma Qin and Gao Sheng brought a great army to attack. Unwilling to raise a major force, Li Yan attacked with just five thousand commandery militia. He defeated the enemy and killed their leaders, and went on to defeat the non-Chinese chieftain Gao Dong in Yuexi.

When Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in 219 Li Yan was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. He was given higher title as a general, but remained in Jianwei.

As Liu Bei was dying in 223 he called Li Yan to be Director of the Secretariat, and Li Yan became chief

assistant to Zhuge Liang in the regency government for Liu Shan. In 231, however, he failed to maintain supplies for Zhuge Liang's offensive operations, and when he attempted to cover up the affair he was demoted to common rank and sent into exile. As Zhuge Liang died three years later, Li Yan lost hope of being reinstated; he too died soon afterwards. -SGZ Shu 10:998-1000*.

In 230 Li Yan changed his personal name to Ping 平, but he is referred to by that name in some records of earlier occasions.

Li Yan 李延. Local commandery officers in the late second century, Li Yan and his colleague Ni Xun both suffered from headaches and fever. Though their symptoms were identical the doctor Hua Tuo gave Ni Xun medicine to reduce his temperature, but Li Yan received a draught to bring on sweat. Questioned, he observed that while Ni Xun's problem was external, Li Yan's was internal and needed to be forced out. By the following day both men were cured. -SGZ 29:800.

Li Ye 李業 [Juyou 巨遊]; Guanghan. As a young man, Li Ye acquired local reputation for his sense of honour. He studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Lu interpretation under the Academician Xu Huang 許晃, and in the time of Emperor Ping, about 5 AD, he was recommended as Understanding the Classics and became a gentleman cadet.

Soon afterwards, as Wang Mang seized power, Li Ye left his post on a plea of illness. He retired to his home, closed the gates and ignored summons from both provincial and commandery authorities. The Administrator Liu Xian 劉咸 was particularly insistent that Li Ye become his Officer of Merit, to recommend men for local appointment and as candidates for commission in the civil service. Li Ye did go to call upon Liu Xian, but had himself carried in a litter and still claimed to be ill. Angry at such lack of public spirit, Liu Xian had him arrested and intended to kill him. Members of his staff, however, argued that such an action would reflect badly upon him, so Liu Xian released Li Ye. He then nominated him as Sincere and Upright, and Wang Mang appointed Li Ye to office at court. Again he pleaded illness and left, this time taking refuge in the mountains until the reign of Wang Mang was ended.

Gongsun Shu knew Li Ye's reputation, and when he took the imperial title in 25 he summoned him to be an Academician at his court. Li Ye again excused

himself on grounds of ill health, but after several years Gongsun Shu became angry at the delay. About 30 he therefore sent his Minister Herald Yin Rong with a dose of poison and instructions that Li Ye must accept office as an Excellency or enfeoffment as a marquis, or that he take the potion. Yin Rong urged him to accept appointment, arguing that in time of confusion, with no means to tell which cause was correct, it was meaningless to hold aloof on account of loyalty to the former dynasty. Li Ye, however, quoted the words of Confucius [*Analects* 8:13], that a worthy man would not "enter a state which is going to fall, not stay in one which is disordered." Yin Rong urged him to consider his family, but Li Ye replied that a man with a sense of public conscience can pay no attention to his wife and children. He took the poison.

Gongsun Shu was amazed and ashamed by Li Ye's decision. He sent envoys to the funeral and offered a gift of cloth, but Li Ye's son Hui refused. After the destruction of Gongsun Shu in 36 Emperor Guangwu issued an edict recalling Li Ye's fine conduct, the local histories recorded his story, and portraits were painted in his honour. -HHS 81/71:2668-70*, HYGZ 10C:173-74; Vervorm 90:142-143.

Li Yi 李軼 [Jiwen 季文] (d.25); Nanyang. Member of a leading family of Wan city, capital of the commandery, Li Yi and his cousin Li Tong considered rebellion against the government of Wang Mang, and in 22 Li Yi approached Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was visiting the city. There was a vendetta between the families, and Liu Xiu was suspicious, but after a first meeting with Li Yi and Li Tong's brothers Li Shu and Li Chong, he agreed to meet Li Tong himself and brought in his elder brother Liu Bosheng. The two groups agreed to join in a rising, and in the winter of 22 Li Yi and Liu Xiu raised the standard of revolt in Wan, then went to the rebel rendezvous at Chongling.

Early in 23 Li Yi supported the nomination of the Gengshi Emperor. He was appointed a general, and in the summer of that year he held command among the Han forces at Kunyang. Escaping from the city with Liu Xiu, he took part in the attack from outside which destroyed the army of Wang Xun and Wang Yi.

A few weeks later, Li Yi and Zhu Wei, a leader of the bandit Troops from Xinshi, impeached Liu Bosheng for involvement in the alleged treason of his kinsman Liu Ji. Liu Bosheng and Liu Ji were executed.

After the destruction of Wang Mang at the end

of 23, Li Yi was sent to take Jiyin commandery [known under Wang Mang as Jiping 濟平]. Geng Ai, Administrator for Wang Mang, surrendered and was transferred to Ji'nan, while Li Yi sent his son Geng Chun as an envoy to the north.

In 24, when the Gengshi Emperor awarded fiefs at Chang'an, Li Yi was named as king of a county in Nanyang. Bielenstein observes that the pattern of these grants reflected a changing balance of power, firstly to the advantage of the Nanyang gentry, but also marking the rise of Li Song and Zhao Meng at the expense of others. Later that year Li Yi was sent out under the command of Zhu Wei to hold Luoyang against the threats from Liu Xiu and the Red Eyebrows in the east.

Early in 25 Guangwu's general Feng Yi secretly invited Li Yi to surrender. Li Yi replied that he wished to make peace, and he halted his operations so that Feng Yi was able to consolidate his position in the north, cross the Yellow River and occupy territory east of Luoyang. Moreover, when Wu Bo the Gengshi Administrator of Henan attempted to attack and was defeated, Li Yi kept the gates of Luoyang closed against him so that he was isolated and killed. Feng Yi told Guangwu of the agreement, but Guangwu recalled how Li Yi had betrayed his brother Liu Bosheng. He refused to make any agreement and published the correspondence. Zhu Wei had Li Yi killed. -*HHS* 14/4: 549-52, 17/7:642-43; Bn 54:102-105, 119-121, Bn 59: 35-37, 51-57, 102-103.

Li Yi 李邑. A captain of palace guards, in 83 Li Yi was sent on embassy with gifts to the Wusun people of the Tian Shan ranges. When he came to the Western Regions he reported that Ban Chao's plans were over-ambitious and doomed to failure, and he criticised Ban Chao for keeping his family with him in the west, rather than as quasi-hostages in China.

Ban Chao, embarrassed, sent his family back, but Emperor Zhang recognised his good faith, reprimanded Li Yi, and told him that he was answerable to Ban Chao. When the Wusun accepted Han hegemony and sent hostages, Ban Chao had Li Yi escort them to Luoyang, remarking that he was glad to be rid of a disloyal trouble-maker. -*HHS* 47/37:1577-79.

Li Yi 李儀, the Lady (d.99). Wife and then widow of Liu Xian, King of Chen, the Lady was hated by his son and successor Liu Jun. In 99 Liu Jun had his retainer Wei Jiu kill her and members of her household. -*HHS*

50/40:1668.

Li Yi 李益 see *sub* Li Liang 李諒.

Li Yi 李奔 see *sub* Li Hu 李護.

Li Yi 李禕; Guanghan? Grand Administrator of Zangke in the first part of the second century, Li Yi had a troubled household. He frequently expressed admiration for the harmony which reigned between the Lady Wen Ji, wife of Wang Tang, and her daughter-in-law Yang Jin. -*HYGZ* 10B:159.

Li Yi 李翊 [Fuguo 輔國] (120-173); Zangke. Claiming descent from an established official family, Li Yi became known for scholarship and moral worth. He held commandery appointment as an Investigator, Officer of Merit and a brevet magistrate. In 163 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet, but fell ill and returned home.

Soon afterwards Li Yi received a special commission from Yi province to take appointment as a captain 候 in the Dependent State of Guanghan, and he served there with distinction until 168, when he left office in mourning for the death of one of his parents. We are told that he was invited several times to return to office, but remained in retirement and died a few years later. A stele was set up in his honour, and another for his wife, the Lady Zang. -*LS* 9:7a-8b, 12:16a-17b.
Li Yi 李義 [Xiaoyi 孝懿]; Zuopingyi. Li Yi and his colleague Yan Gan both came from the east of the commandery, which had never produced an imperial official. Despite their commoner status, they were generous men of high ability. At the end of the 180s, when both were about twenty years old, Li Yi was known to the leading clans of the region for his knowledge of ritual, particularly funerals.

Many people fled when the capital region fell into disorder in the 190s, but Li Yi and Yan Gan stayed behind and maintained a self-defence group for those who were otherwise lost. In the late 190s, as a measure of control was restored under Cao Cao's Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, the western part of Zuopingyi was separated from the east to form the new commandery of Zuoneishi; the east kept its name. Li Yi's home country was in the west, but because of their close association he stayed with Yan Gan in the east, and both men rose to high local office.

Li Yi was then sent to the capital as Reporting Officer for the commandery, became a magistrate in the region of Chang'an, and then an officer of the household guards. In 213 he was appointed to Cao

Cao's military staff, and also held senior office in the Secretariat of the new state of Wei.

As Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he appointed Li Yi a Counsellor Remonstrant, then Bearer of the Mace and then Minister of the Guards. Li Yi died in office about 225. -SGZ 23:674-75.

Li Yi 李異. In 201 Li Yi was an officer under Zhao Wei, who had rebelled against the warlord Governor of Yi province Liu Zhang. The rebels were defeated and Zhao Wei withdrew to Jiangling, but as Liu Zhang's army approached Li Yi and his colleague Pang Yue killed Zhao Wei and surrendered.

In 211 Li Yi was a senior officer under Liu Zhang. -SGZ Shu 1:868-69. See also Li Yi immediately below.

Li Yi 李異. In 219 Li Yi led Lu Xun's fleet to hold Liu Bei's forces on the Yangzi while Lü Meng attacked Guan Yu.

In 221 Li Yi and Liu A commanded the forward line of defence on the Gorges. They were driven back by Liu Bei's initial attack, but after his defeat by Lu Xun in the following year they returned to hold the advance position against him. -SGZ Wu 13:1345, Shu 2:890.

In SGZJJ Shu 2:36a, Zhao Yiqing suggests that this may be the same man as the Li Yi above: as a former officer of Liu Zhang, opposed to Liu Bei, he may have found occasion to transfer to Sun Quan.

Li Yin 李音; Nanyang. Eldest son of Liu Tong and the Princess Liu Boyi, sister of Emperor Guangwu, in 42 he succeeded to his father's fief. -HHS 15/5:576.

Li Ying 李膺 [Yuanli 元禮] (d.169); Yingchuan. Son of Li Liang/Yi and grandson of the Grand Commandant Li Xiu, Li Ying was born about 110. He was a reserved man of high standards, and his only friends were Xun Shu and Chen Shi.

During the 130s Li Ying was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. Reforms lately introduced by Zuo Xiong required candidates to be at least forty years old, but it appears Li Ying's abilities allowed an exception. Joining the offices of the Excellency Hu Guang, he was graded First Class and in the mid-140s he was Inspector of Qing province. The local heads of commanderies and county magistrates feared and respected him, and many left office rather than face his enquiries.

Li Ying was then Administrator in Yuyang and in Shu. Ruling with authority and generosity, he gave clear legal decisions, encouraged learning and restored the schooling system. Both Yi province and the imperial

court recognised his achievements and ability. He left office on account of his mother's death, but later became Protector of the Wuhuan. When the Xianbi raided the borders Li Ying personally led the counter-attack, inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, pursued them and brought them to heel. Dismissed for some fault, he established a private academy which attracted thousands of students, but he refused admission to Fan Ling, who later became an ally of the eunuchs and rose to be Grand Commandant.

In 156, as the Xianbi chieftain Tanshihuai began to raid the frontier, Li Ying was recalled to be General on the Liao. Xianbi raids continued, but it is claimed that Li Ying had some success and that he also settled disturbances among the Qiang people further west.

After the destruction of the Liang clan in 159, Li Ying was called to the capital as Intendant of Henan. With great personal prestige, he was an early sponsor of the moral judge Guo Tai, while his investigations brought about the disgrace of Huang Yun and Jin Wenjing. About 164 he was sentenced to convict service after he attacked the influential Yang Yuanqun, who arranged counter accusations, while his colleagues Feng Gun and Liu You were likewise imprisoned for their opposition to the eunuchs. The Director of Retainers Ying Feng argued in their favour, however, and after some months the three men were released.

Li Ying then succeeded Ying Feng as Director of Retainers. He executed the eunuch kinsman Zhang Shuo, and though the eunuchs complained Emperor Huan approved his actions. So the eunuchs were now afraid of Li Ying, while he was vastly admired for his composure in difficult times. The students chanted his praises, his name appeared high on their lists of heroes, and those gentlemen whom he received in person were considered to have "climbed the Dragon Gates" 登龍門 and would rise to greatness.

In 166, probably in the autumn, Li Ying revisited the case of Zhang Cheng, who had arranged for his son to kill a man in anticipation of an amnesty. The actual incident probably took place earlier, when Li Ying was Intendant of Henan, but he now discovered the details of the trick and had the murderer executed. At this point the palace eunuchs had Zhang Cheng's disciple Lao Xiu accuse Li Ying and his fellow-reformists of protecting unruly students at the University and seeking support for their own interests. They accused them of faction 黨; Emperor Huan was furious, and

despite protests from the Grand Commandant Chen Fan it was ordered that Li Ying and others should be dismissed and sent to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, controlled by the eunuchs. This was the beginning of the First Faction Incident.

Though a number escaped, the prisoners eventually numbered two hundred. They were held for several months, but there was continuing protest at such treatment of loyal gentlemen, and the eunuchs themselves became concerned that their own associates might be implicated. In the late summer of 167 there was an amnesty and the men were released. They were allowed to return to home, but their names were recorded and they were to be proscribed from office for the rest of their lives. Li Ying retired into the hills, where great numbers of gentlemen came to pay their respects. They regarded the court with contempt, and after Chen Fan was dismissed from office Li Ying was seen as the leader of the reformist community.

At the end of the year Emperor Huan died; his Empress, now Dowager, Dou took the regency for the new ruler Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, while her father Dou Wu controlled the court with Chen Fan as Grand Tutor. Early in 168 Li Ying and many of his associates were recalled to the capital and Li Ying became Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager. In the autumn, however, Chen Fan and Dou Wu were destroyed by the eunuchs' coup, and Li Ying and his comrades were once more dismissed and proscribed.

There were attempts by sympathisers to bring Li Ying and other senior colleagues back into the circles of power, and continuing agitation among the students at the University, while the eunuch group attempted by repeated edicts to confirm the disgrace of their enemies. Eventually the oath-taking of Zhang Jian and his friends from Shanyang provided an excuse to revive the charge of faction, and on 25 November 169 the young Emperor Ling was persuaded to issue an edict for the arrest of Li Ying and those who had earlier been involved with him: this was the Second Faction Incident.

Though Li Ying was offered opportunity to escape, he refused to take it and accepted responsibility for his actions as an official. He and many others died in prison under torture, their families were exiled and their students and former subordinates were proscribed; the latter exclusion attached even to fathers and brothers. -

HHS 67/57:2191-97* & 2187-88, *XC* 4:5b; Mather 76:549, deC 89.

Li Ying 李應; Hanzhong. A cousin of Li Jue, Li Ying had served as a clerk under the minister Zhao Wen. As Zhao Wen remonstrated with Li Jue in 195, Li Jue intended to kill him, but Li Ying dissuaded him. -*SGZ* 6:184.

Li Yiqi 李意其; Shu. Described as an immortal 仙人, Li Yiqi was believed to have been born in the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han during the second century BC. Consulted by Liu Bei as he prepared to attack Sun Quan in Jing province in 221, Li Yiqi foretold the failure of the expedition and the day of Liu Bei's death. -*SGZ* Shu 2:891 PC quoting the fourth century *Shenxian zhuan*.

Li [Yizi] 李移子. A silk-merchant, in the mid-190s Li Yizi became a favourite of the north-western warlord Gongsun Zan and was treated by him like a brother. -*SGZ* 8:245.

Li Yo 李樂 [*i.e.* Li Yue] see Li Le 李樂. -Needham 71:277.

Li Yong 李顥 [De'ang 德印]; Ba. In 176 the non-Chinese people of Yizhou commandery rebelled. They captured the Administrator Yong Zhi, and an expedition led by Zhu Gui, head of the Censorate, was unsuccessful. The court was considering abandoning the territory, but Li Yong, who was at that time a clerical officer under the Grand Commandant Chen Dan, put forward a plan to deal with the trouble.

Li Yong was accordingly named Administrator of Yizhou. Joined by the Inspector Pang Zhi, he called up the neighbouring Banshun people to help him attack the rebels. The territory was settled and the captive Yong Zhi was freed.

Li Yong died soon afterwards. -*HHS* 8:337, 86/76:2843, 2847, *HYGZ* 12:219.

Li Yong 李永; Chenliu. A member of the local gentry and a former magistrate, some time in the 180s Li Yong had a vendetta with the Liu clan of a neighbouring county. The self-styled knight-errant Dian Wei resolved to act as a champion of the Liu.

Though Li Yong had an attentive group of guards, Dian Wei pretended to be a merchant and rode up to the gates of his residence in a cart laden with chickens and wine. When the gates were opened he went in with a dagger hidden in his clothing and killed both Li Yong and his wife. -*SGZ* 18:543-44.

Li You 李由. Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk under

Emperor Guangwu, in 28 Li You was sent to the warlord Qing Feng in Nan commandery with a sealed letter and a summons to surrender. Qin Feng, however, shouted abuse and refused to submit. -HHS 22/12: 770.

Li You 李尤 [Boren 伯仁]; Guanghan. Celebrated for his literary skill when still young, Li You was praised by Jia Kui as continuing the tradition of talent from the west established by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han. He held appointment in the library of the Eastern Pavilion, and was commissioned by both Emperor Ming and Emperor He to compose rhapsodies, inscriptions and hymns for ceremonial buildings such as the Hall of the Circular Moat. Liu You later transferred to the Orchid Terrace, and after various other appointments he became a Counsellor Remonstrant in the reign of Emperor An.

In 120 Li You was commissioned to work with Liu Zhen, Liu Taotu and Liu Yi on the official history of Later Han, later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. The history had been started by Ban Gu and others under orders from Emperor Ming as the "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記. This second instalment contained annals for the period 58 to 106, being the reigns of Emperors Ming, Zhang, He and the infant Shang, together with tables and biographies of leading men, imperial relatives by marriage and noted scholars, and the whole compilation was now entitled *Han ji* "Record of Han."

In 124 Li You joined the demonstrators led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though they achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne at the end of 125 they were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. Li You became Chancellor of Le'an.

Li You died at the age of eighty-three. Besides his work on the history, he left twenty-eight *pian* of poems, rhapsodies, hymns, memorial and inscription writings, together with *Qi tan* 七歎 "Seven Laments" and *Ai dian* 哀典 "An Account of Mourning." -HHS 80/70A:2616*, 15/5:591-93, HYGZ 10B:146.

Li You 李幼; Chen. When the false apparition of Zhang Hanzhi q.v. appeared to his sister in a dream, it said that he had bought an ox from Li You. -FSTY 9:71.

Li Yu 李育 I; Zhao. A leader of local gentry, in 23 Li Yu joined Liu Lin and Zhang Can to support the claims of Wang Lang to the imperial title; as Wang Lang took the throne he named Li Yu his Grand Marshal. When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, attacked Zhao, Li Yu defeated him with a surprise attack, but in the summer Wang Lang was destroyed, and Li Yu is not heard of again. -HHS 1A:14, 12/2:491-92; Bn 59:71.

Li Yu 李育 II. An officer under Gongsun Shu, in 27 Li Yu was sent with troops to assist the warlord Lü Wei in Youfufeng, but they were defeated by Guangwu's general Feng Yi.

In 32 Li Yu was again sent north to aid Wei Ao in Tianshui. For several months he and his colleague Tian Yan joined the attack on Lai Xi's forlorn hope in Lueyang, but they failed to take the city and were driven off when Guangwu's main army arrived. Li Yu and Tian Yan retreated to Shanggui in Tianshui, near Wei Ao's refuge in Xi city of southern Longxi. At the end of the year Wang Yuan came with reinforcements from Gongsun Shu and the sieges were broken.

Li Yu returned to the south and took part in the final campaigns which ended with the death of Gongsun Shu at the end of 36. After their surrender, he and other enemy leaders noted for their ability were given office by Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 13/3:537 & 528 & 544.

There is another reference to a man named Li Yu about this time. HHS 13/3:513 says that in 23 Wang Mang's administrator of Tianshui, whose name is not given, was killed by the Wei 隗 clan and their associates; Bn 54:123. HS 99C:4187, however, says that the name of the administrator was Li Yu, but that he was only "kidnapped" 劫: Dubs 55:456. Though unlikely, it is possible this man survived and made his way south into Gongsun Shu's service.

Li Yu 李育 III see *sub* Li Yu II above.

Li Yu 李育 IV [Yuanchun 元春]; Youfufeng. As a young man Li Yu studied the Gongyang interpretation of *Chunqiu*, gaining deep understanding of the text together with a broad knowledge of the classics. He was celebrated in the University. His fellow-countryman Ban Gu recommended him to Liu Cang, brother of Emperor Ming who was King of Dongping and also General of Agile Cavalry, and through this connection Li Yu became favoured by the nobility about the capital. He was invited to local office by his commandery and by the provincial government, but when he arrived he pleaded illness and left again.

Li Yu became a private teacher, with several hundred students. He read widely among works of the Old Text tradition, including *Zuo zhuan*, but regarded them as superficial expositions of the deep intentions of the sage Confucius. Believing that the debates of Chen Yuan and Fan Sheng in the previous generation had relied too heavily upon prognostications and apocrypha, and paid insufficient attention to reality, he composed a discussion in forty-one topics on "Errors in *Zuo zhuan*" 難左傳義 *Nan Zuo zhuan yi*.

Nominated as Sincere and Upright by the minister Ma Liao in 76, Li Yu was appointed a Consultant. He then became an Academician at the Imperial University, and was a leader of the opposition to Emperor Zhang's patronage of Jia Kui and his Old Text interests. In 79 he took part in the celebrated conference in the White Tiger Hall, which formally confirmed the primacy of New Text teachings.

Liu Yu was later Director of the Imperial Secretariat, but when the Ma family was disgraced in 83 he suffered for his earlier association and was dismissed. He was appointed again a few years later, this time as a Palace Attendant, and died in that office. -HHS 79/69B:2582*; Tjan 49:156-163.

Li Yu 李育 V. After Li Yu was attacked by a man, he gathered retainers and avenged himself, presumably by killing the offender. He was arrested and liable to be executed, but his elder brother Li Hong committed suicide in his stead. We are told that the local magistrate was deeply affected by such self-sacrifice, and it seems likely that Li Yu was allowed to go free. -XC 6:12b-13a.

Li Yu 李餘; Hanzhong. Li Yu's elder brother killed a man and then fled. Their father was dead and their mother was liable to execution in the murderer's place. Li Yu, then age thirteen, went to offer himself as a substitute. Though he was refused because he was too young, he nonetheless killed himself. The affair was reported to the county magistrate, to the commandery and then to the throne. The emperor made a donation for the funeral and Li Yu's portrait was painted on the wall of the local *yamen*. -HYGZ 10C:175.

Li Yu 李圉. Li Yu was a younger brother of the Excellency Li Gu. In 147, as Li Gu was about to be executed, he wrote Li Yu a letter which is recorded in SJZ 33:5a.

Li Yu 李禹 [Jishi 季士]; Jianwei. Having served as an Assistant Officer in Yi province, Li Yu was

recommended Filial and Incorrupt. He became a county magistrate in Ba commandery and in Hanzhong and was then a Commandant in Charge of Agriculture, responsible for agricultural colonies.

As Assistant in Youfufeng in the mid-150s, Li Yu arranged major roadwork in the mountains, which was commemorated with a stele. -Nagata 94:120.

Li Yu 李玉 (d.213); Yuzhang. A leader of bandits in the east of Poyang, Li Yu was destroyed by He Qi in 213. -SGZ Wu 15:1379.

Li Yuan 李元; Nanyang. A wealthy gentleman, Li Yuan and his family died of the plague about 40, leaving only his infant son Li Xu. The household slaves divided his goods amongst themselves, but Li Xu was rescued by the loyal Li Shan. -HHS 81/71:2679-80, XC 5:14b. [XC describes Li Yuan as a man of Jiyang 濟陽, a county in Chenliu, but HHS 81/71, reading 南 for 濟, appears the more likely version.]

Li Yuan 李元. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Li Yuan took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquissate in Runan.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Li Yuan and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. Li Yuan was appointed a Commandant of Cavalry.

Later Li Yuan was among a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Li Yuan 李元; Guanghan. Father of the Lady Li Ping, after her husband Yang Wen died Li Yuan wanted her to marry again. She refused, and attempted to drown herself in protest. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Li Yuan 李元; Zangke. A local gentleman in the early 160s, Li Yuan got drunk with the Inspector Hou Can, brother of the palace eunuch Hou Lan. The two men quarrelled, at first light-heartedly, but Hou Can then accused Li Yuan of blasphemy and had him killed. -XC 3:6a.

Li Yuan 李元 miswritten for Li Chong 李充 of Chenliu. -XC 6:1a.

Li Yue 李樂 see Li Le 李樂.

Li Yun 李惲 (d.24). As the army of Liu Xiu, future

Emperor Guangwu, was advancing through Changshan to attack Wang Lang, he halted at the city of He. A member of the powerful Su family opened the gates and invited Wang Lang's officer Li Yun to bring troops and surprise the Han. Liu Xiu's officer Geng Chun, however, discovered the plot, fought with Li Yun, defeated and killed him. -HHS 21/11:762.

Li Yun 李雲 [Xingzu 行祖] (d.159); Qinghe/Ganling. In 159 Li Yun was magistrate of Boma county in Dong commandery. Like many members of the court and the bureaucracy, he resented the generous treatment which Emperor Huan showed to the eunuchs Shan Chao, Zuo Guan and others who had assisted him to overthrow Liang Ji, and he also objected to the favours shown to the relatives of the new Empress Deng [or Bo] Mengnü. Taking occasion from a number of avalanches and other portents, Li Yun sent in an open memorial, with copies to the Excellencies, criticising the emperor's policy.

The memorial is preserved in HHS 57/47. It is outspoken and eloquent, but quite inappropriate for such a junior official. At one point, moreover, Li Yun cited words attributed to Confucius, that "to be an emperor is to be a judge" 帝者諦也, then asserted that the ruler's laxity in granting rewards showed that "the Emperor does not wish to act as a judge."

Emperor Huan was furious, and he had Li Yun arrested and examined by torture. Many senior officials pleaded for leniency, and the eunuch Guan Ba, who was in charge of the interrogation, argued that Li Yun was no more than a silly fellow from the country and was not worth punishing. The comment about the emperor and the judge, however, had touched the sovereign to the quick, and he would not relent. Li Yun died in prison.

Another junior officer, Du Chong, sympathised with Li Yun and asked to share his fate. His wish was granted.

The deaths of Li Yun and Du Chong marked the end of whatever honeymoon period the new regime of imperial personal rule might have hoped for, and their sad fates were frequently cited by the Confucianist reformers against Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies.

Many years later Jia Cong, Governor of Ji province, presented sacrifices at Li Yun's tomb and set up a stele in his honour. -HHS 57/47:1851-52*, SJZ 9:26b-27a; deC 89:18-20.

Li Yun 李允; Jiangxia. Well-treated by Sun Jiao, Sun Quan's commander in the west about 215, Li Yun was a devoted officer. As an aide responsible for dealings with civilians, he later served Sun Jiao's brother Huan with similar commitment. -SGZ Wu 6:1207-08.

Li Yusheng 李羽生, the Lady. A female slave in the household of a former Tutor to Liu Yan, King of Zhongshan, about 95 she was taken as a secondary wife 小妻 by Liu Dang, King of Lecheng. -HHS 50/40:1672.

Li Zan 李讚 see *sub* Li Hu 李護.

Li Zan 李讚 or Li Kui 珪; Yingchuan. Li Zan was a son of Li Ying. HHS 67/57:2197 and YSS:17a-b say that he became Chancellor of Dongping, and that as he was dying he urged Li Xuan and his other sons to follow Cao Cao in the coming civil war, even though Zhang Miao was a close friend and there were family connections to Yuan Shu. The family took his advice and so survived the troubles. XTS 72A:2473, however, ascribes all this to Li Zan's brother Li Jin and describes Li Xuan as a son of Li Jin.

Li Ze 李則; Chenliu. In the 150s Li Ze accompanied Cai Yong as a student to the imperial capital. -HHSJJ 60/50B:2140 Hui Dong.

Li Zhang 李章 [Digong 第公]; Henei. A man of high official family, Li Zhang taught the Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu* in the New Text tradition; he also held local office in the commandery and the province. When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to Henei in 23 he invited Li Zhang to join his staff. Li Zhang accompanied him on his various campaigns, and when Guangwu took the throne in 25 he appointed him a county magistrate in Dong commandery. Zhao Kang, member of a leading local family, had gathered a large following, set up an encampment, and plundered the people. Li Zhang invited him to a banquet, then killed him and a hundred of his men, and went on to destroy the remainder of his following in camp. The county became peaceful.

In 29 Li Zhang was transferred to be Administrator of Qiansheng, a territory lately under the control of the warlord Zhang Bu. He again put down resistance with a firm hand, but this time he was accused of excess and was sent to prison for a time. A few months later he was appointed to the Imperial Censorate and was then made Administrator of Langye, which had also been part of Zhang Bu's holding.

When Xiachang Si, head of a leading family in

neighbouring Beihai, rose in rebellion and kidnapped the Administrator Ju Xing, Li Zhang raised a thousand men to go to the rescue. One of his clerks protested that it was forbidden for an Administrator to act outside his own territory, while Beihai was even in another province. Taking up his sword, Li Zhang swore that he would rather be executed than fail to assist a colleague in need. He attacked the rebels' stronghold, sent volunteers to burn the gates, killed Xiachang Si and captured three hundred of his followers, then restored Ju Xing to his position. He also collected five hundred head of cattle and horses, which he distributed among his troops. The matter was reported to the throne, but no action was taken for his breach of regulations.

Li Zhang was later found guilty of presenting false reports on arable land and population [see *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming], but because of his previous good work he was sentenced only to two year's convict service and was in fact released after only a few weeks. Recalled to office, he became ill and died.

Fan Ye classified Li Zhang as a Stern Official 酷吏. -HHS 77/67:2492-93*; Bn 59:180, Bn 79:134-139.

Li Zhang 李章; Longxi. In the autumn of 86 Li Zhang was a commandery officer in charge of beacon fires 督烽掾 when a raiding party of the Qiang entered the frontier. Li Zhang pursued them and captured the chieftain Haoyu. -HHS 87/77:2881.

Li Zhang 李張 see Li Chang 李偃. -FSTY 5:37-38.

Li Zhao 李朝 see Li Chao 李朝.

Li Zhao 李昭; Jiujiang or Runan. When Xun Shu was a county magistrate he discovered and appointed Li Zhao to local office. Xun Shu served in Jiujiang and in Runan, and it is not possible to say which territory Li Zhao came from; he is not mentioned again. -ZF:8b, SGZ 10:307.

Li Zhao 李昭 [Boming 伯明] (d.118). Li Zhao became a gentleman cadet, served in the county administration of Luoyang, and later held office in Jianwei. He was admired for his loyalty and filial piety, and a stele was erected to his memory. -LHJSJ 14:21a-b, Beitu 1:43.

This may be the same man as the Li Zhao of Yingchuan who was the son of Li Hu and brother of the Excellency Li Wu.

Li Zhen 禮震 [Zhongwei 仲威] (23-?); Pingyuan. In 39 the Excellency Ouyang Xi was due to be executed on multiple charges of bribery. Li Zhen, at that time aged seventeen, came in bonds to a county office in Henei and presented a petition. Emphasising the importance

of Ouyang Xi to the world of scholarship, he offered to die in his stead. The gesture was unavailing, for Ouyang Xi was already dead, but Emperor Guangwu did grant him posthumous honours and, admiring Li Zhen's sense of honour, appointed him a gentleman cadet. Later, however, Li Zhen was himself found guilty of some fault; he became chief of stables at the court of Huaiyang. -HHS 79/69A:2556, XC 5:9a.

Li Zhen 李禎; Beidi. In the early 190s Li Zhen was a Palace Attendant at Chang'an. The general Li Jue insisted upon attending court armed with knives and swords, and he was concerned that the emperor's attendants did the same. Li Zhen, a fellow-countryman who had some old acquaintance with him, reassured Li Jue that it was no more than established custom. -SGZ 6:184.

Li Zhen 李禎; Shanyang. Son of Li Dian, about 206 he succeeded to his fief. -SGZ 18:534.

Li Zheng 李政; Yingchuan. In 175 Li Zheng was Assistant to Zhang Chong the Administrator of Jiyin. He joined a group of local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple of the sage Emperor Yao 堯. -LS 1:5a-7b.

Li Zheng 李整 (d.195); Jiyin. Son of Li Qian, after his father's death in 194 he took over his troops and raised more men to defeat Lü Bu's officers Xue Lan and Li Feng. He joined Cao Cao for the reconquest of the rest of Yan province and was then named Inspector of Qing province. Soon afterwards, however, Li Zheng died. -SGZ 18:533.

Li Zhi 李志; Yingchuan. XTS 72A:2473 describes Li Zhi as a son of Li Jin and a grandson of Li Ying.

Li Zhong 李忠 [Zhongdu 仲都 or Zhongqing 仲卿] (d.43); Donglai. Since his father was Commandant of a kingdom, about 5 AD Li Zhong was given privileged *ren* appointment as a gentleman cadet at the court of Emperor Ping of Former Han. He was noted for his courtesy and fine conduct.

Li Zhong then became Commandant of Xinbo 信博 [Xindu commandery of Han] under the government of Wang Mang. He was respected and trusted by the people, and after the restoration of Han under the Gengshi Emperor in 23 he was confirmed in his appointment by the regional commissioner Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu.

That winter the pretender Wang Lang took the imperial title and the greater part of the north accepted his claim. Ren Guang the Administrator of Xindu,

however, remained loyal to Han, and Li Zhong joined him in raising troops, welcoming Liu Xiu and assisting in a counter-attack. As Ren Guang was named Chief General on the Left, Li Zhong received parallel appointment on the Right and was enfeoffed as a marquis of title; to confirm the appointment Liu Xiu took off his own insignia and tied the seal and ribbon to Li Zhong's waist.

Early in the campaign Li Zhong was praised for not joining in the plunder of a surrendered city in Zhongshan, and Liu Xiu gave him his own fine horse and special robes of honour. Soon afterwards, as the army was besieging the capital of Julu, Wang Lang sent a detachment against Xindu and Ma Chong, member of a leading family in the city, opened the gates and let the enemy in. Li Zhong's mother and his wife were captured, and the rebels sent members of Li Zhong's household to call on him to change sides. On the contrary, Li Zhong arrested and killed Ma Chong's younger brother, who had been serving as a colonel in his command. When other officers expressed shock at such ferocity, Li Zhong explained that he did not want his loyalty to be questioned.

In admiration, Liu Xiu gave him permission to leave his ranks and go back to Xindu, and he offered 100,000 cash so he might ransom his kinsmen and clients. Li Zhong refused. After an unsuccessful attack by Ren Guang, Xindu city was recaptured by troops of the Gengshi Emperor led by Xie Gong, and Li Zhong's family were rescued unharmed. Li Zhong was made Acting Administrator, and he executed several hundred members of leading families who were supporters of Wang Lang.

Ren Guang then returned to be Administrator and Li Zhong was Commandant once more, but he also received a substantive fief, with a county in Zhuo commandery and revenue from 3,000 households. Later that year he was named General of the Household for All Purposes, and in 28 he took part in the campaigns against Pang Meng and Dong Xian in the south of present-day Shandong.

In 30 Li Zhong was appointed Administrator of Danyang. Some pockets of trouble remained from the civil war, but he soon settled these, combining rewards for surrender with fierce punishment for recalcitrance. Because the indigenous Yue people of the region had no concern for learning, while their customs, notably marriage, were alien to the Chinese, Li Zhong

established schools and emphasised Confucian rituals. He held ceremonies in spring and autumn to honour the aged, and gave local office to men who knew the classics. His rule was successful and popular, there was a vast increase in cultivated land, and tens of thousands of refugees came to settle. In 38 the Excellencies at court assessed his administration as Number One 第一 in the empire.

Li Zhong was later transferred to Yuzhang commandery, but left office because he suffered from rheumatism in the damp climate. He was invited to the imperial capital, and died there in 43. Recognising him as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had Li Zhong's portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 22/12:789-91*, 21/11; Bn 76:26, Bn 59:74-75, Bn 79: 83.

Li [Zhong-?] 李仲-; Yingchuan. A local scholar, he was a teacher of Jing Luan. -HYGZ 10C:174. Zhong was evidently the first character of this man's style, but the present text of HYGZ lacks the second character.

Li [Zhongzeng] 李中曾. Assistant in the Dependent State of Shu commandery, in 164 he joined the Commandant Xin Tongda in the construction of an important bridge. -LS 15:4b-7b.

Li Zhu 李助 [Wengjun 翁君]; Guanghan. A master of magic and skilled in medicine, Li Zhu compiled *Jingfang songshuo* 經方頌說 "Eulogy and Explanation of the Classical Arts." His reputation matched that of his fellow-countryman Guo Yu. -HYGZ 10C:175.

Li Zhuan 李譔 [Qinzhong 欽仲 or Zhongqin 仲欽]; Guanghan. Son of Li Ren, Li Zhuan succeeded to the tradition of his father and of Yin Mo in the study of New Text Confucianism, as opposed to the more eclectic interpretations of Zheng Xuan. He acquired wide learning in the classics and other philosophical schools, while he was also skilled in divination, medicine, mathematics and mechanics. His opinions became similar to those presented by Wang Su of Wei.

Li Zhuan was a clerical officer under Liu Bei as Governor of Yi province and then a member of his imperial Secretariat. He held office at court under Li Shan and was appointed to tutor the Heir Liu Xuan 劉璿. -SGZ Shu 12:1026-27, HYGZ 10B:176.

Li Zi 李兹 or **Li Ci 慈** [Jigong 季公] (d.147); Hanzhong. Son of Li Gu, Li Zi held office about Luoyang. In 147,

as Li Gu realised that he would be destroyed by Liang Ji, he ordered Li Zi and his brothers back to their home country. Li Zi and Li Ji, however, were executed by local authorities in Yi province, and Li Xie was the only male of the family to escape. -HHS 63/53:2088-89.

Li [Zichun] 李子春; Henei. Formerly Chancellor of Langye, during the late 30s Li Zichun was head of a powerful local family in Henei, deeply resented by the people. When Zhao Xi was appointed as magistrate, he immediately arrested Li Zichun's grandsons on a charge of murder. They committed suicide, and Zhao Xi arrested and questioned Li Zichun himself and intended to kill him.

Many people in the capital appealed on Li Zichun's behalf, but without effect, and the King of Zhao Liu Liang, then on his deathbed, appealed directly to his nephew Emperor Guangwu. The emperor initially refused his plea, but when Liu Liang died soon afterwards he gave orders for Li Zichun's release. -HHS 26/16:913-14; Ch'ü 72:458.

Li Zidu 力子都 or Diao Zidu 刁子都 (d.24); Donghai. Between 15 and 18 Li Zidu emerged as a leader of local bandits, largely recruited from refugees displaced by the flooding of the Yellow River over the previous ten years. His group was for some time associated with the Red Eyebrows [see *sub* Fan Chong], but when the main horde moved west Li Zidu remained in Yan and Xu provinces on the North China plain. As the Gengshi Emperor established his new government in 23, Li Zidu offered submission. He was named Governor of Xu province, but was soon afterwards murdered by his own followers. -HHS 21/11:753; Dubs 55:379, Bn 59:41.

Li [Ziyun] 李子雲; Pingyuan: see Li Tan 李曇.

Li [Zizheng] 李子政; Taiyuan. A fellow-countryman of Guo Tai, Li Zizheng was sponsored by him and became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Lian Fan 廉范/範 [Shudu 叔度]; Jingzhao. Lian Fan was descended from a long line of officials, and many of his forebears had served on the frontier. His great-grandfather Lian Bao 褒 had been a chief general at the end of Former Han, and his grandfather Dan 丹 was Governor of Yi province and a general under Wang Mang [QHx:237]. Lian Dan died in battle against the Red Eyebrows in 22, and Lian Fan's father died in the far west during the civil war. Lian Fan and his family were exiled there, but after the fall of Gongsun Shu in

36 they were able to return to their home country.

About 40, at the age of fifteen Lian Fan went to bring his father's body from the west. Zhang Mu the Administrator of Shu commandery, who had served under Lian Dan, offered assistance, but Lian Fan arranged the transport with his own retainers. As they were crossing a river their boat struck a rock and sank. Lian Fan clasped the coffin, and his attendants searched for him with grappling hooks and saved him. It is implied Lian Fan held onto the coffin because of filial piety, but Bielenstein, more cynically, suggests he was seeking to save himself with something which might float. Still refusing outside aid, Lian Fan returned with his father's body and fulfilled the funerary rites.

Before he left, he had given a thousand acres of good land to the family retainer Mao Zhong. Mao Zhong died before Lian Fan came back, but left instructions in his will for his son Mao Shu to return the property. When Mao Shu sought to do so, Lian Fan insisted he keep it, for he believed that the constancy shown by Mao Shu and his father was more important than his family's ownership: the loyalty of men was more important than the possession of things.

Lian Fan then studied at Luoyang under Xue Han, Academician for the Han school of the *Classic of Poetry*, and became well known. Because of his family's long connection with the frontier, Lian Fan was eligible for nomination to office not only in his native Jingzhao but also in Longxi. Both administrations invited him, but he did not accept until about 60, when Deng Rong the Administrator of Longxi sent a most courteous request and Lian Fan agreed to become his Officer of Merit.

When Deng Rong was soon afterwards falsely accused by the provincial authorities, Lian Fan realised that the matter was serious. He took leave on grounds of illness, and though Deng Rong resented his departure, he in fact went to Luoyang, changed his name, and obtained a post as prison officer at the Ministry of Justice. By this means, when Deng Rong was brought to prison Lian Fan was able to look after him. Deng Rong did not recognise him, and when he remarked how his jailer resembled his former officer, Lian Fan made no response. Then Deng Rong was released, but he became extremely ill, and Lian Fan cared for him. He died without knowing the identity of his good Samaritan, and Lian Fan escorted his body back to Nanyang.

Lian Fan was later appointed to clerical office at the capital. In 71 his former teacher Xue Han was implicated in the alleged treason of Liu Ying the King of Chu and died in prison. Other former students were frightened, but Lian Fan attended his body. He was reported and called before Emperor Ming, who accused him of involvement with a traitor. Lian Fan replied that regardless of Xue Han's faults, he owed him a personal duty. The emperor, somewhat mollified, asked if he was connected to Lian Bao and Lian Dan, and when Lian Fan explained that they were his great-grandfather and his grandfather Emperor Ming expressed admiration for his courage and granted him pardon.

Now well known, Lian Fan was nominated as Abundant Talent, and after some months in various offices he became Administrator of Yunzhong. In the winter of 73 a strong force of Northern Xiongnu ravaged the frontier and entered his territory. According to precedent, if a raiding force numbered more than five thousand men, the administrator should seek assistance from neighbouring commanderies. Lian Fan's officers wished to do so, but Lian Fan would not agree and led out his men. His soldiers were outnumbered, but night fell as they approached the enemy and Lian Fan had each man tie two torch-brands together to form a cross, then hold one end and set light to the other three. Seeing so many lights, the Xiongnu thought his numbers far greater than they were, and they became frightened. They planned to retreat at dawn, but Lian Fan struck first. They killed some hundreds, the raiders turned on one another in confusion, and another thousand died. The Xiongnu dared not approach again.

Lian Fan then served as Administrator of several commanderies on the northern frontier, in each place maintaining a firm regime and extending good influence over the people, and about 80 he was appointed to Shu. The people there were quarrelsome, but Lian Fan refused to be influenced by gossip or slander. Many admired his good government so greatly that they named their children after him.

Chengdu the capital was crowded, with houses close together, and there was an old regulation which prohibited people working at night because of the danger of fire from their lamps. Naturally enough, the rule was ignored, and fires broke out daily. Lian Fan ended the proscription, but insisted there be adequate supplies of water kept for emergency. People were

delighted, and a song was composed in praise of his lateral thinking.

After several years in Shu, Lian Fan was dismissed for some fault and retired home. He had gained land and wealth during his time at the frontier, but he gave it away to less prosperous friends and kinsmen.

When Emperor Zhang died in 88, Lian Fan went to pay respects at his tomb, southeast of Luoyang. On the road he encountered the local official Yan Lin of Lujiang, who was coming to the capital with a formal message of condolence. Yan Lin's horse had died and he could not move his carriage. Lian Fan ordered one of his escort to get down from his horse and give it to Yan Lin, then went on his way without giving his name. When Yan Lin had finished his errand he wanted to return the horse but did not know the owner. He asked around, and was told that Lian Fan could act in such a way, and he had been there at the time. Yan Lin had also heard of Lian Fan, and he duly returned the horse: such was Lian Fan's reputation.

Disapproving of the government of the regent Dowager Dou and her brother Dou Xian, Lian Fan stayed in retirement. He died at home about 90. He had a substantial career, but he was chiefly remembered as a man of quick wit and fine spirit. -*HHS* 31/21:1101-04*, 89/79:2949, *HHJ* 9:113-15; *Bn* 54:66-67.

Lian Fan 廉翻. Administrator of Liaoxi in the time of Emperor Ling, Lian Fan had a dream in which the spirit of the legendary hermit Shuqi 叔齊, originally a native of the region, told him that his coffin was adrift on the sea and Lian Fan was commissioned to arrange its reburial. Next morning there was indeed a floating coffin, and Lian Fan had a tomb made for it. Some of his attendants scoffed at the story, but they all suddenly dropped dead. -*SJZ* 14:20b-21a.

Lian Pin 廉品, a Consultant during the last years of Han, left a collection of literary and scholarly works. -*Sui shu* 35:1058.

Lianchang 零昌 (d.117); Qiang. Son of Dianlian, in 112 he succeeded his father as nominal leader of the Qiang rebellion against the Han, with headquarters at Lingzhou 靈州 by the Yellow River in Beidi. Lianchang was too young to exercise authority, however, and so another man of the tribe, Langmo, took charge of strategy. The new regime, however, lacked the authority of Dianlian, and though they made some offensive moves and gained a few victories against the armies of Han the fortunes of the rebellion declined

thereafter.

In 116 the general Deng Zun came from the north with ten thousand horsemen of the Southern Xiongnu to raid Lianchang's headquarters, killing over eight hundred of the enemy and another raid sent from the south by Ren Shang killed Lianchang's wife and children and seized his insignia.

In the following year, as the Han armies continued their pressure, Lianchang was assassinated by agents of Ren Shang. -HHS 87/77:2888-91; deC 84:106-110 [on the pronunciation of the character 零 (normally *ling*), see deC 84:471 note 14].

Liang 梁, Empress of Emperor Huan: see the Lady Liang Nüying.

Liang 梁, Empress of Emperor Shun: see the Lady Liang Na.

Liang 梁, the Lady I (d.83); Anding. Second daughter of Liang Song 竦 and younger sister of the Lady Liang Yi, she entered the harem of Emperor Zhang in 77, at the same time as her younger sister, and also became an Honoured Lady. In 83 the Liang family was attacked by the Dou, and the Lady Liang and her sister both died. See the entry immediately below.

Liang 梁, the Lady II (62-83); Anding. Youngest daughter of Liang Song 竦 and sister of the Lady Liang Yi, after the early death of their mother she and her two sisters were brought up by their aunt the Princess Liu Yiwang, daughter of Emperor Guangwu. In 77, when she was sixteen, the Lady and her second sister, the Lady Liang I, were selected into the harem of Emperor Zhang. No doubt aided by the influence of the princess, they were appointed Honoured Ladies, senior concubines ranking next after the empress, and in 79 the Lady gave birth to Liu Zhao, future Emperor He. The Empress Dou was barren, and there was old connection between the Dou and the Liang families of the northwest. The empress therefore arranged that in 82 the infant Liu Zhao, future Emperor He, was named as Heir, replacing Liu Qing the son of the Honoured Lady Song.

The Liang group were delighted at the prospects of honour and power which this offered, but their ambitions were a threat to the empress and her family, and in 83 the Lady's father Liang Song was subject to an anonymous denunciation, no doubt arranged by the empress or her relatives. Liang Song was executed, and both Honoured Ladies "died of grief" 以憂死; they may have killed themselves or have been actively

assisted.

The whole affair was concealed within the palace, and the Empress Dou brought up the child as her own. It is said that his true maternity was forgotten, and that Emperor He did not know the identity of his mother. Though the power of the Dou clan was destroyed by the emperor and his eunuch allies in 92, it was not until the death of the Empress, now Dowager, in 97 that the Liang family ventured to present their case to the throne.

Liang Hu, nephew of Liang Song 竦, had his cousin Liang Shan claim the rights due to the late concubine as mother to the ruler. The petition came to the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu, who had it investigated, found it to be accurate, and reported his findings to the emperor. Amazed and upset, Emperor He asked what he should do. Zhang Pu urged him to follow traditional principles and demonstrate a proper sense of kinship by awarding posthumous honours to his mother and restoring the fortunes of her family. Emperor He accepted his advice, and the Lady Liang was granted title as an empress and was reburied in full regalia.

The Lady's eldest sister Liang Yi also sent in an account of how the Dou had ruined the emperor's mother and his grandfather, and forced their relatives into exile. The emperor restored them to favour and the fortunes of the family were greater than ever before. -HHS 10A:416-17, 34/24:1172-74.

Liang 梁, the Lady III; Anding. Daughter of Liang Yong and a sister of Liang Shang, in 128 she was recruited into the harem of Emperor Shun in company with Liang Shang's daughter Liang Na. Liang Na was then aged thirteen and the emperor was one year older. This second Lady Liang, not so young, may have served as escort and guardian to her niece in the dangerous milieu of the palace. She is not referred to again. -HHS 10B:438.

Liang 梁, the Lady IV. The Lady was the mother of Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. About 150 Liang Ji appealed to her to dissuade Sun Shou from reporting to the throne that he had taken as his mistress the Lady You Tongji, formerly a concubine of Emperor Shun. The matter would have raised a scandal, but the Lady Liang was able to use her influence on her daughter so that she remained silent. -HHS 34/24:1180.

The personal name of the Lady's husband is not recorded, but we know her maiden surname because

we are told that Liang Ji/Gi was Sun Shou's maternal uncle. The blood, as opposed to marital, connection between the two families Liang, if any, is not known. -HHS 10B:444.

Liang 梁, Empress of Emperor Shun, see the Lady Liang Na.

Liang 梁, Empress of Emperor Huan, see the Lady Liang Nüying.

Liang Anguo 梁安國; Anding. Son of Liang Tang, he succeeded to his fief and was a Palace Attendant about 123. Soon afterwards, very likely as part of the intrigues of the consort Yan clan and their ally Geng Bao, Liang Anguo was found guilty of some crime. He was dismissed from his appointment, and all other members of the family in office were likewise removed. -HHS 34/24:1175.

Liang Bing 梁並; Anding. A kinsman of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Liang Bing was Emissary to the Xiongnu in 140. When the Xiongnu chieftains Wusi and Che'niu attacked Meiji, residence of the Southern Shanyu in Xihe, Liang Bing brought troops to aid the General on the Liao Ma Xu. After the enemy had been driven back, the court sent to reprimand the elderly Shanyu Xiuli for his failure to maintain order among his subjects. Xiuli came to apologise to Liang Bing, but Liang Bing left office soon afterwards on account of illness; his successor Chen Gui drove the Shanyu to suicide.

Later, as Administrator of Zuopingyi, Liang Bing treated the non-Chinese people with kindness, and as the second great Qiang rebellion drew to its close in 145 he received the surrender of more than fifty thousand households from the Li'nan and Hunu tribes. Because of his relationship to the General-in-Chief, Liang Bing was granted the special reward of a county fief. -HHS 89/79:2960, 87/77:2897.

Liang Boning 梁伯寧 (d.184); Yingchuan. A local leader of Yellow Turbans in 184, Liang Boning was defeated and killed by Fu Xie. -HHS 58/48:1875.

Liang [Boyu] 梁伯玉; Anding. Son of Liang Ji and his concubine the Lady You Tongji, when Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou had her son Liang Yin destroy the Lady's family, Liang Ji became afraid for the child and hid him away in a concealed room between walls. He is not heard of again. -HHS 34/24:1180.

Liang Buyi 梁不疑; Anding. Son of Liang Shang and younger brother of Liang Ji, Liang Buyi was a keen scholar. After his sister became the consort of Emperor

Shun in 132, Liang Buyi was made a Palace Attendant and had good contact with the eunuch Cao Jie, an influential ally of the family within the palace.

When Liang Shang died in 141 and Liang Ji succeeded him as General-in-Chief, Liang Buyi took over as Intendant of Henan. The appointment maintained family control of the capital district, and though the censorial commissioner Zhang Gang memorialised in 142 against the favouritism which had brought him to office, Liang Buyi was generally respected as a good judge of men.

In 147, after Emperor Huan had been brought to the throne, Liang Buyi was enfeoffed with a county. Liang Ji, however, was jealous of him, and concerned that he might become a focus for opposition to his rule. He killed a number of his clients and set spies on him, and when Ma Rong and Tian Ming, Administrators-elect of Nan and Jiangxia, went to pay their respects to Liang Buyi they were flogged and exiled to Shuofang. Liang Ji later had Liang Buyi transfer to be Minister of the Household so that his own son Liang Yin might take his place. For his part, Liang Buyi disapproved of Liang Ji's extravagance, and in 152 he retired into private life.

By the time Emperor Huan planned his coup against Liang Ji in 159, Liang Buyi was dead. The eunuch Tang Heng, however, recalled that when Liang Buyi was Intendant of Henan the eunuchs Shan Chao and Zuo Guan had called upon him but failed to show proper respect. Liang Buyi promptly arrested their brothers, and held them in prison until Shan Chao and Zuo Guan apologised. The incident had taken place some ten years earlier, but it was reason for the two eunuchs to dislike the Liang family, and they were recruited to the emperor's group of conspirators. -HHS 34/24:1175-86; Ch'ü 72:477, deC 89:286.

At HHSJJ 36/26:1319-20, the modern commentator Hui Dong argues that Liang Yin was the same person as Liang Buyi, but Su Yu observes that this is not correct.

Liang Da 梁大 or **Liang Tai 太**. An officer in the service of Liu Bei, about 210 he held an advance position as chief of a county in Nan commandery facing Cao Cao's commander Yue Jin in Xiangyang. Yue Jin defeated Liang Da and drove him away. -SGZ 17:521.

Liang Di 梁翟; Anding. Youngest son of Liang Song 竦, when their father was executed through the

intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family in 83, Liang Di and his brothers Tang and Yong were exiled to Jiuzhen in the far south.

After the death of the Lady Dou in 97 the family was restored to favour. As the brothers returned from exile in the following year they passed through Changsha and called at the estate of Dou Huai/Xiang, brother of the late Dou Xian, who had been sent away from court after the fall of his family in 92. They forced him to commit suicide.

Arriving at Luoyang, each of the brothers was enfeoffed as a marquis, with estates of five thousand households and the rank of Specially Advanced, allowing them to reside at the capital. They were also awarded quantities of landed property, mansions, slaves, horses and carriages, as well as troops of guards armed with crossbows. The fortunes of the Liang were greater than ever before. -HHS 34/24:1172-74.

Liang Feng 梁諷; Beidi. Having held office as a provincial Inspector, in 89 Liang Feng was named a major in the army gathered by Dou Xian to attack the Northern Xiongnu. Before the expedition set forth Liang Feng was sent to present gold and silk to the Northern Shanyu, as a sign of the authority and splendour of Han and a means to attract defectors. He then set camp on the frontier, and ten thousand Xiongnu came to surrender to his good will, and because they feared the power of China.

After Yan Pan and his western detachment defeated the Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain, Dou Xian sent Wu Si and Liang Feng to present the Shanyu with a gift of gold brocade and an invitation to surrender. The Shanyu agreed, but as they were returning he heard that the army had withdrawn. Still in the Altai ranges, he decided to wait. He sent a younger brother as envoy and hostage, but Dou Xian insisted he come in person. Liang Feng and Ban Gu were sent on a second embassy, but in the mean time the Emissary Geng Tan and the Southern prince Shizi attacked the Northern headquarters: by the time the envoys arrived the Shanyu had fled. When they reported this, Dou Xian recommended that the Northern court was too weak to deal with and should be utterly destroyed.

Later, Liang Feng displeased Dou Xian in some way. He was sentenced to convict service in Wuwei, where the administrator followed Dou Xian's intentions by having him killed. After the Dou were overthrown in 92, Emperor He recalled how Liang

Feng had suffered false accusation, and he appointed his son Qin as a gentleman cadet. -HHS 47/37:1591, 23/13:817; deC 84:272.

Liang Feng 梁豐; Henan. In 123 the Internuncio Dan Song proposed that the official *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar be changed to accord with the apocrypha. Liang Feng, evidently a private scholar, argued instead for restoration of the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] system of Former Han, abandoned forty years earlier. After extensive debate, the *Sifen* system was maintained. -HHS 92/2:3034.

Liang Fu 諒輔 [Hanru 漢儒]; Guanghan. When Liang Fu was a local officer in his commandery there was a great drought. The Administrator prayed for rain over several days, but without result. Then Liang Fu built a bonfire and swore to Heaven that unless rain fell by midday he would burn himself alive to expiate any sins of the community. He mounted the pyre and set light to it, but as he did so clouds gathered and rain fell.

Liang Fu acquired a great reputation for public spirit. -HHS 81/71:2694-95*, HYGZ 10B:150.

Liang Gan 梁乾; Anding. Liang Gan was a younger brother of Liang Shang and uncle of Liang Ji and the empress of Emperor Shun. Administrator of Runan in 142, he was reported by the censorial commissioner Zhang Gang for corrupt conduct. He was sent by cage-cart to the imperial prison, but because of his relationship to the throne he suffered only formal loss of rank and retained his appointment. -HYGZ 10B:157 but cf. *sub* Zhang Gang. [It is likely this is the same man as Liang Ji 梁戟 q.v.]

Liang Gang 梁綱 (d.197). A general under Yuan Shu, in 197 he was stationed with Qiao Rui at Hu city in Chen against the advance of Cao Cao. Cao Cao stormed the city and slaughtered the defenders. -SGZ 1:15.

Liang Gi 梁紀 see Liang Ji/Gi 梁紀: I sometimes use the variant transcription Gi to distinguish this man from Liang Ji 梁冀 the General-in-Chief, his nephew by marriage.

Liang Gong 梁恭. At the beginning of the first century Liang Gong and Lü Qiang and Fan Sheng were fellow-students of the *Book of Changes* according to the system of Liangqiu He, and it appears that Liang Gong later became an Academician in that field under Wang Mang.

About 27 Emperor Guangwu proposed to appoint Fan Sheng to the chair for the Liangqiu school in the

restored University. Fan Sheng replied that Liang Gong and Lü Qiang were both older than he and better scholars. He urged that one of them be appointed, but Guangwu still gave him the post. -HHS 36/26:1227; Bn 79:187.

Liang Gong 梁恭; Anding. Son of Liang Tong, when their elder brother Liang Song 松 was found guilty of slander in 61, Liang Gong and his second brother Liang Song 竦 were sent to exile in the far south. -HHS 34/24:1170.

Liang Gu 梁鵠 [Menghuang 孟皇/黃]; Anding. Noted for his calligraphy in the official *li shu* 隸書 "Clerical Style," Liang Gu studied under Shi Yiguan and became a favourite of Emperor Ling.

Because of his writing skill, Liang Gu was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat with authority for appointments. In the mid-170s the young Cao Cao wanted to be made Prefect of Luoyang, but Liang Gu arranged that he receive only a police appointment.

In a memorial of 178 the Confucianist Yang Ci described Liang Gu as a man who had received position far above his true quality. When he was Inspector of Liang province in the early 180s Liang Gu was advised by his officer Su Zhenghe about the vicious and corrupt Administrator of Wuwei. Concerned that the offender was well-connected to the court, Liang Gu wanted to kill Su Zhenghe so as to avoid the responsibility of making a report. He was dissuaded by his adviser He Xun, but it is doubtful that he took any action against the Administrator.

Liang Gu took refuge from the civil war with Liu Biao in Jing province. When Cao Cao came to that territory in 208 he summoned Liang Gu, who came to his gate with bound hands in apology for his earlier conduct. Cao Cao, however, had long admired his calligraphy, and he now appointed him to his staff. He had his favourite passage of Liang Gu's writing displayed in his tent, and believed him superior to Shi Yiguan.

Liang Gu was later appointed to the imperial library of Wei, where he worked on restoring texts which had been lost in the turmoil brought by Dong Zhuo. He wrote new title pages in traditional Seal Script 篆書 for most of the books in the state collection. -HHS 54/44: 1780, 58/48:1879, SGZ 1:31, SJZ 16:17a, JS 36:1064; deC 89:146, 186-187.

Liang He 良賀. A eunuch, in 124 Liang He was Assistant to Zhao Xi, Grand Prolonger of Autumn,

head of the household of the Empress Yan. The two were evidently regarded as supporters of the Heir Liu Bao, for after Emperor An had been persuaded to dismiss Liu Bao they were accused on trumped-up charges and sent to exile in Shuofang.

At the end of 125, when Liu Bao was placed upon the throne by the coup of Sun Cheng, Liang He and his fellows were recalled to the capital and appointed Regular Attendants. In the early 130s Liang He became head of the household of the Empress Liang.

Modest and generous by nature, Liang He was once asked why he never recommended men for office. He explained that the Legalist Shang Yang 商鞅 had been introduced to the ruler of ancient Qin 秦 by a eunuch, and since he did not know enough about scholars he did not want to be responsible for making a similar error.

Liang He died in the late 130s, and Emperor Shun honoured his loyalty by granting fiefs to his two adopted sons. -HHS 78/68:2518.

Liang Hong 梁鴻 [Boluan 伯鸞 or Bochun 伯淳]; Youfufeng. Liang Hong's father Liang Hu 梁護 was enfeoffed by Wang Mang but died when he was still young [Liang Hu's personal name is miswritten Rang 讓 by HHS 83/73: QHX:238]. In the 30s Liang Hong went to the University at Luoyang. He had great understanding of the Confucian classics, particularly the *Poetry*, *Chunqiu* and *Ritual*, but made no contact with other students and showed no interest in the current fashion for detailed commentaries.

After his father's experience of office under the usurper, Liang Hong swore an oath never to become an official, and when his studies were finished he became a swineherd in the Shanglin Park near Chang'an, possibly in emulation of the ancient philosopher Zhuangzi. When his old friend Jing Yixiao accepted some junior local appointment, Liang Hong wrote to end their acquaintance.

Later he mistakenly let a fire burn out of control, and some houses were destroyed. He gave all his pigs away in compensation, then worked to pay for the rest of the damage. The owners of the houses were so impressed by his conscientious conduct that they offered to return the pigs, but Liang Hong refused and went back to his home country.

There he married the Lady Meng Guang [also named as Zhao Guang], a woman of strong character who encouraged him to withdraw to the hills south

of Chang'an, where they maintained themselves by farming and weaving, playing the lute 琴 or reading for entertainment. Held to his resolve by the Lady Meng, Liang Hong modelled his conduct on notable hermits of the past and composed eulogies for twenty-four of the most distinguished of Former Han.

In 80 the couple left the region of Chang'an and travelled east. As they passed Luoyang Liang Hong composed the short song *Wuyi zhi ge* 五噫之歌 "Five Exclamations," criticising the extravagance of the court and its exploitation of the people. Though normally regarded as a lenient ruler, Emperor Zhang was furious and sought to have him arrested, but Liang Hong changed his name to Yunqi Yao 運期耀 "Glory of the Age" and took refuge in Qi and Lu.

The couple later moved south to Wu, where Liang Hong became a servant of the magnate Gao Botong. When Gao Botong saw the respect with which the Lady Meng treated her husband, however, he realised his quality and took him into his household as a guest.

Liang Hong's writing amounted to more than ten *pian*. Almost all the corpus is lost, but some poetry survives to express his ideals of independence, his concern at slander and misunderstanding, his sense of the ephemeral nature of the world, and the moral effort which accompanied his chosen way of life. "Five Exclamations," which is preserved in *HHS* 83/73, has been popular with the modern Communist regime in China for its outspoken attack on the wrongs done by traditional government, and two longer poems have been translated by Vervoorn.

When Liang Hong died he was buried at his request near the tomb of the ancient hero Yaoli 要離, who had killed a man out of loyalty to his ruler but committed suicide through his own sense of honour as having behaved wrongly. In later years Liang Hong and the Lady Meng were taken as models of the hermit style. -*HHS* 83/73:2765-68*, *DGHJ* 18:8b-9b; Vervoorn 90: 196-201, 302-303.

Liang Hong 梁鴻, wife of: see the Lady Meng Guang 孟光.

Liang Hong 梁宏; Kuaiji. Liang Hong was Registrar of his commandery in 70, when the Administrator Yin Xing was suspected of involvement in the conspiracy involving Liu Ying, King of Chu. As Yin Xiang was arrested, Liang Hong and five hundred other officers were also taken to prison at Luoyang. The majority died under torture, but Liang Hong continued to proclaim

his innocence. Then the filial piety of his colleague Lu Xu was reported to Emperor Ming and earned all the survivors a pardon. Though they were proscribed from office for life, they were able to return home.

Liang Hong was later praised as a local worthy by Yu Fan. -*HHS* 81/71:2682-83, *SGZ* Wu 12:1325.

Liang Hu 梁扈; Anding. Son of Liang Song 松 and the Princess Liu Yiwang, daughter of Emperor Guangwu, he was a keen student of the classics of *Poetry* and *History*. Though his father died in disgrace and his fief was abolished, Liang Hu's mother the princess retained her state and her wealth.

In 83 the intrigues of the Dou family of imperial relatives by marriage caused Liang Hu's uncle Liang Song 竦 to be executed and brought the deaths of his cousins the Honoured Ladies Liang, concubines of Emperor Zhang. With other members of the family, Liang Hu was exiled to Jiuzhen in the far south, while the frontier commander Deng Xun was dismissed for having communicated with him.

In 97, following the death of Dowager Dou, Liang Hu arranged for his cousin Liang Shan to present a petition, telling of Emperor He's true mother the late concubine Liang, and asking she be given ceremonial as mother of the sovereign. The Grand Commandant Zhang Pu investigated the claim and advised the emperor that he should grant the Lady Liang posthumous title as an empress. Soon afterwards the Lady Liang Yi, daughter of Liang Song 竦 and cousin of Liang Hu, presented a parallel petition asking justice for those of her family who had been wrongfully killed and exiled. Again the claims were found to be correct. The sisters Liang were re-entombed with honours, while Liang Hu and Liang Yi were sent with an escort to bring back the body of Liang Song from his criminal's grave in Hanyang.

The fortunes of the family were thus restored. Treated with great favour by the emperor, Liang Hu was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, then rose to ministerial rank and was later a colonel in the Northern Army. About 110 he became Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the regent Dowager Deng. -*HHS* 34/24:1170-73.

Liang Ji/Gi 梁紀. Maternal uncle of Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji 冀, he was not, however, a direct relative of Liang Ji himself, and the blood connection between the two families Liang, if any, is not stated. I sometimes use the variant transcription Gi

to distinguish this man from the General-in-Chief.

About 150 Liang Gi married the Lady Xuan, widow of Deng Xiang and mother of the Lady Deng Mengnü. In 153 or 154 Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou arranged for the entry of the young Lady Deng into the harem of Emperor Huan, where she was greatly favoured and swiftly promoted to be an Honoured Lady. Sun Shou evidently intended that Deng Mengnü should serve as an agent for her family within the harem, but within a few years, before 159, Liang Gi was dead, the direct connection with Sun Shou was broken, and the Lady Xuan and her daughter were largely independent. - *HHS* 10B:444.

Liang Ji/Gi 梁紀, wife of: see the Lady Xuan.

Liang Ji 梁冀 [Bozhuo 伯卓 also as Boju 伯車] (d.159); Anding. Son of Liang Shang, Liang Ji was the elder brother of Liang Na, consort of Emperor Shun. After the Lady Liang became empress in 132 it was proposed that Liang Ji should be enfeoffed, but his father would not allow it. Liang Ji, however, was granted junior office as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, then rose to higher rank as a Palace Attendant. He later became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, commanding a corps of palace guards, then colonel of two regiments of the Northern Army, then Bearer of the Mace, chief of police in the capital. At the same time, Liang Ji and his brother Buyi were friends of the eunuch Cao Jie, who served the interests of the family within the palace.

In 136 Liang Ji became Intendant of Henan. It is said that he was cruel and acted outside the law, and that he arranged the murder of Lü Fang the Prefect of Luoyang, who had reported his conduct to his father. When Liang Shang died in 141, Liang Ji inherited his fief and was swiftly appointed General-in-Chief in his place. There was some criticism of the new regime, and in 142 Emperor Shun was persuaded to establish a special commission to report on the condition of the empire and on the quality of its government. Though Zhou Ju and Du Qiao offered recommendations, however, and their colleague Zhang Gang made a direct attack on the Liang family, Liang Ji and his allies were able to block any real debate or action and their power was, if anything, enhanced by the perception that the emperor supported them.

At first it is unlikely that Liang Ji's position was more than a courtesy to his late father: since he was about the same age as the emperor he would have

received neither the trust nor the authority which Liang Shang had held. The situation changed considerably, however, when Emperor Shun died in 144, for Liang Ji's sister Liang Na, now Dowager, became regent for the infant Liu Bing, and Liang Ji held great influence as her senior male relative. With the Grand Tutor Zhao Jun and the Grand Commandant Li Gu he shared control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat, which gave formal command of the government, and it appears that from this time he also had the right to maintain offices 府, comparable to those of the Excellencies, by which men could gain commissioned entry to the imperial service.

Within a few months, moreover, Emperor Chong was dead, and the Dowager now had the right to choose any member of the imperial clan to succeed him. On Liang Ji's advice she placed the eight-year-old Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, upon the throne.

The choice was not a success. Despite his youth, Liu Zuan noticed the limits on his notional authority, and he was not wise enough to keep silent. On one occasion he referred to Liang Ji in public court as an "over-bearing general" 跋扈將軍.

On 26 July 146 Liu Zuan was seized by stomach cramps. He asked for water, but Liang Ji forbade it, and he died almost immediately. Many believed Liang Ji poisoned the boy to remove a future threat to his authority, but it was possibly only bad cooking, and Liu Zuan may have been naturally weak and sickly. On the other hand, the young Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, had been called to the capital before his predecessor's death and was formally betrothed to Liang Nüying, younger sister of the Dowager. If Liu Zuan had been expected to reign for a normal life-time, Liang Nüying would surely have been committed to him, so one must assume Liang Ji and his elder sister had early knowledge of his fate.

In 146 Liu Zhi was about fourteen years old by Western reckoning, and he took the cap of manhood in 148. Shortly before her death in 150 the Dowager formally handed over power to him, but in practice Emperor Huan remained under the influence of his consort Liang Nüying, and Liang Ji exercised power as before. The emperor had no means to oppose his dominance and it is possible that, like Emperor Shun before him, he had no particular ambition to do so. At any rate, in 151 Emperor Huan summoned a court conference to assess and enhance Liang Ji's privileges

and honours, which were now comparable to those of the great Huo Guang 霍光 of Former Han.

Liang Ji encountered both real and imagined threats to his expanded authority. The first challenge came from the Grand Commandant Li Gu, who had urged the claims of Liu Suan, King of Qinghe, who was of full age, to succeed the infant Emperor Chong instead of the child Liu Zuan. Then, after the death of Liu Zuan, Li Gu pressed for a full investigation and argued once more that Liu Suan should become emperor. He was initially supported by his two Excellency colleagues, Hu Guang and Zhao Jie, but they withdrew in the face of Liang Ji's firm disapproval, and though Li Gu attempted to rally more general support he was unsuccessful. Soon after Liu Zhi had been brought to the throne Liu Suan was impeached for treason and Li Gu and his associate Du Qiao were arrested and executed.

THE POWER OF LIANG JI

Liang Ji's actions had been high-handed, and though he had manipulated the succession to his liking he encountered significant opposition from the officials and gentry. His authority was clear, but there was always opposition, and Liang Ji was ruthless in suppressing it. His office and staff were twice the size of any of the Excellencies, he had clients and allies at every level of the bureaucracy, and his patronage was appealed to for offices and for pardons. His power, however, was brittle, and it was alleged that reforms of earlier years had been abandoned as corruption increased.

The extravagance of the Liang family was noted and resented. Liang Ji's marquisate rose to include four counties, with revenues from over forty thousand households, while his brothers and his son Liang Yin also held valuable estates. His wife Sun Shou was comparably avaricious, she gained a vast fief of her own, and she arranged for members of her family to gain high office, where they acted with greed and cruelty.

Liang Ji and Sun Shou rivalled one another in extravagant mansions, parklands and furnishings. Liang Ji constructed a set of pavilions to house his many concubines, and he used the corvée labour of several counties to create vast parklands, which are said to have extended over much of the capital commandery. Among his constructions were a great stone bridge [Needham 71:172], and enormous terraces and pavilions carved and painted with the

images of dragons, tigers and other wild beasts. Liang Ji was also extremely fond of rabbits 兔 and built the Dodder Park 菟苑 as a sanctuary for them. The animals were gathered from every part of the empire, and when some ill-informed foreign merchants killed one, a dozen of the culprits were executed. Zhang Fen records also that one of the boats on his ornamental lakes unexpectedly capsized; a omen of its master's approaching fate [ZF:3a-b & 4a *sub* Zhu Mu].

Calculating and licentious, though he spoke with a stutter Liang Ji is said to have had fierce, cruel eyes; he was physically powerful, with high shoulders which gave him an intimidating presence. Fond of drinking and gambling, he was skilled at board games, including *Liubo* 六博, and composed *Tanqi jing* 彈碁經, a treatise on a form of chess [Song shi 207:5289]. He was a strong archer and played the *Zuju* 蹴鞠 football game [Bodde 75:331 as *daju* 蹋鞠], while he also enjoyed horse-racing and hunting with dogs. On the other hand, though he had a considerable harem, he was intimidated by the Lady Sun Shou, and it appears that he may have had homosexual interests: his slave Qin Gong is said to have been favoured by both husband and wife.

Administratively, Liang Ji insisted that newly-appointed officials call upon him before they received their commissions from the Imperial Secretariat, and he likewise saw all imperial documents before they went to the Secretariat for formal drafting. Liang Ji also took choice of all offerings presented to the throne, he sent messengers on his own account to trade for luxuries abroad, and he received a multitude of special honours and privileges when he attended court. At the same time, he was extremely jealous of his position: he suspected his younger brothers Buyi and Meng might form the centre of an opposition group, so he attacked their staff and their friends; and he arranged the death or disgrace of several officials who had failed to show proper respect or, worse, had criticised him.

After twenty years of Liang family hegemony, it appears that Emperor Huan had become somewhat impatient with his limited role in government, and matters were brought to a head in 159 by the death of his Empress Liang Nüying, breaking the immediate connection and control of her family. The emperor's favourite concubine, the Lady Deng Mengnü, had been connected to the Liang family and to Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou, but her mother the Lady Xuan had

ambitions for her own family. In an attempt to regain control, Liang Ji killed Bing Zun, brother-in-law of the Lady Deng, and attempted to assassinate the Lady Xuan.

Emperor Huan was now both furious and frightened. With the aid and protection of the eunuchs Tang Heng, Shan Chao, Zuo Guan, Xu Huang and Ju Yuan, he issued orders to strip Liang Ji of his offices and send him to exile in the far south. The coup encountered small resistance, and Liang Ji and Sun Shou committed suicide that day, 9 September 159. Great numbers of their associates, clients and supporters were arrested, killed or proscribed from office, and the three Excellencies, Hu Guang, Han Yan and Sun Lang were all dismissed and reduced to commoner rank. The Liang family property was sold off, raising three billion cash, and it is said that the taxation demand from the empire was halved for that year.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LIANG CLAN

Though Liang Ji and his imperial consort sisters dominated the government of the empire for fifteen years, it appears most convenient to provide an outline of general events in the empire during that period under the biography of Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan. In general, regardless of accusations against the personal conduct and extravagance of Liang Ji and his family, the Annals contain a number of edicts designed to improve the quality and the benevolence of government. There were several amnesties and remissions of punishment, frequent donations to the people and attempts to provide relief in times of disaster, repeated calls for good men to be brought to office, and many expressions of moral concern and urgings to reform.

One notable phenomenon, perhaps echoing the official desire for progress and improvement, was the number of reign periods: from the time Liang Ji gained authority under Emperor Shun in 142 until his overthrow in 159, no less than ten changes were made, more than one every two years. Admittedly there were two short-lived emperors, but the average under Emperors Shun and Huan was still high, with such slogans as Establishing Harmony 建和, Perpetual Revival 永興 and, finally, Extended Splendour 延熹 in 158. In contrast, after he destroyed Liang Ji in the second year of Yanxi Emperor Huan kept the same title for another eight years.

There was also a serious attempt by the regency

government to encourage scholarship. As early as 136, at the time Liang Na became Empress and Liang Shang was appointed General-in-Chief, the scholars Fu Wuji and Huang Jing were commissioned to prepare an imperial collection of Confucian classics, as well as treatises by philosophers and works on art and literature. Little is known of this ambitious project, but about 150, early in the reign of Emperor Huan, an edict ordered a third instalment of *Han ji*, official history of the Later Han dynasty, known later as *Dongguan Hanji* from its compilation in the Eastern Pavilion. Fu Wuji and Huang Jing were again involved, together with Cui Shi, Bian Shao and Yan Du. This work continued through the 150s.

At the same time the Imperial University, reconstructed under Emperor Shun, received special favour and was dramatically expanded. An edict of 146 ordered kingdoms and commanderies to nominate men aged between fifty and seventy with Understanding of the Classics to attend the University, while the sons of senior officials were required to study there. Henceforth the first five successful candidates at the annual examinations would become gentleman cadets, probationary positions for commission in the imperial service, and the next five would be members of the suite of the Heir, a lower entry point. At the same time a variety of officials, both senior and junior, together with students at the Palace School for Noble Families, were invited to take examinations in the classics and those who did well could expect rewards and advancement.

As a result of this and similar signs of encouragement and patronage it is claimed that the number of students at the University grew to thirty thousand. Unfortunately, we are also told that the quality of the writing and teaching was unimpressive, for the orthodox New Text tradition was in decline, and the finicky pedantry of the traditional detailed commentaries was no longer considered valuable or relevant. Vast numbers of nominal students, uninspired by their teachers or their texts, turned readily to idealistic criticism of the government, and the tradition of activist opposition, inspired by Confucian morality, was maintained for twenty years, not only against the Liang hegemony but also against Emperor Huan and his eunuch favourites who came to power afterwards.

Whatever the personal short-comings of Liang Ji, his period of power may be seen as having come very

close to establishing the equivalent of a Japanese-style shogunate. Both Emperor Shun and perforce Emperor Huan had accepted a system in which the leader of a consort clan held effective power while the nominal sovereign occupied himself within the palace. Had Liang Ji been able to take over control of the Lady Deng Mengnü, he might have maintained his hegemony over the imperial court and reduced Emperor Huan to a figurehead in the same style as the Japanese emperors of the Heian and later periods. Unlike Wang Mang, there is no sign that Liang Ji wished to take the throne for himself, and the manner in which Emperor Huan – once he had a moment of opportunity to act – was able to use the authority of the throne to overthrow his powerful minister indicates that there was vast loyalty to the house of Liu even after fifty years of weak sovereigns.

Ultimately, as with the family of the Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An, there was no secure future for a powerful consort clan once the essential connection to the throne was broken. On the other hand, one may speculate whether the Han dynasty might not have lasted for longer, at least in titular existence, if Emperor Huan had not determined to rule as well as reign, for by taking power he also took responsibility. -HHS 34/24:1178-87*, XC 1:13b; Ch'ü 72:471-477, deC 89:4-14

Liang Ji 梁冀, wife of: see the Lady Sun Shou.

Liang Ji 梁戟 (d.159); Anding. A member of the clan of imperial relatives by marriage, in 159 Liang Ji was a colonel in the Northern Army. As the power of the family was overthrown in that year, he was arrested and killed. -HHS 34/24:1186. It is likely this is the same man as Liang Gan 梁乾.

Liang Jin 梁金 (d.32). A general of Wei Ao in command of Lueyang city in Tianshui, he was defeated and killed by Lai Xi. -HHS 15/5:587.

Liang Kongda 梁孔達. A disciple of Zhang Zhi, at the end of Han Liang Kongda was a celebrated calligrapher in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." -JS 36:1065.

Liang Kuan 梁寬; Anding. In 113 Liang Kuan was in Ji city, the capital of Hanyang which had been captured by Ma Chao. He joined the conspiracy led by Yang Fu, Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang: as those local leaders raised arms Ma Chao left the city, and Liang Kuan, Pang Gong and Zhao Qu then barred the gates against him and killed his family. Liang Kuan was

enfeoffed, and later held office at the court of Wei. -SGZ 25:702, 18:549.

Liang Lei 梁磊; Anding. Eldest son of Liang Song 松, Liang Lei died young. -HHSJJ 83/73:3045 Hui Dong quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Xi/Ji Kang.

Liang Long 梁龍 "Dragon Liang" (d.181); Jiaozhi. Probably a chieftain of the Wuhu people of Hepu, in the late 170s Liang Long controlled a large rebel force across the far south. He was destroyed by Zhu Jun in 181. -HHS 86/76:2839, 71/61:2308-09; deC 89:537.

Liang Ma 梁馬 or Liang Yan 焉; Anding. Son of Liang Buyi and nephew of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, in 154 Liang Ma was enfeoffed as marquis of a county. -HHS 34/24:1185.

Liang Mao 涼茂 [Bofang 伯方]; Shanyang. A keen scholar, Liang Mao joined Cao Cao's staff, served as a censor and, as Administrator of Taishan, settled the unruly people.

Sent to the northeast as Administrator of Lelang, he was unable to get past Liaodong, but he is said to have dissuaded Gongsun Du or his son Kang from attacking Cao Cao while he was occupied elsewhere.

Liang Mao later governed Wei commandery and Ganling, then became Senior Clerk to Cao Pi when he was named General of the Household for All Purposes in 211. In 213 he was among the officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and he joined the Secretariat of the new state. He was later a minister, and when Cao Pi was named Heir in 217 Liang Mao became his Tutor. Highly respected, he died soon afterwards.

After Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, in recognition of his past loyal service a son or grandson of Liang Mao was granted the right to appointment as a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 11:338-39*, 2:58.

Liang Meng 梁蒙; Anding. Son of Liang Shang and younger brother of Liang Ji and Liang Buyi, after Emperor Huan was brought to the throne in 147 Liang Meng was enfeoffed with a county. In 152 Liang Meng and his brother Buyi retired to private life. Liang Meng died before the coup of Emperor Huan which overthrew Liang Ji in 159. HHS 34/24:1179, 1185-86.

Liang Mengnü 梁猛女 or Liang Meng 猛, the Lady, see Deng Mengnü.

Liang Min 梁旻; Anding. A kinsman of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Liang Min held office as Administrator of Kuaiji during the 150s. The Inspector Liu You, however, reported his crimes, and Liang Min was

dismissed. -HHS 67/57:2199.

Liang Mou 涼茂 see Liang Mao 涼茂.

Liang Na 梁嬀, the Lady (116-150); Anding: Empress of Emperor Shun. Daughter of Liang Shang, Liang Na was a great-niece of the Honoured Lady Liang, the natural mother of Emperor He, who had died in 83 under the influence of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang. The family suffered political eclipse, but was restored to political status at the capital in 97, when Liang Na's grandfather Liang Yong and two other brothers of the late Lady Liang were enfeoffed as marquises.

Liang Shang succeeded to his father's fief in 126, and two years later his daughter was brought into the harem of Emperor Shun. Her biography claims that a splendid light accompanied her birth, that she was skilled in women's work of spinning and needlework while she was still young, and that by the age of nine she could recite the *Analects* of Confucius and had studied the *Classic of Poetry*. It is said, moreover, that she kept portraits of the worthy women celebrated by the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 of Liu Xiang 劉向 of Former Han always beside her, to compare her conduct with theirs and remind herself of the moral standards she must seek to attain. Her father spoke of her in admiration as the means by which the prosperity of the house would rise to its greatest heights. Some of this may be true, but these are also the clichés by which Chinese history and legend enhance the facts about any person of future consequence.

Though Liang Na was formally selected for the harem, her family connections were obviously important in gaining her entry and securing the emperor's attention. She was thirteen years old at the time by Chinese reckoning and Emperor Shun was only one year older. [HHS 10B:440 says that she was forty-five *sui* at the time of her death in 150, which would indicate she was born in 106; CHOC:xli has followed this. The age of thirteen *sui* at the time of her entry, however, is given by HHS 10B:438, and that would indicate she was born in 116: cf. also Bn 86:285. Since entry to the imperial harem was normally about the age of thirteen, while twenty-three would be very late, HHS 10B:438 is far more likely to be correct.]

Liang Na was accompanied by one of her father's sisters, the Lady Liang III, no doubt as an escort and guardian in the dangerous political milieu of the palace. The physiognomist Mao Tong, who took part

in the selection, exclaimed at the Lady's appearance, and when the Court Astronomer tested her fortune by oracle bones and the *Book of Changes* the signs were remarkably good.

Liang Na was appointed an Honoured Lady, highest rank of concubine, and was favoured by the emperor. With erudite quotations from the *Book of Changes* and the *Classic of Poetry*, she urged her consort not to devote all his attention to her lest she suffer the jealousy and calumny of others; we are told that the emperor was impressed with her good sense.

Emperor Shun took the cap of manhood in 129, and by 132 the senior ministers were pressing for the appointment of an empress. Despite accounts of the favour she received, Liang Na was just one of four concubines to have attracted the young ruler, and he had been bedding her for four years without producing any children. The choice was so even that the emperor proposed to cast lots, and let the spirits decide. Hu Guang, however, a senior officer of the Secretariat, supported by colleagues, argued that the traditional hierarchy of criteria should be applied: first consider family background, then compare virtue; if virtue was equal, there was the question of age; and finally one should think of physical attraction. Liang Na was therefore chosen as a woman of excellent family, and on 2 March 132 she was named as empress.

The Lady's father Liang Shang immediately became a Palace Attendant, his fief was increased in size and value, and he was soon named Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital. In 135 Liang Shang was appointed General-in-Chief, giving formal command of the Northern Army and also providing substantial authority in government at the highest level.

When Liang Shang died in 141 he was promptly succeeded as General-in-Chief by his eldest son Liang Ji, and with the aid of the Empress Liang in the inner palace the family and their clients continued to dominate the court. We are told that the Empress continued to behave with intelligence and good will, that she took no false pride in the advancement which her virtues had gained her, that she studied the lessons of the past with utmost care, and that whenever there was an eclipse she would make particular confession of her faults and failings. There was an element of rivalry with the Lady Dou, daughter of Dou Zhang, whose kinswoman the Dowager Dou of Emperor He had persecuted the Liang family [see *sub* Liang Song];

but it is claimed that she bore no grudge from this family feud and took no action as the fortunes of the Dou were restored.

Despite her presumed opportunities, the Empress had no children, and when Emperor Shun died in 144 his only son was the infant Liu Bing, born the previous year to his concubine the Beauty nee Yu, and proclaimed as Heir just a few months before his father's death.

According to the constitution of Han, when an emperor died leaving a recognised heir under age his empress, now Dowager, acted as regent for the infant successor. The Lady Yu came of respectable family 良家 and had given Emperor Shun a daughter as well as a son, but she had not been awarded any special status before he died and she was given no role in the court or in government. The Dowager Liang does appear to have taken her responsibilities seriously, and she supported the appointment of the reformer Li Gu as Grand Commandant, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat.

Early in 145, however, after just a few months of nominal rule, the infant Emperor Chong was dead, and there was now no named heir to the throne. In such circumstances the Dowager had undisputed authority to choose the next emperor from any of the male members of the imperial family. She could take such advice as she wished, but the matter was not open to public debate, nor was any minister of state, no matter his rank, entitled to intervene; the precedent had been confirmed by the Dowager Deng in 105 and 106, when Emperor An was brought to the throne. So the Dowager Liang took counsel with her brother within her private quarters, and after three weeks their choice fell upon Liu Zuan, a great-great-grandson of Emperor Zhang through the lineage of the kings of Le'an.

Eight years old by Chinese reckoning, there was nothing to distinguish Liu Zuan from any other cadets of the imperial house, apart from the fact that he was old enough to avoid the risks of infant mortality and young enough to require the guidance of a regent. His mother the Lady Chen was a former singing girl who had been taken by Liu Hong the King of Le'an but had not been granted the position of concubine in the royal harem: his maternal ancestry left much to be desired.

Li Gu and other officials had urged the claims of Liu Suan, King of Qinghe. Twenty years old, he appeared well qualified to take the throne and would

not require a regent; but this in itself rendered him unacceptable to the Liang, and after a short exchange of memorials, the Dowager exercised her prerogative and installed Liu Zuan.

One year later, Liu Zuan too was dead. Despite his youth, he had perceived the tight limits to his notional authority, but he was not perceptive enough to keep silent, and on one occasion he referred to Liang Ji as "an over-bearing general." A short time later the emperor was eating dumplings when he was seized by stomach cramps and died. It was traditionally argued that Liang Ji had poisoned the boy, but it may only have been bad cooking, and Liu Zuan was perhaps naturally weak and sickly. On the other hand, even before his death Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, then fifteen *sui*, had been called to the capital and betrothed to Liang Nüying, younger sister of the Dowager: it seems Liang Ji and the Dowager may have had early knowledge of his fate. There was an inconclusive investigation, and the Liang held their power through their new nominee.

At this time Li Gu and his colleagues, notably Du Qiao, had again pressed the claims of Liu Suan. Liu Zhi, at fourteen years, was older than Liu Zuan, but he was not yet of full age and was clearly intended as another puppet of the Liang family. On the other hand, there was no means to determine the succession other than by the authority of the Dowager, and Liu Suan's candidacy was also opposed by Cao Teng and a strong faction of eunuchs. So Li Gu and his allies were defeated and Liu Zhi was placed upon the throne.

A few months later, at the end of 146, a small local group sought to arrange a coup in Qinghe and proclaim Liu Suan as emperor. The disturbance was put down without difficulty, and Liu Suan himself was in no way involved, but he was reduced in rank, exiled and committed suicide. Soon afterwards Li Gu and Du Qiao were also implicated and arrested. Many officials protested and the Dowager herself initially issued a pardon, but her brother Liang Ji eventually persuaded her that they must die.

For the next few years the Dowager held formal control of government in association with her brother. Though historians of Han have accused Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou of inordinate greed, luxury and extravagance, Liang Na is praised for her devotion to duty in difficult times: the second great rebellion of the Qiang in the northwest in the early 140s, and

troubles with the Xiongnu of the northern frontier, were reflected inside China by frequent small-scale rebellion, increasing feuding amongst local gentry and a gradual alienation from the imperial regime. The government had been in serious financial straits since the first great Qiang rebellion of 107-118, and its weakness was symbolised by the plundering of the tomb of Emperor Shun outside Luoyang within a year of his burial. The biography of the Dowager in *Hou Han shu* says that she was restrained and frugal, that she appointed good officials and sent out troops to deal with disorder, and that all the empire was settled by her efforts. One may observe a literary contrast between the worthy public actions of the sister and the wicked private life of the brother, and both are no doubt exaggerated, but Liang Na does well from the comparison.

Emperor Huan took the cap of manhood at the beginning of 148, but the Dowager maintained her regency, on the grounds of the disturbances in the empire, for another two years. She formally relinquished her responsibilities in the first month of 150, and she died a few weeks later, on 6 April, at the age of forty-four. -HHS 10B:438-40*.

Liang Nüying 梁女瑩, the Lady (d.159 AD); Anding: Empress of Emperor Huan. Daughter of Liang Shang, Liang Nüying was the younger sister of the Empress Liang Na of Emperor Shun and the General-in-Chief Liang Ji.

In 146 the Lady Liang Na, now regent Dowager, called Liu Zhi, Marquis of Liwu in Hejian, to come to the capital, and arranged his betrothal to Liang Nüying. Liu Zhi was fifteen *sui*, and the throne was at that time occupied by the Dowager's previous selection, Liu Zuan. The nine-year-old Emperor Zhi had shown disapproval of the dominance held by Liang Ji over the court, and he died a short time later. His death was investigated and nothing was found, but the betrothal throws suspicion upon the affair: had Liu Zuan been expected to reign for a normal life-time, the younger Lady Liang would surely have been committed to him; as it is, one may assume Liang Ji and his elder sister had early knowledge of his fate; he may have been ill, or they may have arranged his demise.

As Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, was placed upon the throne, the Dowager Liang maintained her regency. In the summer of the following year Liang Nüying entered the imperial harem, and on 30 September 147

she became empress. It is not possible to make a firm estimate of her age at that time. Her elder sister was born in 116, and her father Liang Shang died in 141. Many women came to the harem at the age of thirteen *sui*, but the age for general selection could be as high as twenty, and it is likely that in this special case the empress was in her early twenties, born about 125 and some ten years younger than her sister.

The ceremony of enthronement was modelled on precedents from the early second century BC, when Emperor Hui was under the authority of his natural mother the Dowager Lü and, perhaps more significantly, those of 4 AD, when the young Emperor Ping, last ruler of Former Han, was married to a daughter of Wang Mang. The betrothal money was 20,000 pounds of gold, while imperial presents to the bride's family included jade *bi*-rings 璧, a team of horses, a quantity of rolled silk and wild geese [these last because they obey the natural relationship of *Yin* and *Yang*]. We are told that the empress shared the extravagant tastes of her brother Liang Ji rather than the frugality of her sister the Dowager, for her apartments and pavilions were expensively carved and ornamented, while her clothing and jewellery, trinkets and brightly-painted carriages were more ostentatious than any of her predecessors'.

With support from her family to deal with eunuchs and other attendants inside the harem, and with her own physical attractions to influence her young husband, it is not surprising that, as her biography says, she monopolised Emperor Huan's attentions and favours, and during these first years at least, no other women were permitted to approach him.

Early in 150 the Dowager Liang formally ended her regency, and a few weeks later she was dead. While this made little immediate difference, for Liang Ji's position at court as General-in-Chief was unimpaired and the Empress Liang was well placed to supervise the inner palace, Emperor Huan acquired greater freedom and his personal relationship with the empress was weakened. The fact that she was expected to keep surveillance over him on behalf of her family caused tension, she had not borne an imperial son, and we may assume that the charms of an older woman were less fascinating to a young man of eighteen than they had been three years earlier.

From this time, therefore, Emperor Huan embarked upon the sexual career which was to make him

celebrated in Chinese history, giving his attention to a vast number of concubines. The empress may have been jealous and frustrated, but in some respects it served the interests of the Liang family that the ruler should thus distract himself, and she had no way to affect her husband's choice of partners. She could, however, control the results, and the history remarks that "if a woman of the palace became pregnant, it was seldom she came to full term." Only one child, the Princess Hua, was born at this time and survived to maturity.

The empress died on 9 August 159. She was probably in her mid-thirties, about the same age as her elder sister the Dowager at the time of her death in 150. There is no reason to believe she did not die of natural causes, but her demise was evidently unexpected and brought immediate crisis to the central government. Within a few weeks Liang Ji and his clan had been destroyed by a coup of the emperor and his eunuchs, and as the new consort Deng Mengnü took her place, the tomb of the late Empress was demoted to that of an Honoured Lady. -*HHS* 10B:443-444*; deC 75B.

Liang Pei 梁配. A county magistrate in Chenliu, about 130 the youthful scholar Shentu Pan argued to him that the Lady Gou Yu, guilty of a vendetta killing, should actually serve as a model of family virtue. Impressed by Shentu Pan's eloquence, Liang Pei obtained a pardon for her. -*HHS* 53/43:1751.

Liang Ping 梁憑 see the Lady Liang Yi 梁嫺.

Liang Qi 梁岐. A county magistrate in Wei for Yuan Shang, in 204 he surrendered to Cao Cao and was rewarded with enfeoffment. -*SGZ* 1:25.

Liang Qin 梁謹 [Boweï 伯威] (d.115); Beidi. Liang Qin's father Liang Feng was killed for opposing Dou Xian, and after Emperor He destroyed the power of the Dou in 92 he made Liang Qin a gentleman cadet. A courageous man, concerned to establish a fine reputation, Liang Qin served as a major under the general Deng Hong against the renegade Xiongnu prince Fenghou in 95-96, and after further postings he became Senior Colonel of the Western Regions in 106.

As Liang Qin went to take up his position, the peoples of central Asia rebelled and the Protector-General Ren Shang was besieged at Shule [Kashgar]. Liang Qin was ordered to raise five thousand horsemen from the Qiang and other non-Chinese peoples of Liang province and take them to the rescue. The siege

was broken before they arrived, but Ren Shang was replaced by the Commandant of Cavalry Duan Xi, while the Chief Clerk Zhao Bo took over from Duan Xi. Both officers were at the fortress of Tuogan, which had been established by Ban Chao in the territory of Qiuzi [Kuqa], but Liang Qin did not believe their position was secure. He persuaded King Boba to allow Chinese troops into his capital so that they might defend it together, and despite fierce protests from his officials and people Boba agreed.

As soon as Liang Qin entered the city he sent urgent messages for Duan Xi and Zhao Bo to join him, and their combined force amounted to eight or nine thousand men. With such provocation, however, the people rebelled against their ruler and his allies and laid siege to them, aided by volunteers from the neighbouring states of Wensu and Gumo. After a successful sortie, Liang Qin maintained active defence for several months. Then the enemy were defeated and fled, and the Chinese pursued them, killing or capturing over ten thousand, and seizing vast numbers of camels and other herding animals.

Qiuzi was thus settled, but the routes to Luoyang were still blocked. Senior ministers at court now argued that the region was far away, that the imperial armies had suffered several defeats, and there appeared no limit to the cost of maintaining troops and military colonies. In the summer of 107 orders were sent to abolish the office of the Protector-General in the Western Regions, and to recall the colonists from Yiwulu near present-day Hami and from Liuzhong by present-day Shanshan.

The Commandant of Cavalry Wang Hong was sent with recruits from within the passes to escort the settlers back into Chinese territory, together with the forces commanded by Liang Qin, Duan Xi and Zhao Bo. Wang Hong also pressed several hundred Qiang horsemen, and the resentment aroused by this, on top of the earlier levy by Liang Qin, combined with the Chinese weakness displayed by the withdrawal, brought the great East Qiang rebellion.

When Liang Qin and his men arrived at the frontier of Dunhuang early in 108, there was massive disturbance as the tribesmen attacked government posts and slaughtered Chinese officials and people. The court raised troops for a counter-offensive, and Liang Qin was ordered to bring forces from the west to assist against the rebels. Fighting his way through

Zhangye into Wuwei, he received the surrender of three hundred chieftains, sent them back to their homes, and generally settled this marginal area of the troubles.

Liang Qin was then ordered to Jincheng, an early centre of the revolt. Hearing that the Qiang had moved east, however, he followed them down the Long Road and attacked a force of rebels at Meiyang Pass in Youfufeng. He was wounded in the fighting, but put the enemy to flight, recovering many of their captives and much of the herds and treasure they had taken. The court sent letters of praise and congratulation, and Liang Qin was given authority over all military forces in the west.

In the autumn of 109 a Wuhuan raid defeated the commandery forces of Wuyuan, and in winter the Shanyu Tan of the Southern Xiongnu also rebelled. He besieged the Emissary Geng Chong at his capital Meiji in Xihe, and was joined by numbers of Wuhuan. The minister He Xi was sent against them as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, and Liang Qin was named Acting General on the Liao.

Early in 110 Liang Qin advanced north through Shang commandery with eight thousand men, defeated the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan, killed three thousand of the enemy, captured women and children, and took great quantities of goods and treasure. The Shanyu attacked him with eight thousand men, but Liang Qin dressed in armour, led the charge and broke the circle about his men. The Shanyu took refuge in marshland, and surrendered soon afterwards to the imperial armies. Liang Qin was promoted to be full General on the Liao.

As the Qiang raided Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies, the price of grain rose massively and people began to leave. In 111 Liang Qin was ordered to aid the relocation of the governments of the three commanderies into Youfufeng and Zuopingyi, while even those Chinese who wished to remain were driven from their homes away to the south. Liang Qin was aided in this forced migration by the Xiongnu prince Yougutunu, nephew of the Shanyu Tan, and when the operation was complete he granted Yougutunu the seal of a marquis. This, however, was beyond his authority, and he was recalled and sent to prison.

Liang Qin was allowed to commute his punishment with a fine, and in 115 the clerical officer Ma Rong sent a letter praising his achievements and those of the Protector Pang Can and asking that they be

pardoned. This was done. Liang Qin was then sent as an Internuncio with command of troops to deal with the Qiang and local rebels about Chang'an. On the way through Hongnong he was taken ill and died. -HHS 47/37:1591-93*; deC 84:90-99, 286.

Liang Qiushou 梁丘壽 (d.26). Administrator of Lu for the pretender Liu Yong, he was attacked and killed by Guangwu's general He Yan. -HHS 18/8:686-87.

Liang Rang 梁讓 i.e. Liang Hu 梁護, a subject of Wang Mang and father of Liang Hong. -HHS 83/73:2765, but see QHX:238.

Liang Rang 梁讓 (d.159); Anding. A younger brother of Liang Shang, and uncle to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Liang Rang became Administrator of Nanyang. Reported for his misrule by the Inspector of Jing province Zhao Jie, he transferred to Chenliu, but was indicted for corruption in 142 by the commissioner Du Qiao.

In 159 Liang Rang was a colonel in the Northern Army. As the power of the family was overthrown in that year, he was arrested and killed. -HHS 7:305, 34/24:1186, 63/53:2092.

Liang Shan 梁禪/亶; Anding. Probably a son of Liang Gong, in 97 Liang Shan presented a petition on behalf of his cousin Liang Hu, then in exile in the far south. The petition told of Emperor He's true mother, the late concubine Liang, and asked that she be given the ceremonial rights to which she was entitled as mother of the sovereign. The Grand Commandant Zhang Pu investigated the claim, then recommended to the emperor that he should grant the Lady Liang posthumous title as an empress. So the family was restored to favour and fortune. -HHS 34/24:1172.

Liang Shang 梁商 [Boxia 伯夏] (d.141); Anding. Son of Liang Yong, Liang Shang was well read, and studied the *Poetry* when he was young. As his family was connected to the throne Liang Shang became a gentleman cadet and then a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and in 126 he inherited his father's marquisate. In 128 Liang Shang's sister and his daughter Liang Na entered the harem of Emperor Shun, and Liang Shang was made a Palace Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army. In 132 Liang Na was made empress. Liang Shang's fief was increased, he was honoured as Specially Advanced, awarded a special carriage, and later became Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital.

In the following year Liang Shang's son Ji was

offered enfeoffment, but Liang Shang would not allow him to accept. In general, the histories present Liang Shang as a model of cautious and respectful conduct, while Liang Ji, who succeeded him in power, was arrogant and greedy. One must suspect stereotyping: similar comparisons are made between Liang Shang's daughter Liang Na, worthy consort of Emperor Shun, and her younger sister Nüying, Empress of Emperor Huan.

In 134 Liang Shang was offered the title of General-in-Chief. At first he declined, but he accepted in the following year. Besides formal command of the Northern Army, the position gave authority in government at the highest level. Liang Shang's predecessors as Generals-in-Chief under Later Han, Dou Xian, Deng Zhi and Geng Bao, had all held their posts during the regency of a Dowager. Dou Xian and Deng Zhi, moreover, had commanded armies in the field, but Liang Shang's was a purely political appointment, comparable to that of the short-lived Geng Bao. On the other hand Emperor Shun was now twenty, of full age, and though the initial choice of Liang Shang's daughter as empress had not been uncontested, it is possible that the emperor came to regard Liang Shang, old enough to be his father, as a senior and trusted adviser to counter the demands of his regular officials. Though the General-in-Chief was not part of the bureaucracy, the office had been used on occasion since Former Han, and Liang Shang's influence was comparable and even superior to that of the Excellencies.

We are told that Liang Shang used his trust and favour with restraint, and even in high office he remained modest, obedient to the law, and generous to those in need. He took particular care to promote good men, and Zhou Ju and Li Gu both joined his staff. His influence may also have shown itself in the field of scholarship, for in 136 the Han government commissioned Fu Wuji and Huang Jing to edit the imperial collection of Confucian classics, philosophers and works on art and literature.

Since the accession of the young emperor, the energies of the reformists Yu Xu and Zuo Xiong had often clashed with the privileges of the imperial favourites and kinsmen, and Liang Shang appears to have sought to maintain a balance between the interests of those close to the throne, including his own family, and the sensible proposals of officials. He was

not without opposition: in 139 a group of eunuchs led by Zhang Kui and Qu Zheng claimed that he planned to depose the emperor. Emperor Shun did not believe the story and the conspiracy was crushed.

In 141 Liang Shang became extremely ill. Encouraging his son Liang Ji to maintain comparable restraint, he asked only for a simple funerary service. When he died soon afterwards, however, Emperor Shun attended the ceremony, and he was buried with great pomp and honour.

During his five years of power Liang Shang brought a measure of stability to the government, which had been confused by the combination of a youthful emperor, evidently not very strong-willed but with certain decided favourites, and some Confucian officials who saw the lack of central authority as opportunity to press well-meant reforms. As an authority figure *hors concours*, Liang Shang's appointment can be regarded as a success, but the precedent was not necessarily a good one, and the uneasy situation and the personal qualities of his son and successor Liang Ji guaranteed long-term disaster. -HHS 34/24:1175-77*, XC 1:13a.

For two accounts of strange later manifestations related to Liang Shang, see *sub* Huan Xian and Xie Bu.

Liang Shao 梁邵/紹. Court Architect in 195, Liang Shao was one of the senior officials taken hostage by Guo Si during his quarrel with Li Jue at Chang'an. Later that year, as a member of the Imperial Secretariat, he accompanied the emperor as he escaped from Chang'an, and joined in reassuring him of the loyalty of the general Duan Wei.

Liang Shao later became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of the residence of the empress at Xu city under the control of Cao Cao: the post had formerly been reserved for eunuchs, but was evidently now entrusted to a full man. He had an old quarrel with Yuan Shao, who tried to have Cao Cao kill him on some pretext, but Cao Cao refused to act. -HHJ 28: 334, 339, SGZ 1:16.

Liang Shi 良史. From about 110 the Academician Liang Shi took part in the compilation of a definitive edition of the Five Classics, *Changes, History, Poetry, Ritual* and *Chunqiu*, held in the library of the Eastern Pavilion. -HHS 78/68:2513.

Commentaries and editors are generally agreed that Liang Shi is the name of a man, though such a scholar is mentioned nowhere else in the texts describing this

work. It is possible that the phrase 博士良史 should be interpreted in a more general sense as simply "good scholars among the Academicians."

Liang Shu 梁淑 (d.159); Anding. A kinsman of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, in 159 Liang Shu was Minister of the Guards. As the power of the family was overthrown in that year, he was arrested and killed. - *HHS* 7:305:34/24:1186.

Liang Shuang 梁雙; Hanyang. A local rebel, about 210 he stormed Xi city, but later made peace with the authorities. - *SGZ* 25:703.

Liang Si 梁嗣 see Liang Yin 梁胤.

Liang Song 梁松 [Bosun 伯孫] (d.61); Anding. Eldest son of Liang Tong, he succeeded to his fief about 40. A gentleman cadet, he married the Princess Liu Yiwang, daughter of Emperor Guangwu, and was granted junior office as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. He was generally treated with favour, though he had a brief embarrassment over his association with the critic Du Bao.

On one occasion, when the general Ma Yuan was ill Liang Song called upon him, but he simply bowed before Ma Yuan's couch. Ma Yuan made no acknowledgement. His associates warned him that Liang Song, as son-in-law of the emperor, held great influence at court, but Ma Yuan remarked that he had been a friend of Liang Song's father Liang Tong, both being men of the northwest, and even if Liang Song was an imperial relative he had not shown him the courtesy owed to his age and seniority. Liang Song heard of this and resented it.

As a General of the Household in 49, Liang Song was sent to investigate Ma Yuan's conduct of the campaign against the non-Chinese people of Wuling. Though Ma Yuan's strategy had been successful, he died just before the enemy's surrender. Liang Song reported unfavourably, then joined Dou Gu and other members of his faction to present a posthumous impeachment of Ma Yuan for corruption. The Ma family was disgraced and the influence of their faction at court was ended.

With knowledge of the classics and apocrypha and great understanding of the past, Liang Song joined other scholars discussing the establishment of the Bright Hall, the Hall of the Circular Moat and the ritual altars at Luoyang. He was commissioned to seek, and duly found, justifications in portentous texts for the emperor to celebrate the Feng and Shan sacrifices held in 56, and he led a thousand convict labourers to repair

the imperial road to the summit of Mount Tai.

Emperor Guangwu held high regard for Liang Song, and his testamentary edict stated that he should play a senior role in government. Emperor Ming duly appointed Liang Song as Minister Coachman, but in 59 it was found that he had written to commandery and county offices seeking personal advantage. He was dismissed, and in the following year Emperor Ming appointed a daughter of Liang Song's old enemy Ma Yuan as his empress.

Liang Song evidently showed resentment at these set-backs, and in the winter of 61/62 he was accused of treachery and slander. He died in prison and his fief was abolished, while his daughters killed themselves and members of his household were exiled to the far south. - *HHS* 34/24:1170, 24/14:842-45; Bn 79:112-113, 173-181, Ch'ü 72:300.

Liang Song 梁竦 [Shujing 叔敬] (d.83); Anding. Son of Liang Tong and younger brother of Liang Song 松, he was a precocious student of the *Book of Changes*, and before he had taken the cap of manhood he was able to give instruction in the Meng interpretation of the classic. When Liang Song his elder brother was imprisoned for slander in 61 Liang Song was sent to exile in Jiuzhen in the far south. Travelling through the lake country of the middle Yangzi, across the Yuan and up the Xiang, he was inspired by thoughts of the ancient heroes Wu Zixu 吳子胥 and Qu Yuan 屈原. He composed a rhapsody, *Daosao fu* 悼騷賦, on innocent men unjustly treated, then tied the text to a stone and threw it into the water [but not, it appears, before making a copy which is preserved by *HHS* 34/24 TC quoting *DGHJ*].

Emperor Ming later granted a pardon to Liang Song and his kindred, and he was able to return to the north. He went back to his home territory in the upper Wei valley and lived there in seclusion, refusing all offers of appointment and paying small attention to managing his estates. Concentrating his attention on problems in the classics, he published his work as "Seven Essays" 七序 *Qi xu*; Ban Gu compared his achievement to that of Confucius.

Liang Song nonetheless felt frustrated in his isolation from the capital, regarding himself too highly to accept any of the appointments that he was offered in provincial administration. His ambitions, however, were aided by his sister-in-law the Princess Liu Yiwang: even after the disgrace and death of her husband at the

hands of her brother Emperor Ming, she continued to support the Liang family, and showed special attention to Liang Song. She gave him clothing, food and items of use, which he promptly distributed to his kinsfolk and to the poor. More significantly, as Liang Song's wife had died early, the princess took over the care of his three daughters, her nieces.

In 77, no doubt through influence of the princess, the two younger daughters of Liang Song were selected into the harem of Emperor Zhang and appointed Honoured Ladies, and in 79 the youngest gave birth to a son, Liu Zhao, future Emperor He. In 82 the Empress Dou, unable to bear children herself, had Liu Zhao named as Heir.

The Liang were delighted at the prospects of honour and power which this offered, but their ambitions were a threat to the empress and her family. In 83 an anonymous letter accused Liang Song of treason, and orders were sent for the Administrator of Hanyang to arrest him and put him to question. Liang Song died in prison there, the two imperial concubines were either killed or committed suicide, and other members of the family and their households were arrested or sent to exile in the far south.

The background to the affair was hidden within the palace, and it is said that no-one knew that Emperor He, who came to the throne in 88, had any connection to the Liang. The power of the Dou clan was destroyed by Emperor He in 92, but it was not until the death of the Empress, now Dowager, in 97, that the Liang family ventured to present their case to the throne.

Liang Song's nephew Liang Hu, son of Liang Song 松, then had his cousin Liang Shan claim the rights due to the late concubine as the mother of the ruler, while Liang Song's surviving daughter Liang Yi told how the intrigues of the Dou had ruined his mother and his grandfather. The youngest Lady Liang was accordingly granted posthumous title as an empress and was buried in full ceremony with her sister, while Liang Hu and Liang Yi were sent with an imperial escort to bring the body of Liang Song, now honoured as a marquis, from his prison grave in Hanyang for reburial in full regalia by the tomb of his daughter. - *HHS* 34/24:1170-74*, *XC* 1:13a.

Liang Tai 梁太 see Liang Da 梁大.

Liang Tang 梁棠; Anding. Eldest son of Liang Song 諱, when his father was executed through the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family in 83 Liang Tang

and his kinsmen and household were exiled to Jiuzhen in the far south. After the death of the Empress, now Dowager, Dou in 97, and through the petition of his sister Liang Yi, the family was restored to favour and in the following year Liang Tang and his brothers Yong and Di returned from exile. On their way through Changsha they passed by the estate of Dou Xiang, brother of the late Dou Xian, who had been sent from court after the fall of his family in 92. The Liang brothers forced him to commit suicide.

When they arrived at Luoyang each of the brothers was enfeoffed as a marquis, with estates of five thousand households and the rank of Specially Advanced, allowing them to reside at the capital. They were also awarded landed property, mansions, slaves, horses and carriages, and troops of guards armed with crossbows. The fortunes of the Liang were greater than before, and Liang Tang rose to become Minister Herald. - *HHS* 34/24:1172-74.

Liang Tao 梁桃; Anding. Son of Liang Yin and grandson of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, in 154 Liang Tao was enfeoffed as marquis of a county. - *HHS* 34/24:1185.

Liang Teng 梁騰; Anding. A cousin of Liang Tong, he joined him in giving support to the imperial campaign against Wei Ao. After the victory in 33 Liang Tong was given title as a full marquis, while Liang Teng became a secondary marquis and was made an officer for agriculture in Jiuquan. - *HHS* 34/24:1166.

Liang Tong 梁統 [Zhongning 仲寧]; Anding. Liang Tong's family claimed descent from an official of the ancient state of Jin 晉. During Former Han the lineage had moved from Hedong to Beidi, but later paid for permission to transfer from the frontier to the territory about Chang'an. However Liang Tong's grandfather Pu 溥 and his father Yan 延 acquired expertise and served as majors on the north-western frontier, and in the last years of Former Han they returned to residence in Anding.

A strict man, fond of the law, Liang Tong was a local officer in his commandery and in the provincial government. In 24 he was named a General of the Household by the new Gengshi Emperor of Han, then sent as Administrator to Jiuquan with a commission to bring the northwest under control. His official authority was surpassed by the personal influence of Dou Rong, and when the Red Eyebrows destroyed the Gengshi Emperor at Chang'an Liang Tong joined Dou Rong in

raising troops to hold the passes. Ceding leadership to Dou Rong, who took title as a chief general, Liang Tong became Administrator of Wuwei. His rule was firm, and his influence kept neighbouring territories in order.

As Dou Rong made contact with Emperor Guangwu in 29, Liang Tong and other men of family sent private messengers to the court. Liang Tong received title as a general in addition to his commandery office, and he later killed Wei Ao's envoy Zhang Xuan. When Guangwu attacked Wei Ao in 32 Liang Tong again joined Dou Rong in support, and in 33 he held a subordinate command under Geng Yan at the siege of Wei Ao's former officer Gao Jun in Anding. He was named Marquis Who Achieves Honour 成義侯, while his brother and cousins received secondary fiefs.

The family returned to the northwest, but in 36 Liang Tong accompanied Dou Rong and his fellows to the capital, where they were received with honours. Liang Tong was enfeoffed with a county in the south-eastern commandery of Linhuai, together with the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside there. He was also made a Palace Counsellor, while his four sons became gentleman cadets.

As Palace Counsellor in 38, Liang Tong pressed for harsher punishments and less frequent amnesties to ensure greater obedience to the law, and Guangwu called a court conference to consider the question. The minister Du Lin presented the majority view that the lenient policy of the recent past was more effective, and the emperor agreed.

Soon afterwards Liang Tong was sent out as Administrator of Jiujiang, while his fief was finally set in Qinghe. Again he achieved a reputation for strong government, but he died in that office about 40. -HHS 34/24:1165-70*.

Liang Wei 梁鮪 [Boyuan 伯元] (d.107); Hedong. As a clerk in the offices of the Grand Commandant, Liang Wei was known as an expert on the calendar. As Jia Kui prepared his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system for Emperor Zhang in 85, he consulted Liang Wei.

Liang Wei became Minister of the Household under Emperor He, and in 106 he was promoted to be Excellency over the Masses under the regent Dowager Deng. He died in the following year. -HHS 4:196, 5:206, 92/2:3027.

Liang Xi 梁習 [Ziyu 子虞] (d.230); Chen. Having

served as a local officer in his commandery, in 196 Liang Xi was appointed by Cao Cao as a county magistrate in Dongping, and he held several more such appointments in the east. He maintained good government in all his territories, though when he was in the north of Guangling about 200 he was driven from his office by a local rebellion and was saved only through the protection of the local officer and leader Xu Xuan.

Liang Xi served for a time as a clerk in Cao Cao's offices, but in 206 he was sent to Bing province with appointment as Inspector and military command as a senior major. Gao Gan, the Inspector appointed by Yuan Shao, had been defeated and killed, but many of his supporters remained active, and non-Chinese from the north had entered the frontier. Many of the local people had run away to join the invaders, others had gathered into self-defence groups, and there were many local warlords to cause trouble.

Liang Xi encouraged the common people to return to their homes, and he persuaded the local leaders to accept nomination for office under Cao Cao. As these chieftains departed, he gathered their private troops into an auxiliary force of "volunteers" and set his own officers to command them. Transferring several thousand people to the region about Ye city, he dealt firmly with any who opposed him, including the non-Chinese [see, for example, *sub* Yuyan and *sub* Luxi]. Eventually the whole province accepted his authority and the Xiongnu returned to allegiance; it was said that the later settlement of the Xiongnu by Cao Cao, confirmed in his reception of the Shanyu Huchuan to reside at Ye in 216, was based upon the work of Liang Xi.

On the other hand, despite Liang Xi's achievements, much of the north was beyond the control of the new regime. In 215 the commanderies of Yunzhong, Dingxiang, Wuyuan and Shuofang were all formally abandoned, and this withdrawal presents a truer picture than the historian's praise of Liang Xi. The Bing province of his time was little more than the region south of the Sanggan and east of the Yellow River: Yanmen, Taiyuan, Shangdang and part of Xihe. Liang Xi may have established a reasonable position in the area of present-day Shanxi, but the Chinese writ ran no further.

Within the area which he did control, Liang Xi encouraged local agriculture, and he recommended a

number of men for office, including both locals and refugees. Such men as Chang Lin, Yang Jun and Wang Ling were initially appointed as county magistrates, and many of them became famous. Cao Cao enfeoffed Liang Xi as a secondary marquis.

In 213 Bing was absorbed into Ji province. Liang Xi was recalled to Ye city as a Consultant and then became Area Commander for the west of Ji province, controlling much the same territory as before, with his base in Taiyuan. He was also given responsibility for collecting timber from Shangdang to be used for new buildings at Ye, and he established agricultural colonies along the road to provide for the men and beasts engaged in transport. In 215 he killed the renegade Wuhuan chieftain Luxi, and was rewarded with a full marquise.

When Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220 he restored Bing province and re-appointed Liang Xi as Inspector, and in 225 Liang Xi defeated the Xianbi chieftain Kebineng. He returned to the capital as Minister of Finance in 228, and was honoured by Cao Rui for his twenty years' work in the north. He died two years later. -SGZ 15:469-70*.

Liang Xing 梁興 (d.212); Zuopingyi. One of the north-western warlords defeated by Cao Cao at Huayin in 211, Liang Xing was killed by Zheng Hun in the following year. -SGZ 16:510-11, 17:525, 528, 1:36, 9:270, SGZ Shu 6:946.

Liang Xiu 梁休 [Yuanjian 元堅] (d.222). Having held local office in his commandery, Liang Xiu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as a gentleman cadet and held clerical appointment in the offices of the Excellencies and under the Minister of the Household. He left office for a time during the Great Proscription, but was also a magistrate in Guanghan, then retired and died at home. -LX 1:4a-6b.

Liang Xuan 梁宣, the Lady, see the Lady Xuan, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan.

Liang Xun 梁巡; Anding. Twin brother of Liang Tong, he joined him in giving support to the imperial campaign against Wei Ao. After the victory in 33, while Liang Tong was given title as a full marquis, Liang Xun received a secondary fief. -HHS 34/24:1166.

Liang Yan 梁衍. In 190 Liang Yan was a senior staff officer under the general Huangfu Song. When Dong Zhuo called Huangfu Song to the capital, Liang Yan urged him to raise troops against the illegitimate holder of power. Huangfu Song, however, insisted on

obeying the formal summons. -HHS 71/61:2306.

Liang Yan 梁焉 see Liang Ma 梁馬.

Liang Yi 梁嫫 or Liang Ping 憑, the Lady (62-?); Anding. Eldest daughter of Liang Song 竦, the Lady married Fan Tiao, member of a great clan in Nanyang. In 77 her two sisters were selected into the harem of Emperor Zhang and became Honoured Ladies; in 79 the youngest gave birth to Liu Zhao, future Emperor He.

In 83 Liang Yi's father Liang Song was executed and both her sisters the Honoured Ladies died, but Liang Yi's marriage meant she was regarded as a member of her husband's clan and so she escaped the sentence of banishment applied to her kinsmen. The power of the Dou clan was destroyed by Emperor He in 92, but it was not until 97, when the Empress, now Dowager, died, that the Liang family ventured to present their case to the throne.

Initially, Liang Song's nephew Liang Hu had his cousin Liang Shan claim the rights due to the late concubine as mother to the sovereign, but Liang Yi followed this by a petition to the emperor, describing the intrigues of the Dou which had brought the deaths of his mother and grandfather and the disgrace of the family, and asking that they be restored to their proper position of honour. The emperor was astonished and touched, but he had the Lady questioned by senior eunuchs. All her answers tallied, and she was then granted an audience at which she gave a full account of the sad history. She stayed at the palace for several months, and as she departed she received gifts of clothing, cash, silk, landed property and slaves, treasure of enormous value.

Liang Yi was a woman of high moral standards, and her imperial nephew became increasingly fond of her. He gave her title as Lady Liang 梁夫人, and appointed her husband Fan Tiao as an officer in the corps of guards of the Feathered Forest. -HHS 34/24:1172-73, HHJ 14:171-73.

Liang Yi 梁懿; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Liang Yi was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -LS 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Liang Yin 梁胤 also as Liang Si 嗣 (d.159); Anding. Son of Liang Ji, after Emperor Huan was brought to the throne in 146, Liang Yin was enfeoffed as a marquis with revenue from ten thousand households.

In the early 150s Liang Ji had Liang Yin named Intendant of Henan in succession to his uncle Liang Buyi. This move kept the sensitive office in the hands of the family, but Liang Yin was only sixteen *sui* at the time. He looked ridiculous in his official robes, and he was so ugly that he was known as the "barbarian dog" 胡狗. Later, his mother Sun Shou had Liang Yin destroy the family of Liang Ji's mistress You Tongqi.

When Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies in 159, Liang Yin was arrested and died in prison. -HHS 7:305:34/24:1179-80, 1185-86.

At HHSJJ 36/26:1319-20, the modern commentator Hui Dong argues that Liang Yin was the same person as Liang Buyi, but Su Yu says this is not correct.

Liang Yong 梁雍; Anding. Second son of Liang Song 竦, when their father was executed through the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family in 83 Liang Yong and his brothers Tang and Di were exiled to Jiuzhen in the far south. In 97, however, after the death of the Lady Dou the family was restored to favour. As the brothers returned from exile in the following year they passed through Changsha and called at the estate of Dou Huai/Xiang, brother of the late Dou Xian, who had been sent away from court after the fall of his family in 92. They forced him to commit suicide.

As they came to Luoyang, each of the brothers was enfeoffed as a marquis, with estates of five thousand households and the rank of Specially Advanced, allowing them to reside at the capital. They were also awarded quantities of landed property, mansions, slaves, horses and carriages, and troops of guards armed with crossbows. The fortunes of the Liang were greater than ever before, and Liang Yong rose to become Minister Steward. -HHS 34/24:1172-74.

Liang Yongguo 梁永國 [Shuru 叔儒]. As magistrate of a county in Xiapi, he ran a peaceful government with minimal action. -HQ 2:9a.

Liang Yu 梁郁. A student at the Imperial University about 80, he was jealous and resentful of his colleagues Kong Xi and Cui Yin. He reported them for having spoken disrespectfully of Emperor Wu of Former Han, and the two young men were threatened with execution. -HHS 79/69A:2560.

Liang Yu 梁寓 [Kongru 孔儒]; Wu. In 219, after Sun Quan had taken Jing province and was prepared for a revenge attack by Liu Bei, he sent Liang Yu with tribute to the court of Wei. Cao Cao appointed Liang

Yu to clerical office on his staff, but soon afterwards sent him back to the south. -SGZ Wu 2:1121.

Liang Zhai 梁翟 see Liang Di 梁翟.

Liang Zhan 梁湛 (d.107); Longxi. Administrator of Runan, Liang Zhan died in office. His officer Miao Tong escorted his body home and erected his tomb under most difficult conditions. -HHS 81/71:2686.

Liang Zhong 梁忠 (d.159); Anding. A kinsman of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, in 159 Liang Zhong was a colonel in the Northern Army. As the power of the family was overthrown in that year he was arrested and killed. -HHS 7:305:34/24:1186, HYGZ 10B:156.

Liang Zhongning 梁仲寧 (d.184). A leader of Yellow Turbans, Liang Zhongning was defeated and killed by a troop of Huangfu Song's army led by Fu Xie. -HHS 58/48:1875.

Lianglong 梁龍 see Liang Long 梁龍.

Lianxiu 連休; Xianbi. A chieftain of Liaodong, in 117 Lianxiu led a raiding party to attack and plunder Chinese positions on the frontier. The Wuhuan Yuzhiju, however, who had an old quarrel with Lianxiu, joined the commandery troops in pursuit, defeated the raiders, and took 1300 heads. -HHS 90/80:2987; deC 84:391.

Liao Bo 廖伯; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Yin Jipei, he died young. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Liao Chun 廖淳 see Liao Hua 廖化.

Liao Dun 廖惇 see Liao Hua 廖化.

Liao Fu 廖扶 [Wenqi 文起]; Runan. Liao Fu's father had been Administrator of Beidi, but he was held responsible when the commandery was over-run by the Qiang during the great rebellion in 108, and he died in prison. Liao Fu was devastated, and resolved on the life of a hermit. A scholar of the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Han interpretation, and of the New Text *Classic of History* following Ouyang Gao, he maintained a school of several hundred students. He was several times invited to office, but refused to consider affairs of state, and though he was skilled in astrology, the apocrypha and divination by the wind, he would not even offer an interpretation of portents.

Liao Fu lived in his ancestral territory, north of the local town. Realising that a great drought was coming, he amassed a store of grain which he shared with his kinsmen and with those reduced to penury by the deaths of their families. Admired as a local sage, he was over eighty when he died. -HHS 82/72A:2719-20*, XC 6:5b; Ngo 76:98-100, DeWoskin 86:61-62.

Liao Hua 廖化 [Yuanjian 元儉] (d.264); Nanyang.

Liao Hua's original personal name was Chun 淳, but he changed it; it sometimes appears as Dun 惇.

Registrar to Guan Yu in Jing province, when the territory was seized by Wu in 219 Liao Hua submitted to the invaders, but two years later he managed to rejoin Liu Bei as he attacked down the Yangzi. He joined Zhuge Liang's staff, rose to high military command and received enfeoffment. Together with Zong Yu, Liao Hua died on the road to Luoyang after the surrender to Wei. -SGZ Shu 15:1077*.

Liao Ji 廖覲 was Administrator of Julu. -FSTY 6f:142.

Liao Li 廖立 [Gongyuan 公淵]; Wuling. At the age of thirty Liao Li became an Assistant Officer to Liu Bei in Jing province. Admired by Zhuge Liang, he was appointed Administrator of Changsha, but when Lü Meng attacked that territory in 215 he abandoned his post and fled to the west.

Liu Bei still respected his ability, so he did not punish him but made him Administrator of Ba commandery. When he took title as King of Hanzhong in 219 he named Liao Li as a Palace Attendant.

Under Liu Shan Liao Li held only a colonel's position at court, but he considered himself to be the equal of Zhuge Liang and resented his lowly position. As he expressed this too clearly, Zhuge Liang had him reduced to commoner rank and exiled to the northwest. -SGZ Shu 10:997-98*.

Liao Meng 廖孟; Guanghan. Son of Liao Bo, he was cared for by his widow Yin Jipei. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Liao Mengju 廖孟舉; Runan. Sons of Liao Fu, both Liao Mengju and his younger brother Weiju made names for themselves. -HHS 82/72A:2720; Ngo 76:100, DeWoskin 86:62.

Liao Weiju 廖偉舉; Runan. Sons of Liao Fu, Liao Weiju and his elder brother Mengju both became well known. -HHS 82/72A:2720; Ngo 76:100, DeWoskin 86:62.

Liao Xi 廖析 was Administrator of Guiyang in 163, but when bandits attacked the commandery he fled. -HHS 86/76:2834.

Liao Xin 廖信. Administrator of Beidi, about 68 Liao Xin was found guilty of extortion and was sent to prison. His goods were confiscated, and Emperor Ming distributed his property among the various officials. -HHS 79/69B:2578.

Liao Zhan 廖湛 (d.26); Nanyang. In 22 the bandit Troops from Xinshi in Jiangxia, led by Wang Kuang

and others, crossed into the south of Nanyang. In response, the commoners Chen Mu and Liao Zhan raised an insurrection of their own. They styled their party the Troops from Pinglin and joined forces with the Troops from Xinshi.

In the autumn of that year, further to the north, Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, rose in rebellion against Wang Mang, and he sent his kinsman Liu Jia to propose an alliance. This was agreed to, and Liu Bosheng gained substantial reinforcements. As Bielenstein observes, however, the commoner troops whose support he was compelled to seek would later be responsible for his loss of the leadership of the movement which he had begun.

The combined force moved against Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, but the rebels were heavily defeated at Xiao-Chang'an, south of the city, by a commandery army under Wang Mang's officers Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci. Liao Zhan and his colleagues threatened to leave the losing cause, but Liu Bosheng recruited another group, the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, led by Wang Chang, Cheng Dan and Zhang Ang, and the balance against Wang Mang's local forces was restored.

In the winter at the beginning of 23 the rebels again fought the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, and on this occasion they achieved decisive victory and killed both enemy commanders. A few weeks later they defeated another army commanded by Zhuang You and Chen Mao, then advanced to besiege Wan. At this time, however, in the spring of 23, the leaders of the Troops arranged a coup to depose Liu Bosheng as leader of the rebellion and to proclaim Liu Xuan as [the Gengshi] Emperor. Liao Zhan was named Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital and a post equivalent to ministerial rank, and he was later made a chief general.

In 24 the Gengshi Emperor named Liao Zhan as king of a county in Nanyang. Bielenstein observes that the pattern of enfeoffments at this time reflected a political setback for the former bandit chieftains as against their rivals of the Nanyang gentry, and Liao Zhan lost his office as Bearer of the Mace about this time.

In 25 Liao Zhan took part in the unsuccessful campaign against Deng Yu in Hedong, then joined Zhang Ang in Chang'an and entered his conspiracy against the Gengshi Emperor. The plot was found out,

but Liao Zhan, Zhang Ang and Hu Yin then plundered the markets, attacked the palace and drove the emperor out of the city. They were joined by Wang Kuang, but after a month of fighting the rebels were driven from Chang'an by the loyalists Li Song and Zhao Meng.

As the Red Eyebrows approached Chang'an in the winter of 25, the former chieftains went to join them, and when the Gengshi Emperor surrendered they persuaded the victors to have him killed. Though his colleagues soon fell out with the newcomers, Liao Zhan established himself among their leaders. In the spring of 26 he held command of an army operating north of the Wei River, but he was defeated and killed by Liu Jia in Zuopingyi. -HHS 11/1:468-74; Bn 54:136, Bn 59.98-102, 117.

Lin 蘭, the Lady (d.49). Concubine of Ma Yuan, she bore his fourth son Ma Keqing and his youngest daughter the future Empress Ma of Emperor Ming. The death of Ma Yuan in 49 was followed closely by that of the young Ma Keqing, who had been recognised as a child of great potential. Demented by grief, the Lady Lin also died. -HHS 10A:407.

Lin Shuo 臨/林碩 [Xiaocun 孝存]; Beihai. A noted local gentleman and scholar, he compiled a commentary to *Zhou li*. In the early 190s the Chancellor Kong Rong honoured him posthumously with offerings at his county altar. -HHS 70/60:2263; Hou Kang:2108, Yao Zhenzong:2318. The surname of this man appears both as 臨 and as 林.

Ling, Emperor 靈帝 (reg. 169-189) see Liu Hong 劉宏.

Ling 冷 [surname] appears also as 伶 and 冷.

Ling 陵/凌 [personal name unknown] see Dai Ling 戴陵. -LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Ling Cao 凌操 (d.203); Wu. A man from the hill country, Ling Cao is described as a wandering bravo 輕俠, generous and brave, but cunning. He joined Sun Ce at an early stage of his career, took a leading role in fighting, then became a magistrate in the west of Wu, where he brought the non-Chinese of the hill country to submit and was given title as a colonel.

In 203 Ling Cao took part in Sun Quan's first attack on Huang Zu. The army was victorious but Gan Ning, in Huang Zu's rearguard, shot Ling Cao as he followed in pursuit. Gan Ning later joined the Sun group, and there was always tension between him and Ling Cao's son Tong. -SGZ Wu 10:1295-96.

Ling Hong 冷宏 [surname also as 冷 or 岑

岑]. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat in 120, Ling Hong argued that the new king of Lecheng, Liu Chang, who had been accused of Impiety, should be treated leniently. Since he had been appointed to the throne from another lineage he had not been expected to gain such a position, and so he had not been given the moral tutoring a regular heir would receive to guide him to proper conduct. Though a charge of Impiety carried the death penalty, Liu Chang was only degraded to a county marquisate.

Later, as Administrator of Chenliu, Ling Hong was impressed by the scholarship of Wu You. He nominated him Filial and Incorrupt, and refused to endorse criticism of his erratic behaviour at the farewell ceremony. -HHJ 16:196-97, HHS 50/40:1674, 64/54:2100.

Ling Shouguang 冷壽光 [surname also as 冷 and 靈]. At the end of the second century, Ling Shouguang was noted for his long life. He nourished his vital essence by coupling with women but refusing to ejaculate, and he also engaged in breathing exercises. It is said that he lived over a hundred and fifty years, with white hair and beard but the complexion of a man aged thirty. -HHS 82/72B:2740; Ngo 76:126.

Ling Tian 令田 see Lingtian 令田.

Ling Tong 凌統 [Gongxu 公績] (189-217); Wu. Son of Ling Cao, Ling Tong was fifteen years old in 203 when his father was killed by Gan Ning fighting against Huang Zu. Sun Quan nonetheless gave him command of his father's men and named him a senior major with acting authority as a colonel.

Ling Tong took part in settling resistance in the Poyang region of Yuzhang, and in 206 he was ordered to join the attack on the recalcitrant camp of Mo, on the edge of Huang Zu's territory. Before the battle, his fellow-officer Chen Qin got drunk at a banquet and insulted Ling Tong and his late father. Ling Tong attempted to ignore him, but Chen Qin pursued the matter outside, and eventually Ling Tong turned on him; Chen Qin died of his wounds a few days later.

Ashamed of this internal feuding, Ling Tong inspired his men to great efforts, and he expiated his crime by breaking the enemy defences and leading the way to victory.

As the army advanced against Huang Zu, Ling Tong played a leading role fighting on the river, and in 208 he joined Pang Xi in a sortie which broke the enemy's boom defending the mouth of the Han and opened the

way for the final attack. Later that year he was in the defence against Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs and was appointed a substantive colonel. During the attack on Jiangling in 209 Ling Tong was left in command of the base with a skeleton force while the main army went upstream to support a bridgehead held by Gan Ling.

In 214 Ling Tong was at the capture of Huan city in Lujiang, and he was raised to be a General of the Household and notional Chancellor of Pei, at that time outside Sun control. He joined the campaign in Jing province in 215 and later that year he accompanied the attack on Hefei. As the army was defeated and withdrew, Sun Quan was cut off, but Ling Tong and three hundred Companions 親近 held a bridge behind him until he had made his escape. Though seriously wounded, he swam his way to safety. Sun Quan showed his gratitude and promoted Long Tong to lieutenant-general, with double the number of troops.

In 217 Ling Tong was ordered to settle the east of Sun territory, being Wu commandery and Kuaiji, with ten thousand troops and authority to commandeer any supplies he needed. Soon after he arrived at his old home near present-day Hangzhou, however, he was taken ill and died.

Ling Tong was well-mannered, generous by nature, and interested in scholarship. He had small concern for wealth, but a great sense of honour. Sun Quan mourned him deeply, had a stele engraved in his honour, and had his two young sons, Ling Lie 烈 and Ling Feng 封, taken into his palace and treated as his own. -SGZ Wu 10:1295-97*.

Ling Zheng 冷徵 [surname also as 伶 and 冷]. Protector of the Qiang in 184, Ling Zheng was killed by mutineers at the beginning of the rebellion in Liang province. -HHS 72/62:2320, 87/77:2899; deC 84:147, 492.

Lingchang 零昌 see Lianchang 零昌.

Linghu Ba 令弧霸 see sub Linghu Yu 令弧禹.

Linghu Chang 令弧瑒 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Chun 令弧淳 see sub Linghu Yu 令弧禹.

Linghu Fu 令弧扶 see sub Linghu You 令弧由.

Linghu Huan 令弧渙 see sub Linghu Yu 令弧禹.

Linghu Huang 令弧璜 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Hui 令弧輝 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Jian 令弧堅 see sub Linghu You 令弧由.

Linghu Jin 令弧瑾 see sub Linghu You 令弧由.

Linghu Lue 令弧略; Taiyuan. Member of a leading local family, in 24 his family power was broken by

Feng Yan, an officer of the Gengshi Emperor.

Linghu Lue later became chief clerk to the Excellency of Works Song Hong at the court of Emperor Guangwu. In 30 or 31 Feng Yan sent in a memorial proposing reforms, and Guangwu wanted to see him. Linghu Lue, however, told Wang Hu and Zhousheng Feng of the Imperial Secretariat that Feng Yan would slander them, and the two men prevented the audience taking place. -HHS 28/18A:977.

Linghu Meng 令弧猛 see sub Linghu You 令弧由.

Linghu Ming 令弧明 see sub Linghu Yu 令弧禹.

Linghu Pu 令弧溥 [Wenwu 文悟]; Dunhuang. XTS 76B:3397 says that Linghu Pu, youngest son of Linghu Yu 禹, became Administrator of Cangwu.

XTS also gives the names of three brothers of Linghu Pu: Hui 輝, Qia 洽 and Yan 延; and of three sons, Huang 璜, Rui 叡 and Chang 瑒; but says nothing further about any of them.

Linghu Qia 令弧洽 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Rong 令弧容 see sub Linghu Yu 令弧禹.

Linghu Rui 令弧叡 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Shao 令弧邵 [Kongshu 孔叔]; Taiyuan. A man of family, Linghu Shao's father was Protector of the Qiang. About 196 Linghu Shao went to live at Ye city under Yuan Shao. As Cao Cao attacked the Yuan in 204 Linghu Shao took refuge in a fortress to the west of the city, but Cao Cao captured the place. About a dozen men were to be executed, but Cao Cao saw that Linghu Shao appeared to be of good family and asked him about his background. When he found that he had known Linghu Shao's father, he released him and appointed him to his staff.

Linghu Shao later served as a county magistrate, returned to a senior post on Cao Cao's staff as Imperial Chancellor, and was then appointed Administrator of Hongnong. Disliking lawsuits and treating his officers in friendly and informal fashion, he maintained an honest and generous government. He was particularly concerned to encourage education and scholarship, and chose his best young men to go to Hedong and study with Yue Xiang, expert on *Zuo zhuan* and the other Confucian classics.

As Cao Pi took power in 220 he called Linghu Shao to the capital to take charge of military cadets. He died about 224. -SGZ 16:514; Fang 65:92-93.

Linghu Xian 令弧羨 see sub Linghu You 令弧由.

Linghu Yan 令弧延 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu Yang 令弧瑒 see sub Linghu Pu 令弧溥.

Linghu You 令弧由 [Zhongping 仲平]; Dunhuang. *XTS* 75B:3379 says that Linghu You was the third son of Linghu Cheng 稱, who had settled in Dunhuang after a failed rebellion against Wang Mang, and that Linghu You became a Commandant at Yiwu near present-day Hami; this was presumably in the early 70s, but see *sub* Linghu Yu.

XTS also gives the names of five brothers of Linghu You: Fu 扶, Jian 堅, Xian 羨, Jin 瑾 and Meng 猛, but says nothing further of them.

Linghu Yu 令弧禹 [Juxian 巨先]; Dunhuang. *XTS* 75B:3379 says that Linghu Yu, eldest son of Linghu You, was Administrator of Boling. Since that commandery was not established until 159, while Linghu You was a man of the first century, there is anachronism.

XTS also gives the names of five brothers of Linghu Yu: Ba 霸, Rong 容, Ming 明, Huan 渙 and Chun 淳, but says nothing further of them.

Linghu Yu 令弧愚 (d.249); Taiyuan. As a young man Linghu Yu had high ambitions and the people of his family expected him to make the fortunes of their house. His uncle Linghu Shao had doubts, but Linghu Yu held a number of positions under Cao Cao and did well.

As Inspector of Yan province in 249, Linghu Yu joined a conspiracy against Sima Yi. He died soon afterwards, but when the plot was discovered two years later, his tomb was broken open, his corpse was exposed, and his close relatives were killed. -*SGZ* 16: 514; Fang 65:42, 83-84.

Linghu [Zibo] 令弧子伯; Taiyuan. An old friend of the hermit Wang Ba from the same commandery, Linghu Zibo became Chancellor of Chu. On one occasion he sent his son, now also an official, to deliver a letter to Wang Ba. Wang Ba's son was so dazzled by the distinguished visitor that he could not look him in the face, and Wang Ba was ashamed that his simple life had made his son simple too. -*HHS* 84/74:2782; Vervoorn 90:193-194.

Lingtian 令田; non-Chinese. A chieftain of the Zuodu people, in 108 Lingtian offered tribute and submission on behalf of 310,000 people in three tribes from the southwest of the empire. Their goods included yellow gold and ornamental tassels made of yak hair. Lingtian was granted a noble title. -*HHS* 86/76:2857.

Little Emperor, the 少帝 (*reg.* 125) see Liu Yi 劉懿.

Little Emperor, the 少帝 (*reg.* 189) see Liu Bian 劉

辯.

Little Lord on a Piebald Horse 駁馬少伯 see Boma Shaobo 駁馬少伯.

Liu 劉, the Lady I. The name of the Lady's father is not recorded, but she was granted title as Princess of Gaoping in Shanyang. She married Fu Chen and became the mother of the historian Fu Wuji. -*DGHJ* 13:1b.

Liu 劉, the Lady II. A daughter of Liu Ying the King of Chu, she was enfeoffed as Princess of a district. She evidently married Fan Shang about 70. -*HHS* 32/22:1123.

Liu 劉, the Lady III. A daughter of Liu Cang the King of Dongping, she was enfeoffed as Princess of Neihuang in Wei. She married Dou Mu the son of Dou Rong. -*HHS* 23/13:808.

Liu 劉, the Lady IV. A daughter of Liu Qiang the King of Donghai, she was enfeoffed as Princess of Biyang in Nanyang. Her husband Dou Xun was disgraced and died in prison, but in 78 their eldest daughter became empress of Emperor Zhang. In 88 the Lady Dou, now regent Dowager, granted her mother title as a Senior Princess and the revenues of a county. -*HHS* 10A:415-16.

Liu 劉, the Lady V (d.161). Wife and then widow of Cui Yuan, the Lady was described as generous, well-educated and frugal. After the death of her husband in 142 she aided in maintaining the traditions of the family, and assisted her son Cui Shi in his administration of the frontier commandery of Wuyuan. Cai Yong composed a eulogy for her. -*HHS* 52/42:1730, *Cai* 6:6; Ebrey 78: 39.

Liu 劉, the Lady VI. A younger sister of Emperor Huan, the Lady became Senior Princess of Changshe in Yingchuan. She married Geng Yuan/Shou. -*HHS* 10B:442-43, 19/9:714.

Liu 劉, the Lady VII. A younger sister of Emperor Huan, the Lady became Senior Princess of Yiyang in Changsha. She married a junior cousin of Kou Rong. -*HHS* 10B:442-43, 16/6:627.

Liu 劉, the Lady VIII. Daughter of Emperor Ling, in 180 the Lady was appointed Princess of Wannian in Zuopingyi. -*HHS* 10B:462.

Liu 劉, the Lady IX; Kuaiji. Wife of Xu Yu, she died about 180, when he was Minister of Finance. A stele was erected to her memory. -*LX* 2:6a-7b.

Liu 劉, the Lady X. A senior concubine of Cao Cao, about 177 she bore his first son Cao Ang, and later

gave birth to the Princess of Qinghe. She died soon afterwards, while still young. -SGZ 5:158, 20:579; C/C 99.91.

Liu 劉, the Lady XI. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Ji. -SGZ 20:579.

Liu 劉, the Lady XII; Langye. Daughter of Liu Xun, she was healed of a leg ulcer by Hua Tuo. -HHS 82/72B:2736, SGZ 29:803.

Liu 劉, the Lady XIII; Runan. Daughter of a prosperous local family, about 190 she was sought in marriage by Lü Fan. He was not of wealthy background, and the Lady's mother demurred. Her father, however, was confident Lü Fan would do well in future and he approved the match. -SGZ Wu 11:1309.

Liu 劉, the Lady XIV; Shanyang. The Lady was a daughter of Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province. About 193 Liu Biao considered having her marry the exiled scholar Wang Can. Disapproving of Wang Can's appearance and conduct, however, he gave the young woman to his cousin Wang Kai. -SGZ 28:796.

Liu 劉, the Lady XV. A later wife of Yuan Shao, the Lady urged him to make his youngest son Shang his heir.

The Lady was very jealous. When Yuan Shao died in 202 she killed five of his concubines and, lest there was life in the after-world and they met Yuan Shao there, she had the faces of the dead women blackened and their hair cut off.

In 204 the Lady was captured at Ye city by Cao Cao in the company of her daughter-in-law the Lady Zhen, wife of Yuan Xi. She introduced her to Cao Pi, and the Lady Zhen became his consort. -HHS 74/64A:2403, SGZ 6:201, 5:160; Cutter 92:579, C/C 99.97-98.

Liu 劉, the Lady XVI. Wife of Zhen Yan, after his death in 196 she and their child were cared for by her sister-in-law Lady Zhen, future consort of Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of Wei. In 236 the Lady Zhen's son Cao Rui, Emperor Ming, granted the Lady Liu enfeoffment. -SGZ 5:159, 162; C/C 99.97, 101.

Liu 劉, the Ladies. Daughters of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian of Han, in 220 the Ladies were offered as concubines to Cao Pi the King of Wei, and after Cao Pi had taken the imperial title they entered his harem. -SGZ 5:160; Fang 52:37-40, C/C 99.97.

The *Sanfu jue* of Zhao Qi says that one of Emperor Xian's daughters was given in marriage to Dou Yuan.

Liu 劉 [personal name unknown]. Holder of a fief in Bohai, and formerly Administrator of Ba commandery and Minister of the Imperial Clan, he was honoured with a stele set up jointly with a former Chancellor of Zhongshan, surnamed Xue. Most of the inscription is lost. -LS 26:9b, LX 1:9b-10b.

Liu 劉 [personal name unknown]. In 188 the Inspector of Ji province Wang Fen organised a conspiracy to kidnap Emperor Ling and put another member of the Liu house on the throne. The plot was discovered and Wang Fen killed himself.

Wang Fen's candidate is described as the Marquis of Hefei, a county in Jiujiang. Though he was presumably a member of the imperial clan, nothing is recorded of his name and lineage nor of the history of the fief. -SGZ 1:4-5.

Liu 劉 [personal name unknown]; Langye. Elder brother of Liu Xun 勳, he was Inspector of Yu province but died of illness. -SGZ 12:387.

Liu 劉 [personal name unknown] (d.206?). Son and successor 嗣子 of Liu Zhong the King of Ganling, he was killed by a group of Yellow Turbans. He left no heir, and in 206 the state was abolished by the Han government under the control of Cao Cao.

HHS Annals have no record of this man, and the formal ending of the state was not necessarily linked to his death, for several other kingdoms were also abolished in 206; the royal fief of Ganling could have been held in abeyance until that time. It is probable, however, that he indeed met his end about that time, for a group of Yellow Turbans was active in Ji'nan in 207: see *sub* Liu Yun. -HHS 55/45:1804.

Liu 劉 [personal names unknown]. When the Lady Fu Shou, Empress to Emperor Xian, was killed at Cao Cao's orders in 214, it is said that two of her children by the emperor were also killed. -HHS 9:391, 10b.454. The names of these imperial children 皇子 are not given, but we may assume they were boys and that, unlike their half-brothers Dun, Miao, Ping, Xi and Yi, they had not received enfeoffment.

Liu 劉 [personal name unknown]. Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, he was named Heir to the duchy of Shanyang, but died before his father in 234; his son Kang 康 succeeded to the duchy. -HHS 9:391. This Heir may have been a son of the Empress Cao Jie or one of her sisters, or perhaps one of Liu Xie's named sons Dun, Miao, Xi or Yi *qq.v.*

Liu A 劉阿. In 221 Liu A and Li Yi commanded

Sun Quan's forward defences in Jing province on the Yangzi Gorges. They were driven back by Liu Bei's initial attack, but after Lu Xun's defeat of Liu Bei in the following year they returned to hold the advance position against him.

About 227 Liu A was defeated by Zhang He of Wei. -SGZ 17:526, SGZ Shu 2:890.

Liu A'nu 劉阿奴. Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, in 112 he was enfeoffed as a marquis in Pei. -HHS 50/40:1670.

Liu Ai 劉艾. Formerly a magistrate in Hongnong, Liu Ai was Chief Clerk to Dong Zhuo at Chang'an in 191, and as Palace Attendant in 194 he was trusted by Emperor Xian to supervise the grain ration.

In 195 he bullied the soldiers of Guo Si to let the emperor leave the city, assisted him on his journey to the east, and was appointed Minister of the Imperial Clan. When Li Le proposed that the imperial party should escape down the Yellow River through the Sanmen Gorges, Liu Ai joined Yang Biao in arguing from local knowledge that the passage was extremely dangerous, with many rapids, and there were now no good boatmen: cf. Needham 71:277. They accordingly crossed the River into Hedong.

As Cao Cao brought the imperial court to Xu city in 196, Liu Ai was enfeoffed and appointed Chancellor of Pengcheng.

Liu Ai later became Minister of the Imperial Clan, and in 214 he was a member of the official party which received Cao Cao's daughters as brides for the Emperor. As Acting Imperial Counsellor in 216 he presented Cao Cao with his insignia as King of Wei.

With personal experience at the centre of government in troubled times, Liu Ai compiled accounts of the reign of Emperor Ling, *Lingdi ji* 靈帝紀, and of his successor, *Xiandi ji* 獻帝紀, the latter receiving its present title after the death of the former emperor in 234. Both works survive in fragments; Liu Ai's name as author is sometimes miswritten as Liu Fang 方. -HHS 72/62:2328, 2336, 2339, 2341-42, SGZ 1:43, 48, 6:186; deC 90:99, 545.

Liu An 劉安; Nanyang. Son of Liu Long, he succeeded to his fief in 57. -HHS 22/12:781.

Liu An 劉安 (d.120). Son of Liu Shang the King of Rencheng, Liu An succeeded his father in 101. Frivolous and greedy, he would wander out from his residence in disguise, and he took the property of his officials, even the rations of his guards, without

payment. In 119 he was reported by the Chancellor Xing Hong, who recommended his dismissal. Emperor An did not agree, but Liu An was fined a fifth of his revenue for a year.

Liu An was succeeded by his son Chong. -HHS 42/32:1443.

Liu An 劉安 (d.125). A eunuch, Liu An became Prefect of the Yellow Gates in the time of Emperor An. He held great influence at court and was a close associate of the Empress Yan and her family. In 124 he supported the accusations which brought the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, and when the Little Emperor Liu Yi died late in 125, he sought to assist the concealment of his death until a new selection could be made among other cadets of the imperial clan.

The eunuch Sun Cheng, however, led a coup to restore Liu Bao to the succession. As they made their first move, the conspirators encountered Liu An, Jiang Jing and other members of the rival party, and promptly killed them. -HHS 78/68:2514-15.

Liu An 劉安 or Liu Anguo 安國 (d.145). Son of Liu Shou the King of Jibei, in 120 he was enfeoffed as a district marquis. In 139 he was made King of Jibei to maintain the lineage after the death of his nephew Liu Duo.

Liu An was succeeded by his son Zi, and his son Meng was enfeoffed as a village marquis. -HHS 55/45:1807, 6:269.

Liu Ang 劉印. Eldest son of Liu Yan 衍 the King of Xiapi, about 90 he was excluded from the succession because of his immoral and criminal conduct. -HHS 50/40:1674-75.

Liu Anguo 劉安國. Grandson of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 113 he was enfeoffed as marquis of a village. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Liu Anguo 劉安國 see Liu An 劉安, King of Jibei.

Liu Anu 劉阿奴. Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, in 112 Liu Anu was enfeoffed with a county in Pei.

Liu Ao 劉翳 [Zhongning 重寧]; Changsha. A close associate of the palace eunuchs, in 168 Liu Ao was Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the regent Dowager Dou of Emperor Huan. He then became Minister Coachman, and was promoted Excellency of Works in 169. He left office a year later. -HHS 8:330-31, 103/13:3283.

The commentary of Liu Zhao to HHS 95/5:3121 quotes a description by Cai Zhi of the enthronement

of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling in 171. One of the participants in the ceremony was the Director of the Secretariat, who is cited only by his personal name of Ao. At *HHSJJ* at 3528, Hui Dong suggests that this may refer to Liu Ao.

Liu Ao 劉囂. Director of Retainers under Dong Zhuo at Chang'an about 191, Liu Ao was ordered to enforce the moral relationships of loyalty, diligence and obedience; those found guilty were executed and their property confiscated. As a result, there were a great number of false accusations and people were terrified. -*SGZ* 7:179.

It is most unlikely that this is the same man as in the entry above.

Liu Ba 劉巴 [Zichu 子初] (173-222); Lingling. Son of Liu Xiang, in 189 Liu Ba went with his father on campaign into Nanyang with Sun Jian. Liu Xiang was killed, and Liu Ba fell into the hands of the new Governor Liu Biao, an old enemy of Liu Xiang. Liu Biao wanted to kill Liu Ba but needed an excuse, so he had former officers of Liu Xiang go to Liu Ba and encourage him to lead a rebellion against the new regime. Liu Ba did not respond, and he reported every approach.

Changing his intention, Liu Biao offered Liu Ba appointments to his provincial staff and nomination as Abundant Talent, but Liu Ba declined. Retiring to Lingling, he served for a time as commandery Registrar and was then a private scholar and teacher.

As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Liu Bei fled to the south. Many of the local scholars and gentry went to join him, but Liu Ba went north to Cao Cao, and he was commissioned to take control of the commanderies south of the Yangzi, Changsha, Guiyang and his native Lingling. After Cao Cao was defeated at the Red Cliffs, however, Liu Bei dominated that region, and Liu Ba was obliged to withdraw further south. Changing his surname to Zhang 張, he planned to make his way back to the north, and though Zhuge Liang wrote to invite him into Liu Bei's service, he rejected the approach.

In Jiaozhi, Liu Ba fell foul of the warlord Shi Xie, who was establishing his own regime in the south. He escaped into Yi province, but was arrested by the Administrator of Yizhou commandery. The Administrator was going to put him to death, but was persuaded by his Registrar to send him to the provincial capital. There Liu Ba met with the Governor

Liu Zhang, whose father Liu Yan had been a friend of Liu Ba's father. Liu Zhang welcomed Liu Ba and made him a close adviser.

Liu Ba warned Liu Zhang against the alliance with Liu Bei, and when Liu Zhang refused his advice he retired to his house, claimed that he was ill, and closed the gates. As Liu Bei attacked Chengdu in 214 he gave strict orders that no harm should come to Liu Ba. Liu Ba apologised for his past opposition, and he was appointed to Liu Bei's staff.

Liu Bei had given his soldiers permission to plunder Chengdu, so the official treasury was stripped bare and there was no money for the needs of the army. Liu Ba solved the financial crisis by issuing *zhibo* 直百 money, an artificial and over-valued currency, and controlling the resultant inflation by strict price controls through official markets.

Liu Ba worked with Zhuge Liang, Fa Zheng, Yin Ji and Li Yan on the administrative code *Shu ke* 屬科. When Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong in 219 Liu Ba was appointed to his Secretariat, and after Fa Zhang died in the following year Liu Ba succeeded him as Director.

A man of strict conduct, Liu Ba warned Liu Bei that his self-indulgent government would discourage men of quality from joining his service. On the other hand, he considered himself, as a scholar, far superior to fighting men like Zhang Fei, and both Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang were annoyed at the disruption he caused by pretensions and his lack of courtesy.

It is said that Liu Ba had opposed Liu Bei taking the imperial title in 221, but he nonetheless composed the proclamations for the ceremony. He died in the following year. -*SGZ* Shu 9.980-82*; deC 96:471-474.

Liu Ban 劉般 [Boxing 伯興] (19-78); Chu/Pengcheng. A distant descendant of Emperor Xuan of Former Han, Liu Ban was the son of Liu Yu 紆, former King of Chu. The royal fief was abolished by Wang Mang and Liu Yu died when Liu Ban was still young, so Liu Ban lived with his mother's family.

When Wang Mang was destroyed in 23, Liu Ban's mother and her kinsmen went to Chang'an, capital of the new Gengshi Emperor, hoping to escape the troubles. Soon afterwards, however, Chang'an fell to the Red Eyebrows, and the family fled west into Wuwei. Despite his youth, Liu Ban was a leader of the party.

Following the defeat of Wei Ao in 32, communications were once more restored and Liu Ban returned with his family to the new capital at Luoyang, where he studied the Confucian classics. In 33 Emperor Guangwu enfeoffed him as a marquis in order that he might maintain sacrifices for his royal ancestors. Later, when Guangwu's son Liu Ying was granted the fief of Chu, Liu Ban's marquisate was moved from that territory into Pei.

In 43, as the emperor came on tour to Pei, the Administrator recommended Liu Ban as the marquis who had displayed the best conduct among those who held fiefs in the commandery. Liu Ban was rewarded with a million cash and two hundred bolts of silken cloth. In the tour of the following year he was again received in audience and accompanied the emperor back to Luoyang, where he was granted title as a Marquis Attending Sacrifices, permitting him to remain at the capital.

After the accession of Emperor Ming in 57, it was found inappropriate that Liu Ban should hold a fief within the kingdom of Pei, and his state was changed once more to a county in Lujiang. With other marquises, he was sent out to his fief.

Some years later Guan Xun the Inspector of Yang province reported that Liu Ban's exemplary conduct was worthy of official recognition, and in 67 Liu Ban was summoned to join the imperial tour in Nanyang and was given acting position as Bearer of the Mace, chief of police. He then returned to the capital as a Marquis at Court, a title senior to his former position as Marquis Attending Sacrifices, and likewise excusing him from the requirement to reside in his fief.

In the following year Liu Ban was appointed a colonel in the Northern Army. Though the Northern Army was the professional core of the imperial military forces, the commanders and their offices were noted for splendid display, excellent appointments, and their fine uniforms and accoutrements. The colonelcies were therefore regularly awarded to kinsmen of the ruler, and on each occasion Emperor Ming went out on tour, Liu Ban led an imperial escort of non-Chinese horsemen from the Chang River Regiment.

About this time the emperor proposed to establish Ever-Normal Granaries 常平倉, a system which sought to control food prices through government purchases of grain when it was cheap, then resell at low prices if supplies became limited. Senior advisers endorsed the

scheme, but Liu Ban objected, arguing that though the idea was superficially attractive, in reality the official purchases raised the price of grain to the profit of great landholders in times of plenty, while the common people gained no advantage. The plan was therefore dropped.

There are some problems about this account of the price-control scheme. An Office for Price Adjustment and Stabilisation had been maintained by Wang Mang at the head of the Vast Canal in Rongyang in Henan, but his policy on this line, part of his government's monopolies, had been the subject of major complaints from his rebel opponents on the grounds of excessive and authoritarian centralisation. Emperor Guangwu therefore abolished the office at Rongyang [*HHS* 11/1:486, and *sub* Liu Penzi]. On the other hand, the Treatise of Economics of *Jin shu* says that in 62 Emperor Ming established an Ever-Full Granary 常滿倉 at the east of the city, by the terminus of the Yang Canal which brought supplies from the Ao Granary by Rongyang, and as the result of the emperor's initiative the price of a *hu* of unhusked grain [some 20 litres] was reduced from about a hundred to just twenty cash [*JS* 26:781; Yang 63:154 and Bn 76:59-60].

The biography of Liu Ban at *HHS* 39/29:1305 is the only text where a general scheme for price-control of grain is mentioned in *Hou Han shu* [Hsü 80:243, Ch'ü 72:460], but since Liu Ban was not at the capital in 62 he could not have been involved in policy at that time. It appears that the earlier price-control system had been revived, but the question was later reconsidered: Liu Ban then spoke for the opposition, and his arguments persuaded the ruler to abandon the policy. He was probably right: price control was a good idea, but the process of its administration was beyond the competence of government.

At this time, moreover, an ordinance was issued to enforce the prohibition against people holding two occupations 二業. This policy had initially been adopted by Former Han to prevent merchants holding official posts or buying up agricultural land, but local officers now interpreted it so strictly that they forbade farmers to hunt or fish, depriving them of their livelihood in the winter and spring. Furthermore, because of a plague among draught cattle and the effects of drought, there was limited opportunity to expand arable land, so people were encouraged to plant paddy-fields instead of dry-land farming. Again,

local officers showed a lack of sensitivity, and sought to collect tax even against fields which were not being cultivated.

Protesting at these arrangements, Liu Ban urged the emperor to instruct the heads of provinces and commanderies that revenue collected should reflect the actual harvest, and officials who made inflated claims on taxable land should be penalised in the same way as taxpayers who concealed it. The emperor endorsed Liu Ban's specific proposals, but there was no change to the general policy of taxing acreage rather than production.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, Liu Ban was appointed Steward of the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Ma, and he later became Minister of the Imperial Clan. When his wife died, the family was awarded funerary gifts and a burial place in the tomb park of the late Emperor Ming, northwest of Luoyang; he himself soon followed her. During his long service in government Liu Ban was admired for his standards of debate, for his fine conduct and for his generosity to kinsmen. -HHS 39/29:1303-06*; Bn 54 appendix # 128, Bn 79:44-45, Hsü 80:243, Ch'ü 72:460.

Liu Ban 劉班. Chief Clerk to the Grand Commandant and a senior and distinguished Confucianist, in 142 Liu Ban was given acting position as a Household Counsellor and joined the special commission of eight sent out to observe the conduct of the empire. Little came of the project, and government remained in the hands of the Liang kinsmen of the empress. -HHS 6:272, 61/51:2029.

Liu Ban 劉班. Liu Ban was Administrator of Jiuquan about 180. Together with Zhou Hong the Inspector of Liang province he reported on the fine vengeance taken by the Lady Zhao E against her father's murderer; they set up a stele in her honour. -SGZ 18:549.

Liu Bao 劉寶. Son of Liu Fu the King of Pei, in 57 he was granted a marquise. -HHS 42/32:1427.

Liu Bao 劉寶. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 100 he was made a marquis. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Liu Bao 劉保, the Lady. Eldest daughter of Emperor He, in 106 she was named Senior Princess of Xiuwu in Henei. -HHS 10B:461.

Liu Bao 劉保 (115-144) [Emperor Shun 順帝 (reg. 125-144)]. Liu Bao was born in 115, the son of Emperor An by his concubine the Lady Li I. His mother was poisoned soon afterwards by the Empress Yan, and

Liu Bao knew nothing of her, but he was the only son of the emperor, and in 120 he was duly appointed as Heir. He is described as gentle and generous, a good student of the *Book of Filial Piety*, and it is said that the Dowager Deng was pleased with him.

THE HEIR AND HIS ACCESSION

The child had two wet-nurses, Wang Nan and Song E, and the Lady Wang was a particular favourite. In 124 Liu Bao became the centre of a struggle for influence in which Wang Nan and the kitchen officer Bing Ji were opposed by the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng and the Lady Wang Sheng who had been wet-nurse to Emperor An. Upset and confused by the intrigues, Liu Bao took refuge at a mansion lately built for Wang Sheng, and Wang Nan and Bing Ji lost much of their influence. Wang Sheng and her allies then accused them of conspiracy: both were killed and their families and associates were exiled to the far south.

Liu Bao mourned his two former favourites, and Wang Sheng and her associates were concerned he might later seek to avenge them. They accordingly told Emperor An that Liu Bao had also been involved in the alleged conspiracy, and urged that he dismiss him as Heir. The ruler was encouraged by his Empress Yan, and though the minister Lai Li and many other officials demonstrated against the plan at the palace gates, in the autumn of 124 the boy was deposed and given title as King of Jiyan.

Early in the following year Emperor An died while on tour to the south. Despite his deposition as Heir, Liu Bao was an obvious candidate for the succession, but the Empress Yan, now Dowager, had the right to act as regent and, when no Heir was formally appointed, to choose a new ruler from the males of the imperial clan. To prevent any difficulty, she and her supporters concealed the emperor's death until the cortège had returned to the capital; they then passed over Liu Bao and named his cousin, the five-year-old Liu Yi, as emperor.

Liu Yi, however, died at the end of that same year, and though the Yan group had some knowledge of his fatal illness they had no firm plans made and no candidate prepared. They attempted once more to conceal the death, but a few days later, on 16 December, a group of eunuchs led by Sun Cheng carried out a successful coup and placed Liu Bao upon the throne. As the Dowager was placed under arrest, her brothers and their eunuch allies were killed and remnants of the

Yan group were exiled to the far south.

STYLE OF GOVERNMENT

Liu Bao came to the throne at the age of eleven *sui*, just over ten years old by Western reckoning, and with the disgrace of the Dowager Yan there was no specific person to control a regency. The officials who had protested against his deposition in the year before were rewarded with appointments: Lai Li was reappointed as a minister and then General of Chariots and Cavalry; Huan Yan, who had been Tutor to Liu Bao when he was Heir, now became Grand Tutor; and Zhang Hao was made an Excellency. Zhu Chang was first appointed as head of the Dowager's household, but after the convenient death of the Lady Yan a few weeks later he too was made an Excellency. The Grand Tutor Huan Yan also held control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal command of the executive government, sharing the responsibility for the first three years with the Grand Commandant Zhu Chong and his successor Liu Guang. Huan Yan was dismissed in 128, but Lu Guang and his successor Pang Can continued in control of the Secretariat, even after the young emperor had taken the cap of manhood in 129.

The eunuch Sun Cheng, leader of the plot which had restored Liu Bao to his inheritance, was rewarded with a county marquissate, while nineteen of his colleagues also received fiefs and gifts. Early in 127 Sun Cheng joined the Director of Retainers Yu Xu in an attack on the eunuch Zhang Fang, accusing him of extortion and conspiracy, and the emperor was forced to dismiss him. Zhang Fang had taken no part in the coup against the Yan clan, but he was a personal favourite of the young ruler and Emperor Shun resented the humiliation. He soon afterwards ordered Sun Cheng and his associates to go to their fiefs, and though there were protests at such treatment of his loyal supporters, the emperor remained adamant until he was embarrassed into recalling the exiles by the intervention of Zhu Chang.

Despite his youth, Emperor Shun could make decisions on his own, but they were not always wise: he tended to vacillate from one policy to another, and he continued to be influenced by friends and associates. The court was to a considerable degree divided between Yu Xu and his Confucianist associates, notably Zuo Xiong, Huang Qiong and Zhou Ju, who sought moral and administrative reform, and those who opposed their sometimes extreme measures. The cliques and

factions appear to have been separated as much by personality as by philosophy and, as in the case of Sun Cheng, officials of the bureaucracy were quite willing to accept alliance with the eunuchs or other personal favourites of the emperor.

From the mid-120s to the mid-130s Yu Xu and his associates sought to improve the conduct of government. Yu Xu was chiefly concerned with specific instances of corruption, while Zuo Xiong sought to establish a general Confucian dominance in the recruitment and control of the bureaucracy for the longer term. They introduced some reforms to the procedures for selecting officials, and they persuaded the emperor to invite a number of distinguished scholars in retirement to take positions at court, but in the long term their efforts were unsuccessful, for they used the Secretariat, with its close connection to the throne, as their base, and much of their success came from factional support at court and influence with the emperor. In such a process other members of the regular bureaucracy, even the Excellencies who theoretically held control of the Secretariat and all other officials, were often bypassed and unable to play an effective role. From this point of view, the very means by which Yu Xu and his colleagues sought to reform the administration brought about a decline in its authority.

Even as Yu Xu and his colleagues were attempting to tighten the requirements for entry to the imperial service, moreover, there appears to have been increasing difficulty in finding satisfactory officials. There were several edicts calling for special nominations, and the young emperor was frequently successful in attracting leading scholar recluses to his court, but there was a growing tendency for men to avoid public life, to attend rather to their private affairs, or even to seek distinction as hermits. It is difficult to assess the degree to which potential recruits may have been discouraged by stories of intrigues at court, or whether the responsibilities of family estates were becoming greater and more attractive, but the lack of good men to hold office, and the problems of keeping them at their posts, were of constant concern and led to many of the irregularities of appointment and promotion which the purists complained about.

In somewhat similar fashion, the government continued to display evidence of financial stress. On several occasions convicts were permitted to redeem

their offences by payment of a fine – certainly a more profitable procedure than inflicting punishment – and during the difficult years about 140 forced loans were called from the holders of fiefs and from wealthy commoners.

Across the empire, there were continuing natural disasters, earthquakes, floods, drought and locusts, and in 132 there were fierce attacks by wolves in Changshan. The government responded with humble edicts of remorse, and also by opening granaries and giving exemption from taxation, while commissioners were sent to supervise relief work and assess the quality of the local administration. In 134 a major project, led by the Internuncios Wang Hui and then Sima Deng, repaired the channel of the Yellow River and its tributaries near Rongyang in Henan. Though the work was important for transport on the Vast Canal which supplied the capital, and imperial officials were sent to supervise, it was not funded primarily by the central government but by cash and *corvée* labour extracted from commanderies of the region. Other projects in this period were likewise arranged at a local level, apparently without assistance from a cash-strapped court.

Besides this, there were more spiritual concerns: in 129 it was ordered that people should be prevented from quarrying in the hills because their activity could be releasing emanations which brought floods and the failure of crops. Drought at the capital in 132 and 134 brought prayers for rain and jail release; when there were floods in Ji province the Palace Attendant Wang Fu and others were sent to offer sacrifice to the gods of Mount Tai and the Eastern Sea, to the Yellow River, the Luo, and other troublesome streams; while in 133 an earthquake at Luoyang led to an edict seeking advice.

One of the submissions on this occasion came from the Court Astronomer Zhang Heng, who had lately developed a seismograph, but was nonetheless quite prepared to use natural phenomena as omens of concern. He and others at this time, notably the official Li Gu, complained that the emperor was failing to exercise full authority and that he paid too great attention to his personal attendants and family connections. In some response, in 134 the ruler sought the opinion of Zhou Ju, newly appointed to the Secretariat, and the Excellencies Liu Qi and Kong Fu were dismissed.

Though they dealt with them on occasion, the regular officials always resented the power of the

eunuchs, whom they regarded as illegitimate advisers to the throne. There had been disapproval when Sun Cheng and his colleagues were enfeoffed, and there was further protest in 135, when eunuchs were authorised to pass on fiefs to their adopted sons. By this time, however, there was greater anxiety about the rise of the Liang family.

The Lady Liang Na had entered the harem of Emperor Shun in 128, and in 132 she became empress. Her father Liang Shang was first appointed as a Palace Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army, but when his daughter came to the throne he received additional honours and became Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital. In 134 he was offered position as General-in-Chief, ranking with the Excellencies, and though he initially refused he took the office in 135. The family now held great power at court, and officials had to deal not only with the emperor and his favourites but also with the consort family.

Liang Shang appears to have exercised his authority with some restraint, and his position was only enhanced when a group of eunuchs sought to accuse him and his associates of treachery. Their slander was disproved, the conspirators were killed, and the emperor was confirmed in his confidence. Though he continued to hold ultimate power, it appears Emperor Shun was content to leave much of the business of government to this mature and responsible relative, old enough to be his father; and Liang Shang did maintain a balance between the inner court of the emperor and his officials in the outside bureaucracy.

When Liang Shang died in 141, he was succeeded in his high office by his son Liang Ji. In the following year there was another attack, for as eight commissioners were sent out to assess the condition of the empire, one of them, Zhang Gang, remained at Luoyang and sent in an indignant report on the corruption of Liang Ji and the excessive favour being shown to the family. It is said that the emperor appreciated his honesty, but nothing was done. Certainly the sovereign could maintain control, but when he died three years later the Liang acquired real power.

More widely in the empire, there was increasing trouble from the early 130s. As pirates ravaged Kuaiji in 132, the religious rebel Zhang He caused disturbance to the whole of Yang province, and in 134 there was banditry in Yi province. A major rising among the non-Chinese of the far south in the late 130s triggered

discussion of the need to send a full imperial army, and though the people were settled by the experienced officials Zhu Liang and Zhang Qiao, the lower Yangzi was then afflicted by the bandit troops of Zhang Ying, while in 143 there was rebellion in Yang, Xu and Jing provinces. Financially, the government was under such strain that official stipends were reduced, a forced loan of a year's tax was made from kings and marquises, convicts were permitted to ransom themselves by fines, and it was forbidden to brew wine.

All these troubles and difficulties were important enough to be recorded in the imperial annals, but the problems of the northern frontier were far more serious and placed far greater strain upon the empire.

NON-CHINESE AFFAIRS

In the aftermath of the great Qiang rebellion from 107 to 118 the northwest remained restless; in 126 a rising in Longxi was put down by the Protector Ma Xian.

Further afield, the enterprise of Ban Yong in central Asia was largely successful, culminating in the defeat of Yanqi [Karashar] in 127, but Ban Yong was dismissed as the result of an intrigue, and though his father Ban Chao had spread the authority of Han over the whole Tarim basin and across the Pamirs, his own operations had gone little further than Shanshan and Yanqi. The states in the west of the Tarim sent tribute and sometimes contributed troops, agents were placed in various cities, and new colonies were set up in Yiwu and Jushi, on the Northern Road through Turfan. There was, however, no firm and consistent Chinese control, and little contact further west, though the general settlement lasted until the 150s.

In 129, at the urgings of the energetic official Yu Xu, the government resolved to reclaim territories in the northwest which had been abandoned in the course of the Qiang rebellion. Reprieved convicts were sent to settle the frontier, while the administrations of Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies were restored to their former capitals.

At least in appearance, therefore, there was reconstruction in the region, and in 137 the emperor went on progress to Chang'an: this journey, accompanied by donations to the poor and dispossessed, is the only occasion on which he is recorded as having left his capital.

The major problem, however, lay more directly to the north, and particularly with the Xianbi who now controlled great parts of the steppe and were inspired

by their war-leader Qizhijian. In 126 an attack on Dai commandery brought the death of the Administrator, and as raiding continued the troops of the Liyang camp in Wei commandery were sent north to garrisons in Changshan while further recruits were gathered for training. In 127 the Xianbi raided Liaodong and Xuantu in the east, and in 128 they attacked Yuyang. The Protector Geng Ye defeated them on occasion and the Chinese mounted a series of punitive expeditions, but disturbance remained endemic along the whole frontier.

By the middle 130s the trouble was beginning to influence other non-Chinese groups: the Wuhuan raided Yunzhong, while Qiang tribesmen attacked Longxi, Hanyang and Wudu. These latter were regularly defeated by the Protector Ma Xian, but in 140 rebellion among the Xiongnu, compounded by failure among the Chinese, brought widespread disaster.

Leader of the insurgents was the chieftain Wusi, and as his following increased he was joined by the prince Yiti and attacked the Shanyu Xiuliu. The insurgents were driven back by the General on the Liao Ma Xu, but then Xiuliu was placed under such pressure by the Emissary Chen Gui for his failure to control the people that he committed suicide. The rebellion spread further, and the government was obliged to withdraw the headquarters of Xihe and Shang commanderies once more to the south, and to combine Shuofang into Wuyuan, where the remnant civilian regime could be guarded by the garrison under Ma Xu.

The rebellion was brought under control by the end of 140, and Wusi surrendered in early 141, but in the mean time he had established links with the Wuhuan and with the Qiang. In 140 these latter raided Wudu and the region about Chang'an and threatened the Long Road to the northwest. In 141 they defeated and killed the general Ma Xian in Beidi.

This last misfortune for the Chinese inspired a new series of rebellion and raiding, Wusi returned to the fray, and as the Qiang attacked Longxi and Chang'an once more the commandery capitals of Anding and Beidi were also brought back to the south. Over the following years the Chinese gradually gained the upper hand, and the trouble was finally ended in 144, but the work of reconstruction had been overthrown, the commandery headquarters never returned to their former territories, and although there was some resettlement by convicts there was no real attempt to

recover the ground that he been lost.

In the mean time, the death of Shanyu Xiuliu had caused great damage to the prestige of that regime and had broken the line of inheritance. The Han court set up the prince Toulouchu with great ceremony, but it is doubtful whether he or his successors held any real authority over their nominal subjects. In effect, the greater part of the Ordos had been abandoned by the Chinese, and the Xiongnu people who occupied the region were organised rather in campfire and tribal units than as part of a coherent, controllable state.

SCHOLARSHIP AND BELIEF

In 131 Emperor Shun, probably at the instigation of the energetic Zuo Xiong, ordered the restoration of the Imperial University. Emperors Zhang and He had supported the institution, but the stultifying effect of official New Text teachings brought its decline, and though the regent Dowager Deng had initiated some reforms and Emperor An may have planned improvements, it was now said that the Academicians failed to teach, their pupils would not study, the buildings were in ruins and the site had reverted to pasture and gleanings. In the late 120s the Court Architect Zhai Fu had proposed rebuilding, and though the work was delayed several years in 131 and 132 a labour force of 112,000 convicts constructed 240 buildings with 1,850 rooms; within a year the new complex was ready.

Leading Confucian scholars were now recruited as Academicians, scholarships were offered, and the number of students grew. Direct entry to the bureaucracy by examination was always limited, but time at the University formed part of the *curriculum vitae* for many young men of the gentry and frequently preceded their entry into local government or nomination for senior office. The reconstruction also demonstrated Emperor Shun's formal commitment to Confucian ideals, and as patronage continued and grew in later years, notably under the influence of the Liang family of his empress, the University became a centre of reformist activism.

Besides this restoration of the University, in 136 the scholars Fu Wuji and Huang Jing were commissioned to prepare an imperial collection of Confucian classics, treatises by philosophers and works on art and literature. Little is known of this ambitious project, and it appears to have been later discontinued, but one may note that neither of the principal researchers held

office at the University.

Emperor Shun himself appears to have been genuinely interested in the mantic practices endorsed by New Text Confucianism. He went to considerable lengths to bring the scholar recluse Fan Ying, expert in the *Book of Changes*, to his court, and he also sought advice from Lang Yi, who was noted in the same field. We have observed how he would issue humble edicts in response to portents, in 132 he had the Palace Attendant Wang Fu lead a special expedition to make sacrifice to the deities of rivers and mountains, and he held two special ceremonies at the Hall of the Circular Moat. Even more personally, with four Honoured Ladies to choose from, he wanted to select his empress by lot, so the spirits could decide for him. He was dissuaded by the conservative Hu Guang, who insisted upon the traditional criteria of family background followed by virtue, age, and lastly physical attraction; so the Lady Liang Na was chosen.

If Emperor Shun was interested in the esoteric, beyond even the orthodoxies of the New Text and the approved apocrypha, he matched a growing tendency. The rebel Zhang He, who was active in Yang province in 132 and 133, is the first to be described in the Annals as religious or heterodox 妖賊, and it appears probable that the Rice Sect of Zhang Ling was among a number of religious movements in Yi province about this time. Closer to home, it is claimed that an early version of the Taoist text *Tai ping jing* 太平經 was presented to the throne by Gong Chong and/or Xiang Kai, disciples of the teacher Gan Ji from the region of Langye. The emperor may have been interested, but his advisers rejected it as being heretical and inappropriate.

DEATH AND JUDGEMENT

Emperor Shun died on 20 September 144, at the age of thirty *sui*. He was buried in the "Mound of Glory" 憲陵 northwest of Luoyang and received the temple-name Jingzong 恭宗 "Reverent Exemplar." In 190, however, Dong Zhuo, who controlled the court of Han at that time, approved a recommendation of Cai Yong that his tablet should be deposed from a permanent position in the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the grounds that he had shown neither merit nor virtue: see MBeck 90: 106-107 and *sub* Liu Zhao, Emperor He. -HHS 5*.

The emperor was succeeded by his infant son Liu Bing, born the previous year to his concubine the Honoured Lady Yu. Power in the state, however, was taken by the Lady Liang Na, now regent Dowager, and

her brother Liang Ji.

From the point of view of the dynasty, like Emperor He before him Liu Bao's great failing was his early death, which left the way open for the dominance of the consort family; and the Dowager Deng was a more effective ruler than the Liang family. More generally, and despite the harsh assessment of Cai Yong, historians have debated whether Emperor Shun was indeed a weak and inadequate ruler, or whether his reign marked a brief attempt, ultimately unsuccessful, to restore the declining fortunes of the house of Han, a period of hope which was shattered by the "stupid tyranny" of Emperors Huan and Ling: e.g. *ZZTJ* 68:2173-74; *deC* 96:555-558, discussed by *MBeck* 86:364.

Certainly, the first decade of the reign of Emperor Shun proved to be the last time that a ruler of Later Han dealt directly with his Confucianist officials, and the style of government followed that traditional model, with worthy sentiments and attempts at reform. The teenage sovereign, however, was strongly influenced by personal relationships, and his policies could vary through the intrigues of favourites within the palace or the strong will and authority of leaders in the bureaucracy. It does not appear that he had great interest in abstract notions of consistent and impartial government, and the partnership between the ruler and his ministers suffered accordingly.

Perhaps most significant is the appointment of Liang Shang as General-in-Chief and the consequent extension of his influence. The emperor was twenty years old in 135, formally of full age, and should in theory have had no problem exercising his authority, but he preferred to rely upon the older man, and even after Liang Shang's death in 141 he allowed Liang Ji to take his father's position.

A decisive moment came in 142, when Zhou Ju and others persuaded Emperor Shun to appoint eight commissioners for a general investigation of the empire. The men were chosen for their moral authority and held wide powers of supervision and remonstrance, but when Zhang Gang criticised the favour shown to the Liang, the emperor noted the problem but took no action. This marked the end of any possibility that Confucian officials of the traditional bureaucracy might match the authority of the consort family. It is possible, but unlikely, that the emperor could have changed his attitude, but for the time being he had accepted the

Liang family, and his death soon afterwards confirmed the new, and potentially dangerous, situation.

It may indeed be argued that, for all the difficulties which faced the empire, the reign of Emperor Shun was a period of hope and offered the dynasty a chance for revival. Sadly, the ruler himself was lazy, fickle, and not very interested. -*HHS* 6.

Liu Bao 劉豹 (d.152). A younger son of Liu Yi the King of Changshan, he succeeded his father in 144. In 151 four older brothers were granted village marquisates. - *HHS* 50/40:1678. [On a confused reference to Liu Bao as King of Anping, see *sub* Liu Xu 續.]

Liu Bao 劉褒 was a noted painter in the time of Emperor Huan. -Yao Zhenzong:2408.

Liu Bao 劉豹. A former Consultant, and successor to a marquisate, probably in Lujiang, following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in 220 Liu Bao joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, to claim the imperial title. -*SGZ* Shu 2:887.

Liu Bao 劉寶 see Liu Zhen 劉珍.

[**Liu**] **Bao** 劉豹 see Bao 豹; Xiongnu.

Liu Bei 劉備 [Xuande 玄德] (161-223); Zhuo: First Sovereign of Shu-Han 蜀漢先主. Liu Bei's family claimed descent from Emperor Jing of Former Han through the kings of Zhongshan and a short-lived fief in Zhuo held by a cadet lineage. Liu Bei's grandfather Liu Xiong was a county magistrate and his father Liu Hong held office in the local administration.

EARLY CAREER

Liu Hong died when Liu Bei was young and his mother maintained the family by selling straw sandals. In a corner of their small property there was a mulberry tree over fifty feet tall, shaped like the umbrella of the chariot, and those who saw it from afar took it as a sign of future fame and honour. Liu Bei agreed, but his uncle Liu Zijing suggested that he would only bring the family to ruin.

In 175 Liu Bei's mother sent him to study with Lu Zhi, a distinguished man of the commandery who was an Academician at the University in Luoyang. One of his fellow-students was Gongsun Zan of Liaoxi, whom Liu Bei admired and treated as an elder brother, and another was his kinsman Liu Deran. Though they were not closely related, Liu Deran's father Liu Yuanqi gave provisions to Liu Bei in the same fashion as to his own son, and when his wife questioned him he explained that Liu Bei was a man of exceptional quality and

promise.

Liu Bei grew to be seven foot five inches tall [173 cm]. It was said that his hands reached below his knees, and his ears were so large that he could see them when he turned his head; accurate or otherwise, these were taken as attributes of a future hero. A man of few words, showing little emotion, Liu Bei had small interest in books but took pleasure in dogs and horses, in music and in fine clothing. He enjoyed the life of a fighting man, he treated his subordinates well and many young men were anxious to join him.

At an early stage Liu Bei acquired his two companions Guan Yu and Zhang Fei. There is no historical account of the celebrated and romantic Oath of the Peach Garden 桃園結義, but they treated one another as brothers and the other two gave Liu Bei the utmost loyalty and service. Zhang Shiping and Su Shuang, moreover, two wealthy merchants of Zhongshan, admired Liu Bei and presented him with gold and other valuables so that he was able to recruit a large number of followers.

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 Liu Bei and his troop followed the colonel Zou Jing against them, and he also served against Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju in the northeast in 187. He did well in both campaigns, being badly wounded in a skirmish with the Wuhuan but rescued by his men, and he was appointed a county commandant in Zhongshan, lowest commissioned rank of the imperial civil service. Liu Bei did not stay there long, for when an officer of the commandery was sent on inspection, with plans to make him redundant, he beat the man, then fled to escape punishment.

Soon afterwards Liu Bei joined the Commandant Guanqiu Yi on an expedition to deal with rebels in Danyang. He again distinguished himself, and was appointed assistant magistrate of a county in Pingyuan. Leaving that post, he became a county commandant in Pingyuan, later transferred to full magistrate, but was then defeated by local bandits and driven from the territory.

By this time the imperial government was falling into disorder. It is said that Liu Bei raised troops to join the alliance against the usurping government of Dong Zhuo, but soon afterwards he went to join his old friend Gongsun Zan, who held a largely independent command in the north and who appointed him a senior major.

INTO XU PROVINCE

In 191 Liu Bei aided Gongsun Zan in a major victory over his rival warlord Yuan Shao, and he was sent south with Tian Kai, Gongsun Zan's Inspector of Jing province, to follow up the success. He was named magistrate of the capital county of Pingyuan, and then Chancellor of the kingdom. After a long military career, of varying success, this was his first senior office. He was at that time thirty years old.

In 192 Yuan Shao achieved a major victory over Gongsun Zan, and Tian Kai and Liu Bei were driven from Pingyuan east to Qi. In the following year Tian Kai went to assist Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province, who was under attack from Cao Cao. Liu Bei's own command comprised a thousand Wuhuan horsemen and a larger contingent of ill-fed refugees, but Tao Qian provided him with four thousand commandery troops from Danyang, and Liu Bei changed his allegiance. Tao Qian nominated Liu Bei as Inspector of Yu province, with his headquarters in Pei: from this time he is frequently referred to by courtesy as Liu of Yu province 劉豫州.

Tao Qian died in 194, but he urged his attendants to invite Liu Bei to take his place as Governor of Xu province. After formal hesitation Liu Bei allowed himself to be persuaded by Mi Zhu, Chen Deng and others, while the scholar Kong Rong assured him that a man of action such as he was far more suitable than Yuan Shu, the neighbouring warlord in Yang province, who relied merely upon his past lineage.

In 196 Yuan Shu came to attack, and Liu Bei faced him in Xiapi, while despite their former hostility Cao Cao now gave Liu Bei title as a general and fief as a marquis. Zhang Fei, however, killed the Chancellor of Xiapi and was driven from the capital by rioting, while Yuan Shu persuaded the general Lü Bu to change sides. Liu Bei's army disintegrated and Lü Bu captured his wife and children. Liu Bei surrendered to Lü Bu, who promptly changed once more and joined him against Yuan Shu. As Yuan Shu was driven away Liu Bei got his family back and was again named Inspector of Yu province, stationed in Pei, while his former subordinate Lü Bu took the senior title as Governor of Xu province.

Soon afterwards Lü Bu once more made terms with Yuan Shu, and Yuan Shu sent his general Ji Ling with a strong force to attack Liu Bei. Though Lü Bu could well have allowed one of his rivals to destroy

the other, he was worried lest Yuan Shu became too powerful. So he went to the rescue and saved Liu Bei by a celebrated feat of archery: hitting the spike on top of a halberd and so impressing the enemy that they withdrew.

By early 198 Liu Bei had acquired more troops, and he intercepted a convoy of treasure which Lü Bu had sent north to buy horses. Lü Bu's officers Gao Shun and Zhang Liao then stormed Pei city, captured Liu Bei's family, and drove him north to Cao Cao. Cao Cao received Liu Bei generously, gave him title as Governor of Yu province, and assisted him to return southeast to face Lü Bu. He was supported by an army of Cao Cao's under Xiahou Dun, and in the autumn they took the offensive.

Both armies were initially defeated by Lü Bu's general Gao Shun, but in the winter Cao Cao arrived, joined Liu Bei in Liang and then advanced to defeat Lü Bu. When they captured him in Xiapi, Lü Bu sought to persuade Cao Cao to give him senior command in his army, and asked Liu Bei to speak on his behalf. Liu Bei, however, recalling how Lü Bu had killed his masters Ding Yuan and Dong Zhuo, urged Cao Cao to get rid of him. "Big-ears," observed Lü Bu as he was led to execution, "you're a crook."

Reunited once more with his family, Liu Bei returned to Cao Cao's headquarters in Xu city, where he was named General on the Left and treated with great courtesy, riding on occasion with Cao Cao in his chariot and sitting on the same mat. He was nonetheless quite willing to join the conspiracy of Dong Cheng, instigated by Emperor Xian, to assassinate Cao Cao and restore imperial power. It was of this period that the story is told how Cao Cao remarked to Liu Bei that the two of them were the only men of significance in the empire: Liu Bei was so startled at the possibility the plot was discovered that he dropped his chopsticks, then attributed his clumsiness to a convenient clap of thunder.

By the summer of 199 Yuan Shu's position in the south had collapsed, and as he sought to join his kinsman Yuan Shao in the north Liu Bei was sent from the capital to intercept him. When Yuan Shu died, Cao Cao's officers Zhu Ling and Lu Zhao returned to the north, leaving Liu Bei in Xu province; he promptly rebelled and killed Cao Cao's Inspector Che Zhou. Leaving Guan Yu to hold Xiapi, Liu Bei then moved into Pei, linked with Chang Ba in Donghai, gathered

other dissidents in the region and made alliance with Yuan Shao. He set his headquarters at Pei city, and though Cao Cao sent an army against him, Liu Bei now controlled a major force and the attack was unsuccessful.

Early in 200, however, even as Yuan Shao was threatening invasion from the north, Cao Cao made a lightning attack. His success was complete, and though Liu Bei himself escaped he was compelled once more to abandon his wife and children, while his companion Guan Yu was captured and obliged to remain with Cao Cao for several months.

Fleeing to Qing province, Liu Bei recovered some of his scattered forces, then joined Yuan Tan and was welcomed by Yuan Shao. He was sent back to Runan to support the bandit Liu Pi in raiding about Xu city, but was again defeated and driven back to Yuan Shao.

Liu Bei was now anxious to leave, and he persuaded Yuan Shao to give him another detached command in the south. He joined the bandit Gong Du of Runan, and they defeated and killed Cao Cao's officer Cai Yang, but after the defeat of Yuan Shao at Guandu Cao Cao came against them in person, and in 201 Liu Bei was driven to refuge with Liu Biao, Governor of Jing province.

JING PROVINCE AND THE RED CLIFFS

Between 192 and 201 Liu Bei had served or been in alliance with Tian Kai, Tao Qian, Lü Bu, Cao Cao and Yuan Shao; he had left Tian Kai, Tao Qian and Yuan Shao, spoken against Lü Bu and rebelled against Cao Cao. It was a remarkable history of switched allegiances, military defeats and recoveries. As evidence of his vicissitudes, Liu Bei had suffered the capture or arrest of his family three times: by Lü Bu in 196 and 198, each time later returned, and by Cao Cao in 200, after which it appears they did not rejoin him.

Liu Bei remained seven years with Liu Biao. He had been fortunate to find refuge in Jing province, and could expect the same fate as Lü Bu if he fell again into Cao Cao's hands. On the other hand, despite his erratic record, Liu Bei obviously inspired great loyalty: even after heavy defeats his men would return to him, and he attracted support from leading members of the gentry. Concerned at this popularity, Liu Biao was reluctant to make use of Liu Bei's abilities in case he developed a rival party.

Stationed initially on the northern frontier, Liu Bei achieved one notable success in an ambush of Cao

Cao's commanders Xiahou Dun and Yu Jin. Later, however, Cao Cao was pre-occupied in the north and Liu Bei was evidently recalled to Liu Biao's court. We are told that on one occasion he went to the lavatory and came out in tears. When Liu Biao asked him the reason, Liu Bei explained that his thighs used to be thin from horse-riding, but they were now flabby from lack of exercise. It was during this period that Liu Bei met and gained the allegiance of Zhuge Liang, who later became his chief minister and the bulwark of his state of Shu-Han.

In the autumn of 208 the situation changed. Just as Cao Cao was moving against Jing province from the north, Liu Biao died. In a brief political struggle the Cai family of Liu Biao's current wife gained the succession for his younger son Liu Zong, who promptly surrendered. Dangerously exposed, Liu Bei paid respects at Liu Biao's tomb and proclaimed his loyalty to Liu Biao's elder son Liu Qi, then gathered such followers as he could and fled south towards the Yangzi while his officer Guan Yu commandeered the Han River fleet. Cao Cao pursued Liu Bei's ramshackle troops, heavily defeated him at the Chang Slope in Nan commandery, and went on to occupy the naval base at Jiangling on the Yangzi. Once again Liu Bei was obliged to abandon his family, but this time his concubine the Lady Gan and her son Liu Shan were saved by the efforts of his officer Zhao Yun.

As Cao Cao took over the Yangzi fleet, Liu Bei turned west with his remnant force and joined up with Guan Yu's ships from the Han River and the army of Liu Qi from Jiangxia. More importantly, Zhou Yu, general of Sun Quan the warlord of the lower Yangzi, came up-river with a substantial army, so it was possible for Liu Bei and Liu Qi to contemplate resistance.

In the winter of 208 Cao Cao continued his advance, with his own troops now augmented by the main army and Yangzi fleet of Jing province. The allied armies took up a defensive position on the eastern bank of the Yangzi south and upstream of present-day Wuhan, at a place known variously as Wulin 烏林 or the Red Cliffs 赤壁. Though his force was by far the larger, Cao Cao's own men were tired from a long series of campaigns, they were now in alien river- and marshland, there was sickness in the camp, and the men of Jing province were still uneasy over their new leadership. It is probable that Cao Cao hoped to establish a beach-head by a swift attack and then force

terms on the enemy; it is less likely that he planned a full campaign of conquest.

In any event, Cao Cao's initial attack was unsuccessful, and before he could take further action his position was attacked by fire-ships under the command of Sun Quan's officer Huang Gai. The fleet and the camp were lost, Cao Cao retreated to the north, and he never again came so close to crossing the Yangzi. After a year's siege, in the winter of 209 Zhou Yu's forces captured Jiangling and the southern allies thus controlled the river line.

Despite romantic tradition, the role of Liu Bei at the Red Cliffs was secondary to that of Sun Quan's forces led by Zhou Yu. Sun Quan's counsellors urged him to keep Liu Bei under tight control, and he gave his energetic sister, the Lady Sun III, to be Liu Bei's principal wife. Following the death of Liu Qi in 209, Sun Quan was obliged to recognise Liu Bei as Governor of Jing province; he could hardly avoid it, but the title gave Liu Bei a status comparable to Sun Quan's own and made him a focus of attraction for local interests of the middle Yangzi. Furthermore, while Zhou Yu was engaged against Jiangling, Liu Bei had established a base down-river at Gong'an and sent his forces south up the Xiang to take over the commanderies of Wuling, Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang. As a result, though Sun Quan's men controlled the line of the Yangzi itself, they were squeezed between Cao Cao on the north and Liu Bei on the south.

In 210 Zhou Yu died, and with the loss of his leading general Sun Quan's position in the region was seriously weakened. Soon afterwards, at the recommendation of Zhou Yu's successor Lu Su, Liu Bei was allowed to "borrow" Nan commandery – the significance of the term 借 *jie* was later disputed; he thus acquired a dominant position on the middle Yangzi, while Sun Quan kept only the region about the junction of the Yangzi and the Han.

For the time being, Cao Cao was engaged in the northwest, and though the relationship with his nominal ally Sun Quan was uneasy, Liu Bei held effective control of a coherent and useful territory. He had done very well, as much by political manoeuvring as through military effort, and his ambitions now turned to the west.

YI PROVINCE AND THE CONTEST FOR JING

Given the success on the middle Yangzi, about 209 it is said that Sun Quan proposed a joint attack upstream

against Yi province, at that time controlled by Liu Zhang. Accounts of the planning vary, but it is clear that such a campaign could be undertaken only with the support of Liu Bei, and he had no wish for Sun Quan to share in such possibilities as might appear in the west. Claiming among other things that Liu Zhang, albeit a weak ruler and no fighting man, was nonetheless his kinsman, Liu Bei rejected the plan and is said to have guarded the passes against Zhou Yu, whose death in any event removed Sun Quan's opportunity.

For his part, by 211 Liu Zhang had become concerned at Cao Cao's successes against the warlords of the Wei valley, across the Qin Ling ranges, and he was afraid that Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, immediately to his north, might allow Cao Cao's men into Yi province. Several of his advisers, who had privately committed themselves to Liu Bei, urged Liu Zhang to seek his aid. So at the end of the year Liu Bei came through the Gorges, was welcomed in a grand ceremony, and went north to face Zhang Lu.

Though he had entered Yi province as an ally, Liu Bei had no intention of remaining subordinate to Liu Zhang. For most of a year he faced Zhang Lu from his base at Jiameng in Guanghan, but he took no substantial action and concentrated rather upon establishing himself in the province and suborning Liu Zhang's followers. By the end of 212 he was ready to act.

At that time Cao Cao was moving southeast against Sun Quan, and Liu Bei sought leave to take an army down the Yangzi to assist his old ally. In fact, Sun Quan was well ensconced behind the Yangzi, Zhuge Liang and Guan Yu had firm control of Jing province, and the operations were in any case too distant for Liu Bei to usefully intervene. When Liu Zhang gave only minimal support, however, Liu Bei made a fine show of righteous indignation and declared war.

At first Liu Zhang's men were regularly defeated and many of his officers and men changed sides, particularly after Liu Bei took their families hostage, but Liu Zhang and his loyalists then held out in the region of Chengdu. It was more than a year before greater part of the territory was brought under control, aided by Zhuge Liang, Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun with troops from Jing province. At last, in the summer of 214 Liu Zhang surrendered and Liu Bei took over his capital. He sent Liu Zhang into exile down-river, released his own troops to plunder, and gave generous

rewards to his followers and to those who had betrayed his rival.

Sun Quan was predictably not pleased at Liu Bei's success: his erstwhile colleague now controlled all but small portions of Yi and Jing province while he himself was basically restricted to the lower Yangzi; and with such resources Liu Bei could prove a dangerous neighbour. His sister, Liu Bei's formal wife, returned to the east, and only swift action by Zhao Yun prevented her from taking Liu Bei's son Liu Shan with her as a future hostage.

In the following year, 215, Sun Quan sent an envoy to ask for the return of the territories of Jing province which Liu Bei had "borrowed" in 210: his claim included not only Nan commandery but also a share of the south. As Liu Bei temporised, Sun Quan sent an army under Lu Su to face Guan Yu, while Lü Meng occupied Changsha, Guiyang and Lingling. With Cao Cao as common enemy, neither party could afford a full-scale conflict, and a settlement divided Jing province along the line of the Xiang River. Sun Quan then turned north towards the Huai, while Guan Yu kept a dominant position along the Han and Liu Bei was free to deal with Hanzhong.

That autumn Cao Cao indeed attacked Zhang Lu, and in the winter he obtained his surrender. Liu Zhang's earlier anxieties were fulfilled, for the forces of Wei were on the immediate frontier, but Cao Cao, did not follow up. For the next two years he was concerned with affairs at the capital, with ceremonies of kingship and the question of succession. He attacked Sun Quan in the southeast, but left only his general Xiahou Yuan to garrison Hanzhong.

In 217 Liu Bei attacked Hanzhong and in the spring of 219 he gained a decisive victory at Dingjun Mountain, defeating the Wei army and killing Xiahou Yuan. Cao Cao came to the commandery but could not recover the lost ground and in the summer, after a few months indecisive action, he withdrew across the mountains to the north. Liu Bei was left in undisputed command of the territory.

KING OF HAN AND THE LAST CAMPAIGNS

In the autumn of 219, with a formal, albeit meaningless, memorial to the imperial court of Han and a coronation ceremony at Mianyang, Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong and established some semblance of a court at Chengdu. Emperor Gao had been enfeoffed in Hanzhong at the end of the third century BC,

and the title was obviously convenient to a putative descendant who proposed to maintain the tradition of the dynasty. The claimant state is commonly known as Shu-Han 屬漢.

Success in Hanzhong not only gave Liu Bei the claim to a royal title, but also put a halt to Cao Cao's forward momentum and forced him for a time onto the defensive. His weakness lay in the north of Jing province, where Liu Bei's men threatened Nanyang with an advance east down the Han from Hanzhong, while Guan Yu, inspired by the success of his master, embarked on a strong attack from the south. In the autumn the Han River flooded, a great part of Cao Cao's defensive positions were overwhelmed, and Guan Yu brought ships up the river to besiege Fan city, at present-day Xiangfan. Cao Cao's cousin Cao Ren held out, and though there was trouble behind Cao Cao's lines the Wei forces recovered and began to press Guan Yu.

In the winter, moreover, Sun Quan sent Lü Meng with an army up the Yangzi to attack Nan commandery. Guan Yu's position was ruined, he himself was killed, and Sun Quan seized the whole of Jing province. Just as Guan Yu's great attack marked the high point of Liu Bei's power, his catastrophic defeat ended all hope of hegemony. Cao Cao died early in 220, but the state that he had built in the north was too great to be overthrown, and though Sun Quan, Liu Bei and their descendants survived for several years with the protection of the Yangzi and the western mountains, they were never able to make serious inroads against his territory.

Despite the loss of Jing province, when Cao Cao's son Cao Pi compelled Emperor Xian of Han to abdicate in his favour at the end of 220, Liu Bei was swift to emulate him. Claiming to believe that the emperor had been killed, but in any case relying on his kinship to the imperial house, he proclaimed himself emperor on 15 May 221. He appointed suitable officials for his court, set up a temple to worship the rulers of Han since Emperor Gao, and established the reign-title Zhangwu 章武. Historians and commentators have debated for almost two thousand years whether Liu Bei's state or the Wei dynasty of the Cao family should be considered to have maintained the true line of succession to Han [正流 *zhengliu* or 正統 *zhengtong*]. A well-known example of the controversy is the disagreement between Sima Guang 司馬光 of Northern Song, who accepted the dating used by Wei, and Zhu Xi 朱熹 of

Southern Song, who followed that of Shu-Han; in each case, and in the present day, the choice is primarily a reflection of contemporary political perception.

At the same time, infuriated by Sun Quan's stab against Guan Yu's back, Liu Bei prepared an expedition of revenge and reclamation, and in 221 he brought a great army through the Gorges into the middle Yangzi. Sun Quan made formal surrender to Wei in order to keep Cao Pi neutral, and in the summer of 222 his general Lu Xun destroyed Liu Bei's extended line of camps and drove him back with heavy losses. Retreating into the Gorges, Liu Bei set his headquarters at Yong'an, present-day Fengjie in Sichuan, but he was in no position to take any further initiative.

In the summer of the following year Liu Bei died, and his body was taken for burial to Chengdu. His son Liu Shan succeeded to the throne of Shu-Han, but the government of the state was largely in the hands of Zhuge Liang.

Liu Bei was a typical *condottiere*, primarily concerned with the loyalty of his followers and showing limited interest in a long-term stable future. [A perceptive comment by Pei Qian is recorded in *SSXY*; Mather 76:196-197.] He was remarkably successful, for he was an effective fighting general and had several good advisers and officers, but the basis of his survival and that of his state was his isolation in the west and the fortunate series of chances which had led him there.

From his earliest days, Liu Bei had changed his coat and his allegiance at any time it seemed to suit, and his take-over of Yi province was a betrayal of the kinsman who had sought his aid. It is not inappropriate that the destruction of his wider ambitions came through an even greater, and quite unexpected, act of treachery and trickery by his ally Sun Quan.

In Chinese tradition, however, Liu Bei is the great romantic hero of the age, praised for his loyalty and his sense of honour; while his assistants Guan Yu, Zhang Fei, and above all Zhuge Liang, share in his glory. Some of this adulation may be attributed to the emotions of later times, notably during the formative period of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義 during Southern Song. As for Zhu Xi in the debate on dating, the concept of a legitimate successor state maintaining itself against a more powerful rival has often aided political legitimacy and inspired a sense of national self-worth in times of crisis and defeat.

Behind the ostensible realities of history and the exaggerations of romance, we may perceive a man who could inspire great loyalty and admiration, and whose recovery from repeated set-backs – in an age when defeat so frequently brought death – reflects personal qualities and a presence which can no longer be properly reconstructed. From humble background with an erratic record, Liu Bei was a man of remarkable character: certainly courageous, surely untrustworthy to superiors and rivals, but clearly loyal to his subordinates; in many respects an ideal hero for an age of individuals. -SGZ Shu 2:871-92*; deC 90, deC 96.

Liu Bei 劉備; wives and concubines. The history of the marital and other relationships of Liu Bei, First Sovereign of Shu-Han, is confused, and it is not well recorded by SGZ and other parallel texts. A summary follows.

In 196 Liu Bei's women and children 妻子 were captured by Lü Bu. They were returned to him soon afterwards, but the same thing happened again in 198, and when Liu Bei was defeated by Cao Cao in 200 he was once more obliged to abandon his family. One concubine 妾, the Lady Gan, managed to return to him, but most of them apparently did not. There are no details of the status of the other women nor of the children involved.

After the first capture in 196 Liu Bei's follower Mi Zhu gave him his sister to be a formal wife 夫人, but there is no further record of her. It seems likely that the Lady Mi died soon afterwards and that she was not involved in the later abductions. There may have been one other principal wife, for SGZ Shu 4:905 says that Liu Bei was "several times in mourning for his principal wives and household 數喪嫡室."

In 207 Liu Bei's concubine the Lady Gan, who had re-joined him in Jing province, gave birth to his son and later Heir Liu Shan.

On the other hand, despite references to children 子 falling into enemy hands, none are identified, whether male or female. Liu Shan is the eldest son that he is recorded as having sired, and while he was in Jing province but before Liu Shan was born, Liu Bei adopted Liu Feng to be his heir.

Besides the Lady Mi and the Lady Gan, other named consorts are the Lady Sun and the Lady Wu, the last of whom was named as his empress. In later life Liu Bei had at least two more women, for SGZ

Shu 4:907-08 has biographies of Liu Yong 永 and Liu Li 理, younger half-brothers of Liu Shan by different mothers. See also C/C 99:48-49, deC 90:294-295, and individual entries for the following:

the Lady Gan 甘;

the Lady Mi 麋;

the Lady Sun 孫 III;

the Lady Wu 吳 of Chenliu.

Liu Ben 劉本 see Liu Pi 劉丕.

Liu Bi 劉辟 see Liu Pi 劉辟.

Liu Bian 劉辯; Guangling. A descendant of Liu Shou 劉守 the King of Guangling in Former Han, Liu Bian was Administrator of Qinghe about 140. -HHS 57/47: 1854, XC 3:8b.

Xie Cheng has the personal name of this man as Xiang 祥, but it seems most likely that his name was Bian, and that it was changed in the text of Xie Cheng's work to reflect taboo on the personal name of the Little Emperor Liu Bian: see below.

Liu Bian 劉辯 (173/176?-190) [the Little Emperor 少帝 (reg. 189)]. Liu Bian was the son of Emperor Ling by his Empress He. Since a number of imperial children had died in infancy he was taken outside the palace and brought up at the house of the Taoist Shi Zimiao; he was accordingly known as Lord Shi 史侯. We are told Emperor Ling was doubtful of his ability and so did not name him formally as his Heir, but after the emperor died in 189 Liu Bian's mother the Empress, now Dowager, and her brother He Jin ensured his succession.

Liu Bian took the throne on 15 May 189, under the regency of the Dowager, with He Jin as General-in-Chief. HHS 8 says that he was seventeen at the time, so born in 173, and HHS 10B says that he was eighteen when he died in 190. The *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan has his age as fourteen, which would indicate that he was born in 176. Given the reference below to his concubine the Lady Tang, the advanced age seems more probable, though it does not appear that he had formally come of age.

On 22 September the eunuchs, threatened by He Jin and his associates at court, killed He Jin and attempted to seize power. They were slaughtered by guards about the capital, and the palaces were burnt. A small party, seizing the emperor and his younger half-brother Liu Xie, sought to escape north from Luoyang, but they were caught at the Yellow River by the local officer Min Gong, who killed the eunuchs and brought

the two imperial children back to the city, riding in an open cart. On 25 September they came into the hands of the general Dong Zhuo, who seized power to reform the government.

When Dong Zhuo asked Liu Bian what had happened, he was not impressed by his response, and he preferred Liu Xie in any case on account of his connection with the Lady Dong, mother of Emperor Ling and a notional member of his own clan. On 28 September, therefore, he compelled the Lady He to dismiss her own son from the throne and recognise Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, in his place. Liu Bian was named King of Hongnong.

In the following year, on 22 March 190, Liu Bian was poisoned at Dong Zhuo's orders by the Prefect of the Gentleman of the Palace Li Ru, head of his personal staff. *HHS* 10B has a touching account of how the young man was forced to drink the potion. When it was clear there was no help for it, he held a party with his concubines, had his favourite the Lady Tang Ji dance for him, and sang a farewell song.

There is no reference to the place of Liu Bing's burial, and it is unlikely that the tomb was of any note. Because his reign had not extended beyond a calendar year, he received no formal dynastic title, and he is referred to, like his comparable predecessor Liu Yi, as Shao 少 or "Little" Emperor. -*HHS* 8:358-59, 10B: 450-51, *ZF*: 1a.

Liu Bian 劉便 see Liu Bianqin 劉便親.

Liu Bianqin 劉便親 (d.159). Son of Liu Hui the King of Fuling, when his father died in 132 Liu Bianqin was passed over for succession in favour of his younger brother Dai. In the following year he was enfeoffed as marquis of a village.

As Liu Dai died without heirs in 145, the state was abolished, but in 147 the new regency government for Emperor Huan restored the fief and enfeoffed Liu Bianqin as formal successor to his father Liu Hui. -*HHS* 7:290, 304, 42/32:1446. [*HHS* 7 has the personal name simply as Bian, but *HHS* 42/32 has Bianqin.]

Liu Biao 劉彪. Son of Liu Ping and grandson of Liu Jing the King of Guangling, Liu Biao inherited his father's district marquisate. He was admired for filial conduct towards his grandmother. -*LS* 5:18a, *XTS* 71A:2254, *HHSJJ* 42/32:1546 Shen Qinhan.

Liu Biao 劉表 [Jingsheng 景升] (142-208); Shanyang. A distant descendant of Emperor Jing of Former Han, Liu Biao was a good-looking man over eight feet tall

[185 cm]. He had been a student of Wang Chang, but in the late 150s he protested to his master that his rule as Administrator of Nanyang was too fierce; his and others' expressions of concern produced some lightening of Wang Chang's regime.

As a reformist at Luoyang in the late 160s, Liu Biao was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by reformists and students of the University, and he joined the sworn brotherhood of men from Shanyang under the leadership of Zhang Jian. In 169 this latter association was alleged to be treasonous, and the accusation was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident. Liu Biao was proscribed from office, but after the end of the Great Proscription in 184 he became a clerk in the offices of the General-in-Chief He Jin and then Adjutant to the Northern Army.

In 190 the Inspector of Jing province Wang Rui was killed by Sun Jian, and the imperial government controlled by Dong Zhuo appointed Liu Biao in his place. Since Nanyang commandery was under the influence of Yuan Shu, Liu Biao was obliged to make his way to the south alone and by side-routes. Once there, he gained support from Kuai Yue and others, and with their assistance he trapped and killed some fifty local leaders, persuaded others to surrender, and established his regime at Xiangyang, on the Han River by present-day Xiangfan in Henan. Late in 191 he was attacked by Sun Jian, in the service of Yuan Shu, but Sun Jian was killed in a skirmish and thereafter Liu Biao was able to maintain his borders without great difficulty. On the other hand, he held only the southern part of Nanyang, and though a number of local officials handed over their seals he had limited authority south of the Yangzi.

In 192 Liu Biao sent formal tribute to the new regime at Chang'an led by Li Jue and Guo Si, and he was promoted Governor, named a general and enfeoffed. In practice, such titles from the ramshackle regime were meaningless, and Liu Biao held warlord control of the Han valley and the middle Yangzi. He was criticised for his pretensions, including the use of carriages designed after the imperial style, and there was a mildly embarrassing incident when the former master of the imperial music, Du Kui, rejected Liu Biao's request to play the music of the court of Han. On the other hand, his court became a refuge for scholars and gentlemen from the north, while his generous attitude towards Zhang Ji, who had invaded

his territory but was then killed in the fighting, meant that he gained the allegiance of Zhang Ji's kinsman and successor Zhang Xiu.

During the late 190s Liu Biao's control of southern Jing province was interrupted by the rebellion of Zhang Xiu in the south, allied to Cao Cao, but Zhang Xiu died in 200 and Liu Biao regained general authority over the valley of the Xiang. He sought no role in the confused fighting to his north and east, and though he had a loose alliance with Yuan Shao he kept aloof from the conflict with Cao Cao. He was not involved in the critical campaign about Guandu in 200, but he did give refuge to Liu Bei and he later wrote eloquent letters urging Yuan Shao's son Yuan Shang and Yuan Tan to end their quarrels and join forces against Cao Cao. When Cao Cao was in the far northeast in 207 Liu Bei urged Liu Biao to attack him from the rear, but Liu Biao again took no action.

Many commentators have criticised Liu Biao's apparent lack of energy and initiative, but others respect him for preserving a haven of literature and traditional culture in a period when so much else was confused and destroyed. He had himself compiled commentaries to the *Book of Changes* and the *Ritual*, he was interested in astrology [see *sub* Liu Rui], and he encouraged the scholars who came to his court to clarify and simplify the classical texts. As a result of his patronage, and notably under the leadership of Qimu Kai and Song Zhong, new and authoritative editions and commentaries were prepared and circulated; they were known as the "Later Edition" 後定. In this regard his policies and achievements may be seen as a development of the process already apparent in the work on the Stone Classics at Luoyang by Cai Yong and his colleagues during the 170s and 180s.

In 208, after a long period of comparative peace, Liu Biao's territory came under threat from Cao Cao, now dominant in the north, while Sun Quan, son of Sun Jian and now warlord of the lower Yangzi, defeated and destroyed Liu Biao's general Huang Zu in the south. Aged in his late sixties, Liu Biao died that autumn. His succession was contested by his two sons, Liu Zong and Liu Qi, and Jing province was soon afterwards taken over by Cao Cao. -HHS 74/64B:2419-24*, SGZ 6:210-13*; Mather 76:552, Miao 82:69-72.

Cai 3:7 has the text of a funerary inscription to Liu Biao as General Who Maintains the South in Peace 鎮南[將軍]碑; this cannot be genuine, for Cai Yong

himself died in 192.

Liu Biao 劉彪, second wife of: see the Lady Cai 蔡.

Liu Biede 劉別得, the Lady. Daughter of Liu Qing the father of Emperor An, after her brother's accession to the throne in 106 she and her sisters were given titles and estates as princesses, and after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121 she was named Senior Princess of Wuyin in Nanyang. She married Deng Bao. -HHS 55/45:1804, 10B:457, 16/6:606.

Liu Bin 劉賓 (d.119). Son of Liu Xun the King of Lecheng, he succeeded his father in 111. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended [but see *sub* Liu Chang]. -HHS 50/40:1673.

Liu Bing 劉昞 (d.87). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 72 he was enfeoffed as King of Changshan. In 79 his fief was changed to Huaiyang, and the territory was increased by two counties from Runan. After his death the kingdom was not maintained [but see *sub* Liu Ze]. -HHS 50/40:1678*.

Liu Bing 劉丙. Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, in 118, after his eldest brother Liu Dao succeeded to their father's kingdom, Liu Bing and his brothers Guo and Ding were enfeoffed as district marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671, DGHJ 7:5a.

Liu Bing 劉秉 or Liu Kang 康. Appointed Inspector of Liang province in 139, Liu Bing and his colleague Lai Ji in Bing province were given shared responsibility for the office of Protector of the Qiang after Ma Xian left that position. They were urged by the General-in-Chief Liang Shang to treat the non-Chinese tolerantly, but both were cruel men, and they caused trouble as soon as they arrived in their posts.

In the following year, as the second great rebellion of the Qiang broke out, Liu Bing and Lai Ji were found guilty and dismissed. -HHS 87/77:2895.

Liu Bing 劉炳 (143-145) [Emperor Chong 沖帝 (*reg.* 144-145)]. Only son of Emperor Shun, Liu Bing was born in 143 to the Beauty Yu. In 144, a few months before the death of his father, the child was named Heir, and on 20 September he acceded to the throne under the regency of the Dowager Liang. The Grand Commandant Zhao Jun became Grand Tutor, and the minister Li Gu succeeded him as Grand Commandant. Together with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, brother of the Dowager, they held control of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal command of the government.

At the beginning of the following year, on 15

February 145, Liu Bing died. His tomb, northwest of Luoyang, was named "Mound of Affection" 懷陵. Because his reign had been so short he did not receive a temple-name, while his dynastic title Chong 冲 relates to death at a young age. Events during his short reign are summarised in the biography of his successor Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan. -HHS 6:275-76.

Liu Bo 劉博 (d.174). Son of Liu Kai the King of Hejian, he was a village marquis. In 161 his nephew Emperor Huan enfeoffed him as King of Rencheng, to maintain sacrifices for the lineage of the late Liu Chong.

Liu Bo showed great filial piety at the death of his mother, and his fief was increased by three thousand households. When he died without heirs, the kingdom was abolished. -HHS 7:308, 8:336, 42/32:1444.

Liu Bo 劉伯 see Liu Zu 劉祖.

Liu [Bolin] 劉伯麟; Danyang. A man of humble family who had worked in the fields, Liu Bolin served as an Assistant Officer of Yang province, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and became a magistrate in Runan. He died at the age of sixty-two. -LS 22:7a-b.

Liu [Bolu] 劉伯鄴; Pei. A former gentleman cadet, when the magistrate Wang VII was transferred to Guanghan Dependent State Liu Bolu took a lead in setting set up a stele to honour his good government. -SJZ 24:7b-8a.

Liu [Bosheng] 劉伯升 (d.23); Nanyang. This man's personal name was Yan 續 (for which XHS 2:1b gives the pronunciation as *yin* 引), but the early texts and Bielenstein regularly refer to him by his style and I follow this. Liu Bosheng's grandfather Liu Hui 回 was a first cousin of Liu Ren 仁, who was transferred in 45 BC to the marquisate of Chongling district in Caiyang county of Nanyang. Liu Hui's son Liu Qin 欽 married the Lady Fan Xiandu, a woman of wealthy family from Huyang county, north of Caiyang. They had three sons, of whom Liu Bosheng was the eldest, and three daughters. Liu Bosheng's youngest brother was Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu of Later Han.

After the death of Liu Qin in 7 AD, the family went to the household of his younger brother Liu Liang, who was a county magistrate in Pei. Liu Bosheng studied for a time at Chang'an, but then returned to Nanyang, where he led a gang of trouble-making retainers.

About 20 Liu Bosheng developed the idea of overthrowing the government of Wang Mang and restoring the house of Han, but such plans were initially

little more than the vague ambitions of a local bully with a distinguished name and some pretensions. Liu Bosheng's own lineage was descended from Emperor Jing of Former Han (reigned 157-141), but this gave no effective claim to the throne. In 6 AD, Liu Chong 劉崇 the marquis of Anzhong county, from another branch of the family, had rebelled against Wang Mang but was defeated and executed. There was natural resentment among the imperial cadet gentry of Nanyang against the "usurping" rule of Wang Mang, and some families lost prestige and pensions when hereditary fiefs were abolished by the new dynasty, but few were willing or anxious to take action.

The local situation was disturbed by a shortage of grain at this time, but the critical mass for rebellion was obtained through Liu Bosheng's contact with the Li clan of Wan, capital of Nanyang. The two groups were initially suspicious of each other, for Liu Bosheng had killed a member of the Li family, and the death had not been avenged. Early in 22, however, Li Yi brought Liu Bosheng's brother Liu Xiu to meet his cousin Li Tong, and it was agreed to co-operate in a rising against Wang Mang. The attempt began in the winter of that year. It may have been planned to coincide with the annual winter review, in the hope of arranging a coup to take over the local troops, but this part of the plan was unsuccessful. The rebels then gathered in the Chongling district of Caiyang county, home of Liu Bosheng, who was recognised as leader and took title as Chief of Companies and Pillar of Heaven 柱天都部. He was at this time a little over thirty years old.

To augment his limited forces, which were so far composed largely of gentry and their retainers, Liu Bosheng negotiated the support of two groups of commoner bandits, the Troops from Xinshi, led by Wang Kuang and Wang Feng, who had come into Nanyang from Jiangxia, and the Troops from Pinglin, led by Chen Mu and Liao Zhan, who had joined the Xinshi force when they entered the south of Nanyang. With these reinforcements Liu Bosheng occupied and looted some local villages and districts, then invaded Huyang, the home of his mother's family, capturing the county city with the aid of his distant cousin Liu Zhong, who pretended to be an imperial official. After settling a quarrel between the disparate confederates over the sharing of booty, Liu Bosheng brought his army to Jiyang, south of Wan. He established a base there, and received further support from the local

gentleman Ma Cheng and from his brother-in-law Deng Chen of Xinye county to the southwest.

The insurgents now moved against Wan city by way of Yuyang. They failed, however, to capture the county city of Yuyang, and Wang Mang's local officials, the Administrator Zhen Fu 甄阜 and the Commandant Liangqiu Ci 梁丘賜, raised levies to oppose them. In a battle confused by fog, Liu Bosheng's troops were defeated at Xiao-Chang'an on the Yu River south of Wan. There were heavy casualties, including Liu Bosheng's brother Zhong, his sister the Lady Yuan, wife of Deng Chen, and her three daughters, and the wife and two sons of their uncle Liu Liang. Many of the associated Li clan in Wan suffered execution, and officials throughout the commandery now turned against the rebels and sought to show their loyalty to Wang Mang by persecuting sympathisers. Still more dangerously, Wang Kuang and his fellow-commanders of Troops now threatened to abandon the cause in which they no longer saw opportunity for profit or power.

Liu Bosheng regrouped the remnants of his scattered forces at Jiyang, and went in person to recruit another bandit group, the Troops from the Lower Yangzi led by Wang Chang, which had likewise come north into Nanyang in search of plunder. With this second group of reinforcements from displaced peasant and commoner bandits, Liu Bosheng's position against Wang Mang's local forces was restored with remarkable speed, and in the first month of 23 he renewed the campaign. Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci brought their army towards Jiyang and prepared a forward defensive position between two rivers north of the city, but during the night Liu Bosheng sent a detachment to surprise their rear-guard and seize their supplies, and next morning he followed this demoralising success with an attack on two flanks. The enemy force was destroyed and Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci were killed.

The rebels thus gained both booty and valuable equipment, and a few weeks later Liu Bosheng achieved another victory beneath the walls of Yuyang city over an army commanded by Zhuang You and Chen Mao. He now embarked on the siege of Wan, and sent envoys across the empire to invite support against Wang Mang. For his part, Wang Mang designated Liu Bosheng as his chief enemy, placed a vast reward of gold, pensions and honours on his head, and had his troops practice target shooting at his portrait.

It was now time for the rebels to prepare a rival claimant to the imperial throne which had been usurped by Wang Mang. Liu Bosheng was the obvious candidate, but just as he and his cause appeared well-established and successful, he suffered a dramatic set-back from within the ranks he commanded. The leaders of the commoner Troops from Xinshi, Pinglin and the Lower Yangzi held a caucus and agreed to name Liu Bosheng's distant cousin Liu Xuan as emperor. It is likely that they distrusted Liu Bosheng and the traditional gentry who formed the core of his power, and saw Liu Xuan, who had been a member of the Troops from Pinglin, as more sympathetic to their interests. Liu Bosheng sought to delay the decision, or at least have the leader appointed only as a king, but he and his party were out-numbered and their arguments were over-ruled. On 11 March 23 Liu Xuan took the imperial title: from the name of his reign period, he is known as the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Bosheng was named Excellency over the Masses in the new regime, he continued in command of the forces about Wan, and he retained some personal support, but most of the gentry who had previously accepted his leadership showed no hesitation in turning to Liu Xuan.

The newly-proclaimed government was sufficiently powerful to despatch another force to subdue the northeast of Nanyang, and this group extended operations into Yingchuan, Runan and Pei, and sent provisions to the besiegers at Wan. Wan city surrendered to Liu Bosheng on 4 July, and three days later the Han troops in Yingchuan, with Liu Bosheng's brother Liu Xiu playing a major role, gained decisive victory over a major army of Wang Mang at Kunyang.

Such successes, however, only made Liu Bosheng more of a threat to his nominal superior the Gengshi Emperor, and soon afterwards it was alleged that a certain Liu Ji, kinsman of Liu Bosheng and one of his divisional commanders, had spoken angrily at the failure of Liu Bosheng to receive the imperial title. His remarks were reported to the emperor, and Liu Xuan planned to execute Liu Ji. Liu Bosheng pleaded for him, but this action only implicated him further in the alleged treason. In a display of solidarity between two disparate groups, Liu Bosheng was impeached by Li Yi of the great Nanyang family and by Zhu Wei, a leader of the bandit Troops from Xinshi. Liu Bosheng and Liu Ji died together.

In 39 Emperor Guangwu granted Liu Bosheng a

posthumous title, possibly as King but probably as Duke of Qi. When his son Zhang was restored to the royal title in 43, Liu Bosheng shared the retrospective promotion. -HHS 14/4:549-55*; Bn 54 and appendix # 81.

Liu [Boji] 劉伯姬, the Lady; Nanyang. The Lady was a younger sister of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, who is said to have rescued her from the slaughter at Xiao-Chang'an in 22. In 24 she married Li Tong and in 26 she was named Senior Princess of Ningping in Huaiyang. -HHS 15/5:575, 14/4:555-56, 26/16:904-05, 7:313; Bn 54:108, Bn 67:19-21, Bn 79:140.

According to XHS 5:10a-b, in the early 40s a member of her household killed a man. When the Prefect of Luoyang executed him she sought to have him punished, but Guangwu rewarded the officer. HHS 77/67:2489-90 attributes the incident to the Lady Boji's sister Huang, and this appears more probable.

Liu Can 劉參 or Liu Shen; Nanyang. Son of Liu Jia, in 39 he succeeded to his father's marquisate. He was later found guilty of a crime, and his fief was reduced from a county to a district. During the reign of Emperor Ming, some time after 57, Liu Can held appointment as Colonel of the City Gates. -HHS 14/4:568; Bn 54 appendix # 111.

Liu Can 劉參 or Liu Shen. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 100 he was made a marquis. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Liu Cang 劉蒼 (d.83). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his Empress Yin, in 39 Liu Cang was named Duke of Dongping and in 41 his title was advanced to King. A keen student of the classics when young, he was wise, elegant and very good-looking. He was a favourite of his full brother Emperor Ming, who appointed him General of Agile Cavalry, with a large staff and rank above the Excellencies. His fief was augmented by five counties from Dong and Shanyang, and his two sons were enfeoffed as marquises. When the emperor left the capital Liu Cang stayed in charge; was the constant guard of their mother the Dowager, and he was able to give direct advice on conduct.

Liu Cang took great interest in the legitimization of the restored Han government. With senior ministers he prepared the Regulations for the Caps, Crowns, Carriages and Robes for the Southern and Northern Sacrifices [to Heaven and to Earth] 南北郊冠冕車服制度, and he was a leading figure in determining ritual, costumes and music for other ceremonies.

In 62, concerned not to be too closely involved with the imperial government, Liu Cang sought to retire to his estates, and after several requests the emperor acceded. Liu Cang retained his seal and office as a general, his staff were transferred to his royal court, and he received an additional grant. When Emperor Ming toured the east in 63, he had Liu Cang return with him to the capital. After the death of the Dowager Yin in the following year Liu Cang went back to Dongping accompanied by substantial gifts, including five hundred palace ladies and male and female slaves.

Liu Cang attended the capital again in 68, and in 72 Emperor Ming visited Dongping and presented him with a copy of the Annals of Emperor Guangwu, compiled by Ban Gu. Liu Cang composed *Guangwu shouming zhongxing song* 光武受命中興頌, a Hymn on the Receipt of the Mandate and the Restoration, and the emperor, full of praise, had the scholar Jia Kui prepare a commentary for its learned allusions.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne Liu Cang continued to hold influence. In 76 he took the occasion of an earthquake to offer a memorial of guidance, and soon afterwards he protested the extravagant plan to establish county cities at the tombs of emperors Guangwu and Ming. Both pieces of advice were accepted, and any major concern at court was thereafter referred to him.

In 83 Liu Cang was received at Luoyang with special honours; he was invited to stay after other kings had left, and his daughters were endowed with counties while those of other rulers received only districts. Soon after returning to his state he became ill, and though Emperor Zhang sent the Court Physician, he died. His funeral was attended by high officials and was marked by grand donations and an edict of mourning, while the emperor ordered that Liu Cang's literary works should be collected and preserved.

Liu Cang was succeeded by his son Zhong. In 84 his younger son Shang was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng, while five other sons were enfeoffed as county marquises.

In 86 Emperor Zhang visited Dongping, where Liu Cang's grandson Chang was now king, and he paid honours and held sacrifice at Liu Cang's grave. -HHS 42/32:1433-42*; MBeck 90:21, 84.

Liu Cang 劉倉; Henan. Liu Cang was a commoner who lived outside the western walls of Luoyang. In 184 his

wife gave birth to a child with two heads; presumably a pair of Siamese twins. -*HHS* 107/17:3348; Bn 76:17 [as Liu Cangju 屈]; MBeck 90:144.

The Annals of Emperor Ling, *HHS* 8:343 & 352, record similar births, of children with two heads and four arms, to unnamed parents in 179 and 185. One suspects some dittography.

Liu Cangju 劉倉屈 see Liu Cang 劉倉 of Henan.

Liu Cao 劉操; Chenliu. Liu Cao was a student and disciple of Jiang Gong, and after his master's death in 173 he and his colleagues composed an inscription and erected a stele in his honour. -*HHS* 53/43:1750.

Liu Chan 劉闡 alternative personal name Wei 緯; Jiangxia. Grandson of Liu Yan 焉 the warlord Governor of Yi province, and son of his successor Liu Zhang, when Liu Zhang left Chang'an to join Liu Yan in the early 190s, Liu Chan and his brother Liu Xun remained in the capital with their cousins the children of Liu Fan and Liu Dan.

In 194 Liu Fan and Liu Dan were involved in a failed attack on the regime and were killed. Pang Xi, however, whose daughter had married Liu Xun, was able to bring the brothers and their cousins to Liu Yan in Yi province.

As Liu Zhang was deposed by Liu Bei in 214, Liu Chan accompanied him to exile in Jing province. When Sun Quan's army captured the region in 219, Sun Quan restored Liu Zhang to his title as Governor of Yi province, and after Liu Zhang's death he named Liu Chan as Inspector. At this time the local chieftain Yong Kai of Yizhou commandery had rebelled against Liu Bei and sent messages through Shi Xie in Jiaozhi offering allegiance to Wu. Sun Quan sent Liu Chan to take command on the border of the two provinces in the southwest, but in 225 Zhuge Liang of Shu destroyed the rebellion and settled the south; Liu Chan returned to Wu.

Recognised as an honourable and generous man, Liu Chan became an officer of the Imperial Censorate of Wu. He retired on account of ill health and died at home. -*SGZ* Shu 1:870.

Liu Chan 劉禪 see Liu Shan 劉禪 [Later Sovereign of Shu-Han].

Liu Chang 劉敞; Nanyang. Son of Liu Ren 仁, Marquis of Chongling district in Caiyang county of Nanyang, Liu Chang succeeded to his fief, probably in the time of Emperor Ping of Former Han. The first marquis of Chongling had been a grandson of Emperor

Jing by Liu Fa 發 the King of Changsha; the fief was originally in Lingling commandery, but was transferred to Nanyang in the time of Emperor Xuan. Commended for his generosity to his family, Liu Chang became Commandant of Lujiang, but was dismissed after he abused the Administrator for his lack of concern at a time of famine.

Liu Chang's distant cousin Liu Chong 崇 spoke with him about the Wang family threat to the Han dynasty, and when Liu Chong rebelled in 6 AD, Liu Chang was sympathetic. Though he took no active role, he sought support from the powerful family of the late Imperial Chancellor Zhai Fangjin 翟方進, and arranged a marriage alliance through his son Liu Zhi. When Zhai Yi 翟義 rebelled in Dong commandery in 7, Liu Zhi's wife was killed by the authorities in Nanyang and Liu Zhi was arrested. Liu Chang pleaded for him, and Wang Mang was merciful. [On the rebellions of Liu Chong and Zhai Yi, see Bn 54:87-91.]

As Wang Mang took the throne in 9 AD all marquises of Former Han were degraded to viscounts 子, and in the following year the fiefs were abolished entirely. Liu Chang, however, still held his lands, and by 20 it was claimed that he owed a large tax bill to the state. His cousin Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, went to Chang'an about 21 to negotiate on his behalf, but the result of the case is not recorded. Liu Chang died about this time. -*HHS* 14/4:560-61; Bn 54:97-101 and appendix # 48, *QHX*:270.

Liu Chang 劉常 see Wang Chang 王常. When the Gengshi Emperor established his court at Chang'an in 24, he enfeoffed the chieftain Wang Chang as a king and granted him the privilege of the imperial Liu surname. -*HHS* 15/5:580.

Liu Chang 劉長 (d.84). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 72 he was enfeoffed as King of Jiying. In 79 his territory and revenue were augmented by two counties from Chenliu and Dong commandery. Liu Chang lived at the capital and was buried near Luoyang. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended. -*HHS* 50/40:1679*.

Liu Chang 劉暢 (d.98). Son of Emperor Ming by the Honoured Lady Yin, in 72 he was enfeoffed as King of Runan. His mother was a favourite of the emperor, and Liu Chang was also treated with great affection; the revenues from his state were double those of his half-brothers.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne, he

continued his father's policy, showing Liu Chang the utmost goodwill and giving him generous presents, while in 77 he granted his uncle Yin Tang a county marquisate in Jiangxia. In 79 Liu Chang was transferred to be King of Liang, with territory and revenue augmented by six counties from Chenliu and Jiyin. When Emperor Zhang died in 88, the new regime of the regent Dowager Dou ordered Liu Chang and his brothers to leave the capital.

Liu Chang was proud, and did not always obey the law. He had bad dreams, and came under the influence of his attendant Bian Ji, who claimed to interpret them. Together with Liu Chang's former wet-nurse Wang Li and another attendant Li A, Bian Ji introduced Liu Chang to fortune-telling and dealings with the spirit world. Engaged in ceremonies to seek good fortune, he was told that the spirits said he should become emperor. Liu Chang was delighted, but in 93 the Inspector of Yu province and the Chancellor of Liang reported him for Impiety. The senior officials urged Liu Chang be arrested, but Emperor He would not agree, nor would he approve the transfer of his state to Jiuzhen in the far south. Liu Chang suffered only the removal of two counties from his fief.

Fearful and bitterly ashamed, Liu Chang sent in a memorial offering to give up a further five counties, reducing his fief to four, and also to send away those of his thirty-seven concubines who had not borne children, together with most of his guards, servants and slaves. The emperor confirmed his affection and his lenient attitude, and though Liu Chang repeated his offer it was not accepted.

Liu Chang was succeeded by his son Jian, and two younger sons were later granted village or district marquisates. -HHS 50/40:1675-77*, HHJ 14:174.

Liu Chang 劉暢 (d.88). Son of Liu Shi the King of Qi, Liu Chang was enfeoffed as a district marquis. In 87 his elder brother Huang was demoted from his royal fief to a marquisate. He died soon afterwards, and when Emperor Zhang died in the following year, Liu Chang went to Luoyang with a message of condolence. Such an embassy was not uncommon, but the visit at this time was no doubt encouraged by the possibility that the family might regain their royal fief. The testamentary edict of Emperor Zhang, however, recommended that the kingdom be restored in favour of Liu Chang's son Liu Wuji, and this was done two years later.

Liu Chang was known at the capital as a man of depraved character. As he waited for the formal reply to his message, he gained admission to the palace through the agency of the Lady Yuan, mother of his friend Deng Die, and obtained the favour of the Empress, now Dowager, Dou. Concerned that Liu Chang might rival his influence with his sister, Dou Xian sent retainers to waylay and kill him.

Seeking to conceal his responsibility, Dou Xian put the blame upon Liu Chang's brother Gang, but through the efforts of He Chang the whole affair was found out and Dou Xian was placed under house arrest in the palace. -HHS 23/13:813, 43/33:1483; Bn 54 appendix # 149.

Liu Chang 劉常, King of Guangchuan, see Liu Changbao 劉常保.

Liu Chang 劉敞 (d.132). Son of Liu Zhong the King of Dongping, he succeeded his father in 84. He showed great filial devotion at the death of his mother, and was commended by the Chancellor Chen Zhen. In 120 Liu Chang's pension was increased by the revenue of five hundred households.

Liu Chang was succeeded by his son Duan. -HHS 42/32:1442.

Liu Chang 劉昌; Nanyang. Son of Liu Shang and grandson of Liu Min 敏, he succeeded to his father's minor fief. -HHS 14/4:565.

Liu Chang 劉棻. Son of Liu Shou the King of Jibei, in 120 Liu Chang was made King of Lecheng, to restore the lineage of Liu Dang the son of Emperor Ming. A few months later, however, he was reported by the Inspector and the Chancellor for Impiety. His grossly improper conduct included playing the lute and playing chess during the period of mourning, showing a lack of respect for the widow of his predecessor, taking other men's wives into his disorderly household, and brawling with his officials. Liu Chang was liable to the death penalty, but Ling Hong of the Imperial Secretariat argued that he had been inadequately prepared for his high rank, and he suffered only demotion to a county marquisate in Lujiang. -HHS 5:231-33, 50/40:1673.

Liu Chang 劉敞. A descendant of Liu Qiang the King of Donghai, Liu Chang held a county marquisate in Langye, where he was known for his illegal and immoral behaviour, including the dismissal of his chief wife in order to promote one of his concubines.

About 150 Gongsha Mu was sent out as chancellor. He criticised Liu Chang for his bad reputation, obliged

him to restore his former wife to her proper place, to dismiss his concubine's son from the succession, and to restore the public and private land he had seized without authority; Gongsha Mu also arrested and tortured those retainers and slaves of the household who had offended the law. Liu Chang, weeping, asked pardon for his wrong-doing and thereafter obeyed Gongsha Mu's instructions. -HHS 82/72B:2730-31.

Liu Chang 劉常; Guiyang. A noted Confucian scholar of the 150s, Liu Chang was a friend of Yuan Zhu. Yuan Zhu criticised Liang Ji and was killed by him, and Liang Ji then humiliated Liu Chang by appointing him to a lowly clerical position. -HHS 34/24:1184.

Liu Chang 劉暢 (d.174). Son of Liu Hong the King of Zhongshan, he succeeded his father in 140. -HHS 42/32:1450.

HHS 8:335 says that Liu Chang died without sons and the kingdom was ended, but see *sub* Liu Zhi 劉稚.

Liu Chang 劉萇/長; Hejian. Son of Liu Shu, Liu Chang succeeded his father as Marquis of Jiedu Village 解瀆亭. In 168, when his son Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, was brought to the throne, Liu Chang received posthumous imperial honours. -HHS 9:327-28, 55/45:180.

Liu Changbao 劉常保 (d.108). Third son of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe and a brother of Liu You, Emperor An, in 107 Liu Changbao was named King of Guangchuan. The territory was taken from the kingdom of Qinghe held by Liu Changbao's elder brother Liu Huwei, and it probably comprised only the county of that name.

When Liu Changbao died without children in the following year, the kingdom was abolished, though the territory was restored to Qinghe only in 121. -HHS 5:206-210, 55/45:1804.

Though HHS three times gives the name of this man as Changbao 常保, in HHSJJ 5:198 the modern commentator Qian Daxin observes that the son of Emperor An, future Emperor Shun, had the personal name Bao 保. Since it is most unlikely that an uncle and a nephew would share the same characters, he suggests there must be an error in the texts. It is probable that the personal name was simply Chang 常.

Liu Changqing 劉長卿; Pei. Liu Changqing died in the late 160s, leaving a five-year-old son. His widow the Lady Huan became known for her devotion. -HHS 84/74:2797.

Liu Chen 劉臣; the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 76 she was named Princess of Luyang in Nanyang. -HHS 10B:460.

Liu Cheng 劉成, the Lady. Second daughter of Emperor He, in 106 she was appointed Princess of Gong in Henei. -HHS 10B:461.

Liu Cheng 劉成 (d.127). Liu Cheng was a son by a concubine of Liu Yan the King of Xiapi. About 90 his elder half-brother Liu Ang was disqualified from inheriting the state on account of his bad conduct, and the government of Emperor He ordered that Liu Gong, King of Pengcheng, should adjudicate the competing claims of Liu Yan's other sons by various concubines. Liu Cheng was chosen as the new heir.

Liu Cheng, however, had to wait thirty-five years before he succeeded his father in 125, and he died only two years later. In 126 two of Liu Cheng's elder brothers and two grandsons of Liu Yan were enfeoffed as marquises, with fiefs presumably taken from the territory and revenues of Xiapi.

Liu Cheng was succeeded by his son Yi, and eight of his other sons later received district or village marquisates. -HHS 50/40:1674-75.

Liu Cheng 劉稱; Hejian. About the middle of the second century Liu Cheng was Director of Retainers. -HHS 67/57:2190.

Liu Cheng 劉成 (d.164). Son of Liu Jian the King of Liang, in 127 Liu Cheng was enfeoffed with a village marquisate. In 135 his elder brother the king Liu Kuang died, leaving no sons, and Emperor Shun granted the inheritance to Liu Cheng.

Liu Cheng was succeeded by his son Yuan. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Cheng 劉承. Son of Liu Xi the King of Qi, he succeeded his father in 146. The kingdom was abolished in 206, presumably after Liu Cheng's death. -HHS 14/4:554; Bn 54 appendix # 166.

Liu Cheng 劉承. Son of Liu Chong 崇 the King of Chen, he succeeded his father in 124. He was succeeded in turn by his son Chong 寵. -HHS 50/40:1669.

Liu Cheng 劉丞 [Jiyi 季意]. Magistrate of Huai county, the capital of Henei, about 134 Liu Cheng took part in the major project led by Wang Hui and then by Sima Deng, to dredge and reconstruct the channel of the Yellow River and its tributaries near Rongyang. -S/JZ 7:9a.

Liu Chengnan 劉成男, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Shun, in 138 she was appointed Senior Princess of

Guanjun 冠軍 in Nanyang. -HHS 10B:461.

Liu Chong 劉崇, Marquis of Anzhong (d. 6 AD), see Liu Chong 劉寵 immediately below.

Liu Chong 劉寵 (d.37); Nanyang. After Liu Chong 崇, Marquis of Anzhong in Nanyang, made an unsuccessful rebellion against Wang Mang in 6 AD, he was killed and his fief was ended [Bn 54:88]. There is confusion, however, about the restoration of the fief and the establishment of a successor.

HHS 25/15:872 says that Liu Chong's cousin Liu Xuan 宣 took no part in the rebellion, though he did refuse to serve the new Xin dynasty: he changed his name and retired to a life of scholarship. After Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, had taken the imperial title Liu Xuan went to his court and was granted the marquise of Anzhong.

The Table of Fiefs in HS 15A:459-60 says that the successor to Liu Chong 崇 was his cousin Liu Chong 寵, who was granted the restored marquise in 26. He was succeeded by his son Song 松 in 37.

HHS 15/5:577 TC, in a quotation from Xie Cheng also at XC 6:10a-b, has an extract from the biography ascribed to Liu Chong 崇 the Marquis of Anzhong. It mentions the rebellion, but then goes on to say that Liu Chong did well against Wang Mang, that he joined Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, during his campaign in the north against Wang Lang in 24, that he was admired for his loyalty and became the founder of a restored marquise of Anzhong.

Evidently through confusion between the names, XC 6 has conflated the story of the rebel marquis Liu Chong 崇 with that of his cousin and successor Chong 寵, who may indeed have been with the future emperor in the north in 24. The statement by HHS 25/15 that Liu Xuan received the fief appears likewise to be based upon a confusion of the characters 寵 and 宣. See also comments by Gu Yanwu, Hui Dong and Chen Jingyun at HHSJJ 15/5:581.

Liu Chong 劉沖 or Liu Zhong 种 (d.91). Son of Liu Yan 延 the King of Fuling, when his father died in 89 Liu Chong was granted the succession to the state in preference to his elder brother Liu Fang, who had earlier been implicated in an alleged plot. In the following year an edict of Emperor He removed a number of counties which had been restored to Liu Yan's fief by Emperor Zhang three years earlier.

Liu Chong died without heirs, and two years later the fief was allowed to revert to Liu Fang. -HHS

42/32:1445 [沖], 4:172 [种].

Liu Chong 劉崇 (d.96). Younger son of Liu Dang the King of Lecheng, he succeeded his father in 96 but died two months later. He left no sons and the state was abolished [but see *sub* Liu Xun]. -HHS 50/40:1673.

Liu Chong 劉寵 or Liu Fuhu 伏胡 (d.121). Son of Liu Kang the King of Qiansheng, he succeeded his father in 93; in 95 the fief was renamed Le'an. Like his father, Liu Chong lived at the capital and was buried near Luoyang. -HHS 55/45:1797.

Liu Chong 劉崇 (d.124). Son of Liu Xian and grandson of Emperor Ming, he became marquis of a village. In 120 he was made King of Chen to maintain the lineage of Liu Xian.

Liu Chong was succeeded by his son Cheng. -HHS 50/40:1669.

Liu Chong 劉崇 (d.151). Son of Liu An the King of Rencheng, he succeeded his father in 120. At the time of the Qiang and Xiongnu attacks in 140, Liu Chong sent cash and silk as a contribution to the costs of frontier defence. When Emperor Shun died in 144 he again offered money for the expenses of the imperial tomb, but though the court was grateful it did not accept. Liu Chong left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended. -HHS 42/32:1443.

Liu Chong 劉寵; Guanghan. Magistrate of two counties in Shu about the time of Emperor Huan, Liu Chong brought several powerful families under control. -HYGZ 3:35.

Liu Chong 劉寵 [Zurong 祖榮 or Rongzu 榮祖]; Donglai. Elder son of Liu Pi, Liu Chong inherited his father's scholarly skills, and on account of his knowledge of the classics he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. At the end of his period of probation he was certified with the Four Types of Virtuous Conduct [simplicity, sincerity, generosity and good conduct] and he became a county magistrate in Ji'nan. There he improved the conduct of the people, and his rule was so popular that when he attempted to leave on account of his mother's illness, they held his carriage back and he had to escape in disguise [a common cliché, see Meng Chang].

Returning to clerical office under the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Liu Chong became Administrator of Yuzhang and then of Kuaiji. He was noted for his good government, encouraging agriculture among the hills people and prohibiting non-Chinese customs. He was called to the capital as Court Architect, and as he was

leaving he was visited by a party of old men from the hills, each with a gift of a hundred cash, because "the people no longer see officials and the dogs no longer bark at night." Liu Chong accepted just a single coin from each of them.

Liu Chong was later Minister of the Imperial Clan and Minister Herald. In 161 he was promoted Excellency of Works, but left that office at the end of the following year when a mysterious mist concealed the sun. He was still in high position and became Grand Commandant in 168, retiring in the following year on account of an eclipse. In 178 Cai Yong recommended Liu Chong to Emperor Ling as a worthy man from whom he should seek advice.

Despite his distinguished career, Liu Chong remained a frugal man of simple manner. He did not gather clients and students, he dressed in plain clothes, and he slept on rough skins. On one occasion he went to stay at an official rest-house but was turned away because the host was waiting for "His Excellency Liu" 劉公. Liu Chong left quietly.

Liu Chong died of old age at home. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66: 2477-79*, XC 5:4b, XHS 5:9a-10a, SGZ Wu 4:1183; deC 89:30-31.

Liu Chong 劉寵 (d.197). Son of Liu Cheng, he succeeded his father as King of Chen. In 173 the Chancellor Shi Qian reported that Liu Chong and his former Chancellor Wei Yin had offered sacrifices to the deities asking for inappropriate good fortune; this was Impiety. The senior officials proposed a commission of enquiry, but Liu Kui the King of Bohai, brother of the late Emperor Huan, had been obliged to commit suicide in the preceding year and Emperor Ling was anxious to avoid another such affair. He had both Shi Qian and Wei Yin brought to the capital by cage-cart, where they were examined by the eunuch Wang Fu with the Director of the Imperial Secretariat and the censors.

Wei Yin acknowledged that he and the king had held worship to Huang-Lao, but they had asked only for long life and good fortune, and made no improper requests. Wang Fu and his colleagues reported that Wei Yin's administration had been well carried out, and though the ceremonies had not been correct, there was no question of Impiety: Shi Qian had laid false information against his king. Both officials were executed, but an edict ordered there be no further

investigation of Liu Chong himself.

Liu Chong was a fine shot with the cross-bow and is said to have written a textbook on the subject, *Nushe bifa* 弩射祕法. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 the local officials abandoned their posts and fled, but Liu Chong raised a force of several thousand archers and brought them to his capital. The people knew of his skill and did not dare rebel, so the state remained undisturbed and great numbers from neighbouring territories came to join him.

As the alliance formed against Dong Zhuo in 190, Liu Chong gathered an army and styled himself General Who Supports Han 輔漢將軍. With his Chancellor Luo Jun he maintained Chen as an island of prosperity and security, but in 197 Yuan Shu asked for supplies. When Luo Jun refused him, Yuan Shu sent men to kill Liu Chong and Luo Jun by treachery, and the state was destroyed. -HHS 50/40:1669-70; Yao Zhenzong:2388, deC 96:222-223.

Liu Chong 劉寵 [Shixin 世信]; Guanghan. Towards the end of the second century, Liu Chong, an orphan from a humble family, became expert in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, and was a friend of the distinguished scholars Wang Shang and Chen Bao/Shi.

The commandery sent Liu Chong to the capital, and he returned to the west as magistrate of Chengdu. He maintained an excellent government there, and as other counties were in disorder he was transferred from one to the other, achieving similar success. He was then made Administrator of Zangke, where he influenced the southern people by his modest conduct and simple clothing. He held office for nine years, and when he left they set up a stele in his honour. -HYGZ 10B:147.

Liu Chun 劉醇; Pingyuan. A man of humble background, Liu Chun was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. About 163 he was recommended by the General of the Household Huang Wan, head of his corps of cadets, and the Minister of the Household Chen Fan promoted him as Abundant Talent so that he could take substantive office. Nothing more is known of Liu Chun's career. -HHS 61/51:2040.

Liu Chunlong 劉春龍, the Lady; Nanyang. *Zhengao* 眞誥, a book of revelations compiled by the Taoist master Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (455-536), refers to the Lady as a daughter of the minister Liu Zu 劉祖.

-HHSJ 95/5:3528 Hui Dong.

Liu Ci 劉賜 [Ziqin 子琴] (d.52); Nanyang. A grandson of Liu Li 利, sometime Administrator of Cangwu, Liu Ci was a first cousin of Liu Xuan, the future Gengshi Emperor, and a more distant kinsman of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and his elder brother Liu Bosheng. Liu Ci's father died when he was still young and he lived with his brother Xian 顯.

About 20 AD Liu Xian gathered retainers to avenge the death of his cousin Liu Qian 騫, younger brother of Liu Xuan: Liu Qian had been killed by the son of a local officer slain by Liu Qian's father Liu Zizhang ten years before: see *sub* Liu Xuan and Bn 54:97. Before he could proceed, Liu Xian's followers killed some innocent people and the local authorities had him arrested and executed.

Undeterred by the fate of his brother and by the similarly unsuccessful activities of his cousin Liu Xuan, Liu Ci and his nephew, Xian's son Xin, sold land and property to gather a band of nine retainers. With these men they attacked and burned the home of their rivals and slaughtered their enemy's widow and three sons. They then fled, but later benefited from an amnesty and were able to return to their estates.

In the winter of 22 Liu Ci and Liu Xin were among the first to join the Han rebels against Wang Mang under the command of Liu Bosheng, and when his cousin Liu Xuan was proclaimed as the Gengshi Emperor in 23 Liu Ci was named Minister of the Household and enfeoffed as a marquis. Soon afterwards Liu Bosheng was destroyed, and Liu Ci took his place as Excellency over the Masses. He was sent to attack Runan, but Liu Xin took over before the campaign was ended, and Liu Ci accompanied the main army to Luoyang.

As the Gengshi Emperor was considering whom he should send north of the Yellow River, Liu Ci pressed the claims of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. The Grand Marshal Zhu Wei argued against the proposal, but Liu Ci insisted, and so Liu Xiu was made Acting Grand Marshal and sent with the Staff of Authority to the north. On the same day, Liu Ci was given title as Chancellor and was sent to Chang'an to repair the temples and palaces. He returned to escort the emperor to his western capital, and in the spring of 24 he was enfeoffed as King of Wan county. He was then named Grand Marshal of the Van and sent with the Staff of Authority to settle the east of the passes.

As Bielenstein 59:57 observes, Liu Ci was one of

the few leaders who had a personal connection to the Gengshi Emperor and might have helped maintain a balance of power between the contending factions at the capital. His departure from Luoyang, and his replacement by the ambitious Li Song, a leader of the Nanyang gentry, meant a fatal division with the commoner Troops.

Liu Ci occupied Nanyang and took over military command in the region, but as the Red Eyebrows attacked and destroyed the Gengshi Emperor in the latter part of 25, the local troops deserted, and Liu Ci was forced to abandon his capital at Wan. Hearing that Liu Xiu had taken the imperial title, he went to the Wu Pass in Hongnong, received the former emperor's wife and children as they fled Chang'an, and brought them to the new ruler at Luoyang. Emperor Guangwu rewarded him with enfeoffment as a county marquis in Runan.

Liu Ci was trusted and favoured by the emperor, who would discuss private matters with him, and frequently visited his residence at Luoyang. In 37 he received final enfeoffment as a county marquis, again in Runan, with an increased pension and the senior title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. He continued to live at the capital until his death, and his ancestral tombs and temples were set up and staffed in the same fashion as those of his cousins in the direct lineage of the marquises of Chongling [see *sub* Liu Zhi]. -HHS 14/4:564-65*; Bn 54 appendix # 80.

Liu Cong 劉琮 see Liu Zong 劉琮.

Liu Cuo 劉錯 (d.103). Son of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, he succeeded his father in 97. While still Heir to the kingdom, Liu Cuo fell in love with Song Run, a musician at his father's court. He had the physician Zhang Zun act as his go-between, but she refused him. Liu Cuo was angry and killed Zhang Zun. The Chancellor reported the matter, but no action was taken.

Liu Cuo was succeeded by his son Xiang, and four younger sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 42/32:1432.

Liu Da 劉烜 (57-88) [Emperor Zhang 章帝 (*reg.* 75-88)]. Fifth son of Emperor Ming, Liu Da was born in 57 to the Honoured Lady Jia. His elder half-brothers were children of minor concubines without noted lineage, but Liu Da's mother was a woman of family from Nanyang, and she was a maternal cousin of the Lady

Ma, who was designated empress. The Lady Ma could not bear children, and it was evidently by agreement between the families that Liu Da was named Heir on the same day, 8 April 60, the Lady Ma was brought to the throne. As the empress brought the boy up, he came to look upon her relatives as his own, while his natural mother and her kinfolk gained little from their connection to the throne.

STYLE OF GOVERNMENT

Nineteen years old by Chinese reckoning when he came to the throne, Liu Da was formally of full age and the Dowager Ma never acted as regent. On the other hand, for the first years of the new reign the Grand Tutor Zhao Xi and the Grand Commandant Mou Rong shared control of the Secretariat, which gave formal command of the government, and one may assume that they had influence on policy. Mou Rong died in 79, and Zhao Xi and the Dowager Ma followed him in 80, so that by the Western age of twenty-three the emperor had full charge.

From the time of his accession, the government of the young ruler sought to present an image of benevolence. Edicts were issued expressing sympathy, concern and interest in the problems of the people, there were frequent awards of noble ranks and donations on auspicious occasions, and relief was granted from imposts at times of misfortune or ill omen. In 85 it was ordered that in future a woman who gave birth should be exempted from the poll tax for three years, that her husband should be exempted for one year, and that the family should receive a special grant of grain.

In 76, after a disease among cattle had seriously affected agriculture, an edict ordered that crimes not liable to the death penalty should not be tried until the autumn, so as to restore the traditional balance of the seasons between the forces of *Yin* and *Yang*. In further development of this principle, it was ordered in 84 that, except for capital crimes, complaints and lawsuits could be considered only in autumn and winter, that questioning should be enforced with the bastinado only while the accused was still able to stand, and that executions were to be carried out only in the first month of winter, not during the whole season [see also *sub* Chen Chong].

In 78, on the advice of the Internuncio Deng Xun an edict approved the cessation of canal works on the Hutuo River in the Taihang Mountains: the project had proven too difficult, it was considered wrong to submit

the people to such extravagant corvée, and transport was thereafter carried out by donkey-carts. In similar fashion, during the mid-80s the dangerous sea-route along the coast, from the mouth of the Yangzi past present-day Fujian to the Bay of Canton, was partially replaced by a new road from Lingling and Guiyang across the Nan Ling ranges to Nanhai in the far south [see *sub* Zheng Hong].

As part of his personal government, Emperor Zhang travelled widely outside the capital. On each of his tours he held or arranged for special sacrifices, received his royal kinsmen in audience, called local officials to report, held jail release and heard law cases, gave alms to relieve distress, and forgave taxes for the regions where he travelled. In the autumn of 82 the emperor went north through Henei into Wei commandery, and in the winter he went west to Chang'an, into the hills beyond, and made a boat journey on the Jing River. Late in 83 he went east through Chenliu and Yingchuan, and in the autumn of 84 he journeyed into Jing province, visiting the homeland of his ancestors and then travelling south as far as the Yangzi. In the spring of 85 he went east again, holding the Ploughing ceremony in Jiyin, visiting Mount Tai, and offering sacrifice to Confucius and his disciples in Lu. One year later he travelled to the north: having carried out Ploughing in Henei, he issued an edict urging local authorities to encourage agriculture, then went through Zhongshan to the northern frontier, where he arranged a series of sacrifices to his predecessors and to local deities. In the summer and autumn of 87, a few months before his death, he journeyed southeast to Pengcheng and Pei. An impressive display of energy and interest, the tours provide a considerable contrast to many later rulers.

Despite imperial benevolence and good will, there were signs of problems to come. In particular, by the middle 80s there was increasing concern that government revenues were insufficient to maintain the necessary business and responsibilities of the state. Zhang Lin of the Secretariat proposed the re-introduction of a centralised monopoly on salt and the establishment of government trade to control the activities of private merchants and gain profit for the state. The emperor was persuaded to accept his suggestions, but the program was opposed by conservative Confucianists such as the Excellency Zhu Hui, and it was ended soon after Emperor Zhang's

death. The fact remained, however, that the imperial government could not gain access to an appropriate proportion of the national wealth, and the situation became far worse when the cautious policies of Emperor Zhang were replaced by the more ambitious ideas of his widow, the regent Dowager Dou, and her family.

FRONTIER AFFAIRS

At the beginning of his reign Emperor Zhang inherited a military disaster. Based upon a successful incursion into the region of Turfan, Emperor Ming had re-established the Protectorate-General for the Western Regions, but just before his death the Northern Xiongnu attacked in force, killed the Protector-General Chen Mu, and brought local sympathisers to besiege the Wu and Ji Colonels Geng Gong and Guan Chong in Jushi. The new government was persuaded to send an army to their rescue, but the losses were heavy and at the conclusion of the campaign the various outposts and garrison positions were abandoned.

In following years, the misfortune which had had been suffered through the over-ambitious appointment of a Protector-General was more than made up by the remarkable achievements of the energetic Ban Chao. With very few troops, relying largely upon local alliances and his own strategic skill, Ban Chao established a Chinese position in the Tarim basin, and by the late 80s his authority dominated the Western Regions. The culmination of his success came in the 90s, but with minimal expenditure of Chinese men and material he largely reconstructed the empire which had been held in central Asia by Former Han.

Closer to home, there was trouble with the Qiang war-leader Miyu in the northwest. The Chinese were able to keep incursions in check and maintained reasonable control through the Protector Fu Yu, but in 86 Fu Yu was killed in battle, and in the following year his successor Zhang Yu killed Miyu by treachery. Miyu's son, Mitang, then took up a campaign of revenge, and the problem remained to trouble Emperor Zhang's son and successor Emperor He. As in the north, there was a constant problem of keeping Chinese people on the ground in the face of regular disruption, and a number of edicts ordered that criminals and convicts should be sent to garrison duty in Jincheng.

Following the settlement reached by Guangwu and Emperor Ming, dealings with the Xiongnu remained comparatively peaceful: the Chinese continued to

subsidise the Wuhuan and Xianbi to attack the Northern Xiongnu, but they launched no major expeditions, and in 84, after a series of droughts, the Northern Xiongnu asked for peaceful trade through the frontier of Wuwei. The Han court approved, but the Southern Xiongnu sent raiding parties to kidnap the merchants from the north and plunder their caravans. The Southerners may have been inspired by hereditary enmity, but they were no doubt also concerned that a rapprochement between China and the steppe would weaken their special position as a loyal ally and buffer state.

In 85, after heated debate at court, it was resolved that Northerners taken prisoner by the South should be returned and the Chinese treasury would pay their ransoms, with blood money for those who had been killed. This was a weak compromise between the war party and those who favoured peace, so the Southern raiders were rewarded for their disruptive activities, while Northerners could have no faith in Chinese authority. Hopes of peace were lost, but the Han government gained advantage as increasing numbers of Northern Xiongnu came to the frontier to surrender outright. The steppe regime became still weaker, and in 87 the Youliu Shanyu of the north was killed by Xianbi raiders. Opportunity thus developed for the great campaign of conquest by Dou Xian in the following reign.

Elsewhere, there was some trouble with the Ailao people of the far southeast, and endemic disturbance from the non-Chinese people of the hills in the west of Wuling. Both regions, however, were controlled by local forces, and other peoples made offerings to the court: in 84 tribespeople south of Rinan presented egrets and a rhinoceros, and in 87 the Yuezhi people from the north of present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, and also Parthia 安息, sent tribute to Ban Chao: the cortège included lions and a *fuba* 符拔, said to have resembled a deer 鹿 or a "unicorn" 麟 *lin* but without horns. Such gifts from distant lands, together with frequent favourable omens reported inside China, enhanced the prestige of the dynasty without any great display of military ambition or energy [the triumphs of Ban Chao in the Western Regions came from his own initiatives, and he neither sought nor received a major commitment from the central government]. Not surprisingly, the reign of Emperor Zhang was looked back upon with admiration by generations which followed.

RITUAL, SCHOLARSHIP AND PHILOSOPHY

Besides practical matters of politics and policy, Emperor Zhang paid great attention to ceremony, with sacrifice and worship offered to the deities and spirits, to his imperial ancestors, and to Confucius. He was also a patron of scholarship, he introduced a new calendar, and he sought to reform the rituals of the court. None of his projects were totally successful, but the programs enhanced imperial authority, and the discussions in the White Tiger Hall, in particular, are a landmark in Confucian philosophy.

From an early age, the future ruler appears to have been genuinely interested in Confucianism, particularly the Old Text of *History* and in *Zuo zhuan*, and in 76, soon after he had come to the throne, he called the Old Text enthusiast Jia Kui to discuss questions of scholarship. Delighted with his presentations, he had Jia Kui present a long memorial describing how *Zuo zhuan* was superior to the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to *Chunqiu*, and arguing that only *Zuo zhuan* agreed with the established texts of prognostication 圖讖. Rewarding Jia Kui, the emperor ordered him to select twenty good young scholars from amongst those currently studying Gongyang, instruct them in *Zuo zhuan*, and compile a new edition of the classic and the commentary. Continuing his discussions and show of favour, he also had Jia Kui prepare comparisons between the Old and New Texts of the *History* and the *Poetry*, together with a commentary to the Old Text *Zhou li* or *Zhou guan*.

The Academician Li Yu and other scholars of the established New Text were concerned at this support for the rival tradition, and in 79, on a proposal of Yang Zhong, the emperor convened a formal conference in the White Tiger Hall to resolve the many disagreements. It was planned to follow the model of the debate in the Hall of the Stone Conduit [石渠 *Shiqu*], held by Emperor Xuan of Former Han in 51 BC: questions were presented to the panel of scholars by Wei Ying, and Chunyu Gong prepared a summary of their opinions which was presented to the emperor for final decision. A full record was then provided in the form of memorials to the throne, *Bohu yizou* 白虎議奏, and a summary "Account of the General Significance" of the gathering, *Bohu tongyi* 白虎通義 or *Bohu tong delun* 白虎通德論, was prepared later. Ban Gu was responsible for much of this work of recension.

Though Jia Kui and other Old Text scholars took

part in the conference, and Chunyu Chong was a particular favourite of the emperor, the surviving text of *Bohu tongyi* reflects almost entirely the teachings of the New Text. There is some question how much has been amended, interpolated, or even forged since the original compilation, but it does appear, as Tjan suggests, that New Text orthodoxy carried the day, and that despite his formal involvement Emperor Zhang's wishes were disregarded. As Tjan observes, however, Emperor Zhang maintained his support for Old Text scholarship rather than New. In 83 he issued an edict expressing concern at the deterioration of learning and the proliferation of detailed and over-long commentaries; he renewed instructions that good students should be introduced to the study of *Zuo zhuan* with the Guliang commentary to *Chunqiu*, together with the Old Text of the *History* and the Mao interpretation of the *Poetry*, also in Old Text tradition; and he appointed nominees of Jia Kui to the court of his senior son Liu Kang the King of Qiansheng. In the long term, the New Text retained formal dominance until the end of Han, but the most energetic and imaginative scholars were those of the Old Text tradition.

By the latter part of the first century AD, the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar, which had been in use for almost two hundred years, had become seriously inaccurate, and in 85 Emperor Zhang proclaimed a new calendar, based on an amended version of the ancient *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system. Some attempt at reform had been made under Emperor Ming [see *sub* Zhang Sheng], and the ruler sought advice from the Bureau of Astronomy, but the essential calculations were made by the individual officers Bian Xin and Li Fan, and Jia Kui was commissioned to prepare a final report on several questions of fine tuning. This was the major reform of the dynasty, though Sivin 69:19-33 points out that while the Quarter Day calendar was more accurate on the length of the year, it was no better at predicting eclipses.

Emperor Zhang was also interested in ritual. At the recommendation of his nominal uncle Ma Fang in 80 he had adopted special music for the seasonal ceremony to Welcome the Ethers 迎氣, though a more extended repertoire was rejected because of the cost of instruments and players. And in 85 an edict discussed the possibility of developing a new and comprehensive set of rituals for the court and other ceremonies. The Minister of Ceremonies Chao Kan argued that this

was too great a task for one person, and there would be great difficulty in obtaining a consensus among any group of scholars. The emperor raised the matter again in the following year, but the scholar Ban Gu recommended another general conference, and from his own experience the emperor forecast that such a gathering would produce disagreement without decisions.

Seeking to break the deadlock, at the beginning of 87 Emperor Zhang commissioned the scholar Cao Bao to prepare a set of procedures based upon the remnant text of Shusun Tong 叔孫通, who had constructed a system for the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han, with other material from the classics, histories and suitable works in the imperial collection. Cao Bao had long been working on such a project and at the end of the year he presented *Xin Li* 新禮 "New Rituals," dealing with every matter from capping to marriage, and covering all levels of society, from the ruler to the common people. The emperor was compelled to recognise, however, that any attempt to enforce such a vast production would meet massive opposition. He accepted the document but did not present it to his ministers for discussion, and though Cao Bao's program was used in the first years of Emperor He, it was indeed found too clumsy and was largely abandoned.

COURT AND HAREM

Unlike his father, Emperor Zhang had no problems with his kinsmen. He treated his half-brothers generously, allowing them to remain in residence at the capital, and he ended the persecutions maintained by Emperor Ming, so that hundreds of people who had been sent to exile were able to return home. The emperor received his royal uncles and cousins both at the capital and on his tours, and when Liu Yan and his son Liu Fang were accused of treachery early in his reign he treated them leniently and later, touched by pity, eased Liu Yan's exile.

The politics of the imperial harem were complicated, as much through the ambitions and intrigues of rival consort families as through Emperor Zhang's own preferences. He respected the Dowager Ma, his titular mother, and planned to enfeoff her male kinsmen, but the Lady argued against such favouritism and the fiefs were only granted in 79, a little before her death. On the other hand, the Dowager sponsored her cousins, two sisters Song, who had entered Liu Da's harem in

75 when he was still only Heir. They became Honoured Ladies, and one of them bore Liu Qing, who was appointed Heir to the new ruler in 79. It was evidently intended that the Ma family and the Song should hold distaff influence together.

The Dowager, however, was not able to arrange for the Lady Song to become empress, and the position fell to a concubine of the Dou family, who was appointed in 78. The Lady Dou had entered the harem only recently, she was some years younger than the Song sisters and she attracted the favour of the twenty-year-old emperor through her youth and novelty – and perhaps also because the relevant Lady Song was unavailable by reason of pregnancy. Political considerations would in any case have encouraged the ruler not to commit himself too firmly to one distaff faction, and the Lady Dou was not only a member of a great family from the northwest but was also a granddaughter of Emperor Guangwu and thus a second cousin of Emperor Zhang.

For a few years the rivalries remained in balance. Like the Lady Ma before her, the Empress Dou could bear no children. Two sisters of the Liang family, however, had been brought into the harem in 77, and they too had imperial connections through their aunt, a daughter of Emperor Guangwu. Both were appointed Honoured Ladies and in 79 one of them gave birth to Liu Zhao, future Emperor He. The Dowager Ma died at this time, and the Empress Dou formed an alliance with the Liang and commenced a campaign of slander against the Song and the brothers of the late Dowager. In 82 the infant Liu Zhao was named as Heir in place of Liu Qing. The Ladies Song died in prison under accusation of witchcraft and the Ma brothers were disgraced in the following year.

The Liang were delighted at the prospects before them, but their ambitions were a threat to the empress and her family. In 83 the sisters' father Liang Song suffered an anonymous denunciation and was executed, both Honoured Ladies "died of grief," and the Empress Dou took the child as her own. It is said that his true maternity was forgotten, and the boy himself did not know the identity of his mother.

The first Heir named by Emperor Zhang, Liu Qing, was his third son; his elder brothers had been born to unknown concubines whose lack of family made them unsuitable. Given the situation which had developed through the intrigues of the Empress Dou, it appears

that by 82 the emperor had no choice but to approve Liu Qing's dismissal. Liu Zhao, future Emperor He, was a son of the well-born Lady Liang and just one year younger, so the choice was appropriate. Emperor Zhang continued to treat Liu Qing well, and it is something of a tribute that the rival princes became close and trusted friends.

Despite their ambitions and pretensions, moreover, the consort families themselves were held under control. The emperor reprimanded and later disgraced the Ma, and shortly before his death he expressed anger and disgust at the conduct of his brother-in-law Dou Xian: he was barely persuaded not to punish him heavily for extortion, and he gave him no position of any significance. Unfortunately for the future of the dynasty, however, Emperor Zhang died on 9 April 88, aged just over thirty. His successor Liu Zhao was only ten *sui*, the Empress, now Dowager, Dou became regent for his minority, and her family, led by Dou Xian, gained great power at court.

Emperor Zhang was awarded the temple name Suzong 肅宗 "Respectful Exemplar" and his tomb northwest of Luoyang was named "Mound of Reverence" 敬陵. -HHS 3*.

Liu Dai 劉代. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Dai 劉代 (d.145). Son of Liu Hui the King of Fuling, he succeeded his father in 132 while his elder brother Liu Bianqin was passed over.

When Liu Dai died without heirs in 145 the state was abolished, but it was later restored in favour of Liu Bianqin. -HHS 6:279, 42/32:1446.

Liu Dai 劉岱 [Gongshan 公山? cf. Liu Dai of Pei below] (d.192); Donglai. Elder son of Liu Fang/Yu and nephew of the Excellency Liu Chong, as an officer of the Censorate in 185 he defended Lu Kang who had criticised a levy of land tax.

Palace Attendant in 189, Liu Dai was appointed Inspector of Yan by Dong Zhuo, but joined the eastern alliance in 190. Later that year, in an early breaking of the pact, he killed the Administrator of Dong commandery Qiao Mao, and he soon afterwards allied himself with Yuan Shao against Gongsun Zan.

Liu Dai was popular among the people, but in 192 he was killed fighting the Yellow Turbans of Qing province. -HHS 76/66:2479, SGZ 1:6.

Liu Dai 劉岱 [Gongshan 公山? see below]; Pei. An officer of Cao Cao, in 199 Liu Dai was sent with Wang Zhong to attack Liu Bei in Pei. They had no success, but Liu Dai was later enfeoffed for other victories. -SGZ 1:18.

Wei lue says this man's style was Gongshan 公山, the same as that of Liu Dai of Donglai above. It may be that two men of the same personal name had also the same style.

Liu Dan 劉旦. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 100 he was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Liu Dan 劉旦. A celebrated calligrapher in the time of Emperor Ling, Liu Dan's portrait was painted on the wall of the newly-established School at the Gate of the Vast Capital. -*Lidai minghua ji*.

Liu Dan 劉誕 (d.194); Jiangxia. Sons of Liu Yan 焉, at the time of their father's appointment as Governor of Yi province in 188, Liu Dan, Liu Fan and Liu Zhang remained at Luoyang, where Liu Dan held a post in the Imperial Censorate. When Dong Zhuo shifted the capital to Chang'an in 191 they were obliged to follow him, but Liu Zhang was later sent to Yi province.

In 194 Liu Dan was implicated in the conspiracy of his brother Liu Fan with others against Li Jue. He was taken and killed. -HHS 75/65:2432, SGZ Shu 1:867.

Liu Dang 劉黨 (d.96). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 66 he was granted an ornamental title as King of Respect and Fame 重熹王, but received no territorial fief. In 72, however, he was enfeoffed as King of Lecheng.

Liu Dang was the same age as his half-brother Liu Da, the future Emperor Zhang, and the two were very close. When Liu Da came to the throne in 78, the senior officials recommended that Liu Dang and his half-brothers Liu Gong and Liu Xian be sent out to their states, but the emperor would not be parted from them and they remained at the capital. In 79 Liu Dang's fief was increased by eight counties taken from the territories of Qinghe, Bohai and Zhuo. After Emperor Zhang died in 88 the regent Dowager Dou ordered Liu Dang and his brothers to leave the capital.

Liu Dang was a scholar of history with particular interest in text criticism, but he was also an intemperate man, with small regard for the law. There was a regulation that although women from the palace might marry out, they could not enter a royal harem. A certain Lady Ai Zhi, who had formerly served in the imperial palace, married a commoner named Zhang Chu. Liu

Dang had her come to him and had intercourse with her. When Zhang Chu proposed to make an official complaint, Liu Dang became frightened, and he bribed Ai Zhi's younger sister Jiao to kill Zhang Chu. As suspicion developed, Liu Dang strangled three people from his own household in an attempt to halt the gossip.

In another scandal, he took Li Yusheng, slave of a former Tutor to Liu Yan the King of Zhongshan, as a secondary wife 小妻. In 95 the Chancellor of his state reported these affairs, but Emperor He punished Liu Dang only by taking two counties from his fief.

Liu Dang died in the following year and was succeeded by his son Chong. -HHS 50/40:1672-73*.

Liu Dao 劉道 (d.145). Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, he succeeded his father in 117.

Liu Dao was succeeded by his son Ding, and in 146 nine other sons became village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Daying 劉大英 see Liu Taiying 劉泰英.

Liu De 劉德/得; Zhending/Changshan. Son of Liu "Goitre" Yang the King of Zhending, who was executed for planning rebellion in 26, Liu De was granted the succession to his father's fief later that year. In 37, with other kings outside the immediate imperial family, he was reduced in rank to be a marquis. -HHS 1A:29, 1B: 61; Bn 59:123, Bn 67:25.

Liu De 劉德. Son of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, in 57 he was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 42/32:1431.

Liu De 劉得 (d.119); Le'an. Son of Liu Chong the King of Le'an, in 113 the regent Dowager Deng appointed him King of Pingyuan to maintain the lineage of Liu Sheng, eldest son of Emperor He. Liu De died without heirs, and the state was later restored again in favour of Liu Yi, son of Liu Kai the King of Hejian. -HHS 5: 230, 55/45:1810.

HHS 78/68:2514 says that after the death of the Dowager in 121 the eunuch Li Run and Emperor An's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng claimed to the ruler that members of the Deng group had planned to depose him and place Liu De [miswritten as 德] on the imperial throne. It appears more probable, however, that their alleged candidate was Liu De's successor Liu Yi.

Liu De 劉德/得 (d.151). Son of Liu Kai the King of Hejian, in 122 he was made King of Anding, formerly Lecheng, to maintain the lineage of Liu Dang the son of Emperor Ming. See also *sub* Liu Chang 萇.

Liu De was succeeded by his son Xu. -HHS 5:235,

7:297, 50/40:1674, 55/45:1808.

Liu De 劉得 miswritten for Liu Yi 劉翼, King of Pingyuan *q.v.* and see Liu De 劉得 of Le'an above. -HHS 16/6:616.

Liu De 劉德 miswritten for Liu Yi 劉翼, King of Pingyuan *q.v.* and see Liu De 劉得 of Le'an above. -HHS 78/68:2514.

Liu Deng 劉登 (d.135). Son of Liu Shou the King of Jibei, he succeeded his father in 120.

Liu Deng was succeeded by his son Duo. -HHS 55/45:1807.

Liu Deran 劉德然; Zhuo. In the late 170s Liu Deran studied under the Academician Lu Zhi. One of Liu Deran's fellow-students was his kinsman Liu Bei, future First Sovereign of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han. Though the families were not closely related, Liu Deran's father Liu Yuanqi supplied provisions to Liu Bei in the same fashion as to his own son, and when his wife questioned him he explained that Liu Bei was a man of great potential. -SGZ Shu 2:871.

Liu Desheng 劉德升/昇 [Junsi 君嗣]; Yingchuan. A celebrated calligrapher during the time of Emperors Huan and Ling, Liu Desheng is said to have developed the *xing shu* 行書 "Running Style," a compromise between the official *li shu* 隸書 "Clerical Style" and the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." -Ch'en 66:50.

Liu Ding 劉定 (d.95). Son of Liu Fu the King of Pei, he succeeded his father in 85.

Liu Ding was succeeded by his son Zheng, and two younger sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 42/32:1427.

Liu Ding 劉丁. Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, after his first wife died in 116 his brother Liu Pu insulted his secondary wife 小妻. Their father, angry at Liu Pu's conduct, sent him to prison and then forced him to kill himself. In 118, after his eldest brother Liu Dao had succeeded to their father's kingdom, Liu Ding and his brothers Bing and Guo were enfeoffed as district marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671, DGHJ 7:5a.

Liu Ding 劉定 (d.149). Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, he succeeded his father in 145.

Liu Ding was succeeded by his brother He. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Ding 劉定 (d.176). Son of Liu Li/Hui the King of Ganling, he succeeded his father in 172.

Liu Ding was succeeded by his son Zhong. -HHS 55/45:1806.

Liu [Dingxing] 劉定興; Pei. Described as a private

scholar and gentleman [義士 *yishi*], in 172 Liu Dingxing arranged the erection of a stele to his patron. All details of the inscription and of other sponsors are now lost. -*SJZ* 23:8b.

Liu Du 劉度 (d.28). Administrator of Linhuai for Emperor Guangwu, Liu Du was killed without authority, presumably in a private feud, by Xu Yun. -*HHS* 1A:37.

Liu Du 劉篤. Son of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, he committed some crime, and when his brothers were made marquises in 90, Liu Du was excluded. -*HHS* 42/32:1432-33.

Liu Du 劉憤 see Liu Yi 劉懿, the Little Emperor.

Liu Du 劉度. Son of Liu Zhong and grandson of Liu Ying the disgraced King of Chu, Liu Du succeeded to his father's marquisate in Lujiang. -*HHS* 42/32:1430.

Liu Du 劉度. In 162 Liu Du was Inspector of Jing province when the non-Chinese of Wuling rebelled and bandits from Yuzhang attacked Changsha. The Internuncio Ma Mu was sent to take command of operations in Changsha, but the army was defeated and Liu Du and Ma Mu fled. Both men were sentenced to death, commuted by one degree. -*HHS* 38/28:1285, 86/76:2834.

Liu Du 劉度. As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he sent Liu Du south as Administrator of Lingling. Following Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs later that year, Liu Du was obliged to surrender to Liu Bei. -*SGZ* Shu 2:879.

Liu Duan 劉端 (d.179). Son of Liu Chang the King of Dongping, he succeeded his father in 132.

Liu Duan was succeeded by his son Kai. -*HHS* 42/32:1442.

Liu Dun 劉惇 [Ziren 子仁]; Pingyuan. During the 190s Liu Dun crossed the Yangzi to avoid the civil war and settled in the south of Yuzhang. He joined the staff of the Administrator of Luling, Sun Fu, and guided him to the hiding places of rebels and bandits by his divinatory arts. Sun Fu gave him high rank, and the men of the army were awed by his magical powers. In 204 he foretold the murder of Sun Yi by Bian Hong in Danyang.

Liu Dun compiled a book of more than a hundred *pian* on his art, but did not explain it to anyone, so nobody afterwards was able to understand it. -*SGZ* Wu 18:1423-24*.

Liu Dun 劉敦. Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, presumably by a concubine, Liu Dun was enfeoffed as

King of Beihai in 212. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, however, Liu Dun and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -*HHS* 9:386, 390.

HHS 9:386 gives Liu Dun's fief as Donghai, but the modern commentator Qian Daxin correctly points out that this is mistaken. The kings of Donghai were descended from Liu Qiang, son of Guangwu, and the lineage was still maintained at that time through Liu Xian: see *HHS* 70/60:2271 and *HHSJJ* 9:258-59, also *sub* Liu Zhi, King of Donghai.

Liu Duo 劉多 (d.138). Son of Liu Deng the King of Jibei, he succeeded his father in 135. In 138 he died without sons, but in the following year his uncle Liu An/Angu was granted the fief so as to maintain the lineage. -*HHS* 55/45:1807.

Liu E 劉阿 see Liu A 劉阿.

Liu Fa 劉發 miswritten for Liu Feng 劉奉. -*HHSJJ* 16/6:610.

Liu Fan 劉番. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, he was made a marquis in 100. -*HHS* 50/40:1668.

Liu Fan 劉範 (d.194); Jiangxia. Son of Liu Yan 焉, when his father became Governor of Yi in 188 Liu Fan and his brothers Liu Dan and Liu Zhang remained at Luoyang. As Dong Zhuo shifted the capital to Chang'an in 191 they were obliged to follow him, and Liu Fan became a General of the Household.

At the beginning of 194 there was a quarrel between Li Jue's party, controlling the capital, and the warlord Ma Teng of Liang province. Liu Fan joined a plot of Chong Shao, to act as agents within the capital for Ma Teng and to kill Li Jue. The plan was found out and the conspirators fled to Huaili in Youfufeng, just west of Chang'an. Liu Yan sent reinforcements, but Ma Teng and his allies were defeated and driven away, and Li Jue's forces then captured Huaili and killed Liu Fan and his associates. -*HHS* 56/46:1830, 72/62:3334, 75/65:2432, *SGZ* Shu 1:867.

Liu Fang 劉防; Liang. Son of the late King of Liang Liu Li 立, Liu Fang was a younger brother of Liu Yong, who named him a chief general as he set up an independent position in 24. When Liu Yong was defeated and killed in 27, Liu Fang surrendered to Guangwu's general He Yan. -*HHS* 12/2:494, 18/8:687.

Liu Fang 劉方 [Bokuang 伯況] (d.97); Pingyuan. A noted scholar of the *Classic of Poetry*, as a magistrate in Yingchuan in 85 Liu Xiang urged the importance

of an accurate calendar. The government of Emperor Zhang acknowledged his arguments in an edict, and soon afterwards adopted the *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system. Liu Fang was then appointed Minister of the Imperial Clan.

When Emperor He succeeded in 88 the Dowager's brother Dou Xian recommended Liu Fang and Huan Yu as resident tutors to the young ruler.

In 91 Liu Fang supported Yuan An and Ren Wei in opposition to Dou Xian's plan to set up a separate puppet court for the Northern Xiongnu.

Following the fall of the Dou family in 92 Liu Fang succeeded Ren Wei as Excellency of Works, and he later joined Ding Hong in a proposal to regulate the nomination of Filial and Incorrupt candidates according to the population of each commandery unit; Emperor He approved.

In 94 Liu Fang was promoted Excellency over the Masses. In 97 he left office and killed himself; there is no record of the fault he was alleged to have committed. -HHS 3:148, 37/27:1256, 4:174-84, 45/35:1520-22.

Liu Fang 劉防. Son of Liu Bing the King of Huaiyang, he died early, and when Liu Bing died in 87 no successor was named to the fief. In 102, when Liu Fang's younger brother Liu Ze died without heirs, Liu Fang's son Liu Zhang was enfeoffed as King of Changshan to maintain the lineage. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Fang 劉魴 (d.123). Son of Liu Yan 延 the King of Fuling, in 76 Liu Fang was accused of involvement in a plot of his father. It was proposed that both men should be brought to the capital in a cage cart, but though Emperor Zhang reduced Liu Yan's fief he pardoned Liu Fang.

When Liu Yan died in 89, the succession to the state was granted to Liu Fang's younger brother Chong. Liu Chong died without heirs in 91, and in 93 the fief was given to Liu Fang. In 96 twelve younger brothers of Liu Fang were granted district and village marquises.

When Liu Fang died in 123 he was succeeded by his son Hui, and another five sons were later enfeoffed. -HHS 4:176, 42/32:1445-46; Bn 67:35.

Liu Fang 劉方 or Liu Yu 興; Donglai. Son of Liu Pi and younger brother of the Excellency Liu Chong, Liu Fang was Administrator of Shanyang about 160. -HHS 76/66:2479, XHS 5:10a [in SGZ Wu 4:1184 PC]; HHS gives the personal name as Fang; XHS has Fang as an alternative to Yu.

Liu Fang 劉放 [Ziqi 子棄] (d.250); Zhuo. Claiming distant descent from the imperial house through the royal house of Guangyang under Former Han, Liu Fang's family had held local office for generations.

Having served as a senior clerk in the commandery, Liu Fang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. Instead, however, he went for refuge into Yuyang, and in 205 he persuaded the local authority Wang Song to surrender to Cao Cao. The letter he composed was so elegant that Cao Cao took him on his staff, and later sent him out to county magistracies in Zuopingyi and Pei.

In 213 Liu Fang was appointed to the library 祕書 established by Cao Cao for his ducal state of Wei. Under Cao Pi this now imperial library was renamed the Palace Library 中書; Liu Fang and his colleague Sun Zi held the senior positions, were close counsellors and granted enfeoffments.

Equally trusted by Cao Rui, in 238 their influence was decisive in arranging that Sima Yi and Cao Shuang should hold the regency for the youthful Cao Fang, and excluding Cao Yu 曹宇 from power. They received further honours under the regency, and both held title as senior generals. They resigned on grounds of age in 248, and Liu Fang died two years later.

Expert in composition, Liu Fang wrote official documents for Cao Cao, Cao Pi and Cao Rui. -SGZ 14:456-62*.

Liu Fang 劉方 see Liu Ai 劉艾.

Liu Fen 柳分. A member of the Imperial Secretariat during the 160s, Liu Fen was an associate of the eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang. He was criticised by the outspoken Fan Pang. -HHS 103/13:3283.

Liu Feng 劉諷 miswritten for Liu Li 劉颯.

Liu Feng 劉奉 (d.24). An officer of Wang Lang, in 24 Liu Feng was sent to assist Wang Rao defend Julu, but he was destroyed by the army of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 1A:14.

Liu Feng 劉鳳; Nanyang. Younger son of Liu Zhong the King of Zichuan, when his father died in 34 he was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 14/4:563; Bn 54 appendix # 122.

Liu Feng 柳豐; Hedong. XTS 73A:2835 says that Liu Feng was a Minister of the Household.

Liu Feng 劉馮 (d.200). Young son of Emperor Xian, he was appointed King of Nanyang in 200, but died a few days later. The emperor wished to offer special sacrifices for him, but he was dissuaded by Kong Rong. -HHS 9:381, 70/60:2271.

Liu Feng 劉封 (192-220); Changsha. Liu Feng was a son of the Kou 寇 family, who held a county fief in Changsha and was related by marriage to the Liu clan of that commandery. At the time Liu Bei came into Jing province in 201 he had no heir, so he adopted Liu Feng, then ten years old, as his son.

When Liu Bei went to Yi province in 211, Liu Feng accompanied him and, though he was barely twenty when Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in 213, he showed considerable enterprise and military spirit. He shared command with Zhuge Liang and Zhang Fei as they brought reinforcements up the Yangzi, and when Yi province was settled in 214 he was named a General of the Household.

In 219 Liu Bei's officer Meng Da attacked north from the Yangzi and took Cao Cao's commanderies Fangling and Shangyong, west of the Wei position in the north of Jing province. Uncertain of Meng Da's loyalty, Liu Bei ordered Liu Feng to move east down the Han River from Hanzhong and take command in that sector. As Guan Yu besieged Cao Cao's forces in Xiangyang later that year he sent several requests for assistance, but Liu Feng and Meng Da argued it would be dangerous to leave their newly-conquered and yet unsettled territories. They made no move, and Guan Yu was destroyed by the attack of Sun Quan.

Both men felt uneasy, and under pressure they quarrelled. In 220 Liu Feng seized Meng Da's military band of trumpeters and drummers and Meng Da, furious at the insult, went over to the enemy. He was given charge of the same territory, to capture it from Shu-Han, aided by an army of Wei and then assisted by the rebellion of Shen Yi against Liu Feng.

Meng Da wrote to Liu Feng, urging that he too change allegiance. He pointed out that Liu Feng's position was more tenuous now that Liu Bei had an heir of his own body, Liu Shan, and that he would be in danger if he returned to the capital. On the other hand the Wei government was willing to offer Liu Feng the succession to the family fief of the Kou family.

Liu Feng rejected Meng Da's advice and the enemy offer, but he was indeed driven from the frontier and went back to Chengdu. Liu Bei held Liu Feng responsible for the defeat, blaming him for his poor treatment of Meng Da and for having failed to assist Guan Yu. At the same time the minister Zhuge Liang suggested that when Liu Shan came to the throne it would be difficult for him to control Liu Feng, as

former heir of his father.

To solve the problem Liu Feng was ordered to kill himself. As he obeyed, he sighed with regret at not having taken advantage of Meng Da's offer. It is said that Liu Bei wept for him. -SGZ Shu 10:991-94*; C/C 99:178-179.

Liu Feng 劉諷 i.e. Liu Li 劉颯. -HS 17:672; Bn 67: 103.

Liu Fu 劉輔 (d.84). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his first Empress Guo, Liu Fu was named Duke of Youpingyi 右馮翊, a short-lived western division of Zuopingyi, in 39; his younger brother Liu Yan 焉 received the other half of the territory: see Bn 67:27 citing the modern commentator Hui Dong. When the Lady Guo was deposed in 41, Liu Fu was made King of Zhongshan, with extra revenue from Changshan commandery, evidently to support his mother, who was named Dowager Queen of Zhongshan. In 44 his and the Lady Guo's titles were transferred to Pei, though both remained at the capital.

In the summer of 52 the Lady Guo died, and soon afterwards Liu Fu's client Liu Li committed murder [see *sub voce*]. Liu Fu spent three days in prison, and that autumn he and his brothers were sent to their fiefs. The laws against imperial relatives keeping large numbers of clients and retainers were strictly enforced, and many were arrested and even put to death.

Liu Fu was a scholar of the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, *Analects* and the apocrypha, and he compiled a set of essays on the Five Classics, known as *Pei wang tonglun* 沛王通論 "Comprehensive Essays by the King of Pei." Admired for his conduct, he received several donations from his half-brother Emperor Ming, and he and his brothers returned on occasion to court.

Liu Fu was succeeded by his son Ding, and twelve younger sons were later enfeoffed as district marquises. -HHS 42/32:1427*; Bn 67:27-32.

Liu Fu 劉浮; Nanyang. Son of Liu Kuang 匡 the younger brother of Liu Mao, he received a marquisate. -HHS 14/4:564; Bn 54 appendix # 87.

Liu Fu 劉復. Son of Liu Xing and grandson of Liu Bosheng, in 54 Liu Fu was enfeoffed as a county marquis. A keen scholar and a fine writer, he was regularly consulted on scholarly matters by his cousin Emperor Ming, and he was admired by leading literary figures of his day. He worked with Ban Gu, Jia Kui, Ma Han and others in the history office, and composed

Hande song 漢德頌 "Hymns to the [Men of] Virtue of Han," including praise for the hermit Wang Fu. -HHS 14/4:556-58, 24/14:859, 39/29:1298; Vervorn 90:148; Bn 54 appendix # 136.

[Liu?] **Fu** 劉福. A son of Liu Shang the King of Rencheng, and younger brother to his successor Liu An, in 102 he was enfeoffed as a district marquis. -HHS 42/32:1443.

HHS refers to this man only by his personal name, and describes him as "mother's younger brother" 母弟 to Liu An. The Harvard and Kyoto indexes interpret this as indicating that Fu was a brother by the same mother 同母弟, and therefore had the surname Liu. Commonly one would understand 母弟 as referring to a maternal uncle, but there is no indication of the family name of Liu An's mother and thus none to any alternative surname for Fu. Cf. also *sub* Liu Kang.

Liu Fu 劉輔 see Liu Pu 劉卬. -Ch'ü 72:305.

Liu Fu 劉福. Inspector of Xu province, he was executed for corruption about 120. -HHS 79/69A:2564.

Liu Fu 劉孚 or Liu Ji 季. Liu Fu was a maternal uncle of Jia Kui. -SGZ 15:480.

Liu Fu 劉馥 [Yuanying 元穎] (d.208); Pei. In the early 190s Liu Fu moved south into Yang province to avoid the troubles of the civil war. About 197, probably after Yuan Shu had assumed the imperial title, Liu Fu persuaded two of Yuan Shu's generals, Ji Ji and Qin Yi, to transfer their allegiance to Cao Cao, who at that time controlled the Han imperial government. As reward, Cao Cao appointed Liu Fu to a clerical position in the government offices at the new capital, Xu city.

In 199 Li Shu, Administrator of Lujiang for the warlord Sun Ce, attacked and killed Cao Cao's Inspector of Yang province Yan Xiang. The formal government of the region between the Huai and the Yangzi was overwhelmed by bandits, but Cao Cao was pre-occupied with the threat from Yuan Shao north of the Yellow River. He had Liu Fu appointed as Inspector of Yang province and sent him to deal with the situation as best he could.

Travelling alone to the region, Liu Fu set up his administration at Hefei in Jiujiang, and through exchange of gifts he persuaded the local bandit chieftains to accept some measure of his authority. They maintained the peace for several years, while tens of thousands of refugees came to settle in his territory.

Liu Fu set up schools and, most importantly for the

longer term, he developed a wide system of agricultural colonies to hold the frontier between the Yangzi and the Huai. Supporting these ventures by major works of water control and irrigation among the lakes, and he also developed local defence works. He died in 208, but his work had consolidated Cao Cao's control of the Huai valley and, despite an immediate attack after his death and repeated efforts in future years, Sun Quan and the forces of Wu were never able to gain ground in that region. -SGZ 15:463*; deC 90:231-232.

Liu Fuhu 劉伏胡 see Liu Chong 劉寵. -HHS 55/45:1797.

Liu Gai 劉丐 or Liu Zheng 正 (d.109). Son of Liu Ding the King of Pei, he succeeded his father in 95, and was in turn succeeded by his son Guang.

HHS 42/32:1427 has this man's name as Zheng 正, while HHS 101/11:3239 refers to him as Ya 牙, corrected to Zheng by the Beijing editors; XTS 75B:3437 has Gai 丐. In HHSJJ 42/32:1523, Hui Dong and Shen Qinhan argue that Gai is correct, while Shen Qinhan also notes the variant Hu 互.

Liu Gai 劉陔. Son of Liu Li the King of Hejian, he succeeded his father in 179. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 55/45:1808-09.

Liu Gan 劉幹; Nanyang. About 220 Liu Gan was appointed an assistant officer of the salt monopoly of Shu-Han under Wang Lian. He later rose to high rank. -SGZ Shu 9.988, 11:1009.

Liu Gan 劉紺 see Liu Xi 劉細. -DGHJ 24:4a, XHS 2:12a.

Liu Gang 劉剛. Son of Liu Shi the King of Qi, he was made a marquis. In 87 he and his elder brother the King Huang, and the Lady Zong their mother, were found to have made false accusations in a family quarrel. Senior officials recommended the men be reduced to commoner rank and exiled to Danyang, but Emperor Zhang ordered only that Liu Huang be demoted from king to marquis while Liu Gang's fief was reduced by 3000 households.

In 88 Liu Gang's younger brother Chang was murdered at Luoyang by order of Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager. Dou Xian sought to conceal his involvement by accusing Liu Gang, and officers of the Imperial Censorate were sent to investigate him. Through the efforts of He Chang, the whole affair was found out and Dou Xian was placed under house

arrest. -HHS 14/4:553-54, 23/13:813; Bn 54 appendix # 151.

Liu Ge 劉郃 see Liu He 劉何.

Liu Gen 劉根; Yingchuan. A magician, Liu Gen lived in the mountains and received numbers of students and followers. It is said that he dwelt in a cave on a cliff, that he wore no clothing in winter or summer, his body was covered with a thick coat of hair, but his face looked like that of a fifteen-year-old.

The Administrator Shi Qi, concerned at Liu Gen's influence, had him arrested and demanded a demonstration of his ability. Liu Gen explained that the only thing he could do was bring back spirits of the dead, and he showed Shi Qi his own parents and ancestors: all of whom appeared in chains. The spirits complained to Shi Qi that he had shamed them and that was why they were bound. At their demand, Shi Qi kowtowed to Liu Gen and asked to be punished in their stead. Liu Gen did not reply, but he and the apparitions suddenly vanished. -HHS 82/72B:2755-56*; Ngo 76:137-138, DeWoskin 83:82-83.

A lengthy biography of Liu Gen in *Shenxian zhuan* says that he had the style Jun'an 君安, was a man from Jingzhao, and lived during Former Han; the unfortunate Administrator had the surname Zhang 張. **Liu Gong** 劉龔 [Menggong 孟公]; Jingzhao. Liu Gong was a kinsman of the celebrated scholar Liu Xin 劉歆, though opinions vary whether he was a son, a nephew, or a more distant relative, and he may be the Liu Gong who was a marquis under Wang Mang: HS 99B:4120, and see QHX:302 (2).

In the mid-20s Liu Gong joined the *condottiere* Yan Cen and in 27 he was a member of the staff of the junior commander Deng Zhongkuang in Nanyang. Deng Zhongkuang's troops ravaged the countryside but Su Jing, a former colleague of Liu Xin, sent long and eloquent letters criticising their conduct, and Liu Gong and Deng Zhongkuang submitted to Emperor Guangwu of Han.

A skilled debater, Liu Gong was admired by both Ma Yuan and Ban Biao. -HHS 30/20A:1041-47.

Liu Gong 劉恭 (d.52); Taishan. A descendant of Liu Zhang 劉璋, grandson of Emperor Gao who became King of Chengyang 城陽 under Former Han, he was the eldest son of Liu Meng 萌, whose marquisate had been abolished by Wang Mang. About 20 Liu Gong and his brothers Liu Mao and Liu Penzi were captured by the Red Eyebrows and brought into their leadership

group. As the leaders of the Red Eyebrows went to Chang'an to make formal submission to Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Liu Gong was restored to his father's county fief and, since he had studied the *Classic of History* when he was young, he was appointed a Palace Attendant at the new court. He became one of Liu Xuan's most loyal supporters.

Two years later in 25, as the Red Eyebrows turned against Liu Xuan and proclaimed Liu Gong's youngest brother Liu Penzi as emperor, Liu Gong took himself to the imperial prison, for he was ashamed to be connected to the nominal head of the rebellion. When the Red Eyebrows came to Chang'an they treated him with respect, but Liu Gong escaped to join Liu Xuan outside the city. He went to negotiate with his former colleagues, argued for Liu Xuan's life and arranged for him to receive title as King of Changsha. When Liu Xuan was eventually killed, Liu Gong retrieved his body for burial.

Liu Gong retained a position amongst the Red Eyebrows, but it was clear they were incapable of forming a stable government, and he urged his brother Liu Penzi to quit the throne. At the New Year gathering of 26 Liu Gong abused the leaders for their unruliness and Liu Penzi tried to give up his insignia. The leaders refused to accept Liu Gong's right to comment and he left the ceremony. They apologised for their poor behaviour, but refused to accept Liu Penzi's resignation.

The situation continued to deteriorate, and in 27 Liu Gong was sent by the Red Eyebrows to seek terms from Emperor Guangwu, and soon after the surrender Liu Gong killed Xie Lu, former leader of the Red Eyebrows, for his role in the murder of Liu Xuan. He presented himself in bonds for punishment, but was pardoned under an amnesty.

In 52 Liu Gong was murdered by Liu Li, son of the Gengshi Emperor, who sought to avenge the death of his father on the family of his replacement Liu Penzi. Given Liu Gong's well-demonstrated loyalty to Liu Xuan, however, the crime made no sense. -HHS 11/1:480-86, XC 1:2a-2b; Bn 54 appendix # 141, Bn 59:41, 95, 119-120, Bn 79:138.

Liu Gong 劉恭 (d.117). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 66 Liu Gong was named King of Spiritual Long Life 靈壽王, but received no territorial fief. In 72 he was given title as King of Julu, but remained at the capital.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, the senior officials recommended that Liu Gong, Liu Xian and Liu Dang should be sent out to their states, but their half-brother the emperor would not be parted from them and they remained at the capital. In 79 Liu Gong's title was changed to King of Jiangling, with Nan commandery as his territory for revenue, but in 85 the senior ministers noted that the fief lay due south of the imperial capital: such control of a cardinal direction was not proper, and Liu Gong was transferred to be King of Liu'an, with revenue from Lujiang.

When Emperor Zhang died in 88, his testament appointed Liu Gong as King of Pengcheng 彭城, the territory hitherto known as Chu 楚; this had been the fief of Liu Ying, disgraced in 71. The regent Dowager Dou promptly ordered Liu Gong and his brother kings to leave the capital and reside in their states.

About 90 Liu Gong was sent as adjudicator to the court of his half-brother Liu Yan the King of Xiapi, to decide which of his sons should be made Heir.

Liu Gong was admired by the people for his generous nature and fine conduct. In 116, angry at his son Pu for insulting his sister-in-law, he locked him in the stables and, when he escaped, sent an official and a posse of slaves to recapture him. Upbraided by his father, Liu Pu killed himself.

The Chancellor Zhao Mu reported this affair, and claimed also that Liu Gong had offered sacrifices to the deities against the interests of the dynasty; this was Impiety. The senior officials urged Liu Gong be executed, but he pleaded his own case, and on the basis of his fine conduct in the past a full investigation was ordered. No evidence could be found to support the charges, and Zhao Mu was sent to prison, escaping death only because of an amnesty soon afterwards.

Liu Gong was succeeded by his son Dao, and three younger sons were later enfeoffed as district marquises. -HHS 50/40:1670-71*.

Liu Gong 劉恭. Inspector of Liang province in the late 170s, Liu Gong was praised by the reformist Yang Zhi. -HHS 67/57:2209.

Liu Gong 劉恭 see Liu Liang 劉梁.

Liu Gong 劉恭 see *sub* Liu Kai 劉開 the King of Hejian.

Liu Gu 劉固. Scholars of the mid-first century, Liu Gu and others lived near Zhang Ba at Luoyang to benefit from his learning. -HHS 36/26:1241, HYGZ 10A:133.

Liu Gu 劉固. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng,

and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Gu 劉固. In 174 Liu Gu was an officer of the Bureau of Astronomy. When the commandery official Liu Hong sent in a proposal to correct the calendar of lunar eclipses Liu Gu and Feng Xun were ordered to test his system against observations. They in turn devised another set of calculations, and it was agreed that the two methods would be tested in 179: in that year the official calendar forecast an eclipse in the fifth month while Liu Hong had the third month and Liu Gu and Feng Xun the fourth month. When the time came, however, two of the full moons were overcast and could not be observed; modern calculations indicate that there was no eclipse that year until the ninth month.

In 175 Liu Gu and his colleague Guo Xiang were criticised by the would-be reformers Feng Guang and Chen Huang, who sought to alter the base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") of the calendar to accord with the apocrypha. Their position was vigorously defended by the great scholar Cai Yong.

It appears that Liu Gu died before 179, for he is not mentioned in the controversy on calculations of lunar eclipses at that time: see *sub* Feng Xun. -HHS 92/2: 3037, 3040; Sivin 69:59-60.

Liu Gu 劉顧 see Liu Shi 劉碩.

Liu Guang 劉光 [Zhongliao 仲遼]; Pei. In 125 Liu Guang was Director of the Secretariat when Sun Cheng and his eunuch colleagues staged their coup against the Yan clan and restored Emperor Shun to the succession. Liu Guang supported the enterprise and led the officials in a ceremony to proclaim their loyalty to the new ruler.

In 127 Liu Guang was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Grand Commandant, with control of the Imperial Secretariat. He left that office two years later on account of unfavourable omens. -HHS 6:250-256, 76/66:2476.

Liu Guang 劉廣, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Shun, in 141 she was appointed Senior Princess of Ruyang in Runan. -HHS 10B:462.

Liu Guang 劉廣 (d.144). Son of Liu Gai/Zheng the King of Pei, he succeeded his father in 109. He was incapacitated by ill health, and his grandmother the Lady Zhou had charge of his household.

Liu Guang was succeeded by his son Rong. -HHS

42/32:1428.

Liu Guang 劉廣 (d.153). Son of Liu Xian the King of Ji'nan, he succeeded his father in 128. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended. -HHS 42/32:1433.

Liu Guang 劉光. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Guang 劉光 see Liu Xian 劉先.

Liu Gui 劉桂; Nanyang. Elder son of Liu Zhong the King of Zichuan, when his father died in 34 he was granted the succession to maintain his sacrifices, but held only the rank of a marquis. -HHS 14/4:563.

Liu Gui 劉瓌; Nanyang. A member of the imperial clan, in the early 120s Liu Gui had an affair with and then married the Lady Wang Yong, daughter of the former wet-nurse Wang Sheng and current favourite of Emperor An. Through this influence he obtained inheritance of the marquisate formerly held by his cousin Liu Hu, and was also appointed a Palace Attendant. In 125, however, Wang Sheng and her associates were killed or exiled, and Liu Gui's fief was reduced from a county to a village. -HHS 14/4:564.

Liu Gui 劉瓌. Administrator of Beidi, Liu Gui was an adherent of New Text Confucianism. About 150 he was challenged by Ma Rong, who tended to the Old Text, and the debate is said to have brought a revival of the Old Text. -HHS 35/25:1208.

Liu Gui 劉珪. Son of Liu She the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father in 211. In 213, when Cao Cao became Duke of Wei, his vast fief included the territory of Zhao. Liu Gui was therefore transferred to Boling, a commandery which had been separated from Zhongshan in 158.

When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, Liu Gui and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 14/4:559, 7:303, 9:387; Bn 54 appendix # 168.

Liu Gui 劉瓚. In 212, as Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, Liu Gui and other officers were sent to oppose him. They were defeated and compelled to surrender. -SGZ Shu 2:882.

Liu Guo 劉國; Nanyang. Liu Guo was a son of Liu Hong, who died in rebellion against Wang Mang, and his mother the Lady Fan was a cousin of the mother of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. After Liu Hong's death, the Lady and her sons Liu Min and Liu Guo

followed the Gengshi Emperor to Chang'an, but in 26, after his fall, they came east to join Guangwu at Luoyang. Liu Guo was enfeoffed with a county in Yingchuan. -HHS 14/4:567; Bn 54 appendix # 75.

Liu Guo 劉國. Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, in 118, after his eldest brother Liu Dao had succeeded to their father's kingdom, Liu Guo and his brothers Bing and Ding were enfeoffed as district marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671, DGHJ 7:5a.

Liu Han 劉漢; Henan. In the summer of 142 there was a great fire at Luoyang, affecting almost two hundred houses and completely destroying ninety of them. The government of Emperor Shun issued cash and grain to those affected, and Liu Han is named as one of those who lost their home. -HHS 104/14:3295; Bn 76:46.

Liu He 劉郃 [Jicheng 季承] (d.179); Yuyang. Younger brother of Liu Shu 儵, who had recommended Emperor Ling for the imperial throne but was killed in 168, Liu He received some favour at court on his brother's account. He became Administrator of Ji'yin, then Director of Retainers, and in 178 he was Minister Herald. When Liu He had a quarrel with Cai Yong, the eunuch Cheng Huang arranged an allegation that Cai Yong had made improper requests for private favour from him. Cai Yong was sentenced to exile to the north.

In the following year Liu He became Excellency over the Masses. He held resentment against the eunuch group led by Cao Jie and Wang Fu for their involvement in the death of his brother, and Chen Qiu and Liu Na urged him to use his authority to have the anti-eunuch official Yang Qiu reappointed Director of Retainers so he might continue his attacks against them. These plans were discovered, and when they were presented to Emperor Ling as treason Liu He and his colleagues were executed. -HHS 60/50B:2001, 56/46:1834, 113/23:3284; deC 89:149, 162-163.

Liu He 劉何. A commander under Lü Bu in the 190s, Liu He was defeated and captured by Cao Ren. -SGZ 9:274.

Liu He 劉和 (d.213). Son of Liu Ding the King of Pengcheng, he succeeded his father in 149. Extremely filial, when his mother died he carried out the rites of mourning far beyond the expected requirements. The Tutor and Chancellor of the state reported this to the throne, and Emperor Huan invited him to a banquet at his palace. The people of Pengcheng also admired him for his fine conduct and generosity.

During the disturbances of the early 190s, Liu He was attacked by the bandit Chang Wu and took refuge in Dong commandery. He was later able to return, and remained in residence until his death, having reigned sixty-four years. He was succeeded by his grandson Zhi. -*HHS* 50/40:1671-72.

Liu He 劉和; Donghai. Son of Liu Yu, in 191 Liu He was a Palace Attendant at Chang'an. Emperor Xian ordered him to escape and seek aid from his father in You province, but as Liu He came east he fell into the hands of Yuan Shu, who kept him in Nanyang in order to take over the troops that Liu Yu sent.

Liu He later escaped to join Yuan Shao. When the Wuhuan and Chinese rose against Gongsun Zan in 195, Liu He accompanied Yuan Shao's general Qu Yi to avenge his father's murder. -*HHS* 73/63:2355, 2363, *SGZ* 8:241, 243.

Liu He 劉何. An officer of Lü Bu, he was captured by Cao Ren about 194. -*SGZ* 9:274.

Liu He 劉闔. After the death of Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province in 194, Liu Biao the Governor of Jing province sent his senior officer Liu He to assist the new Inspector Hu Mao, who had been nominated by the government at Chang'an. Liu Yan's son Liu Zhang had already taken over in Yi province, and though Liu He stirred up a local rebellion against him the insurgents were defeated and driven into Jing province. -*SGZ* Shu 1:868.

Liu Heng 劉衡 (d.41). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his future empress the Lady Yin, Liu Heng was named Duke of Linhuai in 39, but died two years later. He left no heirs and the state was ended. -*HHS* 42/32:1449*.

Liu Heng 劉衡 [Yuanzai 元宰] (135-187); Ji'nan. Having served at the court of Liu Kui, King of Bohai and brother of Emperor Huan, who was known for his erratic conduct, Liu Heng received special provincial nomination and became a county magistrate in that state. He then served as Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye.

Liu Heng retired on grounds of ill health, but later returned to a holding position as a Consultant at the capital and was then appointed Chancellor of Zhao. He died in that office, and a stele was erected in his honour. -*LS* 17:1a-3a.

Liu Hong 劉弘/宏 [Rusun 孺孫]; Nanyang. Brother of the marquis Liu Chang, of Liu Qing and Liu Liang, and uncle of Liu Shun, Liu Hong was a kinsman of Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and

he married the Lady Fan, a cousin of their mother. He died about 23, at an early stage of the rebellion against Wang Mang. -*HHS* 14/4:567 [弘], *DGHJ* 7:2b [宏], *XHS* 2:4a [宏]; Bn 54 appendix # 49.

Liu Hong 劉宏. In 26 Liu Hong was a general under Cen Peng in the unsuccessful operations against the rebels Dong Xin and Deng Feng in Nanyang. In the following year he again followed Cen Peng to attack and defeat the southern warlord Qin Feng. -*HHS* 17/7: 656-67.

Liu Hong 劉宏 (d.116). Son of Liu Shang the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father in 104.

Liu Hong was succeeded by his son Qian, and two younger sons received village marquises. -*HHS* 14/4:559; Bn 54 appendix # 138.

Liu Hong 劉鴻 (d.147). Son of Liu Chong the King of Le'an, he succeeded his father in 121. Initially Liu Hong lived at the capital as his father and grandfather had done, but after the death of Emperor An in 125 he was sent out to his state.

In 145 Liu Hong's son Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, was chosen for the throne by the regent Dowager Liang and her brother Liang Ji. An edict of the Dowager ordered that, because much of the territory of Le'an was marshland and the revenues of the state were poor, Liu Hong's fief should be changed to the more prosperous region of Bohai.

Liu Zuan died in 146, and when Liu Hong died in the following year he left no other sons. The Dowager ordered that Liu Kui, younger brother of Emperor Huan, be enfeoffed as King of Bohai to maintain the lineage. -*HHS* 55/45:1797-98.

Liu Hong 劉弘 (d.140). Son of Liu Xian the King of Zhongshan, he succeeded his father in 118.

Liu Hong was succeeded by his son Chang. -*HHS* 42/32:1450, 6:269.

Liu Hong 劉弘; Zhuo. Son of Liu Xiong, Liu Hong was no more than an officer in the local administration, but he claimed descent from Emperor Jing of Former Han, through the kings of Zhongshan and a short-lived fief in Zhuo held by a cadet lineage.

In 161 Liu Hong became the father of Liu Bei, future First Sovereign of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han. He died soon afterwards. -*SGZ* Shu 2:879.

Liu Hong 劉洪 [Yuanzhuo 元卓]; Taishan. One of the leading mathematicians of his time, during the 160s Liu Hong became an officer of the Bureau of Astronomy. He then went out as Assistant Chancellor

of Changshan, and from there in 174 he presented a proposal for improving forecasts of lunar eclipses, based on the movements of the sun, the moon, and the five visible planets 七曜術. The officers Liu Gu and Feng Xun were ordered to test his system against observations, and they in turn devised another set of calculations, based upon eight epochs 八元術. It was agreed that the two methods would be tested in 179: in that year the official calendar forecast an eclipse in the fifth month while Liu Hong had the third month and Liu Gu and Feng Xun the fourth month. When the time came, however, two of the full moons were overcast and could not be observed; modern calculations indicate that there was no eclipse that year until the ninth month.

After a period in private life following the death of his father, Liu Hong returned to the capital as a Reporting Officer, served as a gentleman cadet, and then transferred to the Eastern Pavilion. There he worked with Cai Yong on his Treatise of Pitchpipes and the Calendar 律曆意 *Lǜlì yì*, which was incorporated by Sima Biao into his *Xu Han shu* and is now attached to *Hou Han shu*. Liu Hong compiled the third section of the Treatise, describing the calculations of the official *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar of Later Han, and he also worked with Cai Yong on a new *Qianxiang* 乾象 [Celestial Appearances] calendar: the system was adopted in 223 by Sun Quan, ruler of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu.

Sivin 69:65 notes that Liu Hong was the first great astronomer to take eclipse cycles seriously, but though his calendar was theoretically better than the *Sifen* it did not greatly increase the number of confirmed predictions. Liu Hong did, however, prepare tables on the varying apparent movements of celestial bodies (*ephemerides*) and he analysed the path of the moon in relation to the ecliptic. At the same time, moreover, he discarded the links with apocryphal texts which had confused matters in previous centuries.

In 179 Liu Hong was consulted by the Imperial Secretariat on the calendrical proposals of the private scholar Wang Han: his report was negative. In 180 he took part in a board of enquiry under the Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan which considered rival methods for calculating eclipses of the moon.

Liu Hong became an Internuncio and then head of the guards at a gate of the capital. He was later a Commandant in Kuaiji and Administrator of Shanyang.

He died in that last office.

Liu Hong's commentary to the important *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 "Nine Chapters on the Art of Mathematics" is still extant. -HHS 92/2:3041-43, YSS: 3b-4a; Needham 59:25, 247, 288, 421, Sivin 69:59-66, MBeck 90:60-63.

Liu Hong 劉宏 (156-189) [Emperor Ling 靈帝 (*reg.* 168-189)]. A great-great-grandson of Emperor Zhang and great-grandson of Liu Kai [or Gong? *q.v.*] the King of Hejian, Liu Hong was the son of Liu Chang the Marquis of Jiedu Village 解渚亭 and his concubine the Lady Dong. His father died when Liu Hong was young, and he succeeded to the fief.

ACCESSION, REGENCY AND THE EUNUCH COUP 168

When Emperor Huan died in the winter of 167/168 he left no heir, and his widow the Dowager Dou Miao had the constitutional right to choose any member of the imperial clan to succeed him. She and her father Dou Wu consulted together, and they asked the advice of the Imperial Clerk Liu Shu, a member of the Censorate who came from that territory. He recommended Liu Hong, at that time twelve *sui*, a little more than ten years old by Western reckoning, and on 17 February 168 Liu Hong was placed upon the throne. We are told that Liu Shu praised his high moral qualities, but he was surely rather young for such an encomium, and we may assume that in the eyes of his sponsors Liu Hong's chief advantages were that he was old enough to avoid the risks of infant mortality, and young enough to require the guidance of a regent, thus ensuring the hegemony of the Dowager's clan for some years to come. As the boy was brought to the capital, his father and his grandparents were granted posthumous imperial honours, but his mother the Lady Dong was left behind in Hejian.

While the Dowager Dou held power as regent, her father Dou Wu was named General-in-Chief, which gave nominal command over the Northern Army, the major professional force at the capital, and he maintained a close partnership with the senior official Chen Fan, now Grand Tutor. With the Excellency Hu Guang they shared control over the Secretariat, centre of imperial authority, and under their patronage Li Ying and other reformers who had been proscribed the year before were brought back to the capital and given high office. The moral Confucianists believed that the time for change had come, and they planned

to eliminate the power of the palace eunuchs who had held such influence under Emperor Huan.

As the Dowager resisted the plans of her father and his associates, the matter was undecided for several months. Eventually, however, Dou Wu and Chen Fan had their ally Shan Bing appointed Prefect of the Yellow Gates, with authority over all palace eunuchs, and Shan Bing had the eunuch Zheng Li arrested and tortured. From his forced confession they obtained a case against the senior eunuchs Cao Jie, Wang Fu and others. Orders were given for their arrest too, but at this point, early on 25 October, the eunuchs struck back. They swore an oath to destroy their enemies, Cao Jie persuaded the young emperor to support them against the alleged traitors, and with this imperial authority the Secretariat was persuaded to issue an edict dismissing Dou Wu.

Refusing to accept the edict, Dou Wu gathered the troops of the Northern Army to regain control. Chen Fan also attempted a counter-attack, but was overpowered and arrested. The eunuchs then gathered a scratch force of palace guards to face Dou Wu, and they were fortunate enough to have the support of the well-known general Zhang Huan, lately returned from the frontier. It is claimed that Zhang Huan was confused as to which side he should support, but his intervention proved decisive, and as the two sides faced one another Dou Wu's men steadily abandoned him. By the middle of the morning he had been driven to flight and suicide, other members of the family and their party were killed, and the Dowager was placed under house arrest. She played no further role in government and died, not necessarily of natural causes, in 172.

EUNUCH GOVERNMENT AND PROSCRIPTION

Following their decisive victory over Dou Wu and his allies, the eunuchs renewed the proscription against the Confucianist reformers such as Li Ying, but they still had some concerns, and the students of the University and various junior officers maintained their agitation. In the winter of 169 the eunuch Hou Lan reported that Zhang Jian and a group of his fellow-countrymen from Shanyang had sworn an oath of mutual allegiance. Such a ceremony may have been innocent – a group of likeminded men from the same region confirming friendship and brotherhood – but Zhang Jian was an old enemy of Hou Lan, and the eunuchs claimed that the gathering was treasonous. They persuaded the young

emperor that the members of the Proscribed Party were a threat to the state which had to be crushed. Zhang Jian made his escape, and the student leader Guo Tai was not directly involved, but Li Ying, Liu Shu, Fan Pang and some hundred others were killed, while their wives and children were sent to the frontiers. Many people also denounced one another for private reasons, and it was estimated that six or seven hundred people were executed or exiled. This Second Faction Incident marked the beginning of the Great Proscription.

In 172 the senior eunuch Hou Lan was dismissed for corruption and killed himself, and the death of the Dowager Dou soon afterwards inspired a flurry of protest, seeking to take advantage of the set-back to the emperor's favourites. Slogans opposed to the eunuchs and blaming them for the Lady Dou's death appeared on a gate of the capital, but the frontier general Duan Jiong, now Director of Retainers, promptly conducted a purge of students at the University.

In 176 the elderly Administrator of the distant commandery of Yongchang, Cao Luan, presented an ill-advised plea for leniency; the emperor was furious at the suggestion, and the proscription was extended even to most distant relatives. Three years later this was reversed, but it was not until the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184, fifteen years after its commencement, that the Proscription was ended, largely because of concerns that disaffected and resentful gentry might join the rebel cause.

In practice, though the Proscription affected hundreds and even thousands of people, many of them scholar-officials of high quality, the administration continued to function and many men of family, notably from the well-established Yang and Yuan clans, were content to serve the state and were respected for doing so. The eunuchs had the support of the young emperor, and their intervention for personal gain sometimes disrupted the government, but in formal terms the situation was not greatly changed.

As time passed, however, the imperial bureaucracy was weakened by frequent changes among the Excellencies. In the twenty years of the reign of Emperor Shun there had been ten appointments as Grand Commandant, seven as Excellency over the Masses and eight as Excellency of Works. During the eight years of the personal reign of Emperor Huan from 159 to 167, there were seven Grand Commandants, five Excellencies over the Masses and seven Excellencies

of Works, an average of some two new appointments each year. Under Emperor Ling, however, during the twenty years from 169 to 189, there were twenty-five Grand Commandants, fourteen Excellencies over the Masses and twenty-two Excellencies of Works, an average of three appointments a year. Some appointments were promotions within the ranks of the Excellencies, and some men held the same office on separate occasions, but the overall effect was to remove continuity at the highest level and reduce the influence of those who were nominally the most senior of the state. Many Excellencies left office on account of unfavourable omens, notionally accepting responsibility for the balance of the cosmos, but in fact reducing the authority of government. And during the 180s the sale of office, or fines for acceptance, extended to Excellency ranks as well and did further damage to the prestige and morale of all officials.

The reign of Emperor Ling was marked by a host of reports of portents, some natural, such as earthquakes, locusts, floods and droughts, the latter particularly from 175 to 177, others more questionable, such as the appearance of magical snakes and dragons, notably in 178 and 179, and some suspicious, such as frequent fires in imperial buildings, culminating in a conflagration at the Southern Palace in 185. Following such events there were calls for sealed memorials on problems of the day, and the government attempted to relieve distress by distribution of supplies or exemption from taxation. Finance, however, continued to be difficult, and many people who had been arrested but not yet convicted were encouraged to commute their risk by paying a fine.

Offices and noble ranks were offered for sale from 178 [deC 89:152, 516-518]. At first the trade was restricted to secondary marquises and some junior positions in the palace guards, in much the same fashion as had been used by the regent Dowager Deng in 109 and Emperor Huan in 162, but the program was later extended to all ranks of the civil service, from the Excellencies down, and new appointees had to negotiate the amount they should pay for the privilege. Proceeds from the sales and fines were placed not into the public treasury but into the private hoard of Emperor Ling, while in a cynical market, as wealthy men received a discount for payment in advance, those who were considered particularly worthy were assessed at a lower rate. We are told in particular that in 185 Cui

Lie paid five million cash to become Excellency over the Masses; the emperor expressed regret that he had not extracted double the amount, but Cui Lie's own reputation suffered heavily.

It is clear that many suitable candidates had adequate private means; and the fact that men like Cui Lie could put up such great sums may be taken as a sign of the inability of the imperial government to find more regular means of tapping the financial resources of the empire as a whole. At the lower level, however, there was certainly hardship, and the system was liable to gross corruption as men sought to recoup their investment in office by extorting wealth from the communities in their charge.

Also in 178 Emperor Ling authorised his School at the Gate of the Vast Capital to provide an alternative route of entry to the civil service. The emperor was interested in literary composition and calligraphy, and had established the School to encourage such studies, but he now called for nominations from senior officials at the capital and in the provinces and ordered that graduates could be appointed directly to office. Students of calligraphy were required to write nine thousand characters in the major scripts, and were then assigned to the Imperial Secretariat, while others obtained positions as Inspectors, Administrators or senior advisers at court.

The new establishment provided a challenge to traditional forms of scholarship, and leading scholars and officials such as Cai Yong objected to the patronage of such frivolous compositions such as rhapsodies. Even from the hostile evidence, however, the curriculum was not without merit. On the practical side, it included the style and technique of drawing up official documents, while in more imaginative fashion it included the art of the rhapsody and calligraphy. It is arguable that a graduate of such an institution would have been at least as well equipped to handle affairs of government as an official who had spent all his time in study of the texts of current Confucianism. There was, however, a moral and political dimension to the argument.

After the heady years of political activity under Emperor Huan and in the early 170s, the Imperial University had fallen once more into decline. It appears that entry to the civil service may still have been available by examination, on the limited scale established under Emperor Huan, we have no record

of any such candidates, and the scale of the backlog may be judged by an edict of 176, which provided for special examinations of some hundred University students aged sixty or over, who were then appointed as gentleman cadets, members of the Suite of the Heir, and to junior positions at royal courts or commandery offices.

The most dramatic example of failure in official scholarship came in 175, when the eunuch Li Xun memorialised that texts in the imperial library of the Orchid Terrace were being altered by Academicians of the University to support and fit their own theories. In response, Cai Yong and other scholars proposed that five classics, *Analects*, *Changes*, *Ritual*, *History*, and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary, be edited and engraved upon stone. Emperor Ling approved, and he visited the University in 182, presumably to inspect the final stages of the work. The Stone Classics 石經, completed in 183, determined the canon for future generations of scholars, but the monumental project had been called into being by the corruption of the formal guardians of Confucian tradition.

Within the palace, the eunuchs were by no means always united, and there were a number of rival cliques. The leading favourites, notably Zhao Zhong and Zhang Rang, were ferocious in maintaining their position and equally energetic in seeking profit. Even at the time of the Yellow Turban uprising in 184, when the maverick Lü Qiang persuaded the emperor to end the proscription of reformists and to restrict eunuch power, Zhao Zhong and his fellows had him charged with treason and compelled to commit suicide, while the successful generals Lu Zhi and Huangfu Song both suffered dismissal for refusing their demands. Like their master, the senior eunuchs had limited concern for the good of the state and far more for their own self-interest.

THE PERSONAL RULE OF EMPEROR LING

Emperor Ling took the Cap of Manhood in 171 at the age of sixteen *sui*, and later that year the Lady Song was named as his first empress. She soon lost favour, and was dismissed in 178, but the emperor amused himself with other companions. We are told that he would set up an imitation market-place in the harem, with his concubines running the stalls. As in a real market, they were encouraged to fight and steal from one another, while the emperor dressed as a merchant and called at each place, to eat and drink and amuse

himself like the proverbial travelling salesman.

Among other inappropriate conduct, it is said that he dressed one of his dogs in a cap and sash of honour, that he personally drove a donkey-cart – so donkeys became fashionable and expensive at the capital – and that he enjoyed barbarian clothing and food. More seriously, he composed a study of the mythical emperor Fuxi 皇[伏羲]篇 in fifty parts 章, and his interest in literature was reflected in the establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, described above.

By 175 all the heads of offices under the Minister Steward were eunuchs, and the emperor increased their number to provide for his personal comfort. In 180, against protests at such extravagance, he set up the Jade Sceptre Park for Bird-Netting and Park of Spiritual Jade at Luoyang, and in the following year he established the Stables for Thoroughbreds to collect fine horses from commanderies and kingdoms. Each project was carried out at vast expense, large amounts were paid to traders or embezzled by eunuch officials, and besides the extravagant works at Luoyang Emperor Ling also acquired land for houses and pavilions in his former home country of Hejian, and had a commemorative stele erected there.

At the end of 184, after the crisis of the Yellow Turban rebellion, there was some show of economy: a few rare delicacies were no longer required, and the emperor ate meat only once a day, while those horses in the imperial stables which were not required for ceremonial processions were transferred to the army. These signs of restraint were more than balanced in the following summer, when a great fire destroyed much of the Southern Palace. Despite the financial straits of the government, senior eunuchs persuaded Emperor Ling to levy a special land tax to pay for rebuilding; the whole program became a centre of extravagance and corruption, while large amounts were taken for the emperor's own treasury in the Western Garden. Apparently as a gesture to the public good, in 186 the eunuch engineer Bi Lan improved the water supply within the city of Luoyang, but increasing contributions were exacted from new appointees as Inspectors or Administrators in the provinces, secondary marquises were sold for half a million cash, and the sale of offices reached a peak of extortion.

Given his supreme authority and his access to the resources of the empire, Liu Hong's conduct appears

absurd, but we are told that as a junior marquis, before he came to the throne, he had been poor, and that he never recovered from the experience. He was devoted, moreover, to the eunuchs Zhao Zhong and Zhang Rang, describing them as his mother and his father, and even as they encouraged the young ruler in his building program they constructed great mansions for themselves. Concerned that the emperor might find out, they persuaded him that it would bring ill fortune to the people if he climbed tall buildings, and in this way they concealed their extravagance.

In 188, with another gesture towards the public good, the emperor used his own money from the Western Garden to assemble eight regiments as a private army. Predictably, a eunuch, Jian Shi, was made senior colonel, and even the General-in-Chief He Jin was placed under his orders. As Emperor Ling died in the following year, nothing more came of this new array, but he did find occasion to hold a grand parade, dress up in military costume, and be acclaimed as "General Supreme" 無上將軍. Like Caligula and Nero during the previous century in Rome, Emperor Ling evidently regarded his position and power as an opportunity for play-acting and pleasure; he was, however, less blood-thirsty.

EPIDEMICS, FAITH-HEALING AND REBELLION

Amongst a plethora of other portents during the reign of Emperor Ling, the *Annals* and the *Treatise of the Five Powers* [HHS 107/17:3351] describe a remarkable increase in the incidence of epidemics 大疫 during the reign of Emperor Ling, with outbreaks recorded in 171, 173, 179, 182 and 185, and earlier under Emperor Huan in 151 and in 161. Before that time, there had been illness in Kuaiji in the southeast in 38 and 39 and again in 119, and sickness at the capital in 125. The outbreak in 151 affected the capital and the south-eastern commanderies of Jiujiang and Lujiang, but from 160 there are no particular areas named and the epidemics appear to have spread across the empire.

At the other end of the Eurasian landmass the Antonine plague, which afflicted the Roman empire for fifteen years from the mid-160s, was described by the physician Galen and is identified by Hopkins 83:22 as smallpox. It is said to have been brought by troops returning from campaign in Mesopotamia, though it could, of course, have come from further east. [It is uncertain whether the alleged embassy which reached the court of Emperor Huan in 167

was involved in the spread of the sickness: it would appear to have been established in both regions by that time.] Unfortunately, though Ge Hong 葛洪 of the fourth century provides a clear description of smallpox in China, there are no clinical descriptions from the second century [and one must remark that most historical studies of diseases in Western literature are marked by an unfortunate tendency to superficial reading of Chinese sources, accompanied by a somewhat insouciant attitude towards dates and a general ignorance of geography: Hopkins 83:103-104 provides an example, though his discussion elsewhere is often excellent]. There are many attested examples of the devastation brought by new outbreaks of known diseases, or how sicknesses formerly restricted to non-human populations may make a "species jump" to afflict mankind with similar dramatic effects, and McNeill 76:103-104 suggests that the epidemic of the second century, and a subsequent one in the mid-third century, marked either a resurgence of smallpox or the arrival of measles among humans. In Han China, the pattern of illness after 190 is confused by famine and war, with itinerant hordes of refugees and massive armies providing convenient reservoirs for a variety of infectious diseases. We can recognise one major attack in 217, which devastated the capital of Cao Cao's kingdom of Wei and which probably represented a recurrence of the same disease as had afflicted the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling.

One phenomenon very probably related to this great epidemic was the growth of faith-healing, generally associated with unorthodox cults which frequently developed into religious rebellion [妖賊 *yaozei*]. Among early rebels of this type we may note Zhang He in the early 130s, Pei You in the late 140s, He Deng and Dai Yi with Long Shang in the mid-160s, and the Xu family of Kuaiji in the early 170s [see *sub* Xu Chao]. We are told that there then were a number of such sects, including Luo Yao/Zhao in the region of Chang'an, Zhang Xiu or Zhang Lu in Yi province, and Zhang Jue on the North China plain [SGZ 8:264, PC quoting the *Dian lue* of Yu Huan]. Of these, the movement of most dramatic and widespread consequence was that of Zhang Jue, who came from Zhuo commandery but who had adherents across the whole of eastern China, Nanyang in the south, and even in the imperial capital.

Zhang Jue's Way of Great Peace 太平道 was

based upon faith-healing, and he treated the sick with charmed water and required them to confess their sins. Claiming that the blue sky of Han would be replaced by the Yellow Heaven of a new age and order, in 184 Zhang Jue raised rebellion across the greater part of the empire. His followers wore yellow cloth about their heads as a badge and were known as the Yellow Turbans 黃巾. The imperial government was at first hard-pressed, but recovered its position surprisingly well, and by the end of the year Zhang Jue was dead and his armies had been destroyed. The fighting, however, was ferocious, with heavy casualties on both sides, and large groups of Yellow Turbans continued to operate for many years afterwards: the surrender and accession to Cao Cao of the Yellow Turbans of Qing province in 192 represented a major gain to his forces.

Historians have debated the significance of the Yellow Turban rebellion in weakening the dynasty of Han and bringing its ultimate destruction. The Chinese Communist tradition, with a prejudice towards peasant revolution in the style of their twentieth-century success, has seen Zhang Jue's movement as crucial, and it is certainly true that the need to raise great armies to deal with the threat militarised and destabilised the empire. On the other hand, though numbers of officials were killed, the basic structure of commandery and county government appears to have been restored quite quickly, and there was a long tradition of disorder and feuding in the countryside [see, for example, *sub* Su Buwei]. The final collapse of government was the result of events at the imperial capital following the death of Emperor Ling, and the Yellow Turbans played no role in those affairs.

NON-CHINESE, FRONTIER AFFAIRS AND INTERNAL REBELLION

In 167, at the end of the reign of Emperor Huan, the general Duan Jiong had been given authority for operations against the Eastern Qiang, and notably the Xianlian tribe. He achieved his first major successes in the spring and summer of 168, and although there was criticism of his ferocity from his fellow-commander Zhang Huan, the regent Dowager ordered that the process of extermination should continue, and the policy was maintained after the destruction of the Dou family. By the first half of 169 the Xianlian had been pacified by massacre and Duan Jiong returned in triumph to the capital.

Success against the Qiang was more than balanced by increasing difficulty with the Xianbi and their energetic warlord Tanshihuai. From the time of Emperor Huan he had embarked on a series of incursions along the frontier, and from the late 160s into the 180s the Annals record almost annual raids against You or Bing province or both.

In the winter of 174 a raid deep into Beidi was defeated by the Administrator Xia Yu, formerly an officer of Duan Jiong, and as the situation became still more serious it was proposed to send a major expedition into the steppe. There was a good deal of concern, but in the summer of 177 three columns were sent out, led by Xiu Yu, Tian Yan, also a former officer of Duan Jiong, and Zang Min, who had served with success against rebels in the southeast. The enterprise, however, was defeated with heavy losses, the first time that a full Chinese army had suffered such a fate since the time of Former Han, and incursions continued along the whole of the north.

By good fortune for the Chinese, Tanshihuai died in the early 180s, his son Helian proved less able, and the Xianbi confederacy fell into disarray. Raids continued for a few years longer, but they were less intense, and the Xianbi were not able to take advantage of the imperial distraction with the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184.

In the far south of the empire, a number of tribute missions were recorded from non-Chinese states and peoples, but there was also a major rebellion in 178 among the non-Chinese of Hepu and Jiaozhi, which extended down the coast to affect present-day Vietnam; it was settled in 181 by the general Zhu Jun. Another rebellion in 184 was soon put down.

In 176 the non-Chinese of Yizhou commandery in the southwest rebelled and captured the local Administrator. The trouble spread wide, and the court even thought of abandoning the territory, but the local officer Li Yong took command, secured the alliance of the Banshun people of Ba commandery, and settled the disturbance. The Banshun in turn made a rising in 182 to protest against ill-treatment, but when the humane official Cao Qian was sent they submitted to an amnesty; there was a further brief flurry in 188.

Within the empire, the non-Chinese of Jiangxia rebelled in 169, but were put down by local forces, and when the tribespeople of the Danyang hills south of the lower Yangzi laid siege to the Administrator Chen

Yin he was likewise able to defeat them.

The outbreak of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 represented the greatest challenge to the authority of the Han state. The origins of Zhang Jue's religious regime are discussed in the section above and in his biographical entry, but it should be recognised that the government at Luoyang obtained remarkable success against what appeared at first to be a very powerful opponent. The imperial commanders suffered setbacks, but by the end of the summer Yingchuan, Runan and Chen had been pacified, in the winter Huangfu Song defeated the last Yellow Turbans in the north, and Zhu Jun concluded the reconquest of Nanyang soon afterwards. Various independent groups survived, and others claimed the title for themselves later, but the heart of the movement had been destroyed, and it represented thereafter no direct threat to the dynasty.

Rather more localised, but almost as damaging, was the mutiny and rebellion in Liang province which broke out at the end of 184. In this case, no ideology was involved, but for the next several years a large group of non-Chinese and renegades, led by such men as Beigong Boyu, Wang Guo and Han Sui, removed imperial control from a great part of the province, and in 185 and 187 their forces threatened the old capital of Chang'an. They were driven back in 188, but the northwest of the empire was divided thereafter among petty warlord states, and central control was not restored for more than twenty-five years.

Closer to the imperial capital, groups operating in the Taihang mountains, known collectively as the Black Mountain bandits and loosely associated under Zhang Niujue and then Zhang Yan, became so entrenched that the government was obliged to come to terms and recognise their rebel regimes as part of its regular administration, with rights of appointment and nomination for office comparable to those of regular commanderies and kingdoms. After 190 the various groups were attacked and brought under some measure of control by Yuan Shao and others, but there were no resources to deal with them in the second half of the 180s.

Elsewhere in the empire, rebellions in Jiangxia and Wuling in 186 were put down locally, but Ou Xing and others led a widespread rising in the south of Jing province until they were quelled by Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha, one of a new breed of fighting men who came to prominence at this time.

There were rebels in Henan, Runan and Yingchuan, many styling themselves Yellow Turbans, and though they were dealt with fairly swiftly, the Yellow Turbans of Qing and Xu provinces were a major force in the east of the empire until they were persuaded to give formal submission to the warlord Cao Cao in 192. In 188 a group of rebels from Bobo in Xihe also claimed affiliation with the Yellow Turbans; they ravaged Taiyuan and Hedong, and survived to play a role in the 190s. In a sad postscript to the history of the Southern Xiongnu, the Shanyu Yufuluo was driven from his heritage and ended his days as a marginal bandit leader loosely associated with the Bobo group and other regional rebels.

As some response to the wave of unrest across the empire, and in the belief that the resources and authority of individual commanderies were too limited to cope, in 188 the government re-introduced a system of provincial Governors, with the equivalent of ministerial rank, for some of the troubled regions. The first appointments were to Yi, Yu and You provinces, and though Inspectors continued to be appointed elsewhere, provinces under a single executive became core units of administration outside the capital.

DEATH AND JUDGEMENT

Emperor Ling died on 13 May 189 at the age of thirty-four *sui*. He was buried in the "Mound of Civil Achievement" 文陵 northwest of Luoyang. Unlike his predecessors, he was never awarded a temple-name, and in 190 Dong Zhuo, who controlled the court of Han at that time, approved a recommendation of Cai Yong that his tablet should be deposed from a permanent position in the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the grounds that he had shown neither merit nor virtue [MBeck 90:106-107, and see *sub* Liu Zhao, Emperor He].

Though one may debate the judgements of traditional scholars and historians on a ruler such as Emperor Huan, it is difficult to dispute the general condemnation of Emperor Ling. He may have had artistic and literary skills, but he was quite unsuited to rule China at such a time. Even allowing for the exaggeration of critics, he was evidently besotted by his eunuch associates within the palace, and was absurdly greedy and extravagant at a time when the state was under desperate financial and military pressure. The sale of offices, or forced fines for taking them up, distorted and corrupted the bureaucracy, while the

wastage which accompanied his vast building program in the mid-180s was utterly inappropriate after the disruption of the Yellow Turban rebellion.

Emperor Ling evidently enjoyed his life, whether playing with dogs and donkeys and with the women of his harem, or dressing up for a grand parade of his private army of the Western Garden. It does not appear, however, that he had any idea what was really going on in his government or in the empire at large, nor that he had any care for the problems of the time. Remarkably, the turmoils of rebellion and war were dealt with by his military men, and at the time of his early death the dynasty still held power and authority. As a final kick, however, Emperor Ling left two sons with claim to the succession, and the combination of a low-born consort family and some fearful eunuchs made disaster all but inevitable.

Had any man resolved to destroy the four-hundred year inheritance of Han, he could hardly have done better than Emperor Ling. -HHS 8*; deC 89.

Liu Hong 劉弘 [Yugao 于高 or Zigao 子高]; Nanyang. In 188 Liu Hong was promoted from Minister of the Household to Excellency of Works. After Dong Zhuo seized power in the following year, Liu Hong left office on the grounds that it had not rained for several months; his place was taken by the dictator. -HHS 8: 356-59, 72/62:2324.

Liu Hong's name appears in the colophon to the Stone Classics engraving of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the early 180s. He is described there as a Consultant. -LS 14:8b.

Liu Hongfu 劉紅夫, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Guangwu, in 39 she was appointed Princess of Guantao in Wei. She married Han Guang, but in 73 he was executed for alleged involvement in a conspiracy with Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang.

Presumably before the disgrace of her husband, the princess asked her brother Emperor Ming to make her son a gentlemen cadet so that he might enter the commissioned civil service. Faithful to the principle that close imperial relatives should not be involved in regular government, the emperor refused, but he gave her ten million cash in recompense. -HHS 10A:403, 2: 124, HQ 1:1a.

Liu Hu 劉祐 see Liu You 劉祐 [Emperor An].

Liu Hu 劉互 see *sub* Liu Gai 丐.

Liu Hu 劉護; Nanyang. Grandson of Liu Fu 浮, he succeeded to his marquissate. He left no sons when he

died, and the fief was ended: *cf.*, however *sub* Liu Gui and *sub* Liu Wei. -HHS 14/4:564; Bn 54 appendix # 139.

Liu Hu 劉護. Administrator of Jiangxia about 70, Liu Hu admired the filial piety shown by the twelve-year-old Huang Xiang at the death of his mother. He gave the boy a position at his *yamen* and acted as his friend and patron. -HHS 80/70A:2614.

Liu Hu 劉虎 (d.199); Shanyang. A nephew of Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, in 199 Liu Hu was sent with troops to assist Huang Zu against Sun Ce on the Yangzi. Liu Hu and Han Xi led an advance guard, but they were heavily defeated and both were killed. -SGZ Wu 1:1108.

Liu Hua 劉華, the Lady. Eldest daughter of Emperor Huan, in 158 she was appointed Senior Princess of Yang'an in Runan. She married Fu Wan, and their daughter Shou became empress of Emperor Xian. -HHS 10B:462.

Liu Hua 劉華 *i.e.* Liu Ye 劉曄. -Mather 76:249.

Liu Huan 劉緩, the Lady, miswritten for Liu Shou 劉綏.

Liu Huang 劉黃, the Lady; Nanyang. Elder sister of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, she married Hu Zhen. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 26 he had the Lady brought from Nanyang to Luoyang and named her Senior Princess of Huyang in Nanyang. Hu Zhen died soon afterwards and, admiring the minister Song Hong, the Lady hoped to marry him. When Guangwu broached the subject, however, Song Hong refused to divorce his wife, and the plan was abandoned.

The Lady evidently satisfied her needs out of wedlock. In the early 40s her favourite slave killed a man and took protection with her, but the Prefect of Luoyang Dong Xuan halted the carriage in which she was riding with her companion, arrested him and killed him. The Lady complained to her brother and sought to have him executed, but Dong Xuan refused to accept that slaves could kill innocent men. He would not apologise and the emperor, admiring his obstinacy and his principles, released him and rewarded him. [XHS 5:10a-b attributes this incident to the Lady Huang's sister Boji.]

The Lady died before her brother, and a temple was established for her in Huyang. -HHS 26/16:904-05, 77/67: 2489-90, 7:313; Bn 67:19-20, Bn 79:140; Ch'ü 72:373-374.

Liu Huang 劉晃. Son of Liu Shi the King of Qi, he

succeeded his father in 70. In 87 Liu Huang and his younger brother Gang, and the Lady Zong their mother, were found to have made false accusations in a family quarrel. Senior officials recommended that the men be reduced to commoner rank and exiled to Danyang. Emperor Zhang did send Liu Huang to Danyang, but he granted him a marquisate there; Liu Gang also kept his title, but with a reduced fief. Liu Huang died soon afterwards.

When Emperor Zhang died in 88, his testamentary edict noted that Liu Huang was a descendant of Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Guangwu, who had led the rising against Wang Mang. He therefore urged that the royal state be restored, and in 90 Liu Huang's son Wuji, who had succeeded him as marquis, was promoted to King of Qi. -HHS 14/4:553-54, 4:157, 170; Bn 54 appendix # 150.

Liu Hui 劉惠, the Lady (d.128). Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 74 she was appointed Princess of Wu'an in Wei commandery. She married Lai Leng.

In 121 Emperor An promoted the Lady to Senior Princess, but in 124, after her son Lai Li led a major protest against the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao, Emperor An dismissed him and his brothers from their official positions, banned the Lady Liu from audiences, and reduced the family fiefs.

Late in 125, after the accession of Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, the family was restored to favour. -HHS 10B:460, 15/5:590-93.

Liu Hui 劉恢 (d.132). Son of Liu Fang the King of Fuling, he succeeded his father in 123.

Liu Hui was himself succeeded first by his younger son Dai and later by Dai's elder brother Bianqin. -HHS 6:260, HHS 42/32:1446.

Liu Hui 劉惠 see Liu Zihui 劉子惠.

Liu Hui 劉輝 i.e. Liu Shan 劉燁. -HHS 14/4:563.

Liu Hui 劉悝 see Liu Kui 劉惔.

Liu Hui 劉恢 i.e. Liu Li 劉理. -HHS 8:334.

Liu Huwei 劉虎威 (d.109). Son of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe, he succeeded his father in 106/107. He died without heirs, and the Dowager Deng arranged for Liu Yanping to maintain the succession. -HHS 55/45:1804.

Liu [Huzi] 劉胡子; Zhao. Early in 24 Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was under pressure from Wang Lang and his partisans. There was some suggestion that he should abandon the north and return to the territory about Chang'an, but Pi Tong stressed the

strength of his position as a commissioner of Han, and observed that people were supporting Wang Lang because many of them believed that he was indeed a son of the Former Han Emperor Cheng.

In the course of his argument, Pi Tong remarked that in the previous year a certain Liu Huzi and others had published false divinations [卜 *bu*] in support of Wang Lang's claim. -HHS 2:14.

It has been suggested that Liu Huzi was the same person as Liu Lin 劉林/臨, and that Liu Lin's style was Huzi. It appears more likely that they were different men: Liu Lin being the son of Liu Yuan 元 the King of Pinggan 平干, who died in 56 BC [HS 14:412; QHX: 402]; and Liu Huzi the son of a concubine of a king of Zhao. -HHS 1A:11, HHSJJ 12/2:479, 501,.

Liu Ji 劉稷 (d.23); Nanyang. A kinsman of Liu Bosheng and one of his divisional commanders, in 23 he was on campaign against Wang Mang's forces in Nanyang. Hearing of the election of Liu Xuan, the Gengshi Emperor, as chief of the rebel party, he commented angrily on the failure of Liu Bosheng, original leader of the alliance, to receive the appointment which was his just reward. When his remarks were reported to Liu Xuan, his first response was to offer him appointment as a general, but Liu Ji refused. Liu Xuan gathered several thousand men to arrest and execute Liu Ji; Liu Bosheng pleaded for his life, and he too became implicated. Both men died together. -HHS 14/4:552; Bn 54:121.

Liu Ji 劉吉. As Minister of the Imperial Clan in 41, Liu Ji was sent with the Staff of Authority to accompany the Excellency Dai She and take back the seal of appointment from the deposed Empress Guo of Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 10A:406.

Liu Ji 劉姬, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 59 she was appointed Senior Princess of Huojia in Henei. She married Feng Zhu. -HHS 10B:459.

Liu Ji 劉吉, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Zhang, in 93 she was appointed Princess of Yin'an in Wei. -HHS 10B:461.

Liu Ji 劉基 (d.87). Son of Liu Mu, he succeeded his father as King of Beihai in 74.

Liu Ji died without sons, but Emperor Zhang did not formally abolish the state, and in 90 Emperor He restored the inheritance through Liu Wei, son of Liu Mu by a concubine and half-brother of Liu Ji. -HHS 14/4:557; Bn 54 appendix # 153.

Liu Ji 劉季 see Liu Fu 劉孚, maternal uncle of Jia

Kui. -SGZ 15:480.

Liu Ji 劉基. Administrator of Liaoxi about 180, Liu Ji was found guilty of some wrong-doing. He was taken by cage-cart to the capital and then exiled to Rinan. He was escorted to Luoyang by his officer Gongsun Zan, and while still on the road to the south he was pardoned and allowed to return. -SGZ 8:239, XC 4:13a, HHSJJ 73/63:2584 Hui Dong quoting *Yingxiong ji*.

Liu Ji 劉基 [Jingyu 敬興] (185-233); Donglai. Eldest son of Liu Yao, Liu Ji carried out the rites for his father's funeral in 198, then came into the hands of Sun Ce and lived frugally with his brothers.

Sun Quan admired Liu Ji and favoured him with staff appointments; when he took title as King of Wu he named him as a minister. On one occasion Liu Ji prevented Sun Quan from killing Yu Fan in a drunken rage.

After Liu Ji's death Sun Quan had his own son Sun Ba 霸 marry his daughter. -SGZ Wu 4:1186.

Liu Ji 劉琦 see Liu Qi 劉琦.

Liu Ji 劉奇 see Liu Qi 劉崎/琦. -LS 27:3b.

Liu Ji 劉績 miswritten for Liu Xu 劉續 the King of Anping.

Liu Jia 劉嘉 [Xiaosun 孝孫] (d.39); Nanyang. Liu Jia's father Xian 憲 was a younger brother of Liu Chang 敞, Marquis of Chongling district in Caiyang county of Nanyang under Former Han. Liu Jia was thus a second cousin to Liu Xuan, future Gengshi Emperor, and a more distant kinsman of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and his elder brother Liu Bosheng. Liu Xian, however, died when Liu Jia was young, and Liu Jia was brought up by Liu Qin 欽, father of Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, and after his death by Liu Qin's brother Liu Liang.

Liu Jia was a kindly and generous man, and while his cousin Liu Shun was about the same age as Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, Liu Jia appears to have been close to Liu Xiu's elder brother Bosheng; about 12 he spent time with him at Chang'an, studying the *History* and *Chunqiu*.

In the winter of 22 Liu Jia was among the first to join the Han rebels against Wang Mang under the command of Liu Bosheng; his wife and children were slain in the defeat at Xiao-Chang'an. When Liu Xuan was proclaimed as the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Liu Jia was appointed a lieutenant-general and named a minister, and after the capture of Wan city a few months later he was enfeoffed as a titular marquis

and made a chief general. Later that year he attacked the local leader Yan Cen in the west of Nanyang and forced his surrender.

When the Gengshi Emperor established his capital at Chang'an early in 24 he enfeoffed Liu Jia as King of Hanzhong and sent him as a chief general, bearing the Staff of Authority, to establish his capital at Nanzheng on the upper Han River. Later that year Liu Jia made friendly contact with Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner in the north of the Yellow River, and he sent Jia Fu, Chen Jun and Zhu You to join his service: all three became valued officers of Lu Xiu.

Liu Jia's troops are said to have numbered several hundred thousand, but early in 26, as Yan Cen rebelled again and came west into Hanzhong, he put Liu Jia's army to flight, captured Nanzheng and took over the commandery. He pursued Liu Jia into Wudu, but Li Bao, an officer of the late Gengshi Emperor, came to rescue him. Yan Cen was defeated and driven north into Tianshui on the upper Wei, but in the mean time Gongsun Shu had sent his general Hou Dan to take Nanzheng. Naming Li Bao as his Chancellor, Liu Jia gathered several ten thousand men and returned to attack Hou Dan. He was unsuccessful and was driven back into Wudu. By this time Yan Cen had returned, and Liu Jia fought several engagements with him. Yan Cen fled once more over the mountains to the north, this time into Youfufeng, where Liu Jia pursued him and defeated him again.

At this point Liu Jia was attacked by an army of the Red Eyebrows, numbered at 180,000 men and commanded by Liao Zhan, who had been leader of the commoners under the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Jia defeated them, and he is said to have killed Liao Zhan with his own hand. He was now able to consolidate his position north of Chang'an and gather grain to feed his men, but his position was vulnerable to the advance of Guangwu's general Deng Yu, and his brother-in-law Lai Xi, with Li Bao and other officers, urged him to make terms. At the same time Guangwu wrote to Deng Yu to say that Liu Jia was a worthy man and an old friend who had unfortunately chosen the wrong side. Deng Yu let these kind remarks be known, and Liu Jia went to surrender.

Joining Guangwu at Luoyang in 27, Liu Jia took part in his campaigns and was later appointed Administrator of Qiansheng, by the mouth of the

Yellow River. In 30 he became ill and asked to resign that post; he was brought back to live at the capital.

In 37 Liu Jia was enfeoffed as a marquis in Nanyang, while his son Liu Qiang was also granted a fief. Liu Jia died two years later. -HHS 14/4:567-68*; Bn 54 appendix # 77.

Liu Jia 劉嘉 see Liu Xi 劉喜. -HHS 17/7:656 *et alia*.

Liu Jia 劉嘉. Son of Liu Fu the King of Pei, in 58 he was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 42/32:1427.

Liu Jia 劉嘉; Donghai. A descendant of Liu Qiang the King of Donghai, Liu Jia became Minister of the Household but was punished when he failed to attend court for New Year's day. -HHS 73/63:2353.

Liu Jia 劉嘉. Son of Liu Yu, he inherited the family fief. -HHS 14/4:562; Bn 54 appendix # 159.

Liu Jian 劉堅. Son by a concubine of Liu Zhi the King of Chengyang, he was a half-brother of Liu Ping, who was the son of Liu Zhi's chief wife. When Liu Zhi was on his deathbed in 35 he returned his insignia of royalty, seeking only to maintain the rites of his ancestors through a marquisate. In 37 Liu Ping was duly enfeoffed as marquis of a county in the former kingdom, while Liu Jian received a district fief. -HHS 14/4:562; Bn 54 appendix # 108.

Liu Jian 劉建 probably miswritten for Dou Jian 竇建. -HHS 41/31:1417, but *cf.* JJ at 1506.

Liu Jian 劉建 (d.61). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 60 he was enfeoffed as King of Qiansheng. He died young in the following year. -HHS 50/40:1667*.

Liu Jian 劉堅 (d.124). Son of Liu Chang the King of Liang, he succeeded his father in 98.

Liu Jian was succeeded by his son Kuang, and seven other sons later received district and village marquisates. -HHS 50/40:1677-78.

Liu Jian 劉儉. Son of Liu Su the King of Donghai, in 127 he was made a marquis by Emperor Shun. His fief was later granted additional households in recognition of his filial and generous conduct. -HHS 42/32:1426.

Liu Jian 劉建 (d.151). Son of Liu Zheng the King of Hejian, he succeeded his father in 141.

Liu Jian was succeeded by his son Liu Li. -HHS 55/45:1808.

Liu Jian 劉堅. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Jian 劉堅, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Huan,

perhaps by his concubine the Lady Feng II, in 164 she was appointed Senior Princess of Yingyin in Yingchuan. -HHS 10B:462.

Liu Jiande 劉堅得, the Lady, see Liu Xiande 劉賢得.

Liu Jiang 劉彊 see Liu Qiang 劉彊.

Liu Jie 劉接 (d.24). Son of a former king of Guangyang, in 24 Liu Jie responded to the call of the pretender Wang Lang and raised arms in Ji county against Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner in the north for the Gengshi regime. Unable to compete with the popularity of the rebel cause, Liu Xiu was compelled to flee to the south.

Soon afterwards troops from Yuyang and Shanggu led by Wu Han and Jing Dan slaughtered Wang Lang's supporters in the north, and in the summer Wang Lang was destroyed. Liu Jie no doubt died during this period. -HHS 1A:12; Bn 54:69.

Liu Jie 劉節. In HHSJJ 42/32:1523 Shen Qinhan notes a private genealogy which has Liu Jie as the son of Liu Ding, King of Pei, and the father of Liu Ding's successor Liu Gai. Jie, however, was the posthumous title of Liu Gai, and a later chronicler has mistakenly interpolated it. A similar error was made concerning Liu Ding: see *sub* Liu Li and XTS 75B:3437.

Liu Jie 劉節; Ji'nan. A man of powerful family, about 210 Liu Jie was Registrar of the commandery. He had a large body of retainers, who evaded their corvée duties and frequently acted like bandits, but he used his official position to protect them.

The county magistrate Sima Zhi determined to end this corrupt arrangement, and impressed a number of Liu Jie's men as soldiers. Liu Jie hid them and sent an Investigator to look for charges against Sima Zhi. Sima Zhi then reported the whole matter to the Administrator Hao Guang, and presented a catalogue of Liu Jie's offences. Hao Guang decided in favour of Sima Zhi, and made Liu Jie a conscript himself. -SGZ 12:386-87.

Liu Jinbo 劉進伯. XTS 75B:3437 says that Liu Jinbo was a son of Liu Mu 穆 and that he became General on the Liao. During a campaign against the Xiongnu, however, he was defeated and captured, and was held prisoner at Gu mountain 孤山, presumably the ridge near present-day Houma in Shanxi. He had a son Shili, and a grandson Wuli, who took Dugu 獨孤 "Lonely Orphan" as their clan name and rose to high rank in the

non-Chinese state. Qubi, ruler of the remnant Xiongnu state for Cao Cao at the end of Han, was a son of Wuli and great-grandson of Liu Jinbo.

Although it is possible that a Chinese officer could have been captured by Xiongnu during the rebellion of the early 140s, it is hard to believe that he could have been held in captivity by a government which was ultimately under the control of Han. The story appears designed to give an ancient Chinese imperial ancestry to a non-Chinese clan.

Liu Jing 劉荆 (d.67). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his Empress Yin, in 39 Liu Jing was named Duke of Shanyang and in 41 his title was advanced to King.

Like his other full brothers, Liu Jing remained at the capital until the death of Emperor Guangwu in 57. At that time he sent a letter to his half-brother the former Heir Liu Qiang, purporting to come from his uncle Guo Kuang, the brother of the former Empress Guo. In this remarkable document Liu Qiang was urged to rebel against his replacement Liu Zhuang, now emperor, while various real and mystical signs were listed to support such an action.

Liu Qiang immediately sealed the letter and sent it to the throne, and though Emperor Ming kept the affair secret, he removed Liu Jing from the capital to a county close by. In the following year, as Liu Jing continued to consult astrologers and make strange plans, his fief was transferred from Shanyang to the lesser and further territory of Guangling, and he was ordered to go there.

Some time in the early 60s Liu Jing called up a physiognomist, pointed out the resemblances between his features and those of the late Emperor Guangwu his father, and asked whether he should raise troops in his own cause. As the savant reported this to the court, Liu Jing became frightened and went to prison of his own accord. Again Emperor Ming kept the matter quiet, but ordered that Liu Jing should be kept under surveillance.

Eventually, in 67 it was reported that Liu Jing had arranged for shamans to hold sacrifices and utter curses. An investigation found that the allegations were true and recommended that Liu Jing be executed. When Emperor Ming was reluctant, his ministers pointed out that it was a matter of state, not of personal affection. Liu Jing was sentenced, but committed suicide.

Bielenstein suggests that Liu Jing was mentally deranged, which seems a fair assessment. At the same

time, the problem which Emperor Ming encountered with this superstitious brother probably added to his anger when he had to deal with the allegations against his other siblings, Liu Ying, Liu Kang and Liu Yan 延. -HHS 42/32:1446-49*; Bn 67:31-32.

Liu Jing 劉京 (d.81). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his Empress Yin, in 39 Liu Jing was named Duke of Langye; in 41 his title was advanced to King.

A man of filial piety and good conduct, fond of classical learning, Liu Jing was a favourite of his elder brother Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, who treated him more generously than anyone else. In 59 Liu Jing's fief was enlarged by six counties from Taishan and Donglai. In 62 he went out to his state, where he delighted in embellishing the palace at his capital, Gong, aided by the treasure of the late Empress Yin which was passed to him in full by the emperor. Liu Jing presented several poems, rhapsodies and hymns to virtue, and Emperor Ming admired them and had them preserved in the archives. He and his brothers attended court on occasion, and in 72 he was called to meet the emperor during his tour of the east.

Liu Jing's fief included a temple to Liu Zhang 劉章, King of Chengyang 城陽 under Former Han [QH:405-406], and about 80 reports were brought to Liu Jing that the spirit of the site had warned that his palace was unhealthy and dangerous. He obtained permission from Emperor Zhang to exchange five of his counties for two others in Donghai and to shift his residence to Kaiyang in Langye, which was evidently regarded as more fortunate. When Liu Jing died soon afterwards, his tomb-land was specially incorporated into Kaiyang.

Liu Jing was succeeded by his son Yu, and thirteen other sons and two nephews were later granted fiefs. -HHS 42/32:1451*.

Liu Jing 劉旌 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Liu Jing was appointed to the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After Zheng Qin was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Liu Jing joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. -HYGZ 2:16, 10C: 169.

Liu Jing 劉荊. Younger son of Liu Hong the King of Zhongshan, in 141 he was granted a marquissate. -*HHS* 42/32:1450.

Liu Jing 劉靚. Nothing is known of his career, but Liu Jing is said to have kept excellent records. -*XC* 8:2b.

Liu Jing 劉靖. In 185 Liu Jing was a senior major under the command of Dong Zhuo in Liang province. When Dong Zhuo was sent by Zhang Wen to attack the Qiang, he left Liu Jing behind with four thousand men as rear-guard. Though he was blocked by the enemy, he was able to withdraw without great difficulty because the threat from Liu Jing's men prevented them from committing their main force against him.

As Sun Jian was approaching Luoyang in 191, Dong Zhuo described this strategy to his assistant Liu Ai and observed that Sun Jian had similar plans at that time. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1098.

Liu Jing 劉靖; Lujiang. An émigré, Liu Jing was well-treated by Sun Jiao, Sun Quan's commander in the west about 215, and was a devoted officer. As an aide responsible for planning, he later served Sun Jiao's brother Huan with similar commitment. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1207-08.

Liu Jingzhou 劉荊州 [Liu of Jing province] see Liu Biao 劉彪.

Liu Jingzong 劉景宗; Guangling. Administrator of Shanyang in the latter part of the second century, Liu Jingzong was a satisfied patient of Hua Tuo. -*HHS* 82/72B:2736.

Liu Jiuchang 劉久長, the Lady. Daughter of Liu Qing the father of Emperor An, after her brother acceded to the imperial throne in 106 she and her sisters were given titles and estates as princesses, and after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121 she was named Senior Princess of Puyang in Dong commandery. She married Geng Liang. -*HHS* 55/45:1804, 10B:457, 19/9:713.

Liu Ju 劉拘. Son of Liu Du and grandson of Liu Zhong, he succeeded to the family fief in Lujiang. -*HHS* 42/32:1430.

Liu Ju 劉據. Minister of Finance about 133, Liu Ju was accused of some fault. He was called to the Imperial Secretariat, reprimanded and subjected to a beating.

Zuo Xiong, Director of the Secretariat, protested to Emperor Shun that a Minister held one of the highest positions in the empire and such treatment was inappropriate. It had been introduced only by Emperor

Ming, and there was no precedent in the ancient codes. The emperor agreed, and physical punishment was no longer applied in such cases. -*HHS* 61/51:2022.

Liu Ju 劉矩 [Shufang 叔方]; Pei. A nephew of the Excellency Liu Guang, Liu Ju was ambitious, but he resented the fact that his father Liu Shuliao had not received any advancement so he refused to have any dealings with the local authorities. Early in the reign of Emperor Shun, Liu Guang's colleagues Huan Yan and Zhu Chong had Liu Shuliao appointed as a Consultant, and Liu Ju then accepted nomination as Filial and Incorrupt.

As a magistrate in Chenliu, Liu Ju improved people's customs, inspiring some to improve their filial conduct, while he heard accusations only in private, to discourage tale-tellers. It was claimed, in cliché style, that if anyone found something on the road he would seek out the owner and return it. After four years Liu Ju left his post on the death of his mother.

Liu Ju was later nominated as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright by the Excellency Hu Guang, and after further appointments he became Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the early 150s. A man of direct honesty, he fell out with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and was sent away to be Chancellor of Changshan. He left that office on grounds of illness, but was reluctant to return home, because Liang Ji's brother-in-law Sun Zhi was now the Chancellor of Pei; he therefore stayed with friends in Pengcheng.

A year or so later Liang Ji was somewhat reconciled, and Liu Ju took a senior post on his staff. He was again appointed Director of the Secretariat, and later became Minister of the Imperial Clan and then Minister of Ceremonies. Having evidently avoided implication in the fall of Liang Ji, in 161 Liu Ju succeeded Huang Qiong as Grand Commandant. For about a year he joined Chong Gao and Huang Qiong, who returned briefly to Excellency rank, in an attempt to restore good order to the state. Their work was widely respected, but their opponents used a series of fires as portents to argue for their dismissal. Emperor Huan at first refused but in 162, after rebellion broke out among the southern tribes of Jing province, Liu Ju was dismissed.

Liu Ju became a Palace Counsellor. When Dou Wu and Chen Fan controlled the regency for Emperor Ling in 168, he was re-appointed Grand Commandant. After the fall of the reformist party later that year, he was

dismissed on account of an eclipse. He now received permission to retire from office altogether, and he died at home.

During his time in high office Liu Ju had recommended many worthy gentlemen and scholars, and he is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66:2476-77*.

HHS 66/56:2164 says that as Excellency over the Masses about 166 Liu Ju joined Chen Fan and Liu Mao in a joint memorial on behalf of Chen Jin and other Administrators who had killed in defiance of an amnesty. Liu Ju, however, was not an Excellency at this time, and was probably not involved in the controversy: deC 89:375-376.

Liu Ju 劉據 (d.185). Son of Liu Zun the King of Langye, he succeeded his father in 138.

Liu Ju was succeeded by his son Rong. -HHS 42/32:1452.

Liu Ju 劉據. Though Liu Ju was the eldest son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, he did not succeed him at his death in 145; his younger brother Liu Ding was granted the fief. In 146 Liu Ju and eight brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Ju 劉舉 i.e. Liu Zheng 劉政/正.

Liu Jugong 劉巨公; Hanzhong. Sometime Minister Herald, Liu Jugong was the father of the Lady Liu Taiying. -HYGZ 10C:170.

Liu Jun 劉均 (d.25). As the Red Eyebrows approached Chang'an in 24, the Gengshi Emperor sent Liu Jun with Wang Kuang and Cheng Dan to guard Hedong and Hongnong, north and south of the Yellow River.

Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, sent Deng Yu west with a large army and he laid siege to Anyi the capital of Hedong; the city held out, but Deng Yu defeated an army under Fan Can. In the summer of 25 Wang Kuang, Cheng Dan and Liu Jun made a further attack. They gained initial success, but were then heavily defeated by Deng Yu. Liu Jun was captured and killed. -HHS 1A:23, 16/6:600-01.

Liu Jun 劉鈞. Chief Clerk to Dou Rong, Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye, in 29 Liu Jun was sent as head of a delegation from the warlords of the northwest to acknowledge the rule of Emperor Guangwu at Luoyang and to confirm their rejection of Wei Ao's plans for independence. The accession was welcomed most warmly. -HHS 23/13:798-800, 34/24:1166.

Liu Jun 劉均; Pei. In 82 Liu Jun was Administrator

of Zuopingyi when Song Yang, father of the disgraced imperial concubines Song, was arrested by the authorities of his home commandery Youfufeng. Liu Jun addressed them on his behalf, and through his efforts and those of the former magistrate Zhang Jun, Song Yang was released. -HHS 55/45:1800.

Liu Jun 劉鈞 (d.117). Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, he succeeded his father in 96. Clever but cruel, he usurped imperial prerogatives and bullied his ministers. He intensely disliked the Lady Li Yi, widow of his late father, and in 99 he had his retainer Wei Jiu kill her and members of her household. Wei Jiu was arrested, and Liu Jun, anxious that he might be implicated, sent another client to kill him in prison.

The affair was discovered, and Liu Jun was punished by the loss of three counties from his fief.

Liu Jun later took the Lady Li Niao, who had formerly been in the imperial harem, as a secondary wife 小妻. He was again punished by the loss of three counties.

Liu Jun was succeeded by his son Song. -HHS 50/40:1668-69.

Liu Jun 劉雋. At the time of the Liang province rebellion in the 180s, Liu Jin was a county magistrate in Wuwei. Qu Sheng of Jincheng attacked and killed him. -SGZ 8:262.

Liu Junshi 劉君世. Administrator of Yongchang about 146, Liu Junshi had a snake cast from local gold as a present for the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Chong Gao, Inspector of Yi province, intercepted the gift and reported it, so it was placed in the official treasury. -HHS 56/46:1827, 63/53:2093.

Liu Kai 劉愷 [Boyu 伯豫] (d.124); Pengcheng. Son of Liu Ban, Liu Kai was a student and protégé of Ding Hong. When his father died in 78 Liu Kai should have inherited his marquisate, but in obedience to his father's testament he ceded it to his younger brother Liu Xian. Ten years later the matter was raised by senior ministers at court, and Emperor Zhang, admiring Liu Kai's generosity, issued special orders for him to take the fief. Liu Kai, however, would not accept.

In 98 Jia Kui sent in a memorial praising Liu Kai's conduct, and Emperor He ordered that he be appointed a gentleman cadet. He then became a Palace Attendant, and was respected at court for his conduct. He transferred to a colonelcy in the Northern Army, and in 101 he became Minister of the Imperial Clan. He later left that office, was again appointed Palace Attendant,

and was once more a colonel in the Northern Army.

In 107 Liu Kai became Minister of Ceremonies, in which office he was noted for his concern for tradition and his attention to promoting worthy men from retirement and obscurity. In 112 he was promoted to Excellency of Works, and in 115 he became Excellency over the Masses.

In 116 Liu Kai persuaded the regent Dowager Deng that senior officials should be required to withdraw from public life during the three-year mourning period for the death of a parent: hitherto only junior officers had observed mourning, while senior officials were not permitted to do so. The change was intended to encourage junior officers to take advantage of the provision and thus encourage moral standards, and though it was argued in court that it would disrupt the government, Liu Kai argued that setting a good example was more important than administrative convenience. The policy, however, did prove impracticable: it was rescinded in 121, revived in 154, but suspended once more in 159.

When Ren Shang, successful commander against the Qiang, was accused of embezzlement, bribery and extortion in 118, members of the Deng family of the Dowager sought to protect him, and they were supported by Liu Kai's colleagues the Excellencies Ma Ying and Li He. Liu Kai insisted that the charges against Ren Shang must be pressed: the general was executed and his property was confiscated. Ma Ying and Li He were reprimanded, and all at court admired Liu Kai's determination.

In 120 Liu Kai resigned his office on grounds of illness. A special edict approved his request, and he was rewarded with 300,000 cash, a pension equal to the salary of a 1,000-*shi* official, and an annual offering of meat and wine from the Intendant of Henan. When Emperor An took personal power after the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, he sent specially to enquire after Liu Kai's health and added further gifts and rewards.

In the following year the Grand Commandant Ma Ying was dismissed, and, after an eloquent recommendation from Chen Zhong of the Imperial Secretariat, Liu Kai took his place.

At this time there arose the case of Fan Bin, Commandant of Juyan, who had been convicted of bribery. Some fifteen years earlier, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor An, Shusun Guang the Chancellor of Qinghe had been found guilty and both

he and his sons had been proscribed from office. The other Excellencies and the Minister of Justice believed that a similar penalty should be applied to the family of Fan Bin, but Liu Kai argued from the classics that punishment for wrong-doing should affect only the individual, not his descendants, and the emperor agreed.

In 123 Liu Kai supported the proposal of Dan Song and Shi Yan that the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar should be changed to accord with the apocrypha. Zhang Heng and other rationalists argued that the changes would only add errors and that the apocrypha were unworthy of serious attention, but in a wide-spread debate Liu Kai presented the majority view that the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] system of Former Han, abandoned forty years earlier, should be restored, with adjustments for the apocrypha. Chen Zhong, however, opposed any change, and the *Sifen* calendar was maintained.

Later that year Liu Kai again sought leave to retire on grounds of ill health, and Emperor An reluctantly approved, with repeated instructions for the Intendant of Henan to present annual gifts. When Liu Kai died at home some twelve months later, imperial officials attended his funeral, special regalia was provided from the imperial workshops of the Eastern Garden 東園, and his family received half a million cash and a thousand bales of cloth. -HHS 39/291306-10*; Vervorm 90:121, 155, Loewe 86C:300, Bn 54 appendix # 144.

Liu Kai 劉開 or Liu Gong 恭? (d.131). Liu Kai was a son of Emperor Zhang by the Lady Shen. His half-brother Emperor He enfeoffed him King of Hejian in 90, creating the fief from the territories of Lecheng, Bohai and Zhuo. Liu Kai remained at the capital until the emperor's death in 106, when the regency government of the Dowager Deng ordered him to go to his fief. He was admired there for his modest conduct.

Liu Kai's grandson was Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, who was brought to the imperial throne in 146. In the following year Liu Kai was awarded posthumous imperial honours. Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, who came to the throne in 168, was Liu Kai's great-grandson by a different lineage. -HHS 55/45:1808-09*, 7:287-88.

Surprising as it may seem, though he was the grandfather and great-grandfather of two emperors it is possible that the major texts have recorded the personal name of this man wrongly.

1. *HHS* 42/32:1444 tells how Emperor Huan granted the kingdom of Rencheng to Liu Bo, who is described [in a corrupted text] as the son of Liu Gong the Filial King of Hejian 河間孝王恭. "Filial," however, was the posthumous title of Liu Kai, and there is no other reference to a king of Hejian named Gong.

2. *HHS* 55/45:1810 refers to Liu Kai 開 the King of Ji'nan; but this man was a direct descendant of the former King of Hejian, and should not have had the same personal name [see *sub voce*].

I have accepted the many references to Liu Kai in the annals of *HHS* and the biography in *HHS* 55/45, but it is possible that the personal name of the first King of Hejian was Gong 恭.

Liu Kai/Gong 劉開/恭, wife of: see the Lady Zhao 趙 II.

Liu Kai 劉愷; Yingchuan. About 150 Liu Kai was well known for his personal qualities. He was one of the few to recognise the potential of his kinsman Liu Tao. -*HHS* 57/47:1842.

Liu Kai 劉凱. Son of Liu Duan the King of Dongping, he succeeded his father in 179. He held his fief for more than forty years, but when the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, Liu Kai and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -*HHS* 42/32:1442.

Liu Kai? 劉開. Son of Liu Yun, he succeeded as King of Ji'nan in 207 after his father was killed by Yellow Turbans. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -*HHS* 55/45:1810.

As the commentator Hui Dong points out in *HHSJJ* 55/45:1951, this man was a lineal descendant of Liu Kai the first king of Hejian; he should not have had the same personal name. There is evidently an error in the record, but there is no other reference to the man, so we cannot judge what his true name was. See also *sub* Liu Kai the King of Hejian.

Liu Kang 劉康 (d.97). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his first Empress Guo, in 39 Liu Kang was named Duke of Ji'nan. In 41 his title was advanced to King, and in 52 he was sent to reside in his territory. In 54 his fief was increased by six counties from Pingyuan, and in 57 his son De became a marquis.

Liu Kang behaved badly in his territory, and he recruited numbers of clients and retainers in order to oppress his subjects and neighbours. In 71 he was

accused of treasonous contact with Yan Zhong and other members of the alleged conspiracy about Liu Ying the King of Chu. Because of their close relationship and affection, Emperor Ming forbade further investigation, but Liu Kang's fief was reduced by five counties.

The young Emperor Zhang was fond of his uncle, and Liu Kang resided for some time at the capital in the late 70s: see *sub* Zong Yi. In 83 Liu Kang's territory was restored, and he became celebrated for his wealth, with many palaces, 1,400 male and female slaves, over a thousand horses, and vast tracts of private farmland. He continued, however, to act extravagantly and viciously, without restraint, and though he paid lip service to the criticisms of his Tutor He Shang, he never changed his conduct.

Liu Kang was succeeded by his son Cuo, and seven of his younger sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. -*HHS* 42/32:1431-32*; Bn 67:27-34.

Liu Kang 劉伉 (d.93). Senior son of Emperor Zhang by an unknown concubine, in 79 he was enfeoffed as King of Qiansheng. His half-brother Emperor He treated him with the courtesy due an elder brother; he resided at the capital all his life and was buried near Luoyang. -*HHS* 55/45:1797*.

[Liu?] **Kang** 劉亢. A son of Liu Shang the King of Rencheng, and younger brother to his successor Liu An, in 110 he was enfeoffed as a district marquis. -*HHS* 42/32:1443.

HHS refers to this man only by his personal name: he is described as younger brother of a certain Fu 福, who was mother's younger brother 母弟 to Liu An. The Harvard and Kyoto indexes interpret this as indicating that Fu was a brother by the same mother 同母弟, and therefore had the surname Liu. Commonly one would understand 母弟 as referring to a maternal uncle, but there is no indication of the family name of Liu An's mother and thus none to any alternative surname for Fu or his brother Kang.

Liu Kang 劉康 (fl. 140) see Liu Bing 劉秉.

Liu Kang 劉康 (d.144). Administrator of Lingling, in 144 Liu Kang was found guilty of having executed innocent people. He died in prison. -*HHS* 6:276.

Liu Kang 劉康, King of Hejian, see *sub* Liu Yu 劉庾.

Liu Kongci 劉孔慈; Beihai. Fast-talking but of limited real ability, in the early 190s Liu Kongci and Wang Zifa were favourites of the Chancellor Kong Rong. -*SGZ* 12:372.

Liu Kuan 劉寬. In 76 Liu Kuan was Minister of Finance when the new Emperor Zhang called for nominations of Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright. Liu Kuan recommended the scholar Lu Pi. -HHS 25/15:883.

Liu Kuan 劉寬 [Wenyao 文饒] (120-185); Hongnong. Son of the former Excellency Liu Qi, Liu Kuan studied the New Text *History* according to the school of Ouyang Gao, the *Poetry* according to Han Yan and the *Book of Changes* according to Jing Fang. He was also skilled in mathematics and in divination by the stars and by the wind. Noted for his exemplary leniency and courtesy, he ran a private academy, then served at the capital in the 150s under the government of Liang Ji and became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. Having served as Chancellor of Donghai, he returned to be Director of the Secretariat in 165, and was later Administrator of Nanyang, where he encouraged learning and took part in scholarly discussions.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling in 167, Liu Kuan returned to Luoyang as a Palace Attendant, then became a colonel in the Northern Army and held a series of ministerial posts. He was Grand Commandant in 176, but was demoted the next year on account of an eclipse, or possibly on account of ill health. He was re-appointed in 179, but left office after another eclipse two years later.

Liu Kuan was known in the capital for his tolerance, for his informal conduct, and for his sympathy for his servants. He also enjoyed wine. On one occasion when he was Grand Commandant he fell into a drunken sleep during a court assembly, but when the emperor chided him he explained that he was over-awed by the responsibility of his great position.

Perhaps guided by astrology, Liu Kuan gave warning of the threat from the Yellow Turbans. His colleague Yang Ci had also sent in a memorial and in 184, when Emperor Ling proposed to reward him, Yang Ci asked to share his enfeoffment; this was done.

When he died in the following year Liu Kuan received special honours, and over three hundred students and officials, many of high rank, contributed to a stele in his honour. -HHS 25/15:886-888*, XC 1: 5a, LS 11:1a-6a, LX 12:5b-18b.

Liu Kuang 劉匡; Nanyang. Younger brother of Liu Mao, he joined the rising of the Liu clan against Wang Mang, and was enfeoffed as a marquis in 26. A modest

man, he became Minister of the Imperial Clan under Emperor Ming. -HHS 14/4:564; Bn 54 appendix # 58.

Liu Kuang 劉匡. As a General of the Household in 49 he served under Ma Yuan against the non-Chinese people of Wuling. -HHS 24/14:843, 86/76:2832; Bn 67:70.

Liu Kuang 劉匡 (d.135). Son of Liu Jian the King of Liang, he succeeded his father in 124.

Liu Kuang left no sons when he died, but Emperor Shun granted the fief to his younger brother Cheng. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Kuang 劉曠 see Liu Ping 劉平.

Liu Kui 劉惔 (d.172); Hejian. Son of Liu Yi the Marquis of Liwu, Liu Kui was the younger twin of Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, born to the concubine Yan Ming. When Liu Zhi was brought to the throne in 146, Liu Kui was granted succession to the marquissate, and in the following year he was appointed King of Bohai to maintain the lineage of the late Liu Hong, who had died without male heirs.

Liu Kui evidently shared his brother's interest in female companionship. He had at least eleven concubines, and two dozen servants for casual liaisons. Unlike the emperor, who sired just three daughters, Liu Kui had more than seventy children. He was predictably criticised for loose living, and it was said that he acted eccentrically and was proud and presumptuous. The Chancellor of Pingyuan Shi Bi sent in a sealed memorial to complain about Liu Kui, alleging that he disobeyed the law, that he held orgies of music and wine, and that his companions were irresponsible and dissolute. Claiming that the Tutor, the Chancellor and the provincial authorities were unwilling or unable to take corrective action, he pressed for an outside investigation and punitive reform.

The emperor was reluctant, but in 165 it was reported that Liu Kui planned rebellion. The senior ministers asked for his dismissal, and Emperor Huan was compelled to transfer him to the fief of Yingtao, a single county in Julu. Two years later, five days before he died on 25 January 168, the emperor restored Liu Kui to his former state.

It is said that Liu Kui had asked the eunuch Wang Fu to intervene on his behalf, and promised him fifty million cash if he was successful. When the restoration came in a testamentary edict from the ruler's death-bed, it appeared that Wang Fu had played no role in

the decision, and Liu Kui refused to pay. Wang Fu was furious and waited for an opportunity of revenge.

The eunuchs Zheng Li and Dong Teng had been in friendly contact with Liu Kui, whom they admired for his free and sometimes frivolous conduct. In the winter of 172 Wang Fu reported them to the Director of Retainers Duan Jiong, Zheng Li was arrested and Lian Zhong, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, presented a false accusation that Zheng Li and his associates were planning to depose Emperor Ling and place Liu Kui upon the throne. Orders were sent for the Inspector of Ji province to arrest Liu Kui and investigate the charge of Impiety, while the Minister Herald was sent out with credentials, accompanied by the Minister of the Imperial Clan and the Minister of Justice. Under this pressure Liu Kui killed himself.

Sadly, the matter did not end there. It is said that the king's eleven concubines, his twenty-four serving women and all his children died in prison, while the Tutor and Chancellor of the kingdom, with their subordinates, were executed for failing to keep proper check upon him, and the state was abolished. Wang Fu and eleven of his associates were enfeoffed for their good work in uncovering the conspiracy, but we are told that the common people of the region mourned the fate of their ruler.

This appalling story may be read from another perspective. As the younger brother of Emperor Huan, Liu Kui was a possible heir to the throne. There was some tradition against it, but there was also precedent for transferring the imperial inheritance sideways: Emperor An had been a member of the same generation as both his predecessor and his immediate successor, while Emperor Huan was actually senior in the clan to his own predecessor Emperor Zhi. Liu Kui, therefore, both full-grown and prolific, could have been a suitable person to restore the dynastic fortunes. Other things being equal, in 168 he would surely have been a more appropriate choice than Liu Hong, youthful scion of an undistinguished cadet lineage. Though Liu Kui's conduct was extravagant, his brother Emperor Huan was notorious for the number of his concubines – the difference was that Liu Kui had produced sons.

Shi Bi's criticisms, moreover, are somewhat unusual. His territory shared a border with Liu Kui's state, and his own king, Liu Shi, was also a brother of Emperor Huan, but Shi Bi had no direct formal contact with Liu Kui, and was not even appointed in

the same province; this was remarkable interference in another jurisdiction. Shi Bi had formerly held office at the capital, and he may have been acting for a more powerful interest, or he may have had only innocent, well-meaning intentions. It is notable that the vague allegation levied against Liu Kui in the following year was pressed by senior ministers and recognised only reluctantly by the emperor, and though Liu Kui was later restored his disgrace had ensured that he could not be considered for the imperial succession; this may have been someone's intention.

The history says specifically that Liu Kui was innocent of the treason with which he and his associates were charged in 172, and there is no more reason to believe that he had engaged in any earlier conspiracy against his own brother. The ferocious attack of Wang Fu, aided by Duan Jiong and Lian Zhong, may best be seen as a deliberate act of terror, to strengthen the eunuchs' power at court and to ensure that others would respond more readily to blackmail and extortion in future.

It is said that about 180 Emperor Huan appeared in a dream to Emperor Ling and reproached him with the fate of Liu Kui and of his former Empress Song. -HHS 10B:449, 55/45:1798, 64/54:2109, HHJ 22:57-58; deC 89:344-346, 128-129; Goodrich 66:190-191.

Liu Kui 劉惔. An Internuncio in 169, Liu Kui was sent to award Hu Shuo insignia as Administrator of Chenliu. -Cai 5:33-34.

Liu Kui 劉廙. Chancellor of Donghai in 192, Liu Kui joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing, however, came of the proposal. -HHS 71/61:2312.

Liu Kun 劉昆/琨 [Huangong 桓公] (d.57); Chenliu. A distant descendant of Liu Wu 劉武, son of Emperor Wen of Former Han who was enfeoffed as King of Liang, Liu Kun studied the *Ritual* when he was young, and in the time of Emperor Ping he became a pupil of Dai Bin 戴賓 of Pei, master of the New Text Shi interpretation of the *Changes*. He was also an expert player of the lute. During the reign of Wang Mang, Liu Kun maintained an academy with over five hundred students. Concerned for the state of true propriety, he held regular ceremonies in spring and autumn for sacrifices and the practice of archery, attracting large numbers of officials and junior officers.

Concerned at his influence, Wang Mang had Liu

Kun and his household arrested and imprisoned, but Wang Mang was destroyed soon afterwards and Liu Kun made his escape and took refuge from the disorders in the hill country south of Henan.

In 29 Liu Kun was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but went instead to Jiangling on the Yangzi in Nan commandery. He maintained his teaching there, and Emperor Guangwu appointed him as magistrate. The territory had suffered from great forest fires for several years, but when Liu Kun kowtowed towards them, the winds eased and rain fell to put them out.

Liu Kun later came to the capital as a Consultant, and was promoted to Palace Attendant. Though he was the leading scholar of the Shi interpretation of the *Changes*, and there was an Academician for that field at the Imperial University, it does not appear that he was appointed to the chair, and it is not known who held it at that time.

Liu Kun then became Administrator of Hongnong. In that region tigers had been attacking travellers, but his virtue claimed another miracle, for after he had governed the territory three years the tigers withdrew north across the Yellow River. Emperor Guangwu heard of this and was suitably impressed; the same story is told also of Zong Jun in Jiujiang and other worthy rulers of this period.

In 46 Liu Kuan succeeded Du Lin as Minister of the Household. About this time Guangwu asked him how he had managed to end the fires in the south and drive the tigers from Hongnong. Liu Kun replied that it was just a matter of chance. Those present laughed at him for such a simple and direct explanation, but Guangwu admired him, and put him in charge of the instruction of the Heir and the imperial children who had been enfeoffed as kings and marquises, more than fifty altogether.

In 51 Liu Kun was named a Commandant of Cavalry, but in 54 he asked to retire on grounds of old age. He was awarded a residence at the capital and a life pension; he died three years later. -*HHS* 79/69A: 2549-51*; Bn 79:186.

Liu Li 劉颯 (d.26); Runan. Liu Li was a grandson of Xianxianchen 先賢揮, a Xiongnu chieftain who surrendered to Han in 60 BC and was enfeoffed as Marquis Who Turns to Virtue 歸德侯. Liu Li succeeded to the title in 31 BC. At some time the family was granted the honour of the imperial surname, possibly by an award of the Gengshi Emperor to Liu

Li himself.

As a General of the Household to the Gengshi Emperor, in the winter of 24 Liu Li was sent with Chen Zun on embassy to the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu, offering a new imperial seal on the same terms as had applied in the latter years of Former Han. The Shanyu, however, treated the approach with disdain. Claiming to have played a major role in the overthrow of Wang Mang, he argued that where his ancestor the Huhanye Shanyu had been grateful to Han, it was now appropriate for the Han to pay courtesies to him.

After the fall of the Gengshi regime, Liu Li turned to Guangwu and was permitted to retain his fief. *HHS* 89/79 says that he led another embassy to the Xiongnu in 30, but Bielenstein observes that this must be wrong, for *HS* 17 refers to Liu Li's death and the succession of his son Liu Xiang in 26. -*HS* 17:672 [where the personal name is miswritten as Feng 諷], *HS* 94B:3829, *HHS* 89/79:2940; Bn 67:103, 106, *QHX*:329.

Liu Li 劉鯉 (d.52); Nanyang. Youngest son of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, in 26 he came with his mother and his brothers to Emperor Guangwu and was granted a fief. He later became a favoured client of Liu Fu the King of Pei.

In 52 Liu Li arranged the murder of Liu Gong, elder brother of Liu Penzi, as revenge for the death of his father. As Bielenstein observes, the crime made no sense: Liu Penzi had certainly been the nominal leader of the Red Eyebrows when Liu Xuan was destroyed, but Liu Gong had been a most loyal supporter of Liu Xuan.

As a result of this crime Liu Fu spent a few days in prison, but Liu Li and many others were executed and there was a purge of the retainers attached to kings and marquises. -*HHS* 42/32:1427; Bn 79:138; Bn 54 appendix # 114.

HHS 41/31:1417, and *HHJ* 10:123, say that in 71 Liu Li was accused of involvement in the alleged conspiracy about Liu Ying the King of Chu; in fact his name has been miswritten for that of his nephew Liu Xun: *HHSJJ* 41/31:1506.

Liu Li 劉利, the Lady. Third daughter of Emperor He, in 106 she was appointed Princess of Linying in Yingchuan. In 114 she married Jia Jian, who was favoured by the regent Dowager Deng. Possibly at her initial appointment, but more likely at the time of her marriage, she was raised in rank to Senior Princess and

granted the revenue from two additional counties [cf. her elder sister the Lady Liu Cheng]. -HHS 10B:461, 17/7:668.

Liu Li 劉理 or Liu Hui 恢 (d.172). Son of Liu De the King of Anping, Liu Li was initially enfeoffed as a marquis. In 148, after the disgrace and death of Liu Suan, King of Qinghe, in the previous year, Liu Li was appointed King of the renamed state of Ganling so that he might maintain sacrifices to Liu Qing the father of Emperor An.

Liu Li was succeeded by his son Liu Ding. -HHS 8:334, 55/45:1806.

Liu Li 劉利 (d.179). Son of Liu Jian the King of Hejian, he succeeded his father in 151. In the following year he was ordered to attend the funeral of the honorary Dowager Yan Ming, mother of Emperor Huan, who was buried in Hejian at the tomb of her late husband the marquis Liu Yi [HHS 10B refers to the King of Hejian as Liu Jian, the father of Liu Li, but this is an anachronism].

Liu Li was succeeded by his son Gai. -HHS 55/45:1808, 10B:442.

Liu Li 劉悝 see Liu Kui 劉惔.

Liu Li 劉釐. In HHSJJ 42/32:1523, Shen Qinhan notes a private genealogy which has Liu Li as the son of Liu Fu, King of Pei, and the father of Liu Fu's successor Liu Ding. Li, however, was the posthumous title of Liu Ding, and a later chronicler has mistakenly interpolated it. A similar error was made concerning Liu Gai: see *sub* Liu Jie and XTS 75B:3437.

Liu Liang 劉梁 [Jishao 季少] (d.23); Nanyang. Brother of the marquis Liu Chang and of Liu Qing and Liu Hong, Liu Liang had local reputation as a fighting man. As the Han rebellion against Wang Mang broke out in 23, Liu Liang took title as a chief general and raised troops in Yuzhang. He planned to control the lower Yangzi, but died a few months later of rheumatic fever. -HHS 14/4:567; Bn 54 appendix # 50.

Liu Liang 劉良 [Zibo 次伯] (d.41); Nanyang. Uncle of Liu Bosheng and of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, Liu Liang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt in the time of Emperor Ping of Former Han, and became magistrate of Xiao county in Pei. When his elder brother Liu Qin 欽, father of Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, died in 4, Liu Liang brought his children to live with him.

In 22, when Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu joined Li Tong and Li Yi to plan rebellion against Wang Mang,

Liu Liang was concerned at the risk and expressed anger and disapproval. He did, however, accompany the army, and lost his wife and two sons in the debacle at Xiao-Chang'an.

When Liu Xuan was chosen as [the Gengshi] Emperor in 23, he styled Liu Liang Thrice Venerable of the State, highest titular rank but carrying no real power. Liu Liang accompanied the court to Chang'an.

In 25, as the Gengshi regime was on the point of collapse, Shentu Jian, Wei Ao and other members of the gentry party proposed that Liu Xuan abdicate the throne in favour of Liu Liang; they probably hoped their enemy Liu Xiu might accept the change and defend them against the Red Eyebrows. Liu Xuan rejected the plan, and it is in any case unlikely Liu Xiu would have changed his plans on this account.

After the fall of the Gengshi Emperor Liu Liang joined Liu Xiu, who had now taken the imperial title. In 26 Liu Liang was enfeoffed as King of Guangyang, and three years later was transferred to Zhao. He was sent out from the capital to reside in his fief, but was permitted to return at intervals.

In 35 the Director of Retainers Bao Yong accused Liu Liang of Disrespect for abusing his royal prerogative, insulting the General of the Household Zhang Han and oppressing the gate captain Cen Zun. Guangwu evidently took no action.

In 37 there was a general demotion and Liu Liang was reduced to be Duke of Zhao. He continued to live on his estates, but came to court each year and died at Luoyang about 40, during one of his visits. He was succeeded by his son Xu, who was later restored to the royal title.

As Bielenstein remarks, though Liu Liang was a senior member of the new imperial family, he was not a man of quality or distinction. -HHS 14/4:558-59*; Bn 54:103, 109, 116, appendix # 55, Bn 59:16, 97, Bn 67:24-28, Bn 79:139.

Liu Liang 劉梁. A grandson of Liu Cang the King of Dongping, in 89 he was granted a village marquiseate by the new government of Emperor He. -HHS 42/32:1442.

Liu Liang 劉梁 or Liu Cen 岑 [Manshan 曼山]; Dongping. Liu Liang's father died when he was young, and though his family was well-connected Liu Liang was poor. He sold books for a living.

Concerned at the endemic partisanship of his time, Liu Liang composed *Poqun lun* 破羣論 "Discussion

on Eliminating Factions." Those who read it compared it to the praise and blame style by which Confucius compiled *Chunqiu*, but the work is now lost. He also wrote *Bian-he tong zhi lun* 辯和同之論 "Discussion on the Reconciliation of Differences," whose text is preserved in his *HHS* biography.

In the time of Emperor Huan, Liu Liang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in the northern commandery of Zhuo. He paid attention to learning, building a great lecture hall and holding regular classes in the Confucian classics. People remembered his work for many years.

Liu Liang received special appointment to the Imperial Secretariat and about 180, after some other posts, he was again appointed as a magistrate, this time in Henei. He died on the road there. His collected works survived to the Sui dynasty. -*HHS* 80/70B:2635-40*, *Sui shu* 35:1058.

SGZ 21:601 says that Liu Liang was the father of Liu Zhen 劉楨, and gives his alternative personal name as Gong 恭 rather than Cen 岑. *HHS* 80/70B says that Liu Zhen was Liu Liang's grandson, and that appears more likely.

Liu Liang 劉良. A physiognomist, about 190 he foretold a splendid future for the Lady Zhen, future wife of Cao Pi. -*SGZ* 5:159.

Liu Liliu 劉禮劉, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Guangwu, in 41 she was appointed Princess of Yuyang in Nanyang. She married Guo Huang. -*HHS* 10A:403, 10B:458.

Liu Lin 劉林/臨 [Huzi 胡子? see below] (d.24); Zhao. Son of Liu Yuan 元 the former King of Pinggan 平干 [*QHX*:402], towards the end of the reign of Wang Mang Liu Lin commanded a group of followers and had wide local influence. When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came as commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Liu Lin approached him but received no recognition.

Liu Lin then turned to his old associate Wang Lang, who had developed a claim to the throne. Liu Lin persuaded Li Yu and Zhang Can, also leading gentry of Zhao, to support Wang Lang, and as Wang Lang took the imperial title at Handan in the winter of 23/24 he named Liu Lin as his Chancellor.

The new regime initially received wide, albeit patchy, support across the northern plain, but by the summer of 24 Handan had fallen to the Gengshi forces, and Liu Lin is not heard of again. -*HHS* 1A:11-

12, 12/2:491.

HHJ 2:14 mentions a supporter of Wang Lang named Liu Huzi. It has been suggested that this refers to Liu Lin, and that Huzi was Liu Lin's style, but this appears unlikely: *vide sub voce*. -*HHSJJ* 12/2:479, 501.

Liu Lin 劉麟. As the armies of Emperor Guangwu first took control of Nanyang in 26, Liu Lin was named Administrator of the commandery, but a few months later the local leader Dong Xin led a rebellion which seized Wan city and captured Liu Lin. After the Han general Jian Tan recaptured the city, Liu Lin was presumably restored to his office, but he is not mentioned again; the situation remained precarious until the arrival of the main imperial forces under the emperor himself early in 27. -*HHS* 22/12:783.

Liu Ling 劉陵 [Menggao 孟高]; Yuzhang. Liu Ling became a magistrate in Changsha. The county had long been plagued by tigers, and people had left to escape them. After Liu Ling had established good government, the tigers went away and the people returned. Liu Ling later became a Palace Attendant at the capital and rode with the emperor in his carriage. -*XC* 7:3a.

Liu Long 劉隆 [Yuanbo 元伯] (d.57); Nanyang. A man of Anzhong county, from a junior lineage of the marquises of that fief, in 6 AD Liu Long's father Li 禮 was involved in the rebellion of the marquis Liu Chong 崇 against Wang Mang. The affair was discovered and the conspirators destroyed, but though Liu Li was executed Liu Long was spared because he was not yet seven years old.

When he grew to manhood Liu Long travelled to Chang'an to study, and he was probably there when the Han army captured the city in 23 and overthrew Wang Mang: there is no record of his involvement in any earlier stage of the insurrection. The Gengshi Emperor appointed him a Commandant of Cavalry, but he asked leave to return home, and later brought his wife and children to Luoyang.

In 24 Liu Long went north to join Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and was again made a Commandant of Cavalry. At the end of the year he accompanied the general Feng Yi to the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River, where they faced Zhu Wei, general of the Gengshi Emperor who commanded the garrison in Luoyang. Liu Long had left his wife and children in the city when he went to the north, and Zhu Wei now killed them.

In 26 Liu Long was enfeoffed as marquis of a county in Dongping. He took part in the campaign of Wu Han against the Tanxiang bandits in Wei commandery, then followed He Yan against the imperial claimant Liu Yong. After the death of Liu Yong in 27 Liu Long was made a general, and in 29 he was sent to join Ma Cheng and others in the attack on the pretender Li Xian south of the Huai. Li Xian was destroyed early in 30, and Liu Long was then sent to establish military colonies in Nanyang.

At the beginning of 35 Liu Long joined Cen Peng, Wu Han and others in the great army raised to advance through the Yangzi Gorges against Gongsun Shu. On Cen Peng's recommendation, however, Liu Long stayed behind as Administrator of Nan commandery, returning his military commission.

In 37 Liu Long's fief was transferred to a county in Nanyang and increased in value, but in the autumn of 40 he was arrested for having presented false returns of population and cultivated land. Several officials involved in the scandal were executed, but because of his long connection to the imperial cause Liu Long was sentenced only to dismissal, forfeiture of his fief, and reduction to commoner rank [See *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, and Bn 79:136-139].

In the following year Liu Long was restored as a marquis, though with only a district fief, and in 42 he was named a General of the Household and sent as second-in-command to Ma Yuan on the campaign against the rebel Zheng/Tr'ung sisters in Jiaozhi.

In the summer of 43 Liu Long took a detachment into the hills above the Red River delta, where he defeated a major force of the enemy, capturing the elder sister Zheng Er, killing more than a thousand and forcing a further twenty thousand to surrender. Returning to the capital later that year, he was restored to a county fief in Runan, and after the death of the Grand Marshal Wu Han in 44 he was named General of Agile Cavalry and Acting Grand Marshal.

Eight years later Liu Long returned his insignia and resigned from his high positions. He was rewarded with gifts of ceremonial meat and wine, received the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the obligation to reside at his fief, and was recognised as the spokesman for the marquises at court conferences.

In 54 Liu Long received his final fief, again a county in Runan. At his death in 57, he was awarded a posthumous title, and when Emperor Ming had

portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Liu Long was one of those who were honoured. -HHS 22/12:780-81*; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:65, 85, 137-139.

Liu Long 劉隆 (105-106) [Emperor Shang 殤帝, the Young Emperor (*reg.* 105-106)]. Liu Long was born in 105 to an unknown concubine of Emperor He. Because of a high mortality rate among the imperial children, the infant was taken from the palace and cared for by a commoner.

Emperor He died on 13 February 106, in the winter at the end of the Chinese year 105/106, and that same evening his widow, now the Dowager Deng empowered as regent, brought the three-month-old Liu Long back to the palace and placed him upon the throne. Liu Long was actually the younger of two surviving sons, but the Dowager passed over his elder brother Liu Sheng on the grounds that he was suffering from an incurable illness.

Liu Long himself lived only a few months after his accession. He died on 21 September, just one year old. His tomb, known as the Geng Mound 庚陵, was set close to that of his father in the southeast of Luoyang: Bn 76:118-119. Though his reign was short, it had extended across more than one calendar year, so he received a dynastic title; the character Shang 殤 "Young" refers to his early death [*cf.* the two Little Emperors Liu Bian and Liu Yi]. He did not, however, receive a temple name. -HHS 4:195-199, 10A:421-23.

Liu Luan 劉鸞. Son of Liu Zi the King of Jibei, he succeeded his father in 162.

Liu Luan was succeeded by his son Zheng. -HHS 55/45:1807.

Liu Mao 劉茂 [Ziwei 子衛]; Taiyuan. Liu Mao's father died when he was young, and Liu Mao cared for his mother. They were poor, and he earned his livelihood by physical labour, but the local people admired his filial devotion. Having studied the Confucian classics of *Ritual*, he established a school which attracted hundreds of students.

Nominated as Filial and Incorrupt during the time of Emperor Ai of Former Han, Liu Mao served on the frontier at Wuyuan and after a break for the mourning of his mother he became a magistrate in Shanggu. As Wang Mang took the imperial title in 9 AD, Liu Mao resigned his position and retired into the hill country of Hongnong, where he again maintained a private

academy.

In 26 he returned to Taiyuan and joined the personal staff of the Administrator Sun Fu. At this time a force of 200,000 Red Eyebrows invaded the commandery, plundering the people and killing local officials. As they attacked the capital, Liu Mao took Sun Fu and his family away from the city to take refuge in a cave. They then went to a neighbouring county, where the party lay concealed during the day and Liu Mao gathered food by night. After three months the bandits left and Sun Fu was able to return to his headquarters.

In the following year an edict called for nominations of Men of Honour, and Sun Fu reported Liu Mao's fine conduct. He was called to the capital as a Consultant and then became Assistant to the Minister of the Imperial Clan. He was later a Palace Attendant, and died in that office. -*HHS* 81/71:2671*; Bn 54:46.

Liu Mao 劉茂; Taishan. A descendant of Liu Zhang 劉章, grandson of Emperor Gao who became King of Chengyang 城陽, Liu Mao was the second son of Liu Meng 萌, whose marquisate had been abolished by Wang Mang.

About 20, with his elder brother Liu Gong and their younger brother Liu Penzi, he was captured by the Red Eyebrows. Liu Gong became a member of the bandits' leadership group, and joined the court of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor in 23. Liu Mao and Liu Penzi, however, remained with the Red Eyebrows, who put them in charge of herding cattle under Liu Xiaqing.

In 25, as the Red Eyebrows prepared to attack Chang'an, they had Liu Mao, Liu Penzi and Liu Xiao draw lots to decide who should be emperor; Liu Penzi was successful. He was young and frightened, but Liu Mao persuaded him to accept the title. Liu Mao himself is not heard of again. -*HHS* 11/1:480; Bn 54 appendix # 142.

Liu Mao 劉茂; Henan. A member of the imperial clan, Liu Mao was a cousin of Liu Xi and a distant relative of Liu Bosheng and his brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. When still only eighteen he had gained some authority in southern Henan, taking title as General Who Detests the Xin Dynasty 厭新將軍, and from the end of 23 he expanded operations over Yingchuan and into Runan. He maintained his independence and he paid no allegiance to the new imperial government of Han.

In the autumn of 25 Liu Mao attacked the Ao Granary in Henan, held by Jing Dan and other generals

of the newly-proclaimed Emperor Guangwu, but was defeated and surrendered. Some of his men evidently failed to accept this submission, for there are later references to Yan-Xin 厭新 "Detest the Xin dynasty" bandits, presumably former troops of Liu Mao.

As a kinsman of the emperor, and in a move to encourage others, Liu Mao was enfeoffed as King of Zhongshan. In 37, with other kings outside the immediate imperial family, he was reduced in rank to be a marquis. -*HHS* 14/4:563; Bn 54 appendix # 57, Bn 59:29, 59-60, 105, Bn 67:25.

Liu Mao 劉茂 [Shusheng 叔盛]; Pengcheng. A younger son of Liu Kai, Liu Mao was known for his courtesy and care for ritual conduct. After a series of appointments in the Imperial Secretariat he became Minister of Ceremonies.

In 165 Liu Mao was promoted Excellency over the Masses, and in the following year he and his colleague Chen Fan sought pardon for Cheng Jin, Liu Zhi, Liu Zhao and Huang Fu, heads of commandery units who had taken aggressive action against eunuchs and their associates. Emperor Huan angrily rejected their plea, and other officials then sent in memorials to criticise them. Liu Mao pursued the matter no further, and left his position at the end of the year.

Early in the reign of Emperor Ling Liu Mao returned to office as a Palace Counsellor. He died in that position. -*HHS* 7:315-18, 39/29:1311; deC 89:63-80, Bn 54 appendix # 157.

Liu Mao 劉瑁; Jiangxia. Youngest son of Liu Yan 焉, in 188 Liu Mao accompanied his father into Yi province and was appointed a senior major. It is said that Liu Yan hoped great things for Liu Mao, for he married him to the Lady Wu, whose physiognomy appeared most favourable. When Liu Yan died, however, Liu Mao's brother Liu Zhang took over the government, and it appears that Liu Mao was incapacitated by some illness.

In 208, as Cao Cao was preparing to take Jing province he accepted overtures from Liu Zhang and granted him and Liu Mao title as generals. Liu Mao died about 210.

Liu Mao's widow, the Lady Wu, later married Liu Bei, but only after Liu Bei had been reassured by Fa Zheng that their lineages were not so close as to impede the marriage. Liu Bei named the Lady as his queen in 219, and as his empress in 221: her physiognomy had indeed proved auspicious, but it had not helped

Liu Mao. -HHS 75/65:2432-34, SGZ Shu 4:906; C/C 99:116-117.

Liu Meng 劉猛. Son of Liu An the King of Jibei and younger brother of Liu Zi, in 146 he was granted a village marquisate. -HHS 55/45,1807.

Liu Meng 劉猛; Langye. During the 160s Liu Meng became Minister of the Imperial Clan, but resigned office because he disapproved of the corruption in the court of Emperor Huan.

When Emperor Ling was brought to the throne in 168, and the government was under the control of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, Liu Meng was recalled to appointment as Director of the Imperial Secretariat. Later that year the eunuchs regained power in a coup d'état, but Liu Meng remained in his position.

In 169 Liu Meng joined the minister Zhang Huan in a petition that Wang Chang and Li Ying, known enemies of the eunuch group, should take part in the selection of Excellencies. Cao Jie and the other leading eunuchs had an edict sent down to reprimand them, and Zhang Huan, Liu Meng and their associates presented themselves in bonds at the imperial prison. They were released on payment of a fine equal to three months salary.

About this time, however, Feng Fang, who was the adoptive son-in-law of Cao Jie and a member of the Secretariat, claimed that his colleague Huan Bin and two other officers had formed a faction. Liu Meng admired Huan Bin and took no action, but Cao Jie then claimed that he too was involved in the clique. Liu Meng was arrested, and although he was released soon afterwards, he was dismissed and proscribed from office.

The ban was not permanent, for in 172 Liu Meng was Director of Retainers. At that time the Dowager Dou died, and someone wrote on a palace gate that the eunuchs had killed her and that none of the senior ministers were willing to take action. Liu Meng was ordered to investigate, and to report every ten days. He personally believed that the accusations were well-founded, so he showed no zeal for the inquiry and after more than a month he had discovered nothing. Cao Jie had him demoted to Counsellor Remonstrant, and his place was taken by Duan Jiong, who made an energetic purge of the students of the University.

As Cao Jie pursued Liu Meng with further accusations, he was dismissed and sent to labour service. Many at the court spoke on his behalf, so he

escaped punishment and was later restored to office.

We are told that Liu Meng fell foul of Cao Jie on at least three occasions: once in association with Zhang Huan in 169, when he is described as a member of the Imperial Secretariat; then through the ill-will of Feng Fang, when he was Director of that office; and then by unspecified accusations after he had been dismissed as Director of Retainers in 172. In each case he was imprisoned, then released and again given appointment. The order of events above seems most plausible, but the anecdotes are drawn from different places in the histories: though a man of good will in such times might well encounter difficulties, such repetition is suspicious. -HHS 37/27:1262, 65/55:2141, 78/68:2525.

Liu Mengyang 劉孟陽. A former county magistrate in Chenliu, Liu Mengyang was honoured for his service with a stele. -SJJ 8:3a.

Liu Mi 劉彌. Son of Liu Yuan the King of Liang, Liu Mi succeeded his father in 180. Forty years later in 220, as the dynasty of Wei took over, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Miao 劉邈. Younger brother of Liu Rong the King of Langye, in 190 he was sent by Liu Rong on a tribute mission to the capital, Chang'an, then under the control of Dong Zhuo. Liu Miao was rewarded with a marquisate and was named Administrator of Jiujiang. It is not known when or whether he took up that appointment.

During his time at Chang'an Liu Miao spoke well of Cao Cao to Emperor Xian. Since Cao Cao was at that time one of the leaders of the eastern rebellion against Dong Zhuo it was presumably a private conversation, but Cao Cao learned of it later and was grateful. In 206 he restored the defunct kingdom of Langye in favour of Liu Xi, nephew of Liu Miao and son of the late King Rong. -HHS 42/32:1452.

Liu Miao 劉邈. Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, presumably by a concubine, in 212 Liu Miao was enfeoffed as King of Jibei, and in the following year he received the cap of manhood.

When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, Liu Miao and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 9:386, 390, 94/4:3105.

Liu Min 劉敏; Nanyang. Liu Min was a son of Liu Hong, who died in rebellion against Wang Mang, and

his mother the Lady Fan was a cousin of the mother of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. After Liu Hong's death, the Lady Fan and her sons Liu Min and Liu Guo followed the Gengshi Emperor to Chang'an, but in 26, after his regime was destroyed, they came east to join Guangwu at Luoyang. Liu Min was enfeoffed with a county in Yingchuan.

A scholarly, competent man, early in the reign of Emperor Ming Liu Min became a colonel in the Northern Army. -HHS 14/4:567; Bn 54 appendix # 74.

Liu Min 劉閔. Marquis of Huan in Lujiang, in 41 Liu Min was killed by religious rebels led by Li Guang. It is not possible to tell how this man obtained his fief, nor what lineage he came from. -HHS 24/14:838.

Liu Min 劉閔; Nanyang. Elder son of Liu Ci, in 52 he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 14/4:565; Bn 54 appendix # 116.

Liu Min 劉敏. Son of Liu Su the King of Donghai, in 127 Liu Min was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 42/32: 1426.

Liu Min 柳敏 [Yuqing 愚卿] (d.146); Ba. Liu Min served on the staff of his commandery, became Officer of Merit and received acting appointment as a county magistrate. He was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but died at that time. Over twenty years later, in 169, magistrate Zhao Tai had a stele set up to his memory. -LS 8:8a-9b, LX 5:3a-b.

Liu Min 劉敏; Lingling. As young men, Liu Min and his cousin Jiang Wan had local reputations. Joining Liu Bei about 210, both men rose in his service, and Liu Min became a leading general of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 14:1057, 1060.

Liu Mingxiong 劉鳴雄 see Liu Xiongming 劉雄鳴.

Liu Mou 劉茂 see Liu Mao 劉茂 [4 entries].

Liu Mu 劉睦 (d.74). Son of Liu Xing and grandson of Liu Bosheng, Liu Mu succeeded his father as King of Beihai in 64. Fond of scholarship when he was young, he became a favourite of his great-uncle Emperor Guangwu, who allowed him to attend discussions at court.

When Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, was appointed Heir in 43, Liu Mu was one of his special companions. He was free to enter the private apartments to read with him, and he took the reins of the princely carriage when he went out. The new regime of Emperor Guangwu forbade members of the imperial clan to establish a network of clients

and associates, but Liu Mu's generous nature and the respect he showed for learning meant that he had wide contacts, constantly received visits from scholars, and possessed a broad reputation.

In the time of Emperor Ming the regulations were applied more strictly, and Liu Mu dismissed all his clients and sought to content himself with music. It was his nature to take pleasure in reading, and he continued to do so. When a Palace Counsellor came at the time of the annual New Year greetings, Liu Mu asked what he would say of him at the capital. The officer replied that he would have no hesitation in describing him as loyal and virtuous, and a patron of worthy men. Liu Mu replied that such was the reputation he had acquired in his youth. Since he came to his state he had changed his inappropriate conduct: he now spent his days in idleness, occupying himself with the joys of the hunt and the pleasures of women and song. As Bielenstein observes, such cynical self-disparagement probably reflects the unease felt within the imperial family at Emperor Ming's suspicious nature, which had been nurtured by the alleged plots and treasonous conduct of his brothers Jing, Ying, Kang and Yan.

Despite this self-abnegation, Liu Mu left a quantity of literary and scholarly compositions, including hymns and rhapsodies, with studies of history including a commentary to *Chunqiu* – all are now lost. He was also widely admired for his calligraphy, and even as he was on his deathbed the emperor sent a special courier to have him write some samples of his *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style."

Liu Mu was succeeded by his son Ji, and five other sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 14/4: 557; Bn 54 appendix # 137.

Liu Mu 劉穆. XTS 75B:3437 says that Liu Mu was a son of Liu Yi 虞 and grandson of Liu Gai/Zheng the King of Pei.

Liu Na 劉納 I. Commandant of Cavalry under Ma Wu in 37, he was stationed on the Hutuo River to guard the North China plain against attacks of the Xiongnu from present-day Shanxi. -HHS 100/10:3221, 1B:61; Bn 67:111-112.

Liu Na 劉納 II (d.179). Transferred from the Imperial Secretariat to a colonelcy in the Northern Army on account of his opposition to the eunuchs, in 179 Liu Na urged Liu He, Excellency over the Masses, to support Chen Qiu and recommend Yang Qiu be reappointed as Director of Retainers, so that he might continue his

purge of the eunuchs and their associates. The plan was found out, and when the matter was presented to Emperor Ling as treason Liu Na and others were executed. -HHS 56/46:1834; deC 89:162-163.

Liu Nan 劉男, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Zhang, in 79 she was appointed Senior Princess of Wude in Anping. -HHS 10B:460.

Liu Nu 劉奴, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 60 she was appointed Princess of Pingyang in Hedong and later became a Senior Princess. She married Feng Shun. -HHS 10B:459.

Liu Pan 劉磐; Anding. Nephew of Liu Biao, about 199 he was based in Changsha and raided Sun Ce's positions in Yuzhang. He remained in that post until 208. -SGZ Shu 6:948, SGZ Wu 4:1190.

Liu Pan 劉般 see Liu Ban 劉般.

Liu Pan 劉攀 see Liu Zheng 劉政/正.

Liu Penzi 劉盆子 (7-?); Taishan. Liu Penzi was a distant descendant of Liu Zhang 劉章, grandson of Emperor Gao, who had played a leading role in the destruction of the Lü 呂 clan of the Dowager of Emperor Gao, and had been made King of Chengyang 城陽 in the eastern region of Qi 齊. The royal lineage continued until the end of Former Han, while Liu Zhang became the subject of a wide-spread cult. [On Liu Zhang, see QHX:405-406.]

Liu Penzi himself was the youngest son of Liu Meng 萌, whose marquise had been abolished by Wang Mang. About 20 he and his elder brothers Liu Gong and Liu Mao were captured by the Red Eyebrows. Liu Gong became a member of the bandits' leadership group, then joined the court of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor in 23. Liu Mao and Liu Penzi remained with the Red Eyebrows, who put them in charge of herding cattle under the officer Liu Xiaqing.

In 25, as the Red Eyebrows prepared to attack the Gengshi Emperor in Chang'an, a shaman from Qi drummed and danced in honour of Liu Zhang the late King of Chengyang, seeking his assistance for their cause. He then fell into a trance, possessed by the spirit of the king, and told his fellows that they should choose an emperor. When those who scoffed at the shaman were suddenly taken ill, the bandits became frightened and resolved to follow the instructions. As Bielenstein remarks, the shaman may well have been encouraged by some of the gentry who were among the group: proclamation of an emperor would give legitimacy to the cause and might aid their influence

with the leadership.

Given the source of the message, it was decided that the chosen ruler must be a descendant of Liu Zhang, and although more than seventy men could claim him as their ancestor, only Liu Penzi, Liu Mao and a former marquis, Liu Xiao, were direct descendants. In the sixth month of 25, at Zheng county in Jingzhao, the Red Eyebrows gathered for the ceremony. Three wooden tallies were prepared, on one of which was inscribed the title "Supreme General" 上將軍. They were placed in a box and after sacrifice to Liu Zhang the three men each took one. Liu Penzi was successful, and he was proclaimed emperor, with the reign title Jianshi 建世 "Inauguration of an Epoch".

If the gentry among the bandits had hoped to set up an effective ruler and a proper court, they were disappointed. Liu Penzi was fifteen years old. Clothed in rags and barefoot, with his hair hanging dishevelled down his back, he showed his fear of the Red Eyebrows even as they sought to pay obeisance. He wanted to cry, and though his brother Liu Mao persuaded him to accept the insignia, he went straight back to his herds. Liu Xiaqing arranged simple regalia: he dressed him in red clothes, gave him a child's cap with his title on the front, and had him ride on occasion in a carriage with red screening and a team of tall horses. Otherwise Liu Penzi tended the cattle and had no part in the counsels of the leaders.

Soon afterwards the Red Eyebrows captured Chang'an and Liu Penzi was brought to the palace. The court and government were in constant turmoil: rival leaders argued and fought for power and booty; the bandits plundered the local people as they liked; and the emperor himself was powerless and frightened of their violence. He did provide some food for the women and courtiers abandoned by the late Gengshi Emperor, but after he left it is said they died of starvation.

His elder brother Liu Gong had now rejoined the Red Eyebrows but, seeing that there was no way to bring the disorganised rabble under control, he urged Liu Penzi to abandon his empty position. At a New Year gathering of 26, Liu Gong abused the leaders for their unruliness and Liu Penzi attempted to give up his insignia. Fan Chong and the other leaders apologised for their behaviour, but they refused to accept his resignation and forcibly tied the seal and ribbon back onto his belt.

A few weeks later, having exhausted supplies in

Chang'an, the Red Eyebrows abandoned the city. They travelled west, returned briefly to the capital in the autumn, and surrendered at last to Emperor Guangwu in the spring of 27. Liu Penzi, who had been taken on all their travels, was received with sympathy and treated generously. Still only in his teens, he was appointed to the household of Liu Liang, King of Zhao.

Liu Penzi later lost his sight through illness. At this time, probably about 40, Emperor Guangwu abolished the Office for Price Adjustment and Stabilisation by the great Ao Granary in Henan at the head of the Vast Canal; Wang Mang's policy on this line had been a focus of complaint from his rebel opponents. Guangwu granted Liu Penzi a life pension from the tax revenues of the private markets which replaced the old official system. -HHS 11/1:477-86*; Bn 54 appendix # 143, Bn 59.95-120, Bn 80:169.

Liu Pi 劉辟 (d.200); Runan. Leaders of Yellow Turbans, during the early 190s Liu Pi and his fellows allied themselves with Yuan Shu and Sun Jian, and by the middle 190s they were numbered by the tens of thousands. In the spring of 196 Cao Cao led an army against them; Liu Pi's colleague Huang Shao was killed and the other leaders surrendered.

As Yuan Shao began his advance from the north, Liu Pi and the others supported him and plundered the region about Cao Cao's headquarters at Xu city. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei to assist them, but their combined forces were defeated by Cao Ren and Liu Pi was killed. -SGZ 1:13, 20, 17:522, SGZ Shu 2:876.

SGZ 1:13 and 17:522 say that Liu Pi was killed in 196, at the same time as his associate Huang Shao, but SGZ 1:20 and Shu 2:876 mention him as leader of the raiders in 200. It is possible the group retained the name of Liu Pi even after his death [cf. the Liang province rebels under "Bian Zhang and Han Sui"], but it is more probable that the first account of his death is premature.

Liu Pi 劉丕 or Liu Ben 本; Donglai. Claiming distant descent from Emperor Gao, he was a noted Confucian scholar. He was nominated Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright, became a county magistrate in Pingyuan and died in office. -SGZ Wu 4:1183, HHS 76/66:2477 [HHS has his personal name as Pi; SGZ presumably avoided taboo on the name of Cao Pi, Emperor of Wei.]

Liu Pian 劉便 see Liu Bianqin 劉便親.

Liu Pianqin 劉便親 see Liu Bianqin 劉便親.

Liu Ping 劉平, initially Liu Kuang 曠 [Gongzi 公子]; Chu. In the time of Wang Mang Liu Kuang was a local officer in his commandery, acting as a county magistrate. He maintained good government and encouraged teaching, so the county became peaceful. Thereafter, whenever there was a local disturbance he was sent as temporary magistrate to settle the trouble, and so the whole territory was in good order.

In the troubles which followed the fall of Wang Mang Liu Kuang's brother Zhong was killed, and Liu Kuang took refuge with his mother in the marshlands. He took Liu Zhong's infant daughter with him, but left his own son behind. His mother wanted to rescue the boy, but Liu Kuang said that there was not enough for all of them, and it was more important to preserve the lineage of his brother.

On one occasion when he was looking for food, Liu Kuang met a group of starving bandits who proposed to eat him. He asked their permission to go back to feed his mother, but promised to return. When he did as he had said, the bandits were amazed at his honesty. They let him go and Liu Kuang presented them with three measures of food which he had collected.

Liu Kuang later returned to local office in his commandery. When the general Pang Meng rebelled in 29 he fought to protect the Administrator Sun Meng. Though he was wounded several times, the enemy admired his loyalty and let him and Sun Meng go. When Sun Meng was thirsty, Liu Kuang gave him his blood to drink, and when Sun Meng died a few days later he escorted his body home for burial.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Liu Kuang became Assistant in Ji Yin commandery. The Administrator Liu Yu admired him, gave him wide responsibility, and commended him to Emperor Guangwu. About this time his father died – one may wonder where he was during the troubles ten years earlier. Liu Kuang left office, but at the conclusion of the mourning period he became a county magistrate in Jiujiang. He governed generously, making minimal demands on people's time for corvée and other work, and at inspection time it was found that there were no prisoners in his gaol. It was also claimed that he drove tigers away by his admirable government and Confucian teachings. He left office because of illness.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming, Zhongli Yi of the Imperial Secretariat nominated Liu Kuang and other gentlemen aged more than seventy

who had influence for good in their local communities. The men were duly summoned to court for appointment as Consultants, and Liu Kuang later became a Palace Attendant. It was about this time that Liu Kuang changed his personal name to Ping.

In 60 Liu Ping was appointed Minister of the Imperial Clan, and he held that position for eight years. He recommended a number of worthy men for office, including Cheng Gong and Xun Ren. Retiring on account of ill health, he died at home. -HHS 39/29: 1295-97*, XC 2:4b.

Liu Ping 劉平. Liu Ping was a son of Liu Zhi the King of Chengyang by his chief wife. On his deathbed in 35 Liu Zhi returned his insignia of royalty, seeking only to maintain the rites of his ancestors through marquisates. In 37 Liu Ping was accordingly enfeoffed with Caiyang county in the former family fief, while his half-brother Jian was granted a district.

Liu Ping was later found guilty of having communicated with kings of the imperial family. His fief was abolished, but Emperor Ming restored him as a marquis in 62. -HHS 14/4:562; Bn 54 appendix # 107.

Liu Ping 劉平. Son of Liu Jing 荆 the King of Guangling, and a younger brother of Liu Yuanshou, Liu Ping and two other brothers were granted district marquisates in 71 and were later shown favour by Emperor Zhang. -LS 5:18a, HHSJJ 42/32:1446-47.

Liu Ping 劉平 or Liu Ziping 子平; Pingyuan. Two contradictory stories appear to refer to this man. *Dian lue* by Yu Huan of the third century, cited in commentary to SGZ Shu 2:871, tells of Liu Bei's involvement against the rebellion of Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju in You province in 187, and prefaces this by saying that Liu Ziping of Pingyuan knew of Liu Bei's military ability and recommended him to the recruiting officer.

The main text of Chen Shou, however, at SGZ Shu 2:872, supported by the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen and by HYGZ 6:77, describes how Liu Bei held various appointments at county level in Pingyuan, and in 191 became Chancellor of the kingdom in the service of Gongsun Zan. At that time Liu Ping, who had scorned Liu Bei before and was afraid he would take revenge, sent a retainer to kill him. The would-be assassin, however, was so impressed by the courteous reception he received that he could not bear to strike, but confessed and fled. Chen Shou uses the incident as an illustration of Liu Bei's personal charm and authority.

As the modern scholar Zhao Yiqing observes, the stories are so different they must refer to two different men. Alternatively, one or both are false.

Liu Ping 劉馮 (d.200). Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, he was named King of Nanyang in the autumn of 200, but died a few days later. -HHS 9:381.

Liu Pingguo 劉平國. An inscription on a cliff-face composed in 158 describes Liu Pingguo as General of the Left at Qiuqi [Kuqa] 龜茲左將軍. -Nagata 94:132; Chavannes 07:208.

Liu Pu 劉酺 (d.116). Son of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, he insulted a secondary wife 小妻 of his brother Liu Ding. Angry at such conduct, his father locked him in the stables. Liu Pu managed to escape. He attempted to present a petition to the local magistrate, but Liu Gong sent an officer with a posse of slaves, recaptured Liu Pu and upbraided him for having sought to evade his authority. Liu Pu killed himself.

The matter was reported to the throne by the Chancellor Zhao Mu, but Liu Gong was not punished. -HHS 50/40:1671, DGHJ 7:5a; Ch'ü 72:305.

Liu Pu 劉普 (d.123). Grandson of Liu Mu the King of Beihai, he was a marquis within that state. In 107 the Dowager Deng granted him the succession to the kingdom.

Liu Pu was succeeded by his son Yi. -HHS 14/4: 558; Bn 54 appendix # 164.

Liu Pu 劉普. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates, after the destruction of Liang Ji in 159 Liu Pu was granted a district marquisate by Emperor Huan. When Zuo Guan and the other eunuch leaders were disgraced in 165, Liu Pu was reduced to a secondary fief. -HHS 78/68:2520-22.

Liu Pu 劉普; Jiujiang. A distant descendant of Emperor Guangwu, he was the father of Liu Ye. As she was dying, his wife warned their sons of his weaknesses. -SGZ 14:442-43.

Liu Pu 劉普, wife of: see the Lady You 攸. -SGZ 14: 442-43.

Liu Qi 劉奇 see Liu Qi 劉崎/琦. -LS 27:3b.

Liu Qi 劉崎/琦 [Shujun 叔峻]; Hongnong. Minister of the Imperial Clan in 129, Liu Qi was promoted to Excellency over the Masses. In 131 and 132 he was involved in the reconstruction of the Imperial University.

In 134 Emperor Shun asked Zhou Ju of the Imperial Secretariat to identify bad officials, and Zhou Ju named

Liu Qi as a man who had held office for many years without useful effect. Charges were brought and Liu Qi was dismissed, together with his colleague Kong Fu. -HHS 6:257-64, 25/15:886, 61/51:2026, and the stele of his son Liu Kuan in *LS* 11, cited by *HHSJJ* 25/15: 943 Qian Dazhao in *jiaobu*. *LS* 27:3b lists a stele to an Excellency over the Masses Liu Qi 奇, this is probably miswritten.

Liu Qi 劉琦 (d.209); Shanyang. Eldest son of Liu Biao, but less favoured than his brother Zong, Liu Qi was sent out as Administrator of Jiangxia. As Liu Biao was dying in 208, Liu Qi was kept from any contact with him and Liu Zong then received the succession as Governor of Jing province.

Cao Cao arrived soon afterwards. Liu Zong surrendered, but Liu Qi joined Liu Bei to oppose him with the support of Sun Quan. The allies were successful at the Red Cliffs on the Yangzi, and Liu Bei gave Liu Qi title as Inspector of Jing province. Liu Qi died in the following year. -HHS 74/64B:2423-24, *SGZ* 6:213-14.

Liu Qi 劉契. Son of Liu Yao the King of Pei, Liu Qi succeeded his father. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 42/32:1428.

Liu Qi 劉杞 see Liu Si 劉祀.

Liu Qian 劉乾 (d.164). Son of Liu Hong the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father in 116. In 118 the Chancellor of Zhao reported that during the time of mourning for his father Liu Qian had betrothed himself to one of his former concubines. Furthermore, he was in the habit of leaving his palace and journeying incognito. The court ordered that his fief be reduced by one county.

Dongguan Hanji has details of one incident. Liu Quan had left his own state and journeyed south to Wei, where the party halted for the night at a village post station. Liu Quan sent his slave Jin to commandeer some bedding, but Jin was accosted by one of the post officers, and stabbed him. As Liu Quan and his escort were chased by a posse, he first sought to escape involvement by hiding Jin, but then strangled him and left the body hanging on a tree by the roadside.

One of Liu Qian's gentlemen at court, Cheng Jian, known for his moral worth, was appointed as Tutor. He took the king in hand, and Liu Qian became a reformed character. Cheng Jian reported to the court

on the improvement, and the county which had been taken was restored. In 146 one of Liu Qian's sons was granted a village marquisate.

Liu Qian was succeeded by his son Yu. -HHS 14/4: 559, *DGHJ* 7:2a; Bn 54 appendix # 155.

Liu Qian 劉虔. Inspector of Liang province in 177, Yang Xi was praised as an honest and worthy official in a memorial presented by Cai Yong. -HHS 60/50B: 1995.

Liu Qiang 劉彊 (25-58). Eldest son of Emperor Guangwu by the Lady Guo, when his mother was named empress in 26 he was appointed Heir. In 41, however, the Lady Guo was deposed and two years later Liu Qiang was removed as Heir. Changing places with his half-brother, the future Emperor Ming, he became King of Donghai.

In 52 Liu Qiang and other sons of the Lady Guo were sent to their fiefs, but Guangwu, recognising that Liu Qiang had lost the inheritance through no fault of his own, granted him special privileges of guards and music, enlarged his fief by almost thirty counties, and included the territory of Lu so that he might live in the splendid Lingguang Palace [of Numinous Brilliance].

Soon after the death of Guangwu in 57, Liu Qiang's half-brother Jing sent him a forged letter, purporting to come from his maternal uncle Guo Kuang, and citing favourable omens that he should take the throne from the new emperor. Liu Qiang immediately sealed the document and forwarded it to the throne. The affair was covered up, but Liu Jing was exiled from the capital. In the following year Liu Qiang died of illness, having presented an eloquent *apologia*. Emperor Ming admired his loyalty, granted special honours and paid respects to his tomb. -HHS 42/32:1423-25*; Bn 67:27-32.

Liu Qiang 劉膺; Nanyang. Son of Liu Jia, his father was awarded a county marquisate in 37, and soon afterwards, evidently as a further sign of favour, Liu Qiang received a second, albeit lesser, fief. -HHS 14/4: 568; Bn 54 appendix # 110.

Liu Qianqiu 劉千秋. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 100 Liu Qianqiu was made a marquis. A colonel of the Northern Army under Emperor An, he was one of the scholars who worked in the Eastern Pavilion on the official edition of the Confucian classics [see *sub* the Dowager Deng Sui], and he also began the compilation of a comprehensive guide to the offices of Han. He was later Minister of the Imperial Clan

and then Minister of the Guards. -HHS 50/40:1668, 114/24:3555-56.

Liu Qin 劉欽 (d.4 AD); Nanyang. Descended in a cadet line from Emperor Jing of Former Han, Liu Qin married the Lady Fan Xiandu and fathered Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, the future Emperor Guangwu. He was a county magistrate under Former Han, but died while his children were still young. -HHS 1A:1, 1B:86, 14/4:555-56; Bn 54:98-99, Bn 67:21.

Liu Qin 劉勤 [Bozong 伯宗]; Jiangxia: *i.e.* Xia Qin from Jiujiang. -XC 8:10b and HHSJJ 32/22:1188 Hui Dong.

Liu Qing 劉慶 [Weng'ao 翁敖] (d.25); Nanyang. Son of Liu Ren 仁, Marquis of Chongling district in Caiyang county of Nanyang, Liu Qing was a younger brother of Liu Chang, who succeeded to the fief. He was also a first cousin of Liu Zizhang 子張, the father of Liu Xuan who became the Gengshi Emperor, and a second cousin of Liu Qin 欽, father of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu.

As Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor established his capital at Chang'an in 24 he named Liu Qing as a king. Liu Qing stayed with the court at Chang'an, and as the Red Eyebrows took over the capital in 25 he was killed by mutinous troops. -HHS 14/4:566; Bn 54:96-98 and appendix # 51, Bn 59:53.

Liu Qing 劉慶. Chief general under the Gengshi Emperor in 24, with Chen Kang the Administrator of Wei commandery he was left in charge at Ye city in Wei commandery while Xie Gong went to attack the Youlai bandits in Henei. Though they were supposed to be allies, Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, ordered his officers Wu Han and Cen Peng to take Ye city. When Wu Han sent a skilled envoy to persuade Chen Kang to change sides, Chen Kang took Liu Qing prisoner and opened the gates to Wu Han. -HHS 18/8:677-78.

Liu Qing 劉慶 (78-106). Third son of Emperor Zhang, Liu Qing was born of a Lady Song, protégée of the Dowager Ma [HHS 55/45 says that his mother was the elder of two sisters, but XHS 4:3b says that it was the younger]. In 79 Liu Qing was named Heir, but the Dowager died soon afterwards and in 82 the Empress Dou compelled the two ladies Song, Liu Qing's mother and aunt, to commit suicide. Liu Qing was replaced as Heir by Liu Zhao, future Emperor He, and named King of Qinghe.

Sensible enough to the danger he was in, Liu Qing never spoke of his mother. His father the emperor still

felt affection and sympathy for him, and ordered he be treated in the same manner as the new Heir. Indeed, despite the bitter rivalry of factions in the harem, and their own changed fortunes, the two princes were brought up together and remained close friends all their lives.

When Liu Zhao came to the throne in 88 he continued to treat Liu Qing with the utmost favour and confidence, and as they grew older Liu Qing was allowed his own apartments within the palace. As the emperor was preparing to attack the over-powerful Dou family in 92, he wanted to study the chapter on the imperial relatives by marriage from the *Han shu*, lately compiled by Ban Gu. He dared not trust his own attendants, in case they guessed his intentions, so he asked Liu Qing to borrow a copy from their half-brother Liu Kang the King of Qiansheng, then pass it on in secret. And Liu Qing served as a contact with the eunuch Zheng Zhong, who played a leading role in the coup. When the enterprise was successful, Liu Qing left the palace to take up his own residence at the capital; he was granted slaves, horses, carriages, money, silken cloth and other treasures, while his eunuchs and other attendants also received rewards.

A sickly man, Liu Qing was always treated with great kindness by his half-brother the emperor, but from the time he was deposed as a child he never felt secure. He resented the fact that his mother the Lady Song had not been buried with the proper rites, and he held ceremonies for her in private. When the Dou family was overthrown he first sent his former wet-nurse to offer sacrifice at her burial place, and when the Dowager died in 97 he sought permission to hold formal mourning for the Lady Song. Emperor He approved, and granted him access to the imperial workshops for the occasion, but Liu Qing was afraid to ask for fuller rituals lest it appear he was competing on his mother's behalf with the emperor's own mother the Lady Liang.

About 100, Liu Qing's grandmother the Lady Wang became ill. Widow of Song Yang, and mother of the Ladies Song, Liu Qing's mother and aunt, she had remained in Youfufeng after her husband's death, but Liu Qing claimed she could not receive proper medical treatment there, and he asked that she be permitted to come to Luoyang. Emperor He approved, and this became the occasion for a partial rehabilitation of the Song family as Liu Qing's uncles Song Yan and his

brothers were also brought to the capital and appointed gentlemen cadets.

In 103 the senior officials recommended that Liu Qing and the other kings be sent to their states, but Emperor He would not agree. He took his half-brothers with him on tour to the clan tombs in Nanyang, and awarded each of them a platoon of imperial guards. Some time later Liu Qing's Palace Tutor, the eunuch Wei Xin, was found to have embezzled vast quantities of cash. Investigators were sent, and Liu Qing was asked why he had not reported the situation. He replied that members of his staff were appointed directly by the imperial court, and he was not entitled to question or investigate their activities. Emperor He was pleased with the reply, and he awarded Liu Qing all of Wei Xin's ill-gotten gains.

When the emperor died in the winter of 105/106 Liu Qing mourned him deeply, and again became ill. As the Dowager Deng set the Young Emperor Liu Long upon the throne, she also sent the kings away to their fiefs, and Liu Qing left the capital to take up residence for the first time in his state of Qinghe. He died there at the end of the year, in the winter of 106/107. His funeral was arranged by the Dowager's brother Deng Zhi; it was attended by high officials and displayed insignia of rank and favour.

In the mean time the infant emperor Liu Long had died, and Liu Qing's eldest son Liu You, who had been kept back at the capital when Liu Qing was sent away, was placed upon the throne. Another son, Liu Huwei, succeeded to the kingdom of Qinghe, while a third, Liu Changbao, was named King of Guangchuan, with territory taken from this brother's state. Liu Qing's eleven daughters were each given titles and estates as princesses.

In 121, as Emperor An took full power after the death of the Dowager Deng, he awarded his father posthumous imperial honours. -*HHS* 55/45:1799-1804*.

Liu Qiu 劉求; Nanyang. Eldest son of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, who died in 25, in the summer of 26 he came with his mother and his brothers to Emperor Guangwu at Luoyang. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Xiangyi county in Chenliu in order to maintain sacrifices to his father the late emperor, and was later transferred to Chengyang county in the commandery of that name, later part of Jiying [some editions have the fief as Xianyang near Chang'an, the ancient capital

of the Qin dynasty]. -*HHS* 11/1:476; Bn 54 appendix # 112.

Liu Quan 劉全 (d.79). Son of Emperor Zhang by an unknown concubine, he was enfeoffed as King of Pingchun county in Jiangxia in 79, but died later that same year, leaving no sons. He was buried near Luoyang, and the kingdom was ended. -*HHS* 55/45:1799*.

Liu Qun 劉羣 miswritten for Liu He 劉郃. -*HHS* 102/12:3258.

Liu Rang 劉讓 (d.26); Zhending/Changshan. Brother of Liu Yang ["Goitre Yang"] the restored King of Zhending, Liu Rang held a marquisate, probably granted by the Gengshi Emperor in 23. In 25 he and his cousin Liu Xi joined Liu Yang in planning insurrection against Emperor Guangwu, but they were trapped by a false invitation from the envoy Geng Chun, and all were killed. Because the rebellion had not actually broken out, however, Liu Rang's son was permitted to succeed to his fief. -*HHS* 21/11:764.

Liu Rong 劉榮 (d.164). Son of Liu Guang the King of Pei, he succeeded his father in 144.

Liu Rong was succeeded by his son Zong. -*HHS* 42/32:1428.

Liu Rong 劉容 (d.193). Son of Liu Ju the King of Langye, he succeeded his father in 185. In 190 he sent his younger brother Liu Miao with tribute to the government at Chang'an, then under the control of Dong Zhuo.

At Liu Rong's death the state was ended, but it was later restored to the benefit of his son Liu Xi. -*HHS* 42/32:1452.

Liu Ru 劉儒 [Shulin 叔林] (d.169); Dong. Having received high praise for his speech and conduct from the moral judge Guo Tai, Liu Ru was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He was graded First Class, and after some intermediate appointments he became a Palace Attendant.

During the reign of Emperor Huan, presumably in the 160s, after a number of bad omens a call was issued for men of Direct Speech. Liu Ru presented a sealed document in ten sections, identifying problems of the government and recommending reforms. His words were loyal and direct, too much of the latter for the imperial taste, and he was sent out to be Chancellor of Rencheng.

Liu Ru was later recalled to the capital as a Consultant, but in the Second Faction Incident of 169

he was arrested and killed himself.

Some information about this man is confused. His biography in the *HHS* chapter on the Proscribed Party, *HHS* 67/57:2215, says that Liu Ru came from Dong commandery. In *JJ* at 2424-25, however, Wang Wentai cites *XC* 4:9a, which describes him as a man from Guanghan, and says that he was an Administrator of Dong commandery, not a native of it, and that his tenure there was enlivened by a flock of auspicious red birds. On the other hand, Liu Congchen observes that if Li Ru had come from Guanghan it is surprising that he has no biography in *Huayang guo zhi*; he therefore discounts Xie Cheng.

Again, though *HHS* 67/57:2187-88, says that Liu Ru was numbered among the popular heroes in lists compiled by reformists and students of the Imperial University, in *JJ* at 2396 Hui Dong cites a list which replaces his name with that of Liu Yi 翊, and a couplet giving his style as Zixiang. See also *sub* Liu Yi II.

Liu Rui 劉叡. About 200 Liu Rui was Administrator of Wuling. On instructions from the warlord Governor of Jing province Liu Biao, Liu Rui prepared a list of celestial omens, the *Jingzhou zhan* 荊州占 or *Jingzhou xing zhuan* 荊州星傳.

Liu Biao himself sponsored another similar work, which appears in some bibliographies under the same title but is also known as *Jingzhou xing jing* 荊州星經. Both are now lost. -*JS* 12:322; Ho 66:129.

Liu Rui 劉瑞 miswritten for Liu Duan 劉端, King of Dongping.

Liu Ruo 劉若. In 213, with office as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, Liu Ruo was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. In 220 he was the leader of a group of 120 officials urging Cao Pi to accept the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han and establish his own imperial state; he was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating this occasion.

In 213 Liu Ruo's name appeared fifth in a list of thirty, after Liu Xun but before Xiahou Dun. In 220 he was evidently head of a group which wished to be associated with the imperial process but which was not at the centre of the operation: his name appears high on the list of forty-six sponsors of the commemorative stele, immediately after the Three Excellencies and the imperial cousin Cao Ren, and before other imperial kinsmen. Despite this evidence of his importance at the time, however, there is no other record of Liu Ruo;

nothing is known of his lineage and/or achievements. - *SGZ* 1:40, 2:68-69, *LS* 19:3a; Leban 78:332, Goodman 98:129-130, 196.

Liu Sa 劉颯 see Liu Li 劉颯.

Liu Shan 劉煒 or Liu Hui 輝; Nanyang. Younger son of Liu Xi the King of Sishui, when his father died in 34 he was granted the succession, but only with the rank of a marquis. [Liu Shan's elder brother Liu Zhong had been separately enfeoffed as a king, but his descendants too held only marquises.] -*HHS* 14/4:563.

Liu Shan 劉禪 or Liu Chan [Gongsì 公嗣] (207-271); Zhuo: Later Sovereign of Shu-Han 蜀漢後主. Son of Liu Bei by his concubine the Lady Gan, Liu Shan was born when his parents were at the court of the warlord Liu Biao, Governor of Jing province; though he would have been formally registered as coming from his father's home commandery of Zhuo, he was never in that territory.

When Liu Bei went west to Yi province in 211 his principal wife the Lady Sun returned east to her brother Sun Quan. She tried to take Liu Shan with her, to serve as a future hostage, but her cortège was intercepted by Zhao Yun and Zhang Fei, who brought the boy back.

When Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in 219 he named Liu Shan as his Heir, and when he took the imperial title in 221 he confirmed the appointment, while also naming the Imperial Chancellor Zhuge Liang as the young man's principal mentor. Liu Bei had earlier adopted a son, Liu Feng, and Liu Shan had two younger half-brothers, Liu Yong 永 and Liu Li 理, born of different women, but there was no debate about the succession, and when Liu Bei died in 223 Liu Shan duly took the throne.

On the other hand, though Liu Shan was already seventeen *sui*, Liu Bei had given Zhuge Liang full regency powers, and Zhuge Liang controlled the government until his death in 234. His dominance was followed by that of Jiang Wan, and it was not until the latter's death in 246 that Liu Shan took formal authority. Even then, despite his maturity, Liu Shan proved an unimpressive ruler. He was accused, probably correctly, of being more interested in his harem and his personal pleasure than in the responsibilities of government; he gave excessive power to favourites and eunuchs, and he appears to have been fairly stupid.

More generally, despite years of effort, the state of Shu-Han was never able to break out from the west, and the forces of Wei were able to maintain and consolidate

their positions. In 263 a successful invasion and attack on Chengdu brought the abdication of Liu Shan, and he ended his days at Luoyang as a pensioner of Jin. -SGZ Shu 3*.

Liu Shan 劉禪, first empress of: see the Lady Zhang 張 VIII, daughter of Zhang Fei.

Liu Shan 劉禪, second empress of: see the Lady Zhang 張 IX, daughter of Zhang Fei.

Liu Shang 劉尚 also as Liu Yu 禹 (d.48); Nanyang. Though Emperor Guangwu addressed Liu Shang as a member of the imperial clan in 36 [see below], little is known of his origins. He is described as General Who is Firm and Majestic in the early 30s, and nowhere appears under any other title.

In 33 Liu Shang was one of the generals under the command of Lai Xi sent to take over the former territory of Wei Ao in the Wei valley. After the successful conclusion of that campaign, he went with Lai Xi to attack the Qiang and other non-Chinese and rebels of Jincheng, Longxi and Wudu, and then, still under Lai Xi's general command, he and Ma Cheng took over all Wudu commandery.

Liu Shang and his men were then transferred to the middle Yangzi, and in the winter of 35/36 he was senior assistant to Wu Han in the second wave of attack against Gongsun Shu from the east. As they approached Chengdu from Guangdu, Liu Shang was ordered to camp on one side of the river while Wu Han set himself on the other. The two columns were connected by a pontoon bridge, but though each was within ten kilometres of the enemy capital they were twenty kilometres apart; at the end of autumn Gongsun Shu's army under Xie Feng attacked and surrounded both camps. After three days, Wu Han was able to extricate his men and join Liu Shang, and their combined forces defeated the enemy.

Liu Shang then stayed to face Gongsun Shu's men at Chengdu while Wu Han returned to Guangdu, but in the winter of 36 he returned to the attack and Gongsun Shu was killed. As Chengdu surrendered, Wu Han slaughtered the enemy leaders and their families and allowed his troops to sack the city. Appalled at the news, Emperor Guangwu wrote to Liu Shang to ask how a member of the imperial clan could have tolerated such atrocity.

When the local officer Shi Xin rebelled in Shu commandery in 42, Liu Shang again accompanied Wu Han on an expedition to reconquer the territory.

Having stormed Chengdu and killed Shi Xin, Liu Shang remained at Chengdu while Wu Han dealt with remnant resistance along the Yangzi.

In the autumn of 43 Liu Shang was ordered to deal with a rebellion of non-Chinese tribes in Yizhou commandery led by Dongcan. The trouble had broken out in the previous year, no doubt echoing the disturbance caused by Shi Xin. With 13,000 militia from Shu, Guanghan and Jianwei, Liu Shang marched south through Yuexi.

Ren Gui, the non-Chinese chieftain of that commandery, had accepted formal office from Han. He was afraid, however, that his local position would be damaged by this expansion of imperial power, and it is claimed that he conspired with other leaders to offer poisoned wine to the Han troops, then attack the survivors. This may be no more than an excuse, but Liu Shang made a surprise attack on Ren Gui at Qiongzhusi, killed him and sent his family and household to Chengdu.

Aided by auxiliaries from Yuexi, Liu Shang engaged the insurgents in Yizhou through all of 44. The enemy took refuge in fortified settlements in the hill country, but Liu Shang captured their supplies of grain and animals, and at the beginning of 45 he took Buwei, by present-day Baoshan in Yunnan, on the edge of the former Han frontier [at that time part of Yizhou commandery, Buwei became the capital of the new commandery of Yongchang under Emperor Ming]. Dongcan was killed with seven thousand of his followers, and Liu Shang also took 5,700 captives and seized 3,000 horses and 30,000 head of cattle and sheep. The tribespeople now submitted to Han, and the region was settled.

In the spring of 47 there was a rebellion among the non-Chinese of Nan commandery, and Liu Shang was ordered downstream to the middle Yangzi. Bringing some of his men from the west, he put down the disturbance and shifted a number of the people from the region of the Yangzi Gorges west into Jiangxia commandery.

In the winter, far more seriously, the non-Chinese people of the Five Streams region, further south among the hills west of Wuling commandery, embarked on what would become a series of rebellions. Their incursions into Nan commandery were driven back by the general Zang Gong, but they were hardly discouraged and seized Linyuan in Wuling. At the

beginning of 48 Liu Shang took ten thousand men by land and water up the Yuan River, tributary of the Dongting Lake. As they entered the gorges of the Wu Stream, they were cut off and surrounded. Liu Shang was killed and his army was destroyed. -HHS 15/5:588, 18/8:681-83, 13/3:543, 1B:75-76, 86/76:2831-32; Bn 59:194-197, Bn 67:66-69.

Liu Shang 劉尚, son of Liu Zhi of Julu, see Liu Xiang 劉向.

Liu Shang 劉商; Nanyang. Son of Liu Min 敏, he succeeded to his father's county marquissate, but this was later changed to the lesser fief which had been held by his uncle Liu Song. The change probably took place in the 70s, for Liu Song's fief was abolished by Emperor Ming on account of his alleged involvement with the disgraced King of Chu, Liu Ying; Liu Shang evidently suffered to some degree for the family problems. -HHS 14/4:565; Bn 54 appendix # 134.

Liu Shang 劉商. Son of Liu Yuanshou, he succeeded to his fief in Guangling about 90. -HHS 42/32:1449.

Liu Shang 劉尚; Nanyang. Younger son of the minister Liu Kuang, Liu Shang became a General of the Household. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor He in 89 he was named General of Chariots and Cavalry under command of the General-in-Chief Dou Xian, and was later Bearer of the Mace.

In 97, as the Qiang leader Mitang brought an army of the Shaodang and other tribes to raid Longxi, Liu Shang was given command as an acting general and sent west with thirty thousand men, combining troops from the Northern Army, garrison forces from Chang'an and central China, border levies and non-Chinese auxiliaries. Mitang was defeated in a great battle near Lintao and withdrew across the border, but imperial casualties were so heavy that the army could not follow up its success and retired within the frontier. In the following year Liu Shang was dismissed and imprisoned for lack of zeal. -HHS 14/4:564, 87/77:2883-84; deC 84:81; Bn 54 appendix # 88.

Liu Shang 劉尚 (d.101). Son of Liu Cang the King of Dongping, and a younger brother of Liu Zhong, in 58 Liu Shang was granted a county marquissate.

At the death of their father in 83 Liu Zhong succeeded to the kingdom of Dongping, but in the following year Liu Shang was made King of Rencheng, with three counties taken from the major fief.

Liu Shang was succeeded by his son An. -HHS 42/32:1443*.

Liu Shang 劉商 or Liu Yi 裔 (d.104). Son of Liu Xu the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father in 81. Evidently a superstitious man, on one occasion he sought to avoid an illness by taking up residence in the offices for education, but was prevented from doing so by the Chancellor Lu Pi.

Liu Shang was succeeded by his son Hong, and four younger sons later received village marquissates. -HHS 14/4:559, 25/15:883-84; Bn 54 appendix # 120.

Liu Shang 劉尚; Donglai. Youngest son of Liu Yao, he held military office under Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 4:1186.

Liu Shao 劉邵. A son of Liu Shang 劉尚, King of Hejian under Former Han who was deposed by Wang Mang, Liu Shao was restored to the royal fief by Emperor Guangwu in 31, but in 37, with other kings outside the immediate imperial family, he was reduced in rank to be a marquis. -HHS 1B:53, 61; Bn 67:25.

Liu Shao 劉邵 [Kongcai 孔才]; Zhao. Nominated as Reporting Officer of his commandery about 210, Liu Shao came to Xu city, capital of the Han court under Cao Cao, where he impressed Xun Yu, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, with his good sense.

About 215 Liu Shao was appointed to the offices of the Imperial Counsellor Chi Lü. When Chi Lü left office soon afterwards, Liu Shao joined the household of the Heir, Cao Pi.

Transferred to the imperial library, Liu Shao later became a member of the Secretariat of Wei and was named a Cavalier Attendant. He took part in the great compilation of *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings", an edition of all previous writings on the classics commissioned by Cao Pi in 220.

During the reign of Cao Rui Liu Shao served as Administrator of Chenliu, and in 234 he advised on the defence of Huai frontier when it was under attack from Sun Quan. He was commissioned to codify the laws, and in 237 he was invited to present a new system for appointing and examining officials; it was rejected by more conservative advisers to the court.

Liu Shao compiled a considerable number of scholarly works, including *Renwu zhi* 人物志. He was granted enfeoffment, and died some time after 240. -SGZ 21:617-20*.

Liu Shao 劉邵. During the early 220s Liu Shao was a general of Sun Quan's state of Wu. -SGZ Wu 2:1130.

Liu Shao 劉邵/劭 miswritten for Liu He 劉郃. -HHJ 24:287.

Liu Shaogong 劉少公; Liang. Son of the late King of Liang, Liu Li 立, and youngest brother of Liu Yong, Liu Shaogong was named Imperial Secretary and King of Lu when Liu Yong established an independent position in 24. -HHS 12/2:494.

Liu She 劉赦. Son of Liu Tong the King of Fuling, he succeeded his father in 167. He died about 200, leaving no heirs, and the state was ended. -HHS 42/32:1446.

Liu She 劉赦 (d.211). Son of Liu Yu the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father.

Liu She was succeeded by his son Gui. -HHS 14/4:559; Bn 54 appendix # 165.

Liu Shen 劉參 see Liu Can 劉參 [2 entries].

Liu Sheng 劉生, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Shun by the Beauty Yu, she was full sister to the infant Emperor Chong. In 138 she was appointed Senior Princess of Wuyang 舞陰 in Yingchuan. -HHS 10B:440, 461.

Liu Sheng 劉聖 see Liu Wang 劉望.

Liu Sheng 劉勝 (d.113). Elder son of Emperor He by an unknown concubine, because of the high mortality rate among the imperial children he was taken from the palace and cared for by a commoner. He nonetheless became seriously ill, and when his father died in the winter of 105/106 the regent Dowager Deng would not allow Liu Sheng to take the throne: she awarded the succession to his infant brother Liu Long, while Liu Sheng was named King of Pingyuan.

As the Young Emperor Liu Long died a few months later, in the autumn of 106, Liu Sheng was again passed over in favour of Liu You, Emperor An, son of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe.

The nature of Liu Sheng's illness is not known, and it may have been physical or mental. A number of officials believed, however, that it was not so serious as to disqualify him from the succession, and that the Dowager had chosen child rulers as a means to prolong her regency. In the winter of 107/108 the Excellency Zhou Zhang sought to arrange a coup to depose the Dowager and her nominee and set Liu Sheng upon the throne. The plot was found out, and Zhou Zhang killed himself.

Liu Sheng died at Luoyang five years later and was buried near the capital. He left no sons and may not have been old enough to have children. Liu De, son of Liu Chong the King of Le'an, was enfeoffed to maintain his lineage. -HHS 55/45:1810*.

Liu Sheng 劉勝 [Jiling 季陵 or Jilin 季林]; Yingchuan.

Having served as Administrator of Shu commandery, Liu Sheng returned home and lived privately. The Administrator Wang Yu admired his reticence, but when he raised the matter to Du Mi, who was at that time also in retirement, Du Mi criticised Liu Sheng for his failure to provide moral advice on public affairs. -HHS 67/57:2198, FSTY 5:42; Nylan 83:484-486.

Liu Sheng 劉聖 see Liu Wang 劉望. -HS 99C:4193; Dubs 55:468.

Liu [Shengbo] 劉聖博; Wu. Some time in the second century Liu Shengbo discussed local worthies of the region with Administrator Han 韓. No more is known of either man, nor details of their talk, but their conversation was cited in later times, and may be seen as a symbol of the developing interest in local history. -SGZ Wu 12:1324, and see *sub* Zhang Kai.

Liu [Shengong] 劉聖公 see Liu Xuan 劉玄 the Gengshi Emperor: HHS and some other texts refer to Liu Xuan by his style of Shengong.

Liu Shi 劉始. Chieftains of the Red Eyebrows, late in 26 Liu Shi and Wang Xuan held off Guangwu's general Feng Yi at the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River. After two months attack, they were obliged to surrender early in 27. -HHS 17/7:646.

Liu Shi 劉石 (d.70); Nanyang. Son of Liu Zhang 章 the King of Qi, he succeeded his father in 46. In 51 he was ordered to leave the capital and reside in his fief. In 54 his younger brother Zhang 張 was enfeoffed as a full marquis.

Liu Shi was succeeded by his son Huang, and two younger sons were later granted district marquisates. -HHS 14/4:553; Bn 54 appendix # 135.

Liu Shi 劉適; Qinghe. In 26 Liu Shi was Officer of Merit to the Administrator Zhao Gao. He and his colleague Huang Bing planned to embezzle funds for the building of a new *yamen*, but when the angry ghost of the former Administrator Xianyu Ji came to confront them, both men dropped dead. -SJZ 9:27b-28a.

Liu Shi 劉碩/石 also as Liu Gu 顧: HHS 55/45 has the personal name as 碩, HHS 10B as 石, and HHS 7 as 顧; Hejian. Son of Liu Yi the Marquis of Liwu, after the death of his father about 140 he was granted a district marquisate. In 146 his brother Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, was brought to the throne, and in 148 Liu Shi was enfeoffed as King of Pingyuan to maintain the lineage of his late father, who had at one time held that title.

We are told that Liu Shi was frequently drunk and

failed to carry out his duties, so the Lady Ma, widow of Liu Yi, was given charge of his affairs. On the other hand, in 152 Liu Shi was named chief mourner for the funeral of the Lady Yan Ming, former concubine of Liu Yi and natural mother of Emperor Huan; this may have been a formality for a senior member of the family, but it implies that the Lady Yan was also the mother of Liu Shi and that he was not always drunk and incapable.

The further succession to the kingdom is not recorded. In 206 the state was abolished by the government under the control of Cao Cao. -*HHS* 55/45:1809, 7:292, 10B:442.

HHS 55/45 and *HHS* 10B say that Liu Shi was a younger brother of the emperor, but *HHS* 7 and *HHS* 10B TC refer to him as the elder. We may note that Liu Zhi succeeded to the county marquisate at their father's death, while Liu Shi was granted only a lesser fief; furthermore, when Liu Zhi was named emperor in 146, Liwu was granted to his twin brother Liu Kui. Liu Kui then became King of Bohai in 147, while Liu Shi was not appointed King of Pingyuan until 148. It appears, therefore, that Liu Shi held lower status in the family than Liu Zhi and Liu Kui, and was younger than both of them. On the same principle, though the Lady Ma was appointed as his guardian, she cannot have been his natural mother: regardless of age, if Liu Shi had been the son of Liu Yi's principal wife he would have been granted his father's fief before either of his brothers. From the fact that he was named chief mourner to the Lady Yan, it would appear Liu Shi was her son, and full younger brother to Liu Zhi and Liu Kui.

Liu Shi 劉石 (d.193). In 185 Liu Shi was a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. In 193 he was killed by Yuan Shao. -*HHS* 71/61: 2310-11, 74/64A:2381, *SGZ* 8:261, 6:194.

Liu Shinan 劉侍男, the Lady. Daughter of Liu Qing the father of Emperor An, following her brother's accession to the throne in 106 she and her sisters were given titles and estates as princesses, and after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121 she was named Senior Princess of Nieyang in Nanyang. She married Cen Xi. -*HHS* 55/45:1804, 10B:457, 17/7:663.

Liu Shou 劉綬 or Liu Huan 緩, the Lady (d.59). Daughter of Emperor Guangwu, in 45 she was named Princess of Liyi in Nanyang. Married to Yin Feng, she was spoilt and jealous, and in 59 her husband killed

her. -*HHS* 50/40:1668.

Liu Shou 劉壽. Son of Liu Xian the King of Chen, in 100 he was made a marquis. -*HHS* 50/40:1668.

Liu Shou 劉壽 (d.120). Son of Emperor Zhang by his Honoured Lady Shen, in 90 Liu Shou was enfeoffed as King of Jibei by his younger half-brother Emperor He; his territory was taken from Taishan. The emperor kept his brother kings at the capital and did not send them out to their states, and in 103 they accompanied him on a tour to the south. Only in 106, after the Dowager Deng had taken over regency government, were they obliged to leave the court.

At the time of Liu Shou's death, because of troubles on the frontier, the Han court was restricting royal funerary expenses to 100,000 cash and 10,000 rolls of silk for first-generation enfeoffments and half that amount for their successors. Liu Shou was held in such regard, however, that he was allowed three times the regular amount.

Liu Shou was succeeded by his son Deng, and five younger sons were granted small marquisates from the territory of Taishan. In 125 one of these sons, Liu Yi, was brought to the imperial throne by the Dowager Yan and her family; he was known as the Little Emperor 少帝. -*HHS* 55/45:1807*, 10B:436.

Liu Shou 劉壽 (d.120). Son of Liu Yu the King of Langye, he succeeded his father in 103.

Liu Shou was succeeded by his son Zun, and four younger sons were later granted district marquisates. -*HHS* 42/32:1452.

Liu Shou 劉授 [Mengchun 孟春]; Pengcheng. Minister of Ceremonies in 122, Liu Shou was promoted to be Excellency of Works. Soon afterwards the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen refused to endorse appointments for a brother of the eunuch Li Run, recommended by the imperial uncle Geng Bao, and a nominee of the empress's brother Yan Xian. Liu Shou, however, gave his approval instead.

After the overthrow of the Yan clan and the establishment of Emperor Shun in 125, Liu Shou was dismissed for his servility to the former ruling clique and for granting office to men of poor quality. -*HHS* 5: 235, 6:251, 54/44:1763.

Liu Shou 劉壽 [Bochang 伯長]; Changsha. Minister of the Household in 138, Liu Shou was appointed Excellency over the Masses. It is said that his promotion was foretold in a frequent dream he had, of flying in a magical carriage to the north. He left

office in 142, possibly as the result of impeachment by the special commissioner Zhang Gang, or because Liang Ji wished to confirm his authority at court. -HHS 6:268-72, *HYGZ* 10B:157 and *sub* Huan Yuan.

Liu Shu 劉述; Julu. Son of Liu Xiang, he inherited the family marquisate, but in 72 he was accused of involvement in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying the King of Chu; the fief was abolished. -HHS 21/11:760.

Liu Shu 劉淑 (d.94). Liu Shu was a son of Emperor Zhang by an unknown concubine. In 90 his half-brother Emperor He enfeoffed him as King of Chengyang, dividing the territory of Ji Yin to create the new state. Liu Shu resided at the capital and was buried near Luoyang. He left no sons when he died, so the kingdom was ended and the territory returned to Ji Yin. -HHS 55/45:1810*.

Liu Shu 劉淑. Son of Liu Kai the King of Hejian, Liu Shu was enfeoffed as Marquis of Jiedu Village 解瀆亭. When his grandson Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, was brought to the throne in 169, Liu Shu received posthumous imperial honours. -HHS 55/45:1809, 9:327-28.

Liu Shu 劉淑, wife of: see the Lady Xia 夏.

Liu Shu 劉淑 [Zhongcheng 仲承] (d.168); Hejian. Liu Shu's grandfather Liu Cheng had been Director of Retainers, but from the time he was young Liu Shu concentrated upon the study of the Confucian classics. He maintained a private academy with several hundred students, but refused all invitations to local office or to take appointment at the capital.

In 154 there was a call for nominations of men as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright; the minister Zhong Hao recommended Liu Shu. He sought to refuse on grounds of ill health, but when Emperor Huan heard of his fine reputation he sent orders to the local authorities that they should arrange for him to travel to the capital regardless. So Liu Shu came to Luoyang, was graded first for his response to questions, and was made a Consultant. Giving advice on the good and bad points of the government of the day, he explained the meaning of ominous signs and disasters, and all his forecasts proved correct.

Transferred to the Imperial Secretariat, he continued to give excellent and loyal counsel and became a Palace Attendant. Transferred once more to be a General of the Household, he urged the emperor to dismiss his eunuch favourites, and though his proposal was rejected he had worded it so well that he

suffered no penalty for his presumption. Treated with respect on account of his fine family background, he was regularly consulted in all difficult and intricate questions at court, while students of the University and junior officers at the capital praised him as one of the ideal men of his time; with the General-in-Chief Dou Wu and the Tutor Chen Fan, he held highest rank in the lists of heroes circulated by partisans of reform.

Despite his opposition to eunuch power and his popularity with the reformists, Liu Shu was not actively associated with the regime of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, who brought Emperor Ling to the throne and initially controlled his government [*cf.* Liu Shu 劉 below]. After Dou Wu and Chen Fan were destroyed in the autumn of 168, the victorious eunuchs nonetheless laid accusations against him. He was taken to prison and killed himself. -HHS 67/57:2190*, *XC* 4:5a.

Liu Shu 劉儵 (d.168); Hejian. Having served as Administrator of Taishan, Liu Shu became an Imperial Clerk, member of the Censorate.

When Emperor Huan died without an heir in the winter of 167/168 his Dowager Dou had authority to choose his successor from among any cadets of the imperial house, and she consulted her father Dou Wu. They were most interested in the descendants of Liu Kai, the son of Emperor Zhang who been King of Hejian, and since Liu Shu came from that region they asked for his recommendation. Liu Shu proposed the village marquis Liu Hong, and he was named an acting Household Counsellor and sent with an escort to bring his nominee to the capital. At the beginning of the following year the new Emperor Ling was placed upon the throne, and Liu Shu was appointed a Palace Attendant.

Though we are told that Liu Shu was asked to suggest members of the imperial clan who were noted for their moral qualities, it is difficult to see how he justified the choice of Liu Hong: twelve years old, he came from a very junior lineage, neither his grandfather nor his father had shown any personal distinction, and his later conduct was not exemplary. It appears the boy's chief claim for selection was that he was old enough to avoid the risks of infant mortality and young enough to require the guidance of a regent; so the choice was much to the benefit of the Dowager Dou and her family.

In the autumn, a few months after Liu Hong had been brought to the throne, Dou Wu and Chen Fan

were destroyed by the eunuchs. The senior eunuch Hou Lan was jealous of Liu Shu's potential influence with the young emperor, so he had the Director of Retainers impeach him for wrongdoing during his time in Taishan. Liu Shu was killed.

Despite his disgrace, the emperor remembered Liu Shu fondly, and later appointed his brother Liu He as an Excellency. -HHS 8:327, 69/59:2241, 56/46:1834, 113/23:3283.

Liu Shu 劉舒; Donghai. Son of Liu Jia, Liu Shu became Administrator of Danyang. -HHS 73/63:2353.

Liu [Shuliao] 劉叔遼; Pei. Though he came from a distinguished official family, was a brother of Liu Guang the Grand Commandant, and was himself a good scholar and a worthy man, Liu Shuliao had acquired no local reputation and he received no official appointment. Liu Shuliao's son Liu Ju resented this, and himself refused invitations. Early in the reign of Emperor Shun Liu Guang's colleagues, the Grand Tutor Huan Yan and the Grand Commandant Zhu Chong, had Liu Shuliao appointed to the offices at the capital. He became an Academician and later a Consultant, while Liu Ju then accepted nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHS 76/66:2476, FSTY 5:35; Nylan 83:450-451.

Liu Shun 劉順 [Pingzhong 平仲] (d.35); Nanyang. Son of Liu Qing, and a member of the lineage of the marquises of Chongling, Liu Shun was a distant cousin of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. It appears they were about the same age, for they grew up together and were close friends.

In 24 Liu Qing was enfeoffed as a king by the Gengshi Emperor, while Liu Shun was named a general, but when the Red Eyebrows took Chang'an in the following year Liu Shun fled to join Guangwu. He was named Administrator of Nanyang, but the conquest of that territory was carried out by professional soldiers such as Cen Peng, Jia Fu and Wu Han, and eventually by the imperial army under by the emperor himself.

In 26 Liu Shun was granted a county marquiseate in Shanyang, with revenues double those awarded other members of the imperial clan. In 32 he was sent to put down bandits in Liu'an, and was then made Administrator of that commandery. He was later invited to return to the capital, but asked to remain in his position, and died there in 35. Guangwu sent an escort to bring his body to Luoyang and attended the mourning ceremonies in person.

The fief was later ended for lack of direct heirs, but as Emperor Ming was on tour in Nanyang in 67, he recalled the favour that his father had shown for Liu Shun and granted district marquisesates to three of his nephews. -HHS 14/4:566*; Bn 54 appendix # 76.

Liu Shun 劉順. Grandson of Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, possibly through his son the late Liu Pu, in 118 Liu Shun was enfeoffed as a village marquis. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Shuo 劉鑠; Donglai. Second son of Liu Yao, he held military office under Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 4: 1186.

Liu Si 劉祀. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Liu Song 劉嵩; Nanyang. Son of Liu Ci and younger brother of Liu Min, in 54 he received a district or village marquiseate. In the early 70s Liu Song was implicated in the allegations surrounding the disgrace of Liu Ying the King of Chu; his fief was abolished. -HHS 14/4:565; Bn 54 appendix # 117.

Liu Song 劉松; Nanyang. Son of Liu Chong 寵, in 37 he succeeded his father in the restored marquiseate of Anzhong. -HS 15:460.

Liu Song 劉松; Hongnong. Son of Liu Kuan, he succeeded to his father's fief and held office as Minister of the Imperial Clan. -HHS 25/15:888.

Liu Song 劉嵩. Liu Song was a son of Liu Yu and grandson of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan. His father had been deprived of his marquiseate on account of some crime, but in 108 Liu Song's cousin Liu Xiang recommended in his favour and Liu Song was enfeoffed. -HHS 42/32:1433.

Liu Song 劉竦 (d.119). Son of Liu Jun the King of Chen, he succeeded his father in 117. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Liu Song 劉嵩. Son of Liu Bao the King of Changshan, he succeeded his father in 152. At the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184, he abandoned his state and fled. We are not told whether he was reinstated, but it is probable that he was [*cf. sub* Liu Xu, King of Anping]. The state was abolished by the Han government under the control of Cao Cao in 206. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Su 劉肅 (d.125). Son of Liu Zheng the King of Donghai, he succeeded his father in 102. About 110

and again about 115 Liu Su made special payments to assist the expenses of the government's dealing with the Qiang rebellion.

Liu Su was succeeded by his son Zhen, and two younger sons were later made district marquises. - *HHS* 42/32:1425-26.

Liu Suan 劉蒜 (d.147). Son of Liu Yanping the King of Qinghe, he succeeded his father in 144. A few months later, when Liu Ping, the infant Emperor Chong, died, Liu Suan was brought to the capital and considered for the succession. The Dowager Liang and her brother Liang Ji, however, chose the seven-year-old Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, and Liu Suan was sent back to his state.

In the following year Liu Zuan died, and senior ministers, notably Li Gu, pressed the claims of Liu Suan, now twenty years old and an intelligent man of strong character. In the previous year, however, when the leading eunuch Cao Teng was sent to call him to the capital, Liu Suan had treated him with scant respect. The eunuchs were thus concerned at his likely attitude, and they urged the Dowager and her brother against him. The Liang group were likewise anxious not to establish a ruler who might take real power, so they chose the young Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan.

A few months later, in the winter of 147, there was an attempted coup by Liu Wen and Liu Wei, who sought to put Liu Suan upon the throne. The two men were swiftly taken and killed, but the incident gave Liu Suan's enemies the opportunity they needed to remove him. Accused of complicity, Liu Suan was reduced to be a marquis in Jianwei and sent to exile. He killed himself.

The kingdom was abolished, and Liang Ji so resented the memory that in the following year he changed the name of the territory to Ganling. On the other hand, many historians regarded the choice of Liu Zhi rather than Liu Suan as a lost last chance to restore the authority of Han. - *HHS* 55/45:1805-06.

Liu Taiying 劉泰英/太英, the Lady; Hanzhong. Daughter of Liu Jugong, the Lady married Yang Ju and bore him four sons and two daughters

Yang Ju died while still young, and the Lady brought up the children, admonishing her eldest son Yang Yuanzhen for drunkenness and her second Zhongzhen for his unsuitable friends. Each reformed his conduct, all four sons became noted gentlemen and officials, and the influence of her teaching was maintained for generations. - *HYGZ* 10C:170-71.

Liu Tan 劉柱; Nanyang. Younger son of Liu Xi the King of Sishui, and brother of Liu Zhong the King of Zichuan, after the death of Liu Xi in 34 Liu Tan was granted a county marquisate so that he might maintain his sacrifices. - *HHS* 14/4:563; Bn 54 appendix # 86.

Liu Tao 劉陶 or Liu Taotu 駒駟 or Liu Wei 偉 [Ziqi 子奇] (d.185); Yingchuan. Distantly descended from the royal house of Jibei in Former Han, Liu Tao's family had been transferred to Yingchuan by Emperor Guangwu. As a young man, Liu Tao was bluff and informal, loyal to his friends and companions, and had no concern for wealth or position.

For several years during the 150s Liu Tao attended the Imperial University at Luoyang. A long-term student, he became expert in *Chunqiu* and in both the Old Text and the New Text traditions of the *Classic of History*, while he was also active and influential in the political life of the capital.

In 153, when Zhu Mu the Inspector of Ji province was imprisoned for destroying the tomb of the father of the leading eunuch Zhao Zhong, Liu Tao led a mass of students from the University in protest. This was a new style of mass demonstration, and the government was persuaded to pardon Zhu Mu.

Soon afterwards, moreover, Liu Tao sent in a somewhat presumptuous memorial commenting on the fact that the Liang clan had maintained their regency even when Emperor Huan was of full age, while the emperor himself had as yet sired no sons. Relating these circumstances to a series of portents and natural disasters, Liu Tao urged reform, but his words were predictably unheeded. On the other hand, he successfully recommended the appointment of Li Ying as General on the Liao to deal with incursions of the Xianbi and troubles with the Qiang.

In 157 there was a proposal to increase the weight of the coinage. Though still a student, Liu Tao was allowed to take part in the debate, and he argued strongly that coinage was irrelevant to the requirement to relieve the hunger of the people. No change was made.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Liu Tao became a county magistrate in Runan. The territory was ravaged by disorder, but Liu Tao recruited a number of trouble-makers, forgave their crimes and formed them into a strike force to deal with others. The county was settled, and when Liu Tao left office on grounds of ill health the people celebrated his achievements in song.

During his retirement, Liu Tao continued his work of scholarship, compiling a list of rectifications of the Old Text and New Text versions of the *History*, which became known as the "Median Edition" 中文尚書.

About 180 Liu Tao was a clerk in the offices of the Excellency Yang Ci. The two men discussed the growing threat of the Yellow Turban movement, and on Liu Tao's advice Yang Ci sent in a memorial warning against Zhang Jue and his followers. As Yang Ci left office soon afterwards, however, the matter was pigeon-holed.

Liu Tao then joined the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk, and in 183 he sent in a memorial jointly with Yue Song and Yuan Gong, citing Yang Ci's earlier proposals and claiming that Yellow Turbans had infiltrated the capital and the court. This advice was likewise ignored, and Liu Tao was commissioned to compose the commentary *Chunqiu tiaoli* 春秋條例.

After Zhang Jue's rebellion broke out in the following year, Emperor Ling found the two warning documents in the archives. He enfeoffed Yang Ci and his senior colleagues, and granted Liu Tao a district marquissate.

After various promotions Liu Tao was named Director of the Imperial Secretariat, but he asked instead for a non-administrative post and was appointed Palace Attendant, a close adviser to the emperor. His criticisms were unpopular with senior officials, and it was proposed to send him out as Intendant of Jingzhao, but at this time there was purchase of offices, notionally to pay for restoration of the imperial palaces; Liu Tao was both honest and poor, so he claimed to be ill and refused to take up his duties. Admiring his ability, the emperor pardoned his recalcitrance and appointed him a Counsellor Remonstrant.

In 185 Liu Tao presented an outspoken memorial against the eunuchs, blaming their influence for the widespread rebellions, and urging their dismissal. The eunuchs accused him of exaggerating the troubles of the empire, and even suggested that he was in league with rebels. Liu Tao was taken to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, controlled by the eunuchs, and was tortured to death. He was mourned throughout the empire.

Besides commentaries and editorial work on the *History* and *Chunqiu* amounting to hundreds of thousands of characters, Liu Tao wrote a discussion of the solar system, polemics in favour of Laozi and

against the teachings of Han Feizi, and an essay to support the philosophy of Mencius. With rhapsodies, memorials and other scholarly, literary or political documents, his works amounted to over a hundred *pian*. -HHS 57/47:1842-51*, 43/33:1470, 54/44:1784, XC 3:8a-b; Yang 63:189-191, deC 89:1-3, 174-175, 180, 195-196.

Probably through confusion in the texts, the personal name of Liu Tao sometimes appears as Taotu 陶騶 or 騶陶: e.g. XC 3:8a. Cf. immediately below.

Liu Taotu 劉陶騶. Son of Liu Fu and grandson of Liu Xing, he succeeded to his father's fief. He also inherited his scholarly ability, and became a Collator in the library of the Eastern Pavilion. About 110 he was ordered by the regent Dowager Deng to join Liu Zhen, Ma Rong and Academicians of the Imperial University in preparing a definitive edition of the five Confucian classics, *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*, under the supervision of the eunuch Cai Lun.

In 120 Liu Taotu and his cousin Liu Yi were further commissioned to work with Liu Zhen and Li You on the official history of Later Han, later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. The history had been started by Ban Gu and others under orders from Emperor Ming, with the initial title "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記. This second instalment contained annals for the period 58 to 106, being the reigns of Emperors Ming, Zhang, He and the infant Shang, together with tables and biographies of leading men, imperial relatives by marriage and noted scholars; the whole compilation was now entitled *Han ji* 漢記 "Record of Han." About 125 Liu Taotu and Liu Zhen asked that the celebrated scholar Zhang Heng join in the work, but Emperor Shun did not approve. Liu Taotu and Liu Zhen died soon afterwards, and this recension of *Han ji* may not have been formally completed.

On his own account Liu Taotu compiled four *pian* of essays, rhapsodies and hymns, and he supplemented the *Exhortations* 箴 originally compiled by Yang Xiong 楊雄 and worked on by Cui Yin and Cui Yuan. -HHS 14/4:558, 59/49:1940; Bn 54:10-11 and appendix # 152. See also *sub* Liu Tao 劉陶.

Liu Taoyu 劉陶騶 see Liu Taotu 劉陶騶.

Liu Tiao 劉條. Son of Liu Shang, he succeeded to the family fief in Guangling. -HHS 42/32:1449.

Liu Tong 劉統; Qinghe. A well-known gentleman scholar, at some time in the 30s Li Tong was re-

commended to Emperor Guangwu by Du Shi the Administrator of Nanyang. -HHS 31/21:1096.

Liu Tong 劉統 (d.167). Son of Liu Bian[qin] the King of Fuling, he succeeded his father in 159.

Liu Tong was succeeded by his son She. -HHS 42/32:1446.

Liu Tuo 劉佗. Son of Liu Jian the King of Hejian, Liu Tuo was enfeoffed as a marquis. In 175 Emperor Ling named him King of Rencheng in order that he might maintain the sacrifices to Liu Kai, King of Hejian and grandfather of the late Emperor Huan. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, Liu Tuo and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 42/32:1444.

Liu Tuoren 劉它人. Liu Tuoren was a son of the marquis Liu Zhang 張. His father died in disgrace about 80, but Emperor Zhang granted Liu Tuoren his former fief so that he might maintain the family sacrifices. -HHS 14/4:553.

Liu Wan 劉丸. Liu Wan was a son of Liu Du and grandson of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan. His father had committed some fault and had not been enfeoffed with his brothers, but in 108 Liu Wan's cousin Liu Xiang recommended in his favour and Liu Wan was granted a marquisate. -HHS 42/32:1433.

Liu Wan 劉琬; Guangling. Son of Liu Yu, he maintained his father's scholarship and was expert in the interpretation of omens and of portents from natural disasters. He was nominated Sincere and Upright, but did not accept.

We are told that Liu Yu's family was destroyed after the fall of his patrons Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168, but Liu Wan may have survived until the end of proscription in the 180s. -HHS 57/47:1858.

Liu Wan 劉琬. Son of Liu Zhi the King of Donghai, in 193 Liu Wan was sent to report to the capital at Chang'an. He was enfeoffed as a marquis and named Chancellor of Pingyuan. -HHS 42/32:1426.

Liu Wang 劉望 also as Liu Sheng 聖 (d.23). A member of the imperial clan who had formerly held title as a marquis, at the time of the rising against Wang Mang he established a position in Runan commandery, and after the defeat of their army at the battle of Kunyang in the summer of 23, two of Wang Mang's generals, Zhuang You and Chen Mao, fled to him for refuge.

In the autumn, following the fall of Wang Mang, Liu Wang took the imperial title in rivalry to the

Gengshi Emperor. He named Zhuang You as his Grand Marshal and Chen Mao as Imperial Chancellor, but he and his party were destroyed by the Gengshi Emperor's general Liu Xin in the winter less than two months later. -HHS 11/1:469-70; Bn 59:29-35; Dubs 55:468.

Liu Wang 劉王, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Zhang, in 79 she was appointed Princess of Pingyi 平邑 in Dai. She married Feng You. -HHS 10B:460. [HHS 26/16:911 has the name of the Lady's fief as Ping'an 平安, while DGHJ 24:4b-5a has Anping 安平.]

Liu Wangzhi 劉望之; Nanyang. Elder brother of Liu Yi, Liu Wangzhi was an Assistant Officer under Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province. When two of his friends were slandered by rivals, Liu Biao had them executed. Liu Wangzhi protested, and he too fell from favour. Liu Yi warned him of the danger he stood in and urged him to leave, but Liu Wangzhi kept to his post; he was indeed killed soon afterwards. -SGZ 21: 613-14.

Liu Wannian 劉萬年 see Liu Wansui 劉萬歲.

Liu Wansui 劉萬歲 or Liu Wannian 萬年 (d.93). Son of Emperor Zhang by an unknown concubine, in 93 his half-brother Emperor He enfeoffed him as King of Guangzong, dividing the territory of Julu to create the new state. Liu Wansui died later that year and was buried near Luoyang. He left no heir, so the kingdom was abolished and the territory returned to Julu. -HHS 55/45:1810*.

Liu Wei 劉威 (d.96). Son of Liu Mu the King of Beihai by a concubine, in 75 Liu Wei received a district fief. When Liu Wei's half-brother Liu Ji, King of Beihai, died in 87, Emperor Zhang was unwilling to abolish the kingdom, and in 90 Emperor He awarded the succession to Liu Wei.

In 96 Liu Wei was found guilty of slander. As he was only a collateral member of the imperial lineage, a cage cart was sent to bring him to the prison of the Minister of Justice at the capital. He killed himself on the way. -HHS 14/4:558; Bn 54 appendix # 161.

Liu Wei 劉威; Nanyang. Grandson of Liu Fu, Liu Wei was a full brother of the marquis Liu Hu. Liu Hu died about 120, leaving no sons. Though Liu Wei was potentially next in line, the fief was awarded to his cousin Liu Gui, who had married Wang Yong, daughter of Emperor An's wet-nurse. -HHS 54/44:1762.

Liu Wei 劉威; Nanyang. Administrator of Jianwei, Liu Wei composed a hymn to the virtuous widow

Cheng Zhenjue.

Liu Wei 劉瑋. Minister of the Imperial Clan in 124, Liu Wei joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. They achieved no success, but their support was recognised after the accession of Liu Bao at the end of the following year. Liu Wei had died, but his son was appointed a cadet gentleman. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Liu Wei 劉鮪 (d.147); Wei [miswritten as Nan]. A local religious leader, in 147 Liu Wei joined Liu Wen of Qinghe in an attempt to set Liu Suan, King of Qinghe, upon the imperial throne in place of the young Emperor Huan. As the plot was discovered, Liu Wen and Liu Wei were executed and Liu Suan was forced to commit suicide.

Because of an alleged connection with Liu Wei, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji was also able to impeach Du Qiao and his colleague Li Gu and have them killed. -HHS 55/45:1805-06, 63/53:2087, 2093.

HHS 55/45 says that Liu Wei came from Nan commandery, but HHS 63/53 gives his place of origin as Wei. Wei bordered Qinghe, and is thus more likely than the distant territory of Nan on the middle Yangzi. HHS 43/33:1462 has the surname, probably wrongly, as Yan 嚴.

Liu Wei 劉韋; Donglai. Son of Liu Ben, he was kidnapped by bandits in 175, but rescued by his nephew Liu Yao. -SGZ Wu 4:1184.

Liu Wei 劉衛. Administrator of Guangyang in 184, Liu Wei was defeated by the Yellow Turbans. -HHS 8:349.

Liu Wei 劉威; Langye. Nephew of Liu Xun, his father served as Cao Cao's Inspector of Yu province, but took ill and died. Liu Wei also held office under Cao Cao, but he was dismissed when his uncle was executed. -SGZ 12:387.

Liu Wei 劉偉 (d.219); Nanyang. A close friend of Wei Feng, he joined his conspiracy in 219 and was executed when the plot failed. His elder brother Liu Yi had warned against Wei Feng, and was not personally involved, but he nearly shared his fate. -SGZ 21:616.

Liu Wei 劉緯 see Liu Chan 劉闡.

Liu Wei 劉偉 see Liu Tao 劉陶.

Liu [Weide] 劉偉德 (d.184); Runan. In 184 Liu Weide was a member of the local staff of the commandery. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out the Administrator Zhao Qian led out the militia, but was

defeated. Liu Weide and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though they were all killed he was able to escape. An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527.

Liu [Weitai] 劉偉臺. A master of divination, in the mid-190s Liu Weitai became a favourite of the north-western warlord Gongsun Zan and was treated by him like a brother. -SGZ 8:245.

Liu Wen 劉文 (d.147); Qinghe/Ganling. A local leader, in 147 Liu Wen joined Liu Wei of Wei commandery in planning a coup to set Liu Suan, king of Qinghe, upon the imperial throne instead of the young Emperor Huan. When the plot was found out Liu Wen kidnapped the state Chancellor Xie Gao, and sought to have him join them. When Xie Gao refused, he killed him.

Liu Wen and Liu Wei were soon captured and killed, and though Liu Suan had not been involved he was reduced to be a marquis and then forced to commit suicide. -HHS 55/45:1805-06.

Liu Wen 劉文. Son of Liu Xian the King of Ji'nan, in 126 he was made marquis of a village. -HHS 42/32:1433.

Liu Wenbo 劉文伯 see *sub* Lu Fang 盧芳.

Liu Wenhe 劉文河; Pingyuan. In 110 the local bandits Liu Wenhe and Zhou Wenguang, who styled themselves as "messengers" 使者, joined forces with the pirate Zhang Bolu. Captured one county city, they went on to attack others, and they gained a large following.

Later that year the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Wang Zong, head of the Censorate, came to take command of a combined force gathered from the province and the commandery, and after several engagements Liu Wenhe and his fellows were defeated and put to flight. There was a confused attempt to surrender to an amnesty, and a final raid on Donglai, at the tip of the Shandong peninsula, in 111, but the last of the bandits were then driven across the sea to Liaodong, where they were destroyed by the local leader Li Jiu. -HHS 5:213-14, 38/28:1277.

Liu Wuji 劉無忌 (d.141). Son of Liu Huang, he succeeded to his father's marquisate, which had been reduced from a kingdom. Soon afterwards, in 88, the testamentary edict of Emperor Zhang recalled that Liu Huang had been the lineal descendant of Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Guangwu who had led the initial rising

against Wang Mang. He urged that the royal state be restored, and in 90 Liu Wuji was promoted to be King of Qi.

Liu Wuji was succeeded by his son Xi. -*HHS* 14/4: 554, 4:170; Bn 54 appendix # 160.

Liu Xi 劉歙 [Jingsun 經孫] (d.34); Nanyang. A distant cousin of Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, Liu Xi was an early supporter of the rebellion against Wang Mang, and his son Liu Zhong gave valuable assistance in the capture of Huiyuan during the early stages of the campaign.

Liu Xi and Liu Zhong accompanied the Gengshi Emperor to Chang'an and Liu Xi was enfeoffed as a king. After the Gengshi Emperor was destroyed in 25 both men went to join Guangwu at Luoyang; in the following year Liu Xi was again granted a royal fief, this time as King of Sishui, while Liu Zhong also became a king.

Liu Xi died in 34, and it is said that Liu Zhong was so affected by grief that he followed him a few weeks later. Their descendants held only the rank of marquis. -*HHS* 14/4:563; Bn 54:107 and appendix # 56, Bn 59:53.

Liu Xi 劉細 or Liu Gan 紺 (d.26); Zhending/Changshan. A cousin of Liu Yang the King of Zhending, in 25 he joined him in planning insurrection. The envoy Geng Chun trapped them with a false invitation, and both men were killed. -*HHS* 21/11:764.

Liu Xi 劉喜 or Liu Jia 嘉 [Gongzhong 共仲] (d.29); Julu. Younger brother of Liu Zhi, when Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, Liu Zhi, Liu Xi and their cousin Liu Xin gathered clan troops and personal retainers numbering several thousand men, and seized the local county city of Changcheng. Declaring their support for Han, they opened the gates to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Zhi was made a general and Liu Xi and Liu Xin became lieutenant-generals; all were granted title as marquises.

In 26 Liu Xi was with Cen Peng in operations against the rebels Dong Xin and Deng Feng in Nanyang. When his brother Liu Zhi died in battle in Yingchuan, Guangwu had Liu Xi take over his men, gave him too a general's title and also promoted him to a county fief.

At the end of 27 Zhang Feng the Administrator of Zhuo commandery joined the rebel Peng Chong

of Yuyang, and in the summer of 28 Liu Xi and Zhai Cun were sent to attack him. They were successful within a few weeks, Zhang Feng was executed, and they next turned north against Peng Chong. Peng Chong attempted a counter-attack, but the troops of Shanggu under Geng Shu routed a column of Xiongnu auxiliaries led by his brother Peng Chun, and the imperial forces followed up. As Geng Shu and his father the Administrator Geng Kuang attacked from Shanggu, Zhai Cun and Liu Xi moved in from the south. Early in 29, with his cause clearly lost, Peng Chong was killed by his own slaves.

Liu Xi evidently died soon after this campaign, and his command was transferred to his cousin Liu Xin. His marquise was maintained for some generations, but the names of his descendants are not recorded. - *HHS* 21/11:760.

Liu Xi 劉喜/熹 [Jiming 季明]; Donglai. Minister of the Household at the end of the reign of Emperor An, in 123 Liu Xi was named Excellency over the Masses. In 125, after Emperor An died on tour and as the Yan clan of his Dowager concealed the news, Liu Xi carried out state sacrifice as if the ruler was still alive. Then, when the Little Emperor Liu Yi was placed upon the throne by the Dowager Yan, Liu Xi became Grand Commandant and shared control of the Secretariat with the Grand Tutor Feng Shi.

When Emperor Shun was brought to the throne by the eunuch coup at the end of the year, Liu Xi continued as Grand Commandant, but in 126 he and other officials were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu for their earlier support of the Yan clan. There was some opposition to raking over old wrongs, and argument that the men had simply accorded with the situation at the time, but Yu Xu pressed the matter of personal responsibility, and Liu Xi, Feng Shi and their colleagues were dismissed. -*HHS* 5:237-42, 6:252, 10B:436, 58/48:1870, 101/11:3242.

Liu Xi 劉喜 (d.146). Son of Liu Wuji the King of Qi, he succeeded his father in 141.

Liu Xi was succeeded by his son Cheng. -*HHS* 14/4:554; Bn 54 appendix # 163.

Liu Xi 劉熙 [Chengguo 成國]; Beihai. A noted scholar, Liu Xi compiled commentaries to *Mencius*, to the *Book of Filial Piety* and to the history of Han, together with a study of posthumous titles *Shi fa* 諡法, a set of biographies of women and the *Shi ming* 釋名 dictionary. This last is an important source for

the theory of language in the Han period, emphasising the correspondence of name and reality by means of glosses identifying the semantic value of a character through puns of similar sound.

During the 190s Liu Xi went to the far south, where he became a teacher to many of the local people and emigrés, and he may have been Administrator of Rinan [miswritten as Annan 安南 in the texts]. -*SGZJJ* Shu 12:5a-6a; Hou Kang:2109, Yao Zhenzong:2323, *Texts*:424-428 [Miller].

Liu Xi 劉熙 (d.216). Son of Liu Rong the King of Langye, when his father died in 193 he did not succeed to the fief. The state was ended, but in 206, as recognition of the support shown to Cao Cao by his uncle Liu Miao, it was restored in favour of Liu Xi.

In 216, however, Liu Xi was found guilty of having planned to cross the Yangzi to join Sun Quan. He was executed and the state was abolished. -*HHS* 42/32:1452.

Liu Xi 劉熙. Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, presumably by a concubine, in 212 Liu Xi was enfeoffed as King of Jiyin. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -*HHS* 9:386, 390.

Liu Xian 劉憲. Administrator of Lelang under the Gengshi Emperor, Liu Xian was killed about 25 by the local rebel Wang Tiao. -*HHS* 76/66:2464.

Liu Xian 劉憲; Pengcheng. Son of Liu Ban, Liu Xian was a younger brother of Liu Kai. When their father died in 78 his fief should have passed to Liu Kai, but he ceded the succession to Liu Xian. -*HHS* 39/29:1306; Bn 54 appendix # 145.

Liu Xian 劉羨 (d.96). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 60 Liu Xian was enfeoffed as King of Guangping 廣平, divided from Julu. When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 78, senior officials recommended that Liu Xian, Liu Gong, and Liu Dang should be sent out to their states, but their half-brother Emperor Zhang would not be parted from them and they remained at the capital. A keen and authoritative student of Confucianism, Liu Xian took part in the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79.

Because Guangping was close to the northern frontier and expensive to defend, in 82 Liu Xian was made King of Xiping, comprising eight counties taken from Runan. When Emperor Zhang died in 88, his testament transferred Liu Xian's fief to Huaiyang

commandery, renamed Chen. In that year the new government of Emperor He under the regency of the Dowager Dou ordered Liu Xian and his brother kings to leave the capital for the first time and reside in their states.

Liu Xian was succeeded by his son Jun, and his younger sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. -*HHS* 50/40:1667-68*.

Liu Xian 劉憲 (d.118). Son of Liu Yan 焉 the King of Zhongshan, he succeeded his father in 90. He was succeeded by his son Hong, and two younger sons were later granted village marquises. -*HHS* 42/32:1450, 5:228.

Liu Xian 劉顯 (d.128). Son of Liu Cuo the King of Ji'nan, in 108 he was made a marquis. In 126, after the death of his brother Liu Xiang in the previous year, Liu Xian was named King of Ji'nan to restore the lineage.

Liu Xian was succeeded by his son Guang. -*HHS* 42/32:1433.

Liu Xian 劉先 [Shizong 始宗]; Lingling. A man of learning, both in Huang-Lao doctrines and in the legal precedents of Han, Liu Xian became Attendant Officer to Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province. He urged Liu Biao to ally himself with Cao Cao, but when he visited the imperial court he warned Cao Cao not to attack Liu Biao. He then became Administrator of Wuling, south of the Yangzi on the margin of Liu Biao's control.

After Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Liu Xian joined the Imperial Secretariat of Han, and he later became head of the royal Secretariat of Wei. -*SGZ* 6:216.

Liu Xian 劉羨. Son of Liu Zhi 祗 the King of Donghai, Liu Xian succeeded his father in 200. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220 he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -*HHS* 42/32:1427. On some textual confusions over the kingdom of Donghai at this time, see *sub* Liu Zhi.

Liu Xiande 劉賢得 or Liu Jiande 堅得, the Lady (d.130). Daughter of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe and thus an aunt of Emperor Shun, Liu Xiande was enfeoffed as Princess of Yincheng 陰城.

The Lady married Ban Shi, but she was arrogant and vicious. When she took a lover she would call Ban Shi into the room and had him stand at the bed-side to watch. At last, in 130, Ban Shi became so angry that he stabbed her to death.

Emperor Shun avenged the Lady by having Ban Shi cut in two at the waist. -HHS 47/37:1586, *DGHJ* 16:2b.

Liu Xiang 劉襄; Runan. Son of Liu Li 颯, he succeeded to his fief in 26. -HS 17:672.

Liu Xiang 劉向; Julu. Son of Liu Zhi, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in 26, though the command of troops was given to Liu Xiang's uncle Liu Xi. The fief was later transferred into Dong commandery. -HHS 21/11:760.

Liu Xiang 劉向 see Liu Shang 劉尚: *HHSJJ* 20/10:773 mentions a Liu Xiang as General Who is Firm and Majestic in the army against Wei Ao in 31, and Hui Dong identifies this man with the son of Liu Zhi. The name, however, has been miswritten for that of Liu Shang, who held that title as a general and who is described by other sources as taking part in that campaign. -HHSJJ 18/8:723-24 Qian Dazhao.

Liu Xiang 劉襄. According to the Annals of Emperor Guangwu, in the summer of 38, following the defeat of the pretender Lu Fang in the previous year, the Xiongnu sent an embassy offering tribute to the court of Han, and the General of the Household Liu Xiang was sent on a return embassy. It should be noted, however, that the Xiongnu were at this time raiding the border territories of Han and continuing to press against Chinese territory. -HHS 1B:63.

Liu Xiang 劉香 (d.125). Son of Liu Cuo the King of Ji'nan, Liu Xiang was serious and fond of learning. He succeeded his father in 103.

When his four younger brothers were enfeoffed in 108, Liu Xiang asked that his cousins Liu Wan and Liu Song also receive marquisates, though their fathers had earlier lost their titles for wrong-doing.

Liu Xiang left no sons when he died. The kingdom was ended, but was soon afterwards revived for his brother Liu Xian. -HHS 42/32:1432-33.

Liu Xiang 劉祥 of Guangling: see Liu Bian 辯. -XC 3:8b.

Liu Xiang 劉祥 (d.190); Lingling. Son of Liu Yao, in 189 Liu Xiang was Administrator of Jiangxia. As Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha went north to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo, Liu Xiang took title as a general and accompanied him. The Administrator of Nanyang Zhang Zi failed to provide supplies and Sun Jian killed him, but the people of Nanyang later turned against Liu Xiang as his associate. He was defeated and killed. -SGZ Shu 9.980.

Liu Xiang 劉詳. A general under Yuan Shu, Liu Xiang was defeated by Cao Cao in 193. -SGZ 1:10.

Liu Xiao 劉孝; Qi. A descendant of Liu Zhang 劉章, grandson of Emperor Gao who became King of Chengyang 城陽 during Former Han, Liu Xiao's marquisate was abolished by Wang Mang. About 20 he joined the Red Eyebrows, either by force or voluntarily, and when the bandits sought to establish their own emperor in 25 they looked for members of the lineage of Liu Zhang. With the brothers Liu Mao and Liu Penzi, Liu Xiao was one of three direct descendants who were available. He took part in the drawing of lots to decide the new ruler, but the choice fell upon Liu Penzi. -HHS 11/1:480.

Liu Xiaomin 劉小民, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 76 she was appointed Princess of Cheng'an in Yingchuan. -HHS 10B:460.

Liu Xiaoji 劉小姬, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 69 she was appointed Princess of Pinggao in Henei. She married Deng Fan. -HHS 10B:459.

Liu Xiaoying 劉小迎, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 76 she was appointed Princess of Luoping in Dong commandery. -HHS 10B:460.

Liu Xiaqing 劉俠卿. A chieftain of the Red Eyebrows in the early 20s, he styled himself Officer of the Troops of the Enclosure of the Right 右校卒吏 after the title of a convict guard. He had charge of herding the cattle which accompanied the bandits, and in this capacity he was the supervisor of the kidnapped gentry Liu Mao and Liu Penzi. Though Liu Penzi was named emperor by the Red Eyebrows in 25, he avoided any role in the leadership, and as he returned to his herds Liu Xiaqing arranged a simple costume and a carriage for him. -HHS 11/1:480-81. YSS:9a has the name of this man as Liu Zhongqing 劉仲卿.

Liu Xie 劉協 [Bohe 伯和] (181-234) [Emperor Xian 獻帝 (reg. 189-220)]. In the summer of 180 the Beauty Wang, concubine of Emperor Ling, became pregnant. It is said that, frightened of the Empress He, she took drugs to abort the child, but the medicine failed; she also reported dreams that she was carrying the sun. In the spring of 181, on 2 April, first day of the third month, the Lady Wang gave birth to a son; seven days later the empress poisoned her.

The boy was a favourite of his father, who gave him the name Xie, meaning "resembles me." He entrusted him to the eunuch Zhu Zhi, who concealed the child and found him a wet-nurse, and Liu Xie was

later cared for by his grandmother the Dowager Dong; he was known as Lord Dong 董侯 in distinction to his elder half-brother Liu Bian, Lord Shi, son of the Empress He.

When Emperor Ling died in 189, the Empress, now Dowager, and her brother He Jin put Liu Bian on the throne, while Liu Xie was made King of Bohai. In the autumn, however, He Jin was killed by the eunuchs, who were then themselves massacred. A small party, seizing Liu Xie and the young emperor, sought to escape north from Luoyang, but they were caught at the Yellow River and the eunuchs were killed.

As the two imperial children were brought back to the city they came into the hands of the general Dong Zhuo, who seized power to reform the government. Dong Zhuo was not impressed by Liu Bian, and he preferred Liu Xie on account of his connection with the Lady Dong, mother of Emperor Ling and a notional member of his own clan.

On 28 September 189 Dong Zhuo placed Liu Xie upon the throne. At that time aged 9 *sui*, he had no practical support and no power. In spring 190 he was obliged to move west to Chang'an, where he was held in effective captivity. Dong Zhuo's assassination in 192 was followed by the short-lived rule of Wang Yun and the capture of the city by Dong Zhuo's former officers led by Li Jue. Under their brutal regime, Liu Xie had a few small successes: after taking the cap of manhood in 194, he refused to establish a harem until his mother had been suitably honoured and ritually buried with his father Emperor Ling; and he punished the Imperial Clerk Hou Wen for corruption and enforced an honest distribution of grain.

In 195 the military leadership group fell apart. Li Jue took hold of the emperor, Guo Si kidnapped his senior officials, and as their unruly troops ravaged the palace and its people the ruler himself was nearly hit by flying arrows. He sought to make peace between the rival warlords, and in the late summer there was an exhausted truce. In September, aided by Zhang Ji and the adviser Jia Xu, Liu Xie bluffed his way out of the city and travelled towards the east.

The journey was contested at every stage, but by the end of the year, after a heavy defeat of his escort in Hongnong, a small imperial party escaped across the Yellow River north into Henei. Re-establishing the semblance of a court at Anyi, the emperor persuaded his quarrelsome supporters to assist a return to Luoyang,

and in the autumn of 196 he took up residence at the former capital.

The position, however, was untenable: the city had been devastated, the people were starving, the troops and their leaders were ill-disciplined and unreliable, and the fifteen-year-old ruler had no base of personal power. When Cao Cao, warlord of Yan province, came to Luoyang and played the factions against each other, he found small difficulty in transferring the court and the capital to Xu city in Yingchuan, present-day Xuchang in Henan.

Cao Cao could now act in the ruler's name, and he used that borrowed authority most skilfully in the political and military manoeuvres of the next twenty-five years, the period proclaimed as Jian'an 建安 "Established Peace". The emperor gained the security of a competent guard, but he never left the city or his practical imprisonment again.

Liu Xie was not entirely passive, but he could take no effective action. In 199 he persuaded his cousin and boyhood friend Dong Cheng into a conspiracy against Cao Cao, but the plot was discovered early in 200; Dong Cheng and his fellows were killed, and Cao Cao also demanded the Honoured Lady Dong, daughter of Dong Cheng. She was pregnant at the time, and the emperor pleaded for her, but to no avail. In 214 his Empress Fu was likewise arrested and died, officially because she had encouraged her father Fu Wan to plot against Cao Cao, but no doubt also because her death cleared the way for the Honoured Lady Cao Jie, second daughter of Cao Cao who had been taken with two sisters into the harem in 213, to be appointed empress.

After Cao Pi succeeded his father, he forced Liu Xie to abdicate: at a ceremony held outside Xu city on 11 December 220 the Han dynasty was ended and Cao Pi was proclaimed emperor of Wei. Liu Xie was made Duke of Shanyang 山陽公, with special precedence and privileges, and sent to reside at his fief county in Henei. He died on 21 April 234 and was buried there on 30 September. His tomb was given the title "Mound of Contemplation" 禪陵.

Liu Xie's posthumous imperial title of Xian 獻, proclaimed by Wei, reflects his "offering" of the throne to the new dynasty. At the time of his abdication in 220, however, Liu Bei in Shu-Han held mourning as if he had actually died, and awarded him the title Min 愍 "Beleaguered" in reference to the oppression he had

suffered from the Cao family.

Liu Xie was succeeded by his grandson Kang 康, and the fief was maintained until the early fourth century; as the dynasty of Western Jin fell into ruin, the last duke was killed by non-Chinese invaders. -*HHS* 9*; deC 96.

Liu Xie 劉偕; Langye. In 199 Liu Xie's cousin Liu Xun, Administrator of Lujiang, sent him to Hua Xin in Yuzhang to seek supplies for the refugees who had come to him after the death of Yuan Shu. Though Hua Xin appeared willing, his subordinate territories would not provide any substantial help.

Liu Xie wrote to Liu Xin, encouraging him to make a surprise attack, but when he did so he was cut off by Sun Ce's troops and lost Lujiang commandery. They were eventually driven north to join Cao Cao. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1108.

Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC-AD 23) see *QHX*:383-386.

Liu Xin 劉信; Nanyang. Son of Liu Xian 顯 the elder brother of Liu Ci, after the execution of his father he joined Liu Ci in raising a band of retainers to slaughter their rivals in a vendetta. The two then fled, but later benefited from an amnesty and were able to return to their estates.

In the winter of 22 Liu Ci and Liu Xin were among the first to join the Han rebels against Wang Mang led by Liu Bosheng, and when their cousin Liu Xuan was proclaimed as the Gengshi Emperor in 23 Liu Xin was sent to take over the campaign in Runan.

After the Gengshi Emperor set his capital at Chang'an in 24 Liu Xin was enfeoffed as a king. Sent to settle the lands south of the Yangzi, he occupied Yuzhang, but in the following year he was attacked and defeated by Zhang Long the Administrator of Guiyang. He went to Luoyang to make terms with the new Emperor Guangwu, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Ruyin.

Like his cousin Liu Min, Liu Xin was involved in the disgrace of the King of Chu, Liu Ying, in 70. He was stripped of his fief. -*HHS* 14/4:564-66; Bn 54 appendix # 115.

Liu Xin 劉歆 [Xijun 細君]; Julu. When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, Liu Xin joined his cousins Liu Zhi and Liu Xi in declaring support for Han. Gathering several thousand clan troops and personal retainers, they seized the city of Changcheng and opened the gates to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner

for the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Zhi was named a general and Liu Xi and Liu Xin became lieutenant-generals, while all received title as marquises.

When Liu Zhi died in 26, Guangwu had Liu Xi take over his troops, and after Liu Xi's death in 29 Liu Xin succeeded him with title as a general; he was also awarded a county fief in Bohai.

That year Liu Xin was sent as subordinate to Geng Yan in operations against the eastern warlord Zhang Bu. In battle at Linzi against Zhang Bu's main army, Geng Yan allowed himself to be driven back in order to entice the enemy into the city, and Liu Xin's men held them there until Geng Yan launched a counter-attack to take Zhang Bu's men on the flank.

In the early 30s Liu Xin took part in the attack against Wei Ao, and in 35 he commanded an army under Cen Peng and Wu Han in the assault up the Yangzi against Gongsun Shu. He accompanied Cen Peng and Zang Gong in the van of the invasion.

It is not known when Liu Xin died. We are told that his fief was transferred to his descendants, but none of them are noted by the histories. -*HHS* 21/11:760, 19/9:708-11, 17/7:661.

Liu Xin 劉歆; Nanyang. Second son of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, in 26 he came with his mother and his brothers to Emperor Guangwu and was granted enfeoffment. -*HHS* 11/1:476; Bn 54 appendix # 113.

Liu Xin 劉訢; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Liu Xin was associated with a new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -*LS* 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Liu Xin 劉歆. As a senior officer in the Imperial Secretariat, about 170, Liu Xin was a close friend of his direct colleague Du Xi and the junior colleague Huan Bin. They would eat and drink together, but they despised Feng Fang, who was son-in-law to the powerful eunuch Cao Jie, and never asked him to join them. Resentful at this exclusion, Feng Fang accused the companions of forming a faction. When the Director Liu Meng took no action, Cao Jie had him dismissed and proscribed from office. -*HHS* 37/27:1262.

Liu Xing 劉興 (d.30). Liu Xing succeeded Su Jing as Guangwu's Administrator of Dai commandery, but in the summer of 30 he was killed in battle against Lu Fang's general Jia Lan. -*HHS* 1B:49; Bn 67:106.

Liu Xing 劉興. Probably the son of Liu Shun 劉舜, King of Changsha under Former Han who was deposed

by Wang Mang, Liu Xing was restored to the royal fief by the Gengshi Emperor and maintained there by Emperor Guangwu. In 37, however, with other kings outside the immediate imperial family, he was reduced in rank to be a marquis. -*HHS* 1B:61; Bn 59:47, Bn 67:25.

Liu Xing 劉興/行 (d.64); Nanyang. Younger son of Liu Bosheng, the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu, in 26 Liu Xing was enfeoffed as King of Lu, with responsibility for the sacrifices owed to his late uncle Liu Zhong. In 37 he was reduced to ducal rank, but in 43 the royal title was restored.

Like his brother Liu Zhang, Liu Xing was granted special permission to hold official positions. Having distinguished himself as a county magistrate in Henan, he was appointed Administrator of Hongnong. There he found out and punished the crimes of the local officer Zhang Shen, and in a time of drought he sent worthy scholars to inspect the county prisons and release those guilty of minor offences; the territory was rewarded with opportune rain.

After four years, Liu Xing returned to Luoyang with the title Servant at Court, authorising him to reside at the capital, but in 51 he was sent out to live on his fief. In the following year he was transferred to be King of Beihai, while the territory of Lu was taken to augment the fief of the former Heir Liu Qiang, now King of Donghai. In 54 Liu Xing's son Fu was enfeoffed as a county marquis, and in 57 another two sons received equivalent honours. It is said that Emperor Ming valued Liu Xing's advice and consulted him on matters of state.

When Liu Xing died in 64, it is said that all work in his state ceased in mourning for him, while the celebrated writer Fu Yi composed a eulogy. On the other hand, he had arranged that his treasure was not passed intact to his eldest son and successor Liu Mu, but was distributed among his younger brothers. Several items were pieces of royal regalia to which marquises were not entitled, and these had to be bought back later. -*HHS* 14/4:555-56*; Bn 54 appendix # 115.

Liu Xing 劉興, the Lady. Fourth daughter of Emperor He, in 106 she was appointed Princess of Wenxi 聞喜 in Hedong. -*HHS* 10B:461.

Liu Xing 劉興. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -*HHS* 50/40:1671.

Liu Xiong 劉雄. In 108 Liu Xiong was a county magistrate in Pingyuan when the pirate chieftain Bi Hao came into the commandery. Liu Xiong led a local force by boat against him, and they fought on the Yellow River. His men were defeated and Liu Xiong was captured. The bandits were going to spear him, but his junior officer Suo Fu asked to take his place. So Liu Xiong was released and Suo Fu was killed. -*HHS* 81/71:2672.

Liu Xiong 劉雄; Zhuo. Claiming descent from Emperor Jing of Former Han through the kings of Zhongshan and a short-lived fief in Zhuo held by the cadet lineage, Liu Xiong was an officer in the local commandery and provincial administrations about 150. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a county magistrate in Dong commandery.

Liu Xiong's grandson Liu Bei became First Sovereign 先主 of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 2:879.

Liu Xiong 劉熊 [Mengyang 孟陽]; Guangling. Descended in a cadet branch from the kings of Guangling, Liu Xiong was probably a son of Liu Ping and a younger brother of Liu Biao. As a county magistrate in Chenliu, he was honoured with a stele inscribed with the names of 180 sponsors and donors. -*LS* 5:15a-18b, Nagata 94:276-78, *SJZ* 8:3a.

Liu Xiong 劉雄 see Liu Xiongming 劉雄鳴. -*SGZ* 10:270.

Liu Xiongming 劉雄鳴 also as Liu Xiong or Liu Mingxiong [possibly a sobriquet: "Cock-crow"]; Jingzhao. As a young man, Liu Xiongming made his living by hunting and gathering medicines in the wilderness; he was credited with the ability to create clouds and mist.

During the 190s Liu Xiongming took refuge in the hills from the troubles at Chang'an. He was joined by many refugees, and later received recognition from the provincial and commandery authorities. Maintaining his independence, he rejected the local warlord Ma Chao, and though he surrendered to Cao Cao in 211 his followers soon forced him to turn away again. He then briefly opposed Xiahou Yuan, but was defeated and fled to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong.

As Cao Cao took Hanzhong Liu Xiongming was again obliged to submit, and he was sent away to an official post in Bohai. -*SGZ* 8:266, 10:270 [as Liu Xiong].

Liu Xiu 劉秀 [Wenshu 文叔] (5 BC-AD 57) [Emperor

Guangwu 光武 (*reg.* 25-57)]; Nanyang. Liu Xiu was born on 13 January 5 BC in the *yamen* of Jiyang county in Chenliu, where his father Liu Qin 欽 was magistrate. He was the third son of Liu Qin and the Lady Fan Xiandu, and the youngest brother of Liu Yan [referred to in this work by his style Bosheng]. Claiming distant descent from Emperor Gao through Emperor Jing of Former Han, the family had lost their noble status at the hands of Wang Mang, but retained position as prosperous local gentry.

Liu Qin died in 4 AD., and Liu Xiu, probably with his two elder brothers, went to the care of his father's younger brother Liu Liang, who was at that time the magistrate of Xiao county in Pei, where Liu Xiu attended school. When Liu Xiu grew to manhood he is said to have been 7 foot 3 inches tall [170 cm], slightly above the average height of seven feet, with a fine beard and prominent nose and forehead; much of this description, however, reflects the legendary attributes of a future emperor rather than the reality of Liu Xiu's appearance.

From about the age of 15 Liu Xiu spent some five years at the imperial capital, Chang'an, where he was formally studied the *Classic of Poetry* under the Palace Counsellor Xu Ziwei 許子威 of Lujiang. Even his biography in the imperial Annals claims only that he obtained a general idea of the classic; he was really just a young man about town.

Liu Xiu went back to the family estates in Chongling district of Caiyang county, but returned to Chang'an about 21 for a tax case on behalf of his distant cousin Liu Chang, former Marquis of Chongling. Liu Xiu's life as a member of the landed gentry, however, was disturbed by the activities of his eldest brother Bosheng, who had gathered a gang of retainers and, while perhaps harbouring ideas of rebellion to restore the Han, had also taken to banditry and plunder.

To avoid involvement as a relative of the trouble-maker, early in 22 Liu Xiu went to Xinye to take refuge with Deng Chen, husband of his sister Yuan. He was briefly arrested, but was thereafter protected by local influence and by a personal friendship with the magistrate Pan Lin. Liu Xiu also met Yin Lihua, daughter of another powerful family in Xinye, and in 23 she became his formal concubine.

THE INITIAL REBELLION

Before this, when Liu Xiu was in Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, to sell grain, he was approached

by Li Yi, member of a leading local clan, and invited to meet his cousin Li Tong to consider rebellion against Wang Mang. Since Liu Bosheng had killed a half-brother of Li Tong, there was an uneasy relationship between the two families, but Liu Xiu agreed to the meeting, and although he went armed the two sides did agree to combine their forces. As Bielenstein observes, Liu Xiu was a useful first intermediary, but the leading role in his family was held by Liu Bosheng. Details of the early course of events are presented in the entries for Liu Bosheng and Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor.

The rising was called for the beginning of winter in 22, and Liu Xiu was commissioned to buy crossbows and other weapons; private ownership of crossbows in particular had been outlawed by Wang Mang in 10 AD. Liu Xiu then joined Li Yi in raising troops at Wan; they made no attempt to seize the city, but went to join the main body of the rebels at Chongling district, home country of the Liu family. Liu Bosheng was there acknowledged as leader and received additional support from troops of commoner bandits who had entered Nanyang from the south.

Liu Xiu killed some local officials and then joined an advance against Wan city. He barely escaped with his life from the defeat at Xiao-Chang'an, but by the following year Liu Bosheng had made alliance with a second group of bandits and returned to the fray. He defeated two armies of Wang Mang and now laid siege to Wan, but his position within the rebel movement was challenged by the election of his cousin Liu Xuan, the Gengshi Emperor, as the Han party's claimant for the throne. Liu Xiu was named Minister of Ceremonies under the new regime, while Liu Bosheng became Excellency over the Masses and continued to command the siege of Wan.

The newly-proclaimed government now sent another force, with Liu Xiu as a lieutenant-general, to take the north and east of Nanyang and move into Yingchuan, Runan and Pei. In the summer a major army led by Wang Mang's generals Wang Xun 王尋 and Wang Yi 王邑 came to Yingchuan, and the Han troops were driven into the city of Kunyang. Having escaped the encirclement, on 7 July Liu Xiu and some other leaders returned with reinforcements. Wang Xun and Wang Yi gave chief concern to the siege, and they sent only a minor force to hold off the relief but that detachment was defeated and the Han forces, with Liu Xiu in command of the van, attacked the besiegers

from the rear. Aided by a sortie from the city, they gained a decisive victory.

The success at Kunyang produced quantities of supplies for the Han cause, and destroyed Wang Mang's major strategy to deal with the rebellion. Though one must accept that historians of Han tended to exaggerate the role played by Liu Xiu, it appears that he deserved considerable credit for the victory, and had obtained a position of respect independent of his energetic elder brother. Such status soon became important, for though Wan city had surrendered to Liu Bosheng three days before the battle of Kunyang, a few weeks later the Gengshi Emperor rid himself of his potential rival by executing him on a charge of treason.

Liu Xiu was thus left as effective head of his family group, with the problem of dealing in proper terms with the man who was responsible for the death of his brother but was nonetheless leader of the Han cause. Both found the relationship difficult, but Liu Xiu's achievements at Kunyang, besides his relationship to the initial leader of the rebellion, meant that he could not be disregarded. He remained on campaign in Yingchuan, with mixed success, until Liu Bosheng's death, but then returned quickly to Wan.

With his life clearly in danger, he resigned his ministerial office, he wore no mourning for his brother, and generally behaved as if nothing untoward had happened. For his part, the Gengshi Emperor promoted Liu Xiu to a general and enfeoffed him as a marquis of title. Such generosity indicates embarrassment for the past and an attempt at reconciliation with a notable group of imperial kinsmen; and it reflects both Liu Xiu's importance and also some expectation that he could be kept under control and would not embark upon a vendetta.

COMMISSIONER IN THE NORTH 23-24

In the autumn of 23, after the destruction of Wang Mang at Chang'an, the Gengshi Emperor named Liu Xiu as Acting Director of Retainers, and sent him to rebuild the palaces and offices in Luoyang in preparation for the transfer of the capital from Wan. A few weeks later, messengers were dispatched by the new regime to establish authority in the various regions of the empire; Liu Xiu was sent as a commissioner to the north, holding title as Acting Grand Marshal and bearing the Staff of Authority to make appointments and carry out punishments in the emperor's name.

Though Liu Xiu and his friends had sought the post, the appointment had been opposed by Zhu Wei and other advisers, and the emperor himself had doubts about the wisdom of granting such an independent command. On the other hand, each commissioner had to rely ultimately upon his personal authority and such connections as he could make; Liu Xiu had no past association with the north of the Yellow River, and he was only one amongst a number of other officials and local leaders.

Liu Xiu's primary area of responsibility was in Ji province, and he proceeded first to Ye, chief city of Wei commandery, then to Handan, capital of Zhao, and further north through Julu. Early in 24 he was in Shanggu, and at this time he faced perhaps his greatest threat, and surely his greatest opportunity, through the rebellion of Wang Lang.

Wang Lang had considerable reputation as a diviner, physiognomist and astrologer, and in the time of confusion which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang he developed a claim that he was a long-lost son of Emperor Cheng of Former Han. Few may have believed this fiction, but Wang Lang obtained the support of local magnates and was aided by general fear of the Red Eyebrows. In the winter of 23/24 he took the imperial title in Handan city, and his authority spread swiftly across north-eastern China as far as Liaodong.

Liu Xiu was at that time in Ji city in Guangyang, isolated from his natural sources of supply in the south, while Wang Lang's local support was so strong that he could raise no troops to oppose him. Escaping under close pursuit, he made his way to Xindu, where he was received by the loyalist Ren Guang. From there he marched in a half-circle north to gather troops, gained a series of successes, then turned to attack Zhao. Taken by surprise, however, the Han forces were defeated, and though Liu Xiu was able to recover much of their baggage he was driven to refuge at Guang'e city in Julu.

At this low point, reinforcements arrived from Shanggu and Yuyang, where the administrators Peng Chong and Geng Kuang had agreed to support the Han cause. Both men came from outside the region and were unaffected by the local appeal of Wang Lang, and both hoped for advancement from Liu Xiu. As they came south, moreover, the troops led by Wu Han and Geng Yan laid waste to Wang Lang's position in

the north and turned the balance of power. Hereafter Liu Xiu could take the offensive with confidence, and though he suffered further setbacks, and support for Wang Lang remained strong, he received valuable assistance from the Gengshi Emperor's general Xie Gong, approaching from the south. At the beginning of summer the Han forces moved against Handan; the city fell three weeks later, and Wang Lang was killed as he fled.

The rebellion of Wang Lang had lasted little more than six months, and though Liu Xiu had faced moments of danger the rewards of victory were considerable. He gained gentry support by taking the Lady Guo Shengtong, niece of Liu Yang the King of Zhending, into his harem, while those who had supported Wang Lang were destroyed or forced to submit. More importantly, though there were many bandits and there would be further trouble with local leaders, including his temporary allies Peng Chong and Liu Yang, Liu Xiu now commanded the major organised forces north of the Yellow River.

IMPERIAL POWER 24-30

Soon after the destruction of Wang Lang, in an attempt to bring this new political player under control, the Gengshi Emperor sent a messenger to enfeoff Liu Xiu as King of Xiao, the county in Pei where he had been brought up, but ordering him also to disband his troops and return to court at Chang'an. Encouraged by his officers, Liu Xiu predictably refused. He concealed his plans from his erstwhile ally the Gengshi general Xie Gong long enough to have him trapped and killed by Wu Han, then sent Wu Han and Geng Yan north to take control in You province.

Some of Liu Xiu's excuse for not dismissing his army was that there was still major threat of banditry, and for the time being he concentrated on the northern plain, eliminating any official opposition, defeating several bandit formations and persuading the men and their leaders to join his army; he received so many troops in this way that the Gengshi court described him as the Bronze Horse Emperor 銅馬帝, after the name of one of the major groups. In the autumn of 24 a wing of the Red Eyebrows crossed the Yellow River into Henei, but Liu Xiu defeated them and drove the remnants south, where they joined the main force advancing west towards Chang'an. By the end of the year the Red Eyebrows had entered the passes and the Gengshi Emperor, already isolated from the bulk of the

empire, was trapped. After months of confusion, in the winter of 25 the emperor was forced to surrender, and the region of the former capital fell into total disorder.

In the mean time, as he continued to deal with opposition in the further north, Liu Xiu sent Kou Xun and Feng Yi south into Henei: Kou Xun to take over the administration and Feng Yi to face the Gengshi garrison in Luoyang across the Yellow River. At the end of the summer of 25 they gained a major success and soon afterwards, on 5 August, Liu Xiu acceded to the urgings of his followers and took the imperial title at He 鄴 in Changshan; splitting its character, the county was renamed Gaoyi 高邑 "Eminent City." He proclaimed the reign-title Jianwu 建武 "Establishing Military Power" [Bielenstein: "Inauguration of Firmness"], and he is known to history by his posthumous dynastic title Guangwu 光武 "Military Brilliance." He was thirty years old, and would reign for thirty-two years.

As the Gengshi Emperor fell three months later, and the Red Eyebrows nominee Liu Penzi was clearly a nonentity, Guangwu became chief claimant to the throne. Zhu Wei, commander of the Gengshi troops in Luoyang, surrendered; though formerly a political enemy he was treated generously, and others gained confidence in the opportunity to change sides. Guangwu now set his residence in the recognised imperial city of Luoyang, and he held or acquired control over the greater part of the empire north of the Yellow River.

During 26 the incoherent regime of the peasant-led Red Eyebrows, having exhausted the region of Chang'an, attempted a sortie further to the west, but they were defeated and driven back by Wei Ao, warlord of the upper Wei valley. Returning towards the east, they were attacked with varied success by Guangwu's generals Deng Yu and Feng Yi, and in the spring of 27 they were finally trapped in Hongnong and were forced to surrender. Most were resettled about Luoyang, to provide a basis for the new capital and to keep them under surveillance.

For the time being, Guangwu made no further move towards the west, but relied upon the neutrality of Wei Ao and upon good relations with the more distant Dou Rong, who had taken control of the north-western territories beyond the Yellow River. Instead, over the following years the emperor's strategy aimed for full control of the northern plain and the extension of his authority over the eastern coast. In the north, he

suppressed the last of the bandit groups, while dealing also with the rebellion of Liu "Goitre" Yang the King of Zhending, in 26, and the longer-lasting insurrection of Peng Chong in Yuyang from 26 to 28. In both cases much of the trouble came from the emperor's failure to reward earlier support, a decision influenced by the factional interests of closer associates; on the other hand, the campaigns removed regional centres of potential dissidence.

South of the Yellow River, in 26 and 27 Guangwu destroyed his imperial rival Liu Yong, and in 28 he followed that success by campaigns against the remnants of Liu Yong's party under the nominal leadership of his son Liu Yu, and against Zhang Bu, Dong Xian and Li Xian, whose territories ran from the Taishan massif and the Shandong peninsula south along the coast to the basin of the Huai. After steady pressure, in the early autumn of 29 the emperor defeated the combined forces of the warlords, and by the spring of 30 the last opposition had been eliminated.

Closer to home, in 26 the imperial forces destroyed bandit groups about Luoyang and the local leader Zhang Man was captured and killed at the beginning of 27. Armies were also sent south into Nanyang, but a successful campaign was interrupted by the mutiny of Deng Feng, who attacked his commander Wu Han in resentment at the way in which his home territory had been laid waste by the imperial troops. Deng Feng joined forces with the local leader Dong Xin to besiege Wan city, and they were defeated only by Guangwu himself.

Attention then turned to the warlord Qin Feng, based on Nan commandery, his associate Yan Cen, and his southern colleague Tian Rong. By the autumn of 27 the imperial general Cen Peng had forced a crossing of the Han River and set siege to Qin Feng, and in 29 the last resistance was ended: Qin Feng was killed, while Tian Rong and Yan Cen fled through the Yangzi Gorges to join Gongsun Shu in present-day Sichuan.

CONTROL IN THE WEST 30-36

Success in the east and in central China meant that the territories south of the middle and lower Yangzi were brought under control without great difficulty, and by 30 the major leaders in the empire other than Guangwu himself were Wei Ao in the upper Wei Valley, Gongsun Shu in the Sichuan basin, and Dou Rong in the far northwest. Seeing the success of Guangwu in the east, in 29 Dou Rong sent envoys to make an agreement with

the new imperial regime, and he remained thereafter a useful ally.

Wei Ao was less easy to deal with. Guangwu held negotiations over several years and offered to respect his independence, but Wei Ao temporised between agreement with Han and alliance with Gongsun Shu to the south. Eventually, as the emperor prepared to attack Gongsun Shu, he sought passage for his troops through Wei Ao's territory and also called for support. Forced to a decision, Wei Ao refused Guangwu's demands, and the imperial armies promptly turned against him. An initial offensive in 30 was unsuccessful, but Wei Ao's counter-attack was easily repelled, and a further campaign in 32 all but destroyed him. A serious disturbance in the region of Yingchuan these interrupted operations, as Guangwu was obliged to return swiftly to the east, but early in 33 Wei Ao died and by the following year the disordered remnants of his followers had been defeated or driven away.

Gongsun Shu was now Guangwu's only major rival. From his capital at Chengdu he had long established control over the Sichuan basin and the upper Han, and he took the imperial title in 25. His territory, however, was isolated from the rest of the empire, and Gongsun Shu showed limited initiative in seeking to expand either north in alliance with Wei Ao or east into the middle Yangzi. While occupied elsewhere, Guangwu was able to maintain peaceable relations until he was in a position to take action.

Following the conquest of Nan commandery in 29, the imperial general Cen Peng prepared defensive positions by the Yangzi Gorges, and in the following year Gongsun Shu sent Tian Rong down river in an attempt to retake his former territory. That offensive was held, and at the same time Guangwu launched an attack on the Han valley in the north, to prevent any break-out into Nanyang.

He then took the occasion to force a decision upon Wei Ao, and the next years were occupied by the destruction of that warlord, while in 33 Gongsun Shu made one more sortie down the Yangzi. His forces set up defences across the river below the Gorges, but they made no further effective move, and in 35 Guangwu sent Cen Peng on a full offensive.

Destroying Gongsun Shu's floating defences and the army which held them, the Han troops advanced to Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, then moved against Chengdu in two columns. An advance across

the Qin Ling ranges from the Wei valley was aborted by the assassination of the commander Lai Xi, while the southern approach was likewise disrupted by the murder of Can Peng in the winter of 35, but the Grand Marshal Wu Han followed with a second wave of attack and by the end of 36 he had invested Chengdu. Gongsun Shu was killed in a sortie, and Wu Han seized and slaughtered the city. The victorious commanders returned to Luoyang, and in the summer of 37 the emperor held a banquet to celebrate his triumph.

CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE

Though Guangwu had no serious opposition within China proper, the frontiers of the empire were not fully under control. The conquest of Gongsun Shu brought the further territories of the southwest face-to-face with the power of Han, and local officials and non-Chinese chieftains swiftly acceded. Ren Gui of Yuexi was granted a royal title and maintained some independence for a few years, but when rebellion broke out in Yizhou commandery in 42 the general Liu Shang put down the rising and restored imperial control. Though the Ailao people from beyond the frontier made trouble in 47, but their attack ran into difficulties and in 51 an Ailao king presented formal submission [see *sub* Liumiao].

The lower Yangzi had fallen into Guangwu's hands after his success on the North China plain during the 20s, and the territories south of the middle Yangzi, which had been independent for much of the civil war, acceded to his power after Cen Pang conquered Nan commandery in 29. Formally speaking, therefore, the empire extended once more across the Nan Ling dividing range to the far south coast and present-day Vietnam.

There were, however, two major areas of difficulty in this region. Firstly, in the summer of 40 the sisters Zheng Ce and Zheng Er [Vietnamese surname: Tr'ung] raised a rebellion in Jiaozhi commandery, on the Red River delta of northern Vietnam, and the insurgency spread south along the coast and east into Hepu. It was not until 42 that the general Ma Yuan, who became the leading military commander in these later years, was able to gather an army, but after twelve months, his success was complete: the sisters and many of their followers were killed, and Ma Yuan confirmed the authority of Han by seizing the sacred drums of the non-Chinese peoples and melting them down to create the statue of an ideal horse which was set up at

Luoyang.

A second problem, more intractable, was presented by the non-Chinese of Wuling commandery, in the hill country west of the Dongting Lake in present-day Hunan, who rebelled in the winter of 47/48. Rebellion in Nan commandery, immediately to the north in the year before, had been put down by Liu Shang, but when he was sent against Wuling his army was trapped among the hills and gorges: the Chinese suffered a disastrous defeat and Liu Shang was killed. Ma Yuan, sent to replace him, was more successful, and though his army suffered and he himself died on campaign in the summer of 49, the enemy were forced to submit.

Wuling nonetheless remained a trouble-spot for the rest of the dynasty, with more major disturbances than any other part of Jing province, and it frequently became a centre for more wide-spread trouble. Chinese migration from the north began with the turmoil of Wang Mang's reign and the following civil war, and it continued through Later Han; and Wuling was on the major route to the south. Many rebellions reflected the resentment of local people at the pressure upon their lands, and though there was considerable settlement in the lands south of the Yangzi the difficulty of the terrain and the energy of the hills tribes meant that Wuling was in fact less settled than commanderies further south.

Along the northern frontiers of the empire the situation was very different. During the 30s trouble amongst the Qiang people of the northwest was put down by Ma Yuan, though many Chinese abandoned the unsettled territory, while Ma Yuan's policy of resettling surrendered Qiang within the frontiers would bring a deal of trouble in later times. The major difficulty, however, was with the Xiongnu.

From the mid-20s the pretender Lu Fang had maintained an imperial claim, first in the region of Anding and then in Shuofang and Wuyuan, on the northern loop of the Yellow River. His position was not strong, but he received support from the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu, who was pleased to have a puppet through whom he might press against China. In 30 Lu Fang's forces occupied Dai commandery, and Guangwu was forced onto the defensive.

After the defeat of Wei Ao, in 33 and 34 the Han forces returned to the attack. They gained no success, though an internal quarrel caused Lu Fang to give some ground. Lu Fang eventually withdrew in 42,

but the empire received no respite, for the Xiongnu themselves now advanced within the frontiers. As pressure and raiding continued, the greater part of the north was abandoned and Chinese defences were stretched along the north of the plain.

By good fortune for China, the Shanyu Yu died in 46 and, as the northern regions suffered from drought, the state fell into a succession dispute. The prince Bi was indignant at being excluded from an inheritance he considered his due, and after a deal of intrigue he took title as Shanyu in the winter of 48/49. He had only limited support, however, and was soon obliged to entrust his fortunes to China: by 50 he was established in a puppet court in Xihe, with an undertaking to assist in the defence of the borders of Han.

The remarkable reversal allowed the imperial forces to re-occupy all but the furthest-flung frontier territories. The Xiongnu were no longer a major threat, and the other major groups, Wuhuan and Xianbi in the east, became at least nominal allies, with subsidies to encourage their loyalty. From further afield, various tribal states of Korea sent tribute, and in the last year of his life Guangwu received a mission from a ruler of distant Japan.

Some have argued that Guangwu should have taken advantage of the division of the Xiongnu to conquer his weakened enemies and establish dominion over the steppe, but the critical problem was that great areas of the troubled north had been abandoned by Chinese settlers who could neither be convinced nor compelled to return. Given this weakness on the ground, Guangwu's settlement of the north was sensible; it lasted well, and it was broken only by the excessive ambition of Dou Xian at the end of the century. [See Bn 67:126-130; cf. deC 84:417-422.]

THE RESTORATION OF CIVIL AUTHORITY

In 40, a few years after the conclusion of formal civil war, special commissioners were despatched into the provinces and commanderies to carry out an energetic purge of local disorders, whether caused by bandit groups or by leading gentry and their retainers; it appears that the heartland of the empire was largely settled. Also in 40, the traditional *wushu* currency 五鑄錢 was restored. The five *shu* weight of copper [3.25 g.] matched the face value of the coin, and promised a measure of financial stability.

The new regime largely accepted the structure of government which had developed under Former

Han, so that the arrangements for ministries and local government were restored and Wang Mang's complicated and idealistic reforms and amended titles were abandoned. For most regions of the empire, moreover, the ravages of civil war had been a passing phase: after a few months of misery and disorder a measure of stability was restored by the armies of Han, and in this regard there is sharp contrast to the destructive turmoil which accompanied the fall of the dynasty two hundred years later.

Guangwu, however, did make three notable changes to his administrative inheritance. Firstly, at the capital, the status and significance of the highest officials was considerably amended. In Former Han, the Imperial Chancellor 丞相 had been the single highest officer of the empire, exercising power under the authority of the emperor, with the Imperial Counsellor 御史大夫 [Bietenstein: Grandee Secretary] as his associate holding particular responsibility for censorial matters. These two, and the less regularly appointed Grand Commandant 太尉 or Grand Marshal 大司馬, were known as the Three Excellencies 三公, but the Chancellor was the most senior.

In 8 BC, however, at the end of the reign of Emperor Cheng, a major reform raised the status of the Counsellor [renamed Grand Excellency of Works 大司空; Bn: Grand Minister of Works] and the Grand Marshal and reduced the power of the Chancellor [renamed Grand Excellency over the Masses 大司徒; Bn: Grand Minister over the Masses] to be one amongst equals. The plan, ultimately unsuccessful, was to restrict the growing power of the Wang family, but the result was that highest authority in the bureaucracy was divided among three senior officials. [Loewe 74:257-263, Bn 79:10-11, Bn 80:11-17]. The system had been maintained under the personal rule of Wang Mang, with the Excellencies rather advisers than executive officers of the regime, and the tripartite structure was inherited by Later Han.

Guangwu was an active emperor. During the civil war he had travelled widely across eastern and central China, leading troops in support of his generals in the field, and frequently sent instructions on strategy. In later years he continued to travel and to take an active interest in affairs of state, and while he would accept advice, and held court conferences to discuss questions of policy, he was determined to maintain control over the government and had no wish to delegate serious

power to any subordinate.

In 25, therefore, Guangwu appointed Wu Han as Grand Marshal, Deng Yu as Grand Excellency over the Masses, and Wang Liang as Grand Excellency of Works; in 51 the title of the Grand Marshal was changed to Grand Commandant, while the prefix "Grand" was removed from the other two Excellencies. Furthermore, while Wu Han continued in his office until his death in 44, Guangwu frequently changed the occupants of the two civilian offices, and resented any attempt by the incumbents to interfere in his conduct of government. He was particularly firm with the pretensions of the various Excellencies over the Masses, who might otherwise have sought to match the authority of the old Imperial Chancellors and, as Bielenstein observes, there was a gradual shift in power within the triumvirate, so that the Grand Commandant was eventually seen as holding higher authority than the other two Excellencies. [On this process, see particularly Bn 67:60-68.]

Authority in the government of Later Han was thus firmly in the hands of the sovereign, and the chiefs of the bureaucracy had censorial and advisory rather than executive power. The system worked well for Guangwu and his immediate successors, but it rendered the dynasty increasingly vulnerable in later reigns, when younger, less energetic or less competent rulers came to the throne.

Secondly, though Guangwu largely maintained the structure of local government established by Former Han, with a hierarchy of counties and commanderies supervised by provinces, he made a number of changes. In 30 he abolished over four hundred of the more than 1,500 county administrations recorded in 2 AD; the reductions, primarily in the North China plain and on the northern frontier, reflect depopulation due to the flooding of the Yellow River in the one region, trouble with the Xiongnu and other non-Chinese in the second. Furthermore, though some were briefly revived, by the end of his reign Guangwu had confirmed the ending of the kingdoms established under the Former Han, combining ten former states into neighbouring commanderies. On the other hand, by 37 there were 137 marquisates of the imperial house, 365 which were classed as rewards for worthy subjects, with 45 held by imperial relatives by marriage or granted by imperial favour. As Bielenstein observes, the pensions reserved for these fiefs meant a considerable reduction

in the tax revenues available to the central government [Bn 67:44-46].

Still more significantly for the longer term, the new regime relinquished control over the former monopolies of salt, iron and other minerals. In Former Han, these had been controlled by the Minister of Finance 大司農 [Bn: Grand Minister of Agriculture] at the capital, but from the time of Guangwu their responsibility rested with the local commandery units, while water control and the taxation of fishermen were similarly decentralised. Though they were required to submit annual reports and accounts, the heads of commandery units had a deal more independence than in the past. In 36, it was ordered that the heads of provinces should no longer come to court to present their reports, and in 42 the high-ranking Governors 牧 of provinces were replaced once more by regional Inspectors 刺史, who had no executive civil power but only the right to report to the throne on particular occasions and in limited number of fields.

Finally, we must note the abolition of compulsory military service across the bulk of the empire. Under Former Han, each male citizen had been liable for military service, supervised by the local Commandant 尉, which entailed a period of training as a Skilled Soldier [材官 *caiguan*], Cavalryman [騎士 *jishi*] or sailor in a Towered Warship [樓船 *louchuan*], followed by a year at the capital, on the frontier or in the provinces. Thereafter, they returned home to the local militia, which held an annual exercise and inspection each autumn.

In 30 AD, however, among the inner commanderies of the empire the position of Commandant was removed, with all military responsibilities transferred to the Administrator, and the annual manoeuvres were discontinued. In the following year, the units of Skilled Soldiers, Cavalrymen and sailors were also disbanded, and training was thereafter carried out through the organisation of People's Sections [民伍 *minwu*], presumably a form of home guard. General liability for conscription remained, men of the frontier were still called up for training, and on occasion of major banditry or rebellion the appointment of a Commandant to the relevant commandery may have indicated a short-term revival, but for the most part the citizens of Later Han were unskilled in arms and of limited use for major warfare.

By the closing stages of the civil war, Guangwu's

intention was clearly to reduce the number of men under arms and so lessen the likelihood of future insurrections within the empire: the new policy meant a reduction in the military ability of future bandits and rebels, as well as those of the local loyal forces. From the evidence, it appears that this remained the policy of Later Han, and there was no attempt to restore the Former Han tradition of a nation under arms and an effective militia. Instead, the *gengfu* 更賦 military tax served as a source of revenue for the government, and volunteer recruitment provided a regular army. [See deC 84:48-50 & 467-468 and Lewis 2000; in contrast, Bielenstein argues that full conscription was maintained: Bn 80:191-192.]

As observed above, though unpleasant for each region in its short-term effects, the rebellion against Wang Mang and the civil war which followed proved comparatively benign in the longer term. Despite widespread brigandage and the scourge of the Red Eyebrows, much of the social, political and economic structure which had developed over the two centuries of Former Han survived remarkably intact, so the restoration of the dynasty and the establishment of a new government were made easier. At the same, most families which had held power in the country at large were likewise able to recover their position, while social and economic developments which had appeared in Former Han were encouraged by Guangwu's policies: in particular, his decentralisation of power meant that local gentry and their interests held increasing importance for the future of the dynasty.

RITUAL AND SCHOLARSHIP

From his accession to the throne in 25, Guangwu followed traditional patterns of legitimacy: ceremonies of respect to the gods of Heaven, of the Soils and Grains 社稷, and to his imperial predecessors, including the restoration of their tombs and the construction of an Imperial Ancestral Temple 宗廟 and an Altar of Heaven [the Southern Altar 南郊] at the new capital, Luoyang [Bn 76:54-56]. He also proclaimed amnesties, made general grants of noble ranks, and issued a number of edicts to apply the laws more humanely, including the freeing of slaves and the release of some prisoners.

On campaign in the east in 29, Guangwu ordered the Excellency Song Hong to offer sacrifice to Confucius, and in the spring of 56, one year before his death, he was persuaded to celebrate the Feng and Shan 封禪 sacrifices on Mount Tai 泰山 and its secondary peak

Mount Liangfu 梁父山; the occasion was marked by the proclamation of a new reign period, Zhongyuan 中元. About the same time he arranged for construction of the Spiritual Terrace 靈臺, the Bright Hall 明堂 and the Hall of the Circular Moat 辟雍, and prepared the Altar of Earth [the Northern Altar 北郊], where he held sacrifice just a few weeks before his death.

The Feng and Shan sacrifices and the ceremonial buildings, however, had lower priority than the Imperial University 太學, with its staff of Academicians 博士 [Bielenstein: Erudits] and junior staff 弟子 [variously understood as "disciples" or "students"]. Academicians were appointed as early as 26, and the emperor paid a formal visit to the new University buildings in 29. Though he had limited training in the classics it is clear that he was personally concerned with the fields of scholarship which were sponsored there.

Guangwu was strongly influenced by the theories of the New Text tradition, including the apocrypha 讖緯 and their many portents. During the civil war all sides made use of sayings and signs as propaganda, and though Guangwu was a rational man in most respects, and was not interested in any quest for immortality, he was nonetheless influenced by prognostications: he used them to select some senior officials, and he became angry when Huan Tan, Zheng Xing and Yin Min discounted their value. The official fields of study concerned the five classics of *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*, all but one of the sixteen chairs established during his reign belonged to the New Text, and the one exception, granted to Li Feng a master of *Zuo zhuan*, was not maintained after his death. In 56, moreover, Guangwu proclaimed that the apocrypha were to be considered part of the Confucian canon, and the works and the theories associated with them were thus respected and preserved throughout the dynasty and beyond.

Guangwu died on 29 March 57, aged sixty-two by Chinese reckoning. He was awarded the temple name Shizu 世祖 "Epochal Founder", and his tomb, which had been constructed to the southeast of Luoyang was named "Mound of Beginning" 元陵. Guangwu had sought to establish a reputation for frugality and modest living, and his testament ordered that funeral and mourning should be carried out simply, as in the case of Emperor Wen of Former Han. Unlike the previous dynasty, no special county was established for his tomb, and this model was followed by his

successors. -HHS 1A-B*; Bn 54 and appendix # 83, Bn 59, Bn 67, Bn 79.

Liu Xiu 劉脩, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Huan, perhaps by his concubine the Lady Feng II, in 166 she was appointed Senior Princess of Yangdi in Yingchuan. -HHS 10B:462.

Liu Xiu 劉脩/修 [Bolin 伯麟] (105-171). A man of family, after nomination as Filial and Incorrupt Liu Xiu became a gentleman cadet, but left that post for a mourning period. He returned to local office in his province, then became a clerk under the Excellency over the Masses at the capital and was later appointed as a county magistrate in Runan. We are told that he had many clients and students, while his subjects showed deep sorrow when he retired from office. He died at the age of sixty-seven, and a stele inscription was prepared for his tomb. -LS 8:13a-14b.

Liu Xiu 劉脩 [Jixu 季緒]; Shanyang. A son of Liu Biao, presumably a half-brother of Liu Zong and Liu Ji, Liu Xiu accompanied Liu Zong when he surrendered to Cao Cao in 208. About 210 he became Administrator of Dong'an, a commandery which had been established towards the end of Later Han from the north of Langye. He composed a number of poems, rhapsodies and formal hymns. -SGZ 19:560.

Liu Xu 劉翽; Taishan. During the disorders which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang in 23, Liu Xu and Yuan Zeng of Dongping raised local troops. Liu Xu took title as Colonel Thrice Venerable 校三老, and Yuan Zeng as Chief Assistant Officer 都從事; in this they reflected the pattern of the Red Eyebrows: see *sub* Fan Chong. Their forces ravaged the lower reaches of the Yellow River in present-day northern Shandong.

When the Gengshi Emperor established his government in 23, Yuan Zeng and Liu Xu sent messages of submission. Liu Xu was named Administrator of Ji'nan and an acting chief general, while Yuan Zeng received similar recognition. They continued, however, to act as independent warlords.

Later that year Yuan Zeng was killed by his own officers, and Liu Xu took over the combined forces. The Gengshi Emperor granted him honorary title as a marquis, without substantive fief, and he also ordered Liu Xu to disband his troops and return to his home country. Liu Xu appears to have obeyed, for he is not heard of again. -HHS 21/11:752; Bn 59:41.

Liu Xu 劉翽/盱 (d.81). Son of Liu Liang, formerly King but then Duke of Zhao, Liu Xu succeeded his

father in 41. In 43 his fief was raised once more to be a kingdom. Liu Xu normally resided on his estates, but in 56 he attended court for the New Year celebrations, and in 62 Emperor Ming came on tour and met him at Ye city in Wei.

In 54 two of Liu Xu's sons were granted district marquisates, and in 77 another ten sons obtained village fiefs. When Liu Xu died he was succeeded by his son Shang, and another three sons later received village fiefs. -HHS 14/4:559, 3:141; Bn 54 appendix # 84, Bn 67:29.

Liu Xu 劉盱. Administrator of Longxi in 56, as the Shenlang group of the Qiang raided Wudu commandery he sent a relief force which defeated them.

In the autumn of the following year the Shaodang leader Dianyu attacked east along the Yellow River. Liu Xu sent men to face him, but they were driven back into Jincheng. Further reinforcements were sent under the Internuncio Zhang Hong, but they too were heavily defeated. -HHS 1B:84, 87/77:2879; deC 84:79.

HHS 3:157 says that thirty years later, after the death of Fu Yu the Protector of the Qiang in 87, Liu Xu took over his position and defeated the Shaodang Qiang in Jincheng. HHS 87/77:2882, however, says that Zhang Yu became Protector after the death of Fu Yu and that it was he who defeated the Shaodang. It is probable that the belated reference to Liu Xu is a mistake.

Liu Xu 劉盱. Marquis of Liu'an in Lujiang, at some time in the 50s he was persuaded by Dou Mu and his family, using a forged edict of the Dowager Yin of Emperor Guangwu, that he should divorce his wife. He then married a daughter of Dou Mu, who thus obtained control of a coherent parcel of counties to form a family fief in the region.

In 61 the family of Liu Xu's divorced wife complained to the throne and Emperor Zhang was extremely angry. He dismissed Dou Mu and his relatives from all their offices, and appointed an Internuncio specifically to supervise their conduct. -HHS 23/13:808.

It is possible that this Liu Xu is the same man as the frontier commander described above, but there is no record of that Liu Xu being enfeoffed, and he appears to have always been engaged in the northwest. The marquis Liu Xu was probably a cadet member of the imperial family.

Liu Xu 劉續 (d.184). Son of Liu De, King of Anping,

he succeeded his father in 151. In the following year he was ordered to travel to Hejian to attend the funeral of the honorary Dowager Yan Ming, mother of Emperor Huan [HHS 10B:442, refers to Liu Bao, King of Anping, but Liu Bao was the King of Changshan, and he had died a month before the entombment: see *sub voce* and HHS 7:297. It is probable that both men, as kings of neighbouring territories, were ordered to attend, and the text has conflated their names and titles].

Early in 184 Liu Xu was kidnapped by the Yellow Turbans. A ransom was levied from the people of the state and he was restored to the throne. When the state Chancellor Li Xie argued that Liu Xu had failed to maintain the principles of a true vassal, he was overruled and sent to prison for insulting the imperial clan, but a few months later Liu Xu was indeed found guilty of Impiety. He was executed and the kingdom was abolished. -HHS 50/40:1674, 63/53:2091, 10B:442.

Liu Xuan 劉宣 [Zigao 子高]; Nanyang. Liu Xuan was a younger cousin of Liu Chong 崇 the Marquis of Anzhong in Nanyang, who made an unsuccessful rebellion against Wang Mang in 6 AD and was killed [Bn 54:88]. HHS 25/15:872 says that Liu Xuan did not take part, but he refused to serve the Xin dynasty: he changed his name and retired to a life of scholarship.

After Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, had taken the imperial title, Liu Xuan went to his court and was granted the marquise of Anzhong [but on this renewal of the fief see *sub* Liu Chong 寵].

Liu Xuan 劉玄 [Shenggong 聖公] (d.25) [the Gengshi 更始 Emperor (*reg.* 23-25)]; Nanyang. Liu Xuan's grandfather Liu Li 利, sometime Administrator of Cangwu, was a brother of Liu Ren 仁, Marquis of Chongling district in Caiyang county in Nanyang. The first marquis had been a grandson of Emperor Jing by Liu Fa 發 the King of Changsha. The fief had been originally in Lingling commandery, but it was transferred to Caiyang in the time of Emperor Xuan.

Liu Li's son Zizhang 子張, Liu Xuan's father, lived in Caiyang county, and Liu Xuan was born to his wife from the He 何 family of Pinglin district in Sui county. All these territories lay in the south of Nanyang commandery, east of present-day Xiangfan in Henan. Liu Xuan was a distant cousin of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, and his elder brother Liu Bosheng.

Early in the reign of Wang Mang, about 10AD, when

the members of the Liu family had lost the prestige of their distant imperial connection, Liu Zizhang killed a local officer who had insulted him while drunk. No official action was taken, but ten years later, about 20, a son of the murdered man killed Zizhang's son Qian 騫, younger brother of Liu Xuan. Liu Xuan gathered supporters to renew the vendetta, but his men became drunk and jeered at the local captain of the watch, who promptly arrested them.

Liu Xuan fled to his mother's family district of Pinglin, leaving his cousin Liu Ci to take vengeance on their enemies. The local authorities in Caiyang arrested Liu Zizhang, but Liu Xuan let it be known that he was dead, and had his retainers carry out his funeral in Chongling. Liu Zizhang was released on compassionate grounds so that he might attend the ceremony, and father and son escaped together.

Liu Zizhang does not appear again in the records, but about 22, as famine affected the region and bandit groups appeared, Liu Xuan joined the Troops from Pinglin. Chen Mu and Liao Zhan, leaders of that force, made Liu Xuan an officer responsible for discipline in their erratic array. Soon afterwards the Troops from Pinglin joined the Han rebellion led by Liu Bosheng, and early in 23, after the victories at Jiyang and Yuyang and as the rebel army set siege to the city of Wan, capital of Nanyang commandery, Liu Xuan was named General of the New Beginning [Gengshi] 更始; confusingly, the same title was held by one of Wang Mang's officers. Now, however, the bandit chieftains held a caucus without the leaders of the Nanyang gentry, and they chose Liu Xuan to take the imperial title and act as their titular leader against Wang Mang. Liu Bosheng sought to dissuade them but was unsuccessful, and on 11 March 23, by the banks of the Yu River outside Wan city, Liu Xuan was placed upon a throne. He issued an amnesty, granted titles and nominal fiefs to over a hundred supporters and members of the imperial house, and took Gengshi as his reign-title. Since he was awarded no dynastic or temple name after his death Liu Xuan is known to history as the Gengshi Emperor.

Wan city fell in the summer, and three days later another Han army was victorious at Kunyang in Yingchuan. Very soon afterwards Liu Bosheng, who had held command at the successful siege of Wan, was accused of treason and executed. Liu Xuan now held undisputed authority among the forces of Han, while

the battle of Kunyang had destroyed Wang Mang's major forces outside the region of the capital. Forced onto the defensive, he was also threatened by a plot in his capital, Chang'an, and by the insurrections of Wei Ao in Tianshui and of Deng Ye and Yu Kuang in Hongnong and western Nanyang.

Seizing the Wu Pass, which guarded the capital province from the southeast, Deng Ye and Yu Kuang moved into Hongnong and invited the Han troops to join them. Two armies were sent: Shentu Jian and Li Song led one towards Chang'an while a second column under Wang Kuang laid siege to Luoyang. Wang Mang's last field force was sent to Huayin to hold the mouth of the Wei River, but Deng Ye and Yu Kuang, possibly aided by the main Han army, outflanked the defence line and defeated the enemy.

Deng Ye and Li Song then invested the Capital Granary, also in Huayin county, but in the mean time Chang'an was overrun and plundered by local insurgents claiming to act in the name of Han. On 6 October 23 Wang Mang was killed; his head was sent to the Gengshi Emperor at Wan and was displayed in the market-place.

Soon afterwards the city of Luoyang also fell to the Han forces, and by the beginning of winter the Gengshi Emperor had taken up residence there. At the same time, continuing a program established after the victory at Kunyang in the summer, he sent messengers east and north to persuade local officials of Wang Mang to surrender and to arrange a peaceful transition to the new regime. These men held the Staff of Authority, which formally commissioned them to make appointments at every level in the provinces and to restore the legal system of Han. The new emperor also made contact with Fan Chong and other leaders of the Red Eyebrows bandits, and persuaded them to accept his suzerainty. They were made marquises of title, without specific territories, but Fan Chong and his colleagues soon returned to their own followers and maintained their independence.

At the beginning of 24 Liu Xuan transferred his court from Luoyang west to Chang'an. One reason was that the attitude and policies of Shentu Jian, Han commander in the west, had disaffected the local people and their leaders. The imperial presence was needed to restore order in the region about the greatest city in the empire, and the emperor had already sent his cousin and Imperial Chancellor Liu Ci to make repairs

to the palaces and temples in readiness for occupation. As Bielenstein observes, however, the decisive point was that the gentry supporters of the new regime were anxious to remove their master from his connection with the commoner leaders of the Troops; critical to the initial success of the rebellion, these chieftains were now seen as rivals for influence. Bielenstein also argues that the transfer of the capital to Chang'an was a fatal mistake: the emperor was isolated from his allies and resources in the east, while if enemies broke the defence lines of the passes the government would be trapped.

Liu Xuan moved to Chang'an in the spring of 24, and awarded royal fiefs to his early supporters. He did this despite the opposition of the chieftain Zhu Wei, who argued that Han tradition allowed title as king to be held only by members of the imperial house; he refused to accept such a grant. The balance of political power, however, had changed, and Liu Xuan was now under the influence of Li Song and Zhao Meng, who urged the claims of the Nanyang gentry. Zhao Meng became one of three Grand Marshals, while Li Song replaced Liu Ci as Imperial Chancellor. Liu Xuan had been elected as titular head of the Han rebellion by the commoner chieftains, and thus owed his imperial position to their support, but he had now largely distanced himself from them, and neither he nor his ruling clique had any natural allies.

There are a number of anecdotes and sayings to indicate that the Gengshi Emperor had lost control of his followers, that men of poor quality were receiving appointments, and that his court was degenerating into disorder, but some part of those accounts were no doubt hostile propaganda from rival interests. In the course of 24 the new regime obtained the support of the Wei family, warlords in the west, and Wei Ao accepted a position at court. The agreement still left most local power in the hands of the Wei family, while further afield the authority of the new government was yet more limited. The local leader Lu Fang was recognised in the north but gave only a minimal show of loyalty; and to the east Zhang Pu of Langye was able to defy the imperial forces in the Shandong peninsula, while Dong Xian from Donghai was master of the seaboard and the plain between the Yangzi and the Yellow River. The loyalist Bao Yong achieved some success in the area of present-day Shanxi, Liu Jia gained Hanzhong and Liu Xin occupied Yuzhang but, far more important

for the future, Liu Bosheng's brother Liu Xiu, sent initially as a commissioner to the northeast, defeated the rebel Wang Lang and established himself as the most powerful military commander north of the Yellow River.

In the summer the Gengshi Emperor sent an officer to enfeoff Liu Xiu as a king, but added instructions that he should disband his army and come to Chang'an. Liu Xiu accepted the royal title but refused to demobilise, and he extended his area of control northeast into You province, at the expense of the officials appointed by the emperor. He was effectively independent, and though he had not yet claimed the imperial title he was nonetheless at war with Liu Xuan.

By the second half of 24 the writ of the Gengshi Emperor had largely ceased to run outside the capital district, while hordes of the Red Eyebrows, defeated on the plain by Liu Xiu, were approaching from the east. During the winter three separate groups of bandits entered the passes on their way to Chang'an, and in the first month of 25 they joined in Hongnong, with numbers described as 300,000 men. At the same time Liu Xiu's general Deng Yu advanced on the north of the Yellow River and laid siege to Anyi, capital of Henei; this second front was a major distraction for Liu Xuan's attempts to deal with the Red Eyebrows.

The Red Eyebrows moved very slowly, but in the third month they inflicted a critical defeat on an imperial army led by Su Mao and Li Song. Li Song fled back to Chang'an while Su Mao took refuge with Zhu Wei, now isolated in Luoyang. In the summer the Gengshi Emperor sent Wang Kuang and other commoner leaders of Troops to attack Deng Yu, but they too were heavily defeated, and by autumn Deng Yu held all the commandery.

A multitude of rivals had now claimed the imperial title. At the beginning of the year Fang Wang made a claim on behalf of the Young Prince Liu Ying; though that party was swiftly destroyed, in the southwest Gongsun Shu named himself emperor in the early summer; while the Red Eyebrows put forward their own candidate, Liu Penzi, in the sixth month. Still more important, and at almost the same time, on 5 August 25 Liu Xiu cast aside pretence and set himself upon an imperial throne.

The outlook for Liu Xuan was very limited. As the Red Eyebrows approached, Wei Ao, Shentu Jian and other gentlemen proposed that he abdicate in favour of

Liu Liang, uncle of Liu Xiu, in hope they might make common cause against the bandits. When Liu Xuan refused, Wei Ao and his associates joined Zhang Ang and other leaders of Troops in a plan to plunder the court and abandon the city. The emperor discovered the plot and killed Shentu Jian, but Wei Ao escaped back to the northwest and the other conspirators attacked the palace and drove Liu Xuan to take refuge with Zhao Meng outside the city. Li Song and Zhao Meng counter-attacked and forced the rebels from Chang'an, but the commoner chieftains now joined the Red Eyebrows, and at the end of autumn the bandits entered the capital.

As the victors installed their nominee Liu Penzi, Liu Xuan fled the city, but in the tenth month he was taken by one of his own officers and forced to surrender. He was initially granted a marquissate, then named King of Changsha, but he was sent to herd horses in the countryside near the capital. A few weeks later the chieftains persuaded the Red Eyebrows leader Xie Lu to have Liu Xuan strangled.

His loyal supporter Liu Gong recovered Liu Xuan's body and Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, later gave orders that he be buried at Baling 霸陵, by the tomb of Emperor Wen of Former Han. His widow, with his son Liu Qiu and two younger brothers, also took refuge at Luoyang, and the young men were granted marquissates. -HHS 11/1:467-76*, DGHJ 23:1a-2b [on account of a taboo, the personal name appears in that text as Yuan 元], XC 1:2a-b; Bn 54 and appendix # 78, Bn 59.

Liu Xuan 劉宣; Jingzhao. In 142 Liu Xuan was Administrator of Shu commandery. Special imperial commissioners reported unfavourably on his government, but he and others were protected by Liang Ji and the court eunuchs. The censorial officer Chong Gao then pressed the case, and Liu Xuan and a number of his fellows were impeached and dismissed.

Liu Xuan was evidently restored to favour soon afterwards: in 144 he was Minister of the Household and joined the reformist Li Gu in a memorial criticising the quality of recent appointees in the provinces and commanderies, the wastefulness of their tours of inspection, and their lack of attention to the practical details of government. Orders were then issued for a purge of corrupt officials. -HHS 56/46:1827, 63/53:2082, HYGZ 3:34.

Liu Xun 劉巡. Son of Liu Qiu and grandson of Liu

Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, Liu Xun inherited the marquisate of Chengyang in Langye, maintaining sacrifices to the late emperor. His fief was later transferred to a county in Hedong.

At the time of the alleged conspiracy involving Liu Ying the King of Chu in 71, Liu Xun and others were implicated by the confessions of Yan Zhong and Wang Ping. They were liable to execution, but the censorial officer Han Lang persuaded Emperor Ming to doubt the accusation. -HHS 11/1:476, HHJ 10:123, HHSJJ 41/31:1506; Bn 54 appendix # 133.

Liu Xun 劉循; Nanyang. Son of Liu Can, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 14/4:568; Bn 54 appendix # 132.

Liu Xun 劉巡 (d.111). Elder son of Liu Dang the King of Lecheng, probably by a concubine, he was enfeoffed as a county marquis. When his father died in 96 the royal inheritance was awarded to Liu Xun's younger brother Liu Chong, who died, however, two months later. Liu Chong left no sons and the kingdom was ended, but in the following year the fief was restored in favour of Liu Xun. -HHS 50/40:1673.

Liu Xun 劉遜 miswritten for Liu Jian 劉建, King of Hejian.

Liu Xun 劉勳 [Zitai 子臺]; Langye. As a magistrate in Pei during the late 180s Liu Xun became a close friend of Cao Cao. About 194 Yuan Shu appointed him Administrator of Lujiang, and in 199 he received the remnants of Yuan Shu's party at his capital, Huan city.

Sun Ce, warlord south of the Yangzi and an old rival of Liu Xun, was concerned at his increased power. He encouraged Liu Xun to attack south into Yuzhang to obtain supplies, but then left a detachment to cut him off and led his own army to seize Huan. Liu Xun sought help from Liu Biao and his general Huang Zu, but they too were defeated and Liu Xun fled north to Cao Cao. Named a general and enfeoffed as a marquis, he served for some time as Administrator of Henei, but his retainers were ill-disciplined and troublesome.

In 213 Liu Xun joined in recommending Cao Cao for the honour of the Nine Distinctions and enfeoffment as Duke of Wei. He became an associate of the Heir Cao Pi, but later presumed upon Cao Cao's favour and was executed for extortion and corruption. -SGZ 12:387, SGZ Wu 1:1104; deC 90:188-190.

Liu Xun 劉勳 [Ziheng 子璜]. Former Commandant of the Tiger Tooth Camp by Chang'an, about 191 Liu Xun quarrelled with Yuan Shao, who killed him. -SGZ 8:243, 7:236.

Liu Xun 劉循; Jiangxia. Grandson of Liu Yan 焉, Governor and warlord of Yi province, and son of his successor Liu Zhang, Liu Xun married a daughter of Pang Xi. When Liu Zhang left Chang'an to join Liu Yan in the early 190s, Liu Xun and his brother Liu Chan remained in the capital with their cousins the children of Liu Fan and Liu Dan.

In 194 Liu Fan and Liu Dan were involved in a failed attack on the regime and were killed, but Pang Xi managed to bring the rest of the family to the west. When Liu Bei deposed Liu Zhang in 214, Pang Xi persuaded him to allow Liu Xun to remain in Yi province, and Liu Xun later became General of the Household for the Equipage at the court of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 1:870.

Liu Xun 劉勳; Langye. In the latter part of the second century Liu Xun was Administrator of Henei. His twenty-year-old daughter had had a recurring ulcer in her left knee for some seven years. The celebrated doctor Hua Tuo cured her by a complex process which drove out a snake from the wound. -HHS 82/72B:2736-37.

Liu Ya 劉牙 see Liu Gai 劉巧.

Liu Yan 劉延, the Lady: see the Lady Liu Ying 劉迎.

Liu Yan 劉續 see Liu Bosheng 劉伯升.

Liu Yan 劉延; Nanyang. As Minister of the Imperial Clan for the new Emperor Guangwu in 25, Liu Yan was sent north into Shangdang with the general Feng Yin. They were opposed by the Gengshi officer Tian Yi, and though they captured Tian Yi's wife and family, they could make no progress. Tian Yi later sent envoys to submit directly to Guangwu at Luoyang.

Though he was evidently a member of the imperial house, Liu Yan does not appear again in the records. -HHS 28/18A:969.

Liu Yan 劉延 (d.89). Son of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, in 39 Liu Yan was enfeoffed as Duke of Huaiyang.

Though Guangwu deposed the Empress Guo in 41, he promoted Liu Yan and his brothers to be kings at that time. They remained at the capital until 52, when Liu Yan and all but the youngest of his full brothers were sent out to their kingdoms. Two years later Liu Yan's fief was increased by four counties from Runan. He and his brothers returned on occasion to court, and in 67 Liu Yan was called to meet Emperor Ming on tour in Runan.

In 73, however, Liu Yan was accused of involvement

in witchcraft and sorcery and of plotting rebellion, and further investigation implicated a large number of people; those executed included the Excellency Xing Mu and Emperor Ming's brother-in-law Han Guang, husband of the Princess Liu Hongfu. It was proposed that Liu Yan should also be killed, and though the emperor did not take that advice, he transferred him to be King of Fuling in Jiujiang, with a state of only two counties.

As Bielenstein observes, the accusation against Liu Yan followed the problems with Liu Jing and then the alleged treason of Liu Ying the King of Chu, in which Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan had been implicated. The ramifications of the latter affair were still fresh, and Emperor Ming was constantly suspicious. Liu Yan is described as proud and arrogant, and he and his royal brothers may have been inappropriately interested in the occult, but there is no good evidence of organised conspiracy.

Three years later, however, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, Liu Yan was again accused of conspiracy, this time with his son Liu Fang, and senior officials urged that they should both be brought to the capital in a cage cart. The new ruler pardoned Liu Fang, but he demoted Liu Yan to be a marquis and reduced his fief to just one county.

In 87 Emperor Zhang came on tour to the lower Yangzi and called Liu Yan and his family to meet him at Shouchun, the capital of Jiujiang. Touched by his miserable appearance, he restored four counties to his fief and, because Fuling was low-lying and unhealthy, permitted him to shift his capital to Shouchun. He also gave generous presents, and in the following year Liu Yan was permitted to pay court at the capital.

After Liu Yan's death in 89 his son Chong succeeded him, but the new government of Emperor He took away his father's augmentation and the fief was reduced once more to a single county. Besides Liu Fang, who later received the succession, twelve younger sons of Liu Yan were granted district and village marquisates in 96. -HHS 42/32:1444-45*; Bn 67:27-31, 35.

Liu Yan 劉焉 (d.90). Youngest son of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, in 39 Liu Yan was enfeoffed as Duke of Zuopingyi, being the eastern part of the full commandery of Zuopingyi; his elder full brother Liu Fu received the other half of the territory [Bn 67:27 citing the modern commentator

Hui Dong].

In 41 Liu Yan and his brothers were promoted to be kings, and when his full brothers were sent out to their states in 52, Liu Yan, as the youngest, was permitted to remain at Luoyang. Two years later his fief was transferred to Zhongshan, but he continued to reside in the capital district, where he maintained a substantial estate.

In the winter of 59, early in the reign of his half-brother Emperor Ming, Liu Yan joined the other kings, who had been summoned to Luoyang for a ceremony at the Hall of the Circular Moat, and he was then ordered to leave with the others and take up residence in his fief. An edict noted his skill at archery and awarded him a special force of guards, while because of the favour he had received in the past he was permitted to visit Luoyang at his own volition. Soon afterwards, however, there was some scandal involving Xue Xiu, the Chancellor of Liu Yan's state.

In 72 Liu Yan strangled his concubine the Lady Han Xu for some fault. The Chancellor [possibly Zhang Chen *q.v.*] reported him, and Liu Yan was punished by the loss of one county from his fief. He was nonetheless favoured by the young Emperor Zhang, and during the late 70s he resided again for some time at the capital [see *sub* Zong Yi].

When Liu Yan died in 90, power at court was in the hands of the Dowager Dou and her brothers; that family was descended from Liu Qiang, former Heir and late King of Donghai, by his daughter the Princess of Piyang, who had married Dou Xun. Liu Yan was thus a full great-uncle to the dowager, and she arranged a most extravagant funeral. Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, full brother of Liu Yan, and Liu Qiang's nephew Liu Zheng, who had succeeded him as King of Donghai, were both brought to the capital, while vast numbers of men worked on the tomb and its "spirit way" 神道, lined with stele. Supplies of cedar for the coffins, normally obtained from Changshan, Julu and Zhuo, were exhausted, and thousands of workmen were despatched throughout six provinces to collect more. Hitherto 300,000 cash and 30,000 lengths of cloth had been allocated to obsequies for the sons of Emperor Guangwu, and a third as much for their successors. On this occasion, however, the cost was a million cash, far beyond any other royal funeral.

Liu Yan was succeeded by his son Xian, and eleven younger sons were later granted marquisates. -HHS

42/32:1449-50*; Bn 67:21-30.

Liu Yan 劉弇; Nanyang. Son of Liu Zun, he succeeded to his marquisate, but died without an heir and the fief was ended. In 67 Emperor Ming recalled the favour in which his father had held Liu Yan's grandfather Liu Shun, and he granted district marquisates to three of Liu Yan's elder cousins. -*HHS* 14/4:566; Bn 54 appendix # 131.

Liu Yan 劉衍 (d.125). Son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine, in 72 Liu Yan was enfeoffed as King of Xiapi, hitherto Linhuai commandery. A good-looking young man, he was a close companion of his half-brother Emperor Zhang, who celebrated his cap of manhood by generous gifts to his tutors and the staff of his household. In 79 the value of Liu Yan's fief was enlarged by the revenues from five counties in Jiujiang.

When Emperor Zhang died in 88, Liu Yan and his brothers were ordered to leave the capital. Soon afterwards he became seriously ill, and there was question about the succession, for his eldest son Liu Ang had been found guilty of some crime. Each of Liu Yan's concubines urged the claims of her own son, and Emperor He sent their mutual half-brother, Liu Gong the King of Pengcheng, to adjudicate between the rivals. Liu Cheng was chosen, but as it turned out Liu Yan lived another thirty-five years. -*HHS* 50/40:1674-75*.

Liu Yan 劉延. Son of Liu Dao the King of Pengcheng, and younger brother of his successor Liu Ding, in 146 he and eight other brothers were made village marquises. -*HHS* 50/40:1671.

Liu Yan 劉焉 of Changsha was Inspector of Qing province. -*LS* 27:9b.

Liu Yan 劉焉 [Junlang 君郎朗] (d.194); Jiangxia. Descended by a concubine family from Liu Yi, who had held a marquisate in Jiangxia, as a young man Liu Yan served in the offices of his commandery and of Jing province. A member of the imperial clan, albeit of junior and secondary lineage, he received appointment as a gentleman cadet, but left office after the death of his teacher and patron the Excellency Zhu Tian in 160.

Liu Yan retired into the hill country of Yingchuan, where he maintained a school of spiritual education 精學, but in 164 or 166 he was nominated Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, entered the offices of the Excellency over the Masses, and began a successful

official career. At one time or another he held the important posts of Prefect of Luoyang, Inspector of You and of Ji provinces, Administrator of Nanyang, Minister of the Imperial Clan and Minister of Ceremonies.

Towards the end of the reign of Emperor Ling, observing the disorder which had followed the turmoil of the Yellow Turban rebellion, Liu Yan argued that much of the trouble was due to the weakness and poor quality of the provincial Inspectors 刺史. He urged they be replaced by Governors 牧, who would be of higher rank and hold greater authority over the commanderies of their regions. After the deaths of Zhang Yi in Bing province and of Geng Bi in Liang, the policy was approved in 188. Liu Yan, Liu Yu and Huang Wan were appointed to Yi, You and Yu provinces while maintaining their ministerial rank. Inspectors were still appointed, but from this time on provincial units and their Governors began to dominate the politics of the empire and the strategy of the approaching civil war.

For his own part, Liu Yan was concerned at the lack of control at the capital, and he initially hoped for appointment to the southern region of Jiaozhi as a means to escape the disorder which might come. On the advice of Dong Fu, however, he changed his request to Yi province. The Inspector Que Jian was causing unrest there by excessive demands for taxation and labour services, so Liu Yan was ordered to arrest him and send him back for punishment. Given title as Governor, with authority as Military Commissioner and enfeoffment as a marquis, he set his headquarters at Mianzhu in Guangan, some hundred kilometres north of Chengdu.

Before Liu Yan arrived, Que Jian had been killed by bandits, who were then defeated and put down by the Assistant Officer Jia Long. Liu Yan was thus able to establish his authority quickly, and soon after his arrival he began to look for independence from the capital. He raised troops on the excuse of joining the alliance against the usurper Dong Zhuo, but in fact took no such action. Instead, apparently influenced by the Lady Zhang, mother of Zhang Lu and an adept of popular religion, he appointed the sect leaders Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu as provincial officers and sent them against Su Gu the Administrator of Hanzhong, who had sought to defy his authority.

When they had overthrown and killed Su Gu,

however, the two religious chieftains set up their own regime, cutting the roads to the north; Zhang Lu later destroyed Zhang Xiu. Though he had lost control of Hanzhong, Liu Yan was not entirely dissatisfied with the situation: while he made no move against the "rebels," the Lady Zhang and other members of her family remained at his court as hostages for restrained behaviour by Zhang Lu; and the fact that communications to the north were cut meant that the central government had no access to intervene in his administration.

Confirming his government over the balance of the province, Liu Yan arrested and executed on various charges several leading men who might have challenged his position, and he recruited his own followers amongst migrants and refugees from the troubled regions of central China: these were known as the Dongzhou Troops 東州兵, men of the eastern provinces.

In 191 the Administrator of Jianwei Ren Qi and the loyalist Jia Long attacked Liu Yan. One group of rebels broke into Liu Yan's capital and fired the lower city, but they were driven back and defeated by the Dongzhou Troops and auxiliaries from the non-Chinese Qiang. Both leaders of insurgents were killed and no-one thereafter could dispute Liu Yan's position.

About this time Liu Yan transferred his headquarters from Mianzhu to Luo city, also in Guanghan, and he became steadily more ambitious in his display of authority, notably by the construction of an imperial carriage and a multitude of other official vehicles for his personal cortège. Liu Biao in Jing province criticised his pretensions, and the imperial government under Dong Zhuo sent Liu Yan's son Liu Zhang with a message to admonish him and a proposal to restore contact. Liu Yan, however, kept Liu Zhang with him and made no reply.

Encouraged by his two elder sons, Liu Fan and Liu Dan, in 194 Liu Yan formed an alliance with Ma Teng, warlord of Liang province, against the regime at Chang'an controlled by Dong Zhuo's successors Li Jue and his fellows. He sent five thousand men to aid the attack, but the enterprise failed and Liu Fan and Liu Dan were both killed.

After this sad event, followed by disastrous fires which destroyed, among other things, his collection of carriages, Liu Yan shifted his headquarters from Luo city to Chengdu in Shu commandery. He died

soon afterwards, and was succeeded as Governor and warlord by his son Liu Zhang. -HHS 75/65:2431-32*, SGZ Shu 1:865-67*, HYGZ 5:70-71; deC 89:205-206, deC 96:84-85.

Liu Yan 劉彥; Kuaiji. During the 190s Liu Yan sought refuge with the Inspector of Jiaozhi, his fellow-countryman Zhu Fu, who made him a local officer. Liu Yan and his fellows behaved so oppressively that rebellion broke out and destroyed the government. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Liu Yan 劉延. In 200 Liu Yan was Administrator of Dong commandery for Cao Cao. As Yuan Shao moved south early in that year, he sent Yan Liang to attack him, but Cao Cao led a rescue force which defeated and killed Yan Liang. -SGZ 1:19.

Liu Yan 劉琰 [Weishi 威碩] (d.234); Lu. Liu Yan served under Liu Bei as an Assistant Officer of Yu province in the early 190s, and accompanied him on his travels thereafter. An attractive man, skilled in speech, with kinship to the imperial house, he was a personal favourite.

Liu Yan became an Administrator in Yi province, and under Liu Shan he rose to high rank as a minister and a general. His wealth and pretensions, however, were not matched by performance in government, and when he quarrelled with the general Wei Yan in 232 Zhuge Liang stripped him of authority, though he was allowed to keep his formal titles.

It appears that Liu Yan became unbalanced by this misfortune, for two years later he accused the Sovereign Liu Shan of seducing his wife. After considerable scandal Liu Yan was executed. -SGZ Shu 10:1001-02*.

Liu Yan 劉延 i.e. Liu Yanping 劉延平. -HHS 5:238.

Liu Yang 劉陽 see Liu Zhuang 劉莊, Emperor Ming: his personal name was Yang 陽 until 43, when he was named Heir to Emperor Guangwu and a less common character was chosen to avoid problems of taboo.

Liu Yang 劉揚/楊陽, also known as "Goitre" 瘰癧 Yang on account of the swelling on his neck (d.26); Zhending/Changshan. Son of Liu Pu 普, who was descended from Emperor Jing of Former Han through his son Liu Shun 舜 the King of Changshan, Liu Yang succeeded his father as King of Zhending in 7 BC, but lost the fief as Wang Mang took the imperial title in 9 AD.

When the Han dynasty was re-established under

the Gengshi Emperor in 23, Liu Yang was restored to his former state. In 24 he considered supporting the pretender Wang Lang, but was persuaded by Liu Zhi, envoy of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, to join the Han cause. The alliance was confirmed by Liu Xiu's marriage to Liu Yang's niece the Lady Guo, later empress, and Liu Yang played the lute at the nuptial ceremony. Despite his services against Wang Lang, however, Liu Yang received no substantial reward, and he became disaffected. Encouraged by an apocryphal prophecy that "Goitre Yang shall be the Master," late in 25 he began to gather troops and make contact with local bandits.

At the beginning of 26 Guangwu sent messengers to summon him to Luoyang, but Liu Yang closed his city gates against them. Soon afterwards the Han general Geng Chun was sent to Zhending. Member of a leading clan in the north, and also a relative, he was acceptable to Liu Yang, and though Liu Yang was at first hesitant and pretended to be ill, he eventually agreed to visit him, taking a military escort. Geng Chun welcomed them courteously, but as Liu Yang entered the building with his brother Liu Rang and their cousin Liu Xi, Geng Chun seized them and barred the gates. The soldiers outside made no move, and Geng Chun had Liu Yang and his kinsmen executed. -*HS* 14:417, *HHS* 1A:28, 21/11:763-64; Bn 59:70, 121-123, 235.

Liu Yang 劉陽; Pei. A distinguished scholar, Liu Yang became a magistrate in Langye but died aged thirty.

Earlier, seeing Cao Cao as a threat to the Han dynasty, Liu Yang had planned to kill him but could find no opportunity. Cao Cao knew of this, and when he came to power he looked for Liu Yang's son. None of his family dared help the young man, but he was sheltered by Wang Lang, who was an old friend of his father. Eventually Cao Cao granted a pardon, and so Liu Yang's lineage was preserved. -*SGZ* 13:408.

Liu Yanping 劉延平 (d.144). Son of Liu Chong the King of Le'an, in 109 he was named King of Qinghe to maintain the lineage of Liu Qing. Liu Yanping was succeeded by his son Suan. -*HHS* 55/45:1804-05.

HHS 5:238 says that in 124 Liu Yan the King of Le'an came to the court of Emperor An, but the citation is mistaken: the King of Le'an at that time was Liu Chong, who was always at the capital. The King of Qinghe was Liu Yanping [not Yan], a son of Liu Chong. It was Liu Yanping who came to court from his state at this time.

Liu Yao 劉姚. Son of Liu Xun, grandson of Liu Qiu and great-grandson of the Gengshi Emperor, Liu Yao succeeded to the family marquise in Hedong. -*HHS* 11/1:476; Bn 54 appendix # 148.

Liu Yao 劉曜. Son of Liu Zong, he succeeded his father as King of Pei.

Liu Yao was succeeded by his son Qi. -*HHS* 42/32:1428.

Liu Yao 劉曜; Lingling. About 150 Liu Yao was Administrator of Cangwu. -*SGZ* Shu 9.980.

Liu Yao 劉曜 [Jini 季尼]; Dongping. Son and grandson of county magistrates, Liu Yao was an Assistant Officer and a brevet magistrate in Yan province, then held commissioned appointment at the capital. He left when his mother died, but returned to Luoyang as Major of the Vermilion Bird, in charge of guards at the Northern Palace. After nine years in that office he was sent out as Commandant of Juyan in the far northwest.

Liu Yao returned closer to home as Administrator of Henei and he was later a colonel in the Northern Army. He then held a series of ministerial appointments: Minister of the Imperial Clan, Minister of the Guards, and finally Minister of the Household.

When Liu Yao died at the age of seventy-three, his clients and friends set up a stele at his tomb. -*LS* 11: 23a-24a.

Liu Yao 劉繇 [Zhengli 正禮] (157-198); Donglai. Younger son of Liu Fang/Yu and nephew of the Excellency Liu Chong, as a young man in 175 Liu Yao rescued his uncle Liu Wei from a kidnapping.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Liu Yao became a county magistrate in Liang, but resigned because he disapproved of the favour to the eunuchs shown by the Chancellor of the kingdom. He later became an Assistant Officer in his native Qing province, and when he visited Ji'nan he recommended dismissal of the corrupt Chancellor, adopted son of a leading eunuch. Liu Yao later served in a clerical bureau under the Excellencies at the capital, but refused an invitation to join the Censorate.

In the early 190s Liu Yao went south to the Huai to avoid the disorders, and he was sent an imperial commission as Inspector of Yang province. Unwilling to face Yuan Shu, who controlled the area of the Huai, Liu Yao went further south to establish himself in Danyang, where he received many refugees from the turmoil of the north. At first he had support from Yuan Shu's officers Sun Ben and Wu Jing, but he later

drove them away and guarded the crossings of the Yangzi against them. He was promoted Governor and appointed a general, while his nominee Zhu Hao held Yuzhang.

In 195 the young commander Sun Ce, then in the service of Yuan Shu, forced a crossing of the Yangzi and defeated Liu Yao's forces. At the end of the year Liu Yao fled west into Yuzhang. He eliminated Zhai Rong, who had seized power there, but he played no further substantial role in the affairs of the south.

After Liu Yao died in 198, his family came into the hands of Sun Ce, who treated them well. -SGZ Wu 4: 1183-84.

Liu Ye 劉曄 [Ziyang 子揚] (d.234); Jiujiang. Liu Ye's mother died when he was seven, leaving instructions that he should eliminate the wicked retainers of his father Liu Pu before they destroyed the family. At the age of thirteen, Liu Ye duly killed them.

In 199, when Liu Ye was a little over twenty, the local warlord Zheng Bao sought to compel him to join his company so that he could use Liu Ye's influence on the local people. Liu Ye, however, trapped and killed him at a banquet, took over his following, then handed command of these troops to Liu Xun, Administrator of Lujiang.

Liu Ye urged Liu Xun not to trust the southern warlord Sun Ce, but Liu Xun ignored him and was defeated. Liu Ye followed Liu Xun north to join Cao Cao and he became a trusted member of his staff, with particular advice on affairs of Yang province.

In 215 Liu Ye accompanied Cao Cao's attack on Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. As supplies began to run short, he urged a swift attack, which was successful. He encouraged Cao Cao to press further south against Liu Bei, but Cao Cao delayed and the opportunity, such as it was, was lost. Liu Ye was promoted to a military command.

He later warned Cao Cao against the future rebel Wei Feng, and in 220, after Cao Pi succeeded his father, Liu Ye advised him not to trust the surrender of Meng Da; his foreboding proved correct.

Liu Ye was involved in the processes which brought the abdication of Han in favour of Wei, and Cao Pi enfeoffed him and appointed him a Palace Attendant. He remained a close adviser to Cao Pi and to Cao Rui. -SGZ 14:442-49*.

Liu Yi 劉姬, the Lady: see the Lady Liu Ji 劉姬, daughter of Emperor Ming.

Liu Yi 劉軼 [Junwen 君文]; Chenliu. Son of Liu Kun, he maintained his father's scholarship on the Shi interpretation of the *Book of Changes* and had a great number of students.

During the reign of Emperor Ming Liu Yi became a member of the suite of the Heir, Liu Da, and when Emperor Zhang came to the throne he appointed him Minister of the Imperial Clan. He died in that office; a number of his descendants held the same post. -HHS 79/69A:2550-51.

Liu Yi 劉裔; Jiangxia. A distant descendant of the kings of Lu of Former Han, Liu Yi inherited the family fief, now a marquise, under Later Han. About 85 his territory was transferred by Emperor Zhang to a county in Jiangxia. -HHS 75/65:2431, SGZ Shu 1:865.

Liu Yi 劉毅. A younger son of Liu Mu the King of Beihai, Liu Yi was granted a county marquise in 77, but lost his fief for some fault about 90.

Liu Yi had been concerned with scholarship since he was young, and in 114 he presented to the throne his *Hande lun* 漢德論 "Discussion of [Men of] Virtue of Han" and *Xian lun* 憲論 "Discussion of the Laws;" the two compositions totalled twelve *pian*. Scholars such as Liu Zhen and Ma Rong praised his work, and the government of the regent Dowager Deng awarded him 30,000 cash and appointed him a Consultant.

In 118 Liu Yi presented a memorial urging that a further instalment of the dynastic history be compiled to cover recent events. This was approved, and in 120 Liu Yi and his cousin Liu Taotu were among those commissioned with Liu Zhen to continue the official history of Later Han, then called *Han ji* and later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. -HHS 80/70A:2616*, 14/4:558, 10A:426; Bn 54:10-11 and appendix # 154.

Liu Yi 劉裔 *i.e.* Liu Shang 劉商. -DGHJ 7:2a.

Liu Yi 劉翼. Son of Liu Kai [or Gong] the King of Hejian, in 119 Liu Yi was brought to the capital by the Dowager Deng, together with the other sons of Liu Kai, those of Liu Shou the King of Jibei, and junior members of the Liu and Deng clans. The young people were given special training in the classics, and the Lady Deng particularly admired Liu Yi's fine manners and appearance.

Liu De the King of Pingyuan, who had been designated to maintain the lineage of Liu Sheng, son of Emperor He, died about this time, and the Dowager transferred the fief to Liu Yi and kept him at the capital. As the modern commentator Hong Liangji observes,

Liu Yi was succeeding a man who was his cousin in an elder generation; this was formally wrong, and may indicate special favour.

After the death of the Dowager in 121, however, Emperor An's wet-nurse Wang Sheng, the eunuch Li Run and others alleged that the Deng group had intended to depose him and place a king of Pingyuan on the throne. There is some confusion in the texts whether their candidate was Liu Yi or his predecessor Liu De, but it was most probably Liu Yi. In any event, he was reduced to be a district marquis and was sent back to Hejian.

Liu Yi dismissed his retainers and lived in seclusion, but in 130, on petition from his father Liu Kai, Emperor Shun took the county of Liwu 蠡吾 from Hejian state and granted it to him as a fief.

Liu Yi died about 140. In 146 Liu Yi's son Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, was brought to the imperial throne, and in the following year Liu Yi was granted posthumous honours as an emperor. -HHS 7:287-88, 55/45:1809-10, 50/40:1674.

Liu Yi 劉翼, wife of: see the Lady Ma 馬.

Liu Yi 劉翼, concubine of: see the Lady Yan Ming 閔明.

Liu Yi 劉懿 also Liu Du 犢 or Liu Yidu 懿犢 (d.125) [the Little Emperor 少帝 (*reg.* 125)]. A younger son of Liu Shou, King of Jibei, and thus grandson of Emperor Zhang, after the death of his father in 120 Liu Yi was enfeoffed as marquis of a district, Beixiang 北鄉.

In 124, influenced by accusations from his Empress Yan and her faction, Emperor An had dismissed his only son Liu Bao as Heir. When the ruler died in the following year the Lady Yan, now Dowager, and her brother Yan Xian chose Liu Yi to succeed him, and placed him upon the throne on 18 May 125. His date of birth is not known, but he was evidently a little over five years old. His claim was no stronger than that of many others, but he was a suitable puppet through whom the Dowager Yan could expect to maintain a long-term regency, much as the Dowager Deng had for Emperor An.

Soon after his accession, however, the child became seriously ill, and he died on 10 December. Within a few days of his death a coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng destroyed the Yan group and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne.

Liu Yi held the imperial title within a calendar year, so he did not live long enough to inaugurate

his own reign period 年號. He was buried with only royal honours, under his earlier title as Marquis of Beixiang, but he is more commonly referred to as the Shao 少 or "Little" Emperor. Ten years later, in 136, Emperor Shun raised the question whether some recent unfavourable portents could have been caused by such lack of funerary respect, but Zhou Ju argued in court conference that Liu Yi's early death was Heaven's way of showing disapproval for the way he had been brought to the throne. It was a warning against the wrongful use of power by consort families, and the young ruler indeed deserved no higher status. His argument was accepted and the matter went no further. -HHS 5:241, 10B:426-27, 61/51:2027.

Liu Yi 劉廙. XTS 75B:3437 says that Liu Yi was the younger son of Liu Gai/Zheng the King of Pei, who died in 109, and that he became Prefect of Luoyang.

Liu Yi 劉翼 (d.137). Son of Liu Pu the King of Beihai, he succeeded his father in 123.

Liu Yi was succeeded by an unknown son, and the state was abolished in 206. -HHS 14/4:558; Bn 54 appendix # 167.

Liu Yi 劉儀 (d.144). A younger son of Liu Zhang the King of Changshan, he succeeded his father in 127, while two older brothers were enfeoffed as village marquises.

Liu Yi was succeeded by his son Bao, while four older sons were granted village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Yi 劉毅 (d.179). A eunuch, Liu Yi was an associate of Wang Fu and held office as Prefect of the Yellow Gates. In 179 he and others of their party were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu; they were tortured and died in prison. -HHS 77/67:2499-2500.

Liu Yi 劉逸 [Daguo 大國]; Nanyang. In 176 Liu Yi was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Excellency of Works. He left office a year later. -HHS 8:338-39.

Liu Yi 劉意 (95-184). Son of Liu Cheng the King of Xiapi, he succeeded his father in 127.

At the time of the Yellow Turban rising in 184 the rebels attacked Xiapi and Liu Yi fled. He was reinstated after the rebellion had been put down, but died a few months later at the age of ninety. -HHS 50/40:1675.

The Annals at HHS 8:350 say that Liu Yi had no sons and the state was abolished at his death, but HHS 50/40 says he was succeeded by his son Liu Yi 宜: see

immediately below.

Liu Yi 劉宜. Son of Liu Yi 意 the King of Xiapi, he succeeded his father. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was formally ended in 206. -HHS 50/40:1675.

The Annals at HHS 8:350 say that Liu Yi's father had no sons and the state was abolished at his death, but HHS 9:384 refers to the abolition of Xiapi and seven other states in 206. HHS 50/40, says that Liu Yi 宜 succeeded to the fief but died a few months later: that would be in 185. There seems no good way to resolve the confusion: see HHSJJ 50/40:1814 *jiaobu*.

Liu Yi 劉翊 I; Yingchuan. Administrator of Runan in the 180s, he made Xu Jing his Reporting Officer and nominated him Filial and Incorrupt. -SGZ Shu 8:963. See also *sub* Liu Yi II below.

Liu Yi 劉翊 II [Zixiang 子相]; Yingchuan. A man of wealthy family, Liu Yi travelled widely to give alms. One winter when he was in Runan he encountered a certain Zhang Jili from Chen, who had come for a funeral but whose carriage had broken down. Liu Yi gave him his own carriage, and rode away without giving his name. Zhang Jili thought that it must have been Liu Yi. He tried to return the property, but Liu Yi closed his gates, made apologies, and refused to see him.

For a long time Liu Yi kept to his bed and refused to take part in public life, but he eventually agreed to accept office as Registrar to the Administrator Chong Fu, whom he approved of as the son of the worthy official Chong Gao. Chong Fu gave him complete confidence and accepted all his recommendations.

At one point a certain Huang Gang, who was a close associate of the Lady Cheng, a favourite of Emperor Ling, sought an area of public wilderness to create a private park. Chong Fu asked Liu Yi's opinion, observing that it could be dangerous to oppose the palace. Quoting *Ritual*, Liu Yi argued that mountains and marshes were the preserve of the common people, and that if Chong Fu agreed to the proposal he would be known as a criminal. So Chong Fu refused his permission. He later nominated Liu Yi as Filial and Incorrupt, but he would not accept.

After the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184 there was famine throughout the region. Liu Yi gave what he had, and saved several hundred people from starvation. He arranged funerals for those poor people who died, and helped their husbands and wives to find new marriage

partners.

When the imperial capital was moved to Chang'an by Dong Zhuo in 190, Liu Yi was sent as Reporting Officer. The roads were blocked by robbers and bandits, but Liu Yi travelled by night and hid during the day, and he duly arrived at Chang'an. An edict acknowledged his diligence and loyalty, he was appointed a Consultant and was then sent out as Administrator of Chenliu.

Giving away his treasure, Liu Yi began his return to the east with only a horse and an ox-drawn wagon. As he came through the passes from Chang'an, he met a gentleman dying by the roadside; he gave his horse to provide him with a coffin and used his own clothing as a shroud. Then, however, he met more people in similarly desperate straits. He could not bear to leave them, so he killed his oxen to provide them with food. Everyone tried to dissuade him, but Liu Yi observed that "A true man cannot see a person in extremity and fail to help them." He starved to death with the others. -HHS 81/71:2695-96*, XC 6:3a-b [one edition has this man's surname as Xie 謝; it is surely mistaken].

Fan Ye placed the biography of Liu Yi in his chapter devoted to Men of Remarkable Behaviour 獨行, and this man certainly fulfils the criteria. It is strange that there should have been another Liu Yi 翊, also from Yingchuan, who served as Administrator of Runan about the same time: see Liu Yi I above, as cited in SGZ. From the dates of Xu Jing, however, it appears that the man who recommended him must have been Administrator in Runan by at least the middle 180s, while the Liu Yi of HHS 81/71 did not gain senior office until after 190. The histories may be confused, reflecting a number of anecdotes about a single man; and this may even apply to Liu Yi 翊 III below.

Disconcertingly, a variant set of texts, discussed by Hui Dong at HHSJJ 67/57:2396, suggests that this Liu Yi was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformists and students of the Imperial University during the late 160s. Though Liu Yi's more publicised activities are dated over twenty years later, it is possible that his private generosity was apparent and recognised earlier.

Liu Yi 劉翊 III; Dongping? When Zhang Miao invited Lü Bu to seize Yan province in 194, he had his follower Liu Yi take a message to Xun Yu that he should welcome Lü Bu as an ally of Cao Cao. Xun Yu, however, was not deceived. -SGZ 10:308.

Liu Yi 柳毅; Liaodong. An associate of Gongsun Du in 190, it appears that Liu Yi later turned to piracy, for he was defeated by Cao Cao's general Zhang Liao on the coast north of the Shandong peninsula in 205. -SGZ 8:252, 17:518.

Liu Yi 劉廙 [Gongsu 公嗣] (181-221); Nanyang. When Liu Yi was ten years old his future as a Confucian scholar was foretold by Sima Hui, known for his judgement of men.

Liu Yi's elder brother Wangzhi became an Assistant Officer under Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, but fell from favour when he protested the execution of two friends. Liu Yi warned his brother of his danger, but Liu Wangzhi refused to leave and he too came to grief.

Liu Yi fled east to Yang province, and about 208 he went to Cao Cao, who appointed him to his Imperial Chancellor's office. About 211 he was transferred to be a literary adviser in the suite of Cao Pi, who used him, however, primarily as a simple clerk. Liu Yi protested, but continued to serve, and in 213 he was appointed Gentleman at the Yellow Gates in the new state of Wei. In a memorial about 218 he urged Cao Cao not to attack Liu Bei in Shu, but to rely upon his personal virtue to bring his rivals to submit. Cao Cao was amused by the flattery.

In 219 Liu Yi's younger brother Wei was implicated in the failed conspiracy of Wei Feng and was executed. Though Liu Yi could have shared his fate, Cao Cao excused him and Liu Yi was suitably grateful. Appointed once more to the Chancellor's office, he presented a memorial criticising the poor quality of many nominees presented by provincial and commandery governments. He called for a probationary period of three years, with strict assessment of the candidates' performance.

When Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220 he appointed Liu Yi a Palace Attendant and awarded him a secondary marquissate. Liu Yi was involved in the processes which brought the abdication of the Han in favour of Wei, and he had a reputation for his understanding of the Mandate, of the calendar, the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*], and associated ritual. Though he left no sons, succession to his fief was granted to a nephew, presumably not a child of the failed rebel Liu Wei.

Liu Yi wrote a number of books on government, including *Zheng lun* 政論, which survived until Tang,

and an essay on criminal law and ritual, *Xingli lun* 刑禮論 written in collaboration with Ding Yi 廙. Considering the crime of his brother Liu Wei and the fate of Ding Yi at the hands of Cao Pi, Liu Yi led a charmed life among dangerous contacts. -SGZ 21:613-16*.

Liu Yi 劉懿. Son of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, presumably by a concubine, in 212 Liu Yi was enfeoffed as King of Shanyang. When the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, however, he and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 9:386, 390.

Liu Yidu 劉懿犢 see Liu Yi 劉懿, the Little Emperor.

Liu Yin 劉縯 (pronunciation from XHS 2:1b) see Liu Bosheng 劉伯升.

Liu Yin 劉隱. In 208 Liu Yin was sent as an envoy to appoint Sun Ben as a general. -SGZ Wu 6:1210.

Liu Ying 劉嬰 [the Young Prince 孺子] (4-25). Son of Liu Xian 顯, great-great-grandson of Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and youngest of the imperial lineage, in the twelfth month at the beginning of 6 AD he was chosen by Wang Mang as the successor to the late Emperor Ping, and Wang Mang confirmed his own position by marrying Liu Ying to one of his great-grand-daughters.

Three years later Wang Mang took the throne for himself and the Young Prince, with courtesy title as Duke Who Establishes Tranquillity 定安公, was held at Chang'an, so isolated that it is said he grew up retarded.

In 24, after the fall of Wang Mang and the accession of the Gengshi Emperor, Fang Wang and Gong Lin gained control over Liu Ying and took him away into Anding. At the beginning of 25 they proclaimed him as emperor, with Fang Wang as Imperial Chancellor and Gong Lin as Grand Marshal. They were promptly attacked by troops of the Gengshi Emperor, and the pretender and all his party were killed. -HHS 1A:18, 11/1:473, 14/4:562; Dubs 55:217-218, 260-264; Bn 54 appendix # 129, Bn 59.91.

Liu Ying 劉英 (d.71). Son of Emperor Guangwu by the Beauty Xu, in 39 Liu Ying was made Duke of Chu in Xu province based on Pengcheng; it is said that his fief was smaller than those of his brothers as the Lady Xu was no longer favoured.

In 41 Liu Ying and his brothers were promoted to be kings, and in 52 he and others were sent from Luoyang to live on their fiefs.

Liu Ying had been a close companion of Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, who showed him special favour after he came to the throne, and granted a marquisate to his brother-in-law. A man of erratic conduct, Liu Ying gathered retainers and was a patron of Huang-Lao and of Buddhism; at this early time the latter was viewed to some extent as an off-shoot of the former creed.

An edict issued in 65 permitted persons under threat of the death penalty to make offerings in expiation of any wrongdoing. Liu Ying was evidently suspected of involvement in some intrigue, for he sent in a ransom of silk and a plea for pardon. In reply, Emperor Ming referred to his brother's understanding of Huang-Lao and his practice of the humane cult of the Buddha, to his three-month periods of purification and fasting, and the hospitality he offered to *yipusai* 伊蒲塞 [*upasaka*] and *sangmen* 桑門 [*sramana*]. He returned the silk in order that Liu Ying might continue his good work.

This edict of Emperor Ming is a first text for the history of Buddhism in China, giving evidence of early association with popular Taoism, and identifying Chu/Pengcheng as a centre of the cult [*cf.* Zhai Rong some 150 years later]. It is questionable how well the doctrine at this time reflected classical Indian tradition, and while it is generally accepted that the teaching came by way of the central Asia and then across China to this region of the southeast it may be that Liu Ying and his associates received instruction from sea traders to the south.

Liu Ying continued his eclectic practices, aided by alchemists, magicians and soothsayers, but in the winter of 70 he was accused of wicked associations and seeking false omens; the charges were categorised as Great Refractoriness and Impiety. The kingdom was abolished and Liu Ying was exiled to Danyang, south of the Yangzi. He killed himself early in the following year.

Liu Ying was buried with the honours of a marquis, but thousands of alleged conspirators were arrested, from Yuyang in the north to Kuaiji in the southeast. Confessions and further accusations were extracted by torture and great numbers of people were killed. Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan was implicated, and in 73 a similar accusation was levied against Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang. Emperor Ming remained fearful and furious, and kept up intermittent persecution until his death. As Bielenstein observes, however, though

the royal brothers may have been inappropriately interested in the occult, there is no good evidence of organised conspiracy.

In 77 the new Emperor Zhang ended the purges. He reburied Liu Ying with royal honours and enfeoffed his sons as marquises. -*HHS* 42/32:1428-29*; Bn 67:33-35, Zürcher 59:19-22, 269-80, Demiéville 86:821-822.

Liu Ying 劉迎 or Liu Yan 延, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 60 she was named Princess of Longlü in Henei. She married Geng Xi. -*HHS* 10B:459.

Liu Yisun 劉義遜; Beihai. A local gentleman, he joined the staff of the Chancellor Kong Rong in the early 190s. Kong Rong ignored him, however, and after his colleague Zuo Chengzu was killed Liu Yisun left his service. -*SGZ* 12:372.

Liu Yiwang 劉義王, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Guangwu, in 39 she was appointed Princess of Wuyin in Nanyang and was later a Senior Princess. She married Liang Song 松, but he died in prison in 62.

Despite her husband's disgrace, the princess continued to support his family. She showed special generosity to her brother-in-law Liang Song 竦, and after the early death of his wife she brought up his three daughters, her nieces. She presumably had influence on the selection of the two elder girls into the harem of Emperor Zhang, where one became the mother of Liu Zhao, future Emperor He.

When Liang Song was executed in 83 and the two imperial concubines died, the princess was sent to house arrest south of Luoyang. She evidently died before the fortunes of the Liang were restored in 97. -*HHS* 10A:416, 10B:458, 34/24:1171-72; Bn 67:21, Ch'ü 72:300.

Liu Yong 劉永 (d.27); Liang. Descended from Emperor Wen of Former Han, Liu Yong's father Liu Li 立 had been King of Liang; he was killed by Wang Mang in 3 AD for his involvement in a plot with the maternal relatives of Emperor Ping.

After Wang Mang was destroyed in 23, Liu Yong joined the Gengshi Emperor at Luoyang and was enfeoffed as King of Liang, with his capital at his home city of Suiyang. In the following year he began to act upon his own authority, raising troops and sending officers to take over neighbouring territories until he controlled a substantial area between the Huai River and Mount Tai. Naming his brother Fang as a chief general and his younger brother Shaogong as King of

Lu, he also gave titles and established nominal alliance with Dong Xian in Donghai and Zhang Bu in Langye and Taishan.

Following the destruction of the Gengshi Emperor, in 25 Liu Yong claimed the imperial title. Concerned at the possible rivalry from another member of the imperial clan, Guangwu gave priority to dealing with Liu Yong, and soon after his own accession he sent Geng Chun to attack him.

Geng Chun invaded Jiying and captured Dingtao city, and early in 26 Guangwu also sent his general He Yan to attack eastwards through Chenliu. At the beginning of summer He Yan laid siege to Suiyang, and though the general Su Mao changed sides to join Liu Yong, He Yan drove him back. In the autumn he took Suiyang city by storm.

Liu Yong fled north with his household to the city of Yu but the people turned against him and killed his mother, wife and children. With a few dozen followers he took refuge with Su Mao, whom he had named King of Huaiyang but whose base was at Guangle, close to Yu city. Reinforced by Liu Yong's other supporters, Jiao Qiang and Zhou Jian, they attempted a counter-attack but were again defeated. Su Mao returned to Guangle, while Liu Yong went with Jiao Qiang and Zhou Jian to Huling city in Shanyang, some eighty kilometres northeast of Guangle.

In 27 the people of Suiyang turned against Guangwu and invited Liu Yong to return. He gave royal titles to Zhang Bu and Dong Xian, but neither sent him real assistance, while He Yan returned to besiege the city. Guangwu's Grand Marshal Wu Han also attacked Guangle, and though Zhou Jian sought to relieve Su Mao, he was defeated and forced back into Huling. Wu Han now joined He Yan outside Suiyang, and by autumn the city was starving. Liu Yong attempted to flee, but his officer Qing Wu wanted to surrender, so he killed him.

Su Mao and Zhou Jian retreated to Pei and proclaimed one of Liu Yong's surviving sons, Liu Yu, as his successor. -*HHS* 12/2:494-95*; Bn 54 appendix # 140, Bn 59:132-139.

Liu Yong 劉邕 [Nanhe 南和]; Nanyang. Liu Yong presumably joined Liu Bei about 208, and in 211 he accompanied him to the west. After he had taken Yi province Liu Bei appointed Liu Yong as Administrator of Jiangyang, established from the southern part of Jianwei. Liu Yong later became a general and was

enfeoffed. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1084.

Liu You 劉祐 or Liu Hu 祐 (94-125) [Emperor An 安帝 (*reg.* 106-125)]. The Qing commentator Hui Dong, cited in *HHSJJ* 5:195, observes that the *Shuowen* dictionary identifies the character 祐 *hu* as the taboo personal name of the emperor, so *HHS* is mistaken in giving it as You 祐. Most scholars, however, still follow *HHS*.

ACCESSION AND TUTELAGE

Son of Liu Qing the King of Qinghe and his consort the Lady Zuo, it is said that when he was still young Liu You enjoyed the study of history and that Emperor He admired him and frequently invited him to the palace. When Emperor He died in 106, Liu Qing and his royal brothers were for the first time sent out to their states, but Liu You was kept at the capital. Emperor He's successor was his infant son Liu Long, but the Young Emperor died on 21 September, and two days later Liu You was brought to the throne. He was aged thirteen *sui*.

Emperor He had sired two sons by unknown concubines, and Liu Long had an elder brother Liu Sheng, but the regent Dowager Deng claimed, probably correctly, that he was incapacitated by illness, either physical or mental, and so he was twice passed over for the succession. Liu You's own father Liu Qing died at the end of 106, a few months after his son's accession, and he was known to have been ill. There were other sons surviving of Emperor Zhang, but Liu Qing had at one time been his father's Heir, he had been dismissed primarily through the intrigues of the Emperor Dou, and he had been a close friend and companion of the late Emperor He. So the Dowager's choice of Liu You was not unjustified: his appointment restored a lineage which had formerly been approved, and it removed the likelihood of a succession struggle amongst other descendants of Emperor Zhang.

Some officials believed that Liu Sheng's disability was not so serious as to disqualify him from the succession, and in the winter of 107/108, one year after the accession of Liu You, the Excellency Zhou Zhang attempted a coup to depose the Dowager and her nominee and set Liu Sheng upon the throne. The plot, however, was found out, and Zhou Zhang killed himself. There was no further questioning of Liu You's claim to the throne, and Liu Shen died without heirs in 113.

At the beginning of 109, at the age of sixteen

sui, Emperor An took the cap of manhood and came formally to full age. Unlike his predecessor Emperor He, however, he remained under the control of the Dowager, who dominated the court until her death in 121. There were a number of protests, and the young emperor was bitterly resentful, but he had no effective authority; a discussion of politics and policy from 106 to 121 therefore appears under the biography of the Lady Deng *Sui*. Only after her death, in the summer of 121, did Emperor An achieve full authority in the government; he was then twenty-seven years old by Western reckoning.

In 119 the Dowager had called junior members of the Liu and Deng clans to the capital for special tuition in the classics, and she paid particular attention to Liu Yi 翼 the King of Pingyuan. Soon after her death the emperor's former wet-nurse Wang Shang and the eunuchs Li Run and Jiang Jing, close associates of the emperor and enemies of the Deng family, claimed that the Dowager had lost faith in Liu You's ability, and had been thinking of deposing him in favour of his cousin. It is doubtful she would indeed have taken such a drastic step, but the emperor attended to the accusation, and it is likely he was ready to rid himself of his powerful subjects. Though he had hitherto shown respect to the Dowager's family, he now gave a fine show of indignation, endorsed charges of Impiety and had members of the Deng group stripped of their fiefs and their property. At first the Dowager's eldest brother Deng Zhi was spared, but he was forced to quit the capital, was exiled to the south, and duly committed suicide. The disgrace of the late Dowager's family was soon revoked, and Deng Zhi received honoured burial, but the power of the Deng was broken, and Emperor An and his favourites could rule largely untrammelled.

AFFAIRS OF STATE

In the aftermath of the great Qiang rebellion, there was still trouble in Liang province, notably from the tribal chieftains Manu and Renliang, who made successful raids on Jincheng, Zhangye and Wuwei; only in 122, after they had been defeated by Ma Xian, could the program of reconstruction continue. The administration of Jincheng was returned to its former capital soon after the end of the major rebellion, but it was not until 123 that the headquarters of Longxi were restored, and the Baoye Road, chief imperial highway through the Qin Ling ranges, which had been damaged by the insurgents in Hanzhong, was re-opened only

in 125. There followed some ten years of reasonable security.

The troubles of the northeast, already manifest in the time of the Dowager Deng, continued to develop. During 121 Gaogouli [Koguryo] and the neighbouring tribes of the Hui and Mo raided Liaodong and Xuantu, though the ruler of Fuyu sent aid to China and a measure of peace was restored in the following year. The incursions of the Xianbi were substantially more serious, for it was about this time that those people acquired a new war-leader, Qizhijian. In 121 Qizhijian led a major attack into Yunzhong and Dai, and also sent raiders against Xuantu, and though a garrison camp was set up in Yuyang, in the following year he led raids as far as Taiyuan. In 123 Qizhijian defeated the Southern Xiongnu in Wuyuan, and in 124 he defeated them in Dai commandery, killing one of their kings on each occasion. In effect, the whole northern frontier of the empire was now vulnerable.

Southwest, there was rebellion in Shu in 122 and in Yuexi in 123, and though these incidents were dealt with locally another Dependent State was set up in that region; similar defence positions had been set up by the regent Dowager Deng. The far south at least was peaceful, and both Jiuzhen and Rinan reported tribute missions and favourable omens.

More generally, there were several visitations of rain and floods, destructive winds and earthquakes, so various areas were given relief from taxes, while the government also issued grants of noble ranks, special summonses to office and calls for recommendations.

During the spring of 124 Emperor An made a tour to the east as far as Taishan, where he offered sacrifice to his imperial predecessors and to Confucius, and held a reception for members of the sage's clan; in the winter of that year he travelled to Chang'an, again paying respects to the tombs of the rulers of Former Han and their great ministers. A few months after his return to Luoyang, in the spring of 125 he embarked on a tour to south, visiting the tombs of Later Han ancestors in Nanyang, and ordering the Administrators of Changsha and Lingling to offer sacrifice to local deities of their region. Despite these demonstrations of goodwill, the emperor became ill and died on the journey back to Luoyang.

RELIGION AND SCHOLARLY PATRONAGE

As discussed under the entry for the Dowager Deng *Sui*, in 119 worship of a Sixth Venerable One 六宗 was

restored to the official program of rituals, as practiced in Former Han and recommended by the Excellency Li He. Since the Dowager had sought to reduce and simplify state rituals, this addition may reflect the personal influence of Emperor An before he came to power, though in other respects it appears that the nominal sovereign held small influence at court.

In one respect the personal government of Emperor An specifically reversed a decision of the regent Dowager: it had been ordered in 116 that high officials must observe a three-year mourning period for the death of a parent; the requirement was impracticable and was withdrawn soon after the emperor came to power. More generally, the new regime showed itself anxious to recruit men of local distinction, particularly hermit scholars, and several special invitations and more general summonses were issued. Some of these calls to office were intended to bolster the prestige of the throne by attracting celebrated men, but one may also suspect there was genuine concern that the quality of new entrants to the bureaucracy was in some decline, and there was a real need to attract good men.

Emperor He and the Dowager Deng had both shown interest in scholarship, but the academic climate of their time was still dominated by the official New Text tradition, and their patronage had been extended to history rather than to philosophy. As Emperor An began his personal rule, Chen Zhong and others argued that the prestige and popular acceptance of his government would be enhanced by patronage of Confucian masters. The emperor agreed, and one of the first fruits of the new approach was the presentation of the path-breaking dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. Compiled by Xu Shen, the work was presented to the throne by his son Xu Chong.

It appears that the grasp of the New Text on official scholarship was weakening. Xu Shen was known primarily as an Old Text scholar, and although his work was completed about 100 it had not been presented earlier, evidently because of doubts about its suitability. Now it received official endorsement, and in 123 some junior officials were chosen for their knowledge of the Old Text *History*, of the Mao interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, also in the Old Text tradition, together with the New Text Guliang commentary to *Chunqiu*. In a further show of support, the emperor paid a formal visit to the University in 124, and he may have been planning the revival of an

institution which was now at a low point of decline. He died, however, less than a year later, and it was left to his son and successor, Emperor Shun, to attempt a reconstruction and restoration.

In general, Emperor An was interested in and influenced by portents and omens. In 122 he dismissed the Excellency of Works Chen Bao on account of an earthquake, widespread rain and storms; this created an unfortunate precedent which weakened the long-term authority of the heads of the imperial service. Though natural catastrophes continued, the sovereign himself was no doubt encouraged by a steady flow of favourable omens: in 123 Rinan reported dragons and Jiuzhen auspicious plants; in 124 Youfufeng had white pheasants and Langye a yellow dragon, while Yingchuan reported a white deer, a white tiger and two "unicorns" 麒麟 *qilin*. At the beginning of 125 Dong commandery had two yellow dragons and another *qilin*, but despite such signs of good fortune the emperor died just a few weeks later.

COURT POLITICS AND THE SUCCESSION

Regardless of national affairs and questions of ritual and scholarship, power at court was strongly influenced by those whom the emperor personally trusted. He paid great respect to his maternal uncle Geng Bao, who was first appointed as a minister and then, in 124, as General-in-Chief, and he showed remarkable generosity to Feng Shi, on one occasion spending two weeks at his ministerial lodging and distributing valuable gifts; Feng Shi became Grand Commandant in 124. Within his private apartments Emperor An favoured his former wet-nurse Wang Sheng and the palace eunuchs Fan Feng and Li Run, but he was greatly influenced by his empress the Lady Yan Ji, whose brothers, led by Yan Xian, acquired ministerial and military posts, commanded the palace guards, and dominated the court.

The Lady Yan entered the harem in 114. She swiftly attracted the emperor's favour, and was made empress in 115. She did not, however, bear him children; and soon after her accession she poisoned the Lady Li II, who had given birth to a son, Liu Bao, in that same year. The regent Dowager Deng had Liu Bao named as Heir in 120, but although he had no brothers his position was not secure. In 124, after a complex struggle for influence, the Empress Yan, aided by the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng, accused the nine-year-old of involvement in a conspiracy, and towards the end of

the year he was dismissed as Heir. The decision was fiercely opposed by the minister Lai Li and many other senior officials who demonstrated before the gates of the palace, but the emperor held to his decision.

DEATH AND JUDGEMENT

On 23 April 125, as Emperor An was on tour to the south he was taken ill at Wan city in Nanyang. He continued his program for another few days, returned north past Wan, but died on 30 April, at the age of thirty-two.

Since the emperor's only son Liu Bao had been deposed there was no designated Heir and no obvious successor, and the right to choose his replacement and to act as regent devolved upon the Lady Yan, now Dowager. For the time being, she and her associates concealed the ruler's death. During three days on the road they had food and drink taken to the closed carriage and maintained the formality of an official diary, and it was not until the evening of 4 May, the day after the cortège had returned to the capital, that the death was announced. The Lady Yan then attended court, and she and her brother determined on the successor, the five-year-old Liu Yi 懿, the Little Emperor, a cousin of the late sovereign.

It is said that Liu You had shown intelligence and ability when he was young, but that he failed to live up to his early promise. He was certainly frustrated by the Dowager Deng's extended regency, and he became worried that she might replace him with a more impressive candidate. This could have been a good idea, for during his few years of personal rule Emperor An proved quite inadequate to his responsibilities. He displayed interest in ritual and scholarship, but his reliance upon personal favourites disturbed the balance of government, and his subservience to his Empress Yan, culminating in the dismissal of his only son Liu Bao, was a blow to the dynasty itself: it was dangerously significant that the legitimate heir had to be brought to the throne by a group of eunuchs. Unlike the Dowager Deng, and Emperor Shun after him, Emperor An had no great crisis to deal with: his failure was all his own and the damage he inflicted was considerable.

Emperor An was buried in the "Mound of Respect" 恭陵 northwest of Luoyang, and he was given the temple-name Gongzong 恭宗 "Respectful Exemplar." In 190 Dong Zhuo, who controlled the court of Han at that time, approved a recommendation of Cai Yong

that his tablet should be deposited from a permanent position in the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the grounds that he had shown neither merit nor virtue: see MBeck 90:106-107 and *sub* Liu Zhao, Emperor He. -HHS 5*.

Liu You 劉祐 [Bozu 伯祖] (d.168); Zhongshan/Boling. A member of the imperial clan and a man of firm principles, Liu You studied the Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu*, the *Ritual* according to the New Text school of the Younger Dai, and the Old Text *Classic of History*. Having served as Registrar of his commandery, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and later joined the Imperial Secretariat, where he became respected for his knowledge of precedent.

Liu You became a county magistrate in Rencheng, was graded for Exceptional Quality by the Inspector of Yan province, and was appointed Inspector of Yang province. In that capacity he reported the his wrongdoing of Liang Min the Administrator of Kuaiji, even though he was a kinsman of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji; Liang Min was dismissed.

Liu You was then transferred to be Administrator of Hedong. Many of the county officials were associated with the eunuchs at court, and the people suffered under their rule, but Liu You instituted strict reforms, and his government became a model for the neighbouring commanderies.

After further posts, in 161 Liu You was appointed Director of the Secretariat, then Intendant of Henan and then Director of Retainers, where he maintained authority over even the most privileged families. He was later Minister of the Imperial Clan, and in 165 he was Minister of Finance.

Though it was not within his area of responsibility, Liu You reported the eunuch Regular Attendants Su Kang and Guan Ba for having enclosed good farmland and wilderness throughout the empire, to the hardship of common people. Emperor Huan was angry at the interference, and Liu You, with his colleagues Li Ying and Feng Gun, was sent to convict labour, though with reduced punishment 弛刑. The Director of Retainers Ying Feng, who was Feng Gun's protégé, spoke for the three officials, and after some months they were released.

Liu You returned to ministerial office, and when he asked to retire on grounds of old age he was appointed an Attendant Counsellor. He had great influence at court, but though he was kept at Luoyang, he was

not given any substantial office because of slanders made against him. He was named as a "hero" [俊 *jun*], second category in the major list of worthy men circulated by the reformist students at the University, and was commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu as one of the finest officials of the empire.

In the autumn of 168, as Chen Fan and Dou Wu planned to deal with the palace eunuchs, they named Liu You Intendant of Henan. When the eunuchs struck first and the reformers were destroyed, Liu You retired to his home. He died there soon afterwards, so his family was spared the persecution which followed. - *HHS* 67/57:2199-2200*, 69/59:2242-43, *XC* 4:6a; *deC* 89:59, 65, 98, 110.

[Liu?] **You** 劉攽, the Lady. Wife to Liu Pu and mother of Liu Ye, it is uncertain whether You was her personal name or her father's surname. - *SGZ* 14:442-43.

Liu You 劉由; Kuaiji. Local officers under Sun Ce in 197, Liu You and his colleague Gao Cheng were sent with tribute gifts to the Han court controlled by Cao Cao. - *SGZ* Wu 1:1105.

Liu Yu 劉紆 (d.29); Liang. After the defeat and death of Liu Yong in 27, his son Liu Yu was proclaimed King of Liang at Chuihui in Pei by his supporters Su Mao and Zhou Jian, and the succession was recognised by their colleague Jiao Qiang in Shanyang. On the other hand, Liu Yong's old imperial claim was left aside, and Liu Yu was no more than a figurehead for the warlord allies.

In the autumn of 28 Liu Yu and his associates were besieged in Chuihui by Guangwu's generals Ma Wu and Wang Ba, and after a failed sortie early in 29 the town closed its gates against them and the confederates were obliged to flee. Liu Yu took refuge with Jiao Qiang in Shanyang, but they were promptly attacked by Han troops under Du Mao, and Jiao Qiang and Liu Yu fled to Dong Xian.

In the autumn of 29 the combined forces of the southeast were defeated by Guangwu at Changlü in Donghai. Liu Yu took refuge with Dong Xian in his capital of Tan, and when that city fell a few weeks later he was killed by Gao Hu of the Wuxiao bandit group. - *HHS* 12/2:495-97; Bn 54 appendix # 156.

Liu Yu 劉育. Administrator of Jiyin in the early 30s, Liu Yu admired the qualities of his Assistant Liu Ping, gave him considerable authority in government, and recommended him to the throne. - *HHS* 39/29:1296.

Liu Yu 劉宇 (d.103). Son of Liu Jing the King of

Langye, he succeeded his father in 81.

Liu Yu was succeeded by his son Shou, and eight other sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. - *HHS* 42/32:1451-52.

Liu Yu 劉昱. Son of Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, Liu Yu was made a marquis in 90. Later, however, he offended the law and was deprived of his fief. - *HHS* 42/32:1432.

Liu Yu 劉豫. About 77 Liu Yu was a magistrate in Chenliu while Si Xie was a magistrate in Nanyang. Both men were admired for their firm administration, but the Excellency of Works Diwu Lun criticised their cruelty, and argued that those who had approved and promoted them should be reprimanded. - *HHS* 41/31:1400; Loewe 86C:292.

Liu Yu 劉禹. Son of Liu Zhen 真, he inherited the family fief. - *HHS* 14/4:562; Bn 54 appendix # 146.

Liu Yu 劉瑜 [Jijie 季節] (d.168); Guangling. Son of Liu Bian, Liu Yu claimed descent from the kings of Guangling in Former Han. When he was young he studied the Confucian classics, and also the arts of fortune-telling by diagrams, by astrology and by numbers. He was invited to local office by both the commandery and the province, but did not accept.

In 165 the Grand Commandant Yang Bing recommended Liu Yu as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, and so he came to Luoyang. His candidate's memorial protested against the hereditary ranks which had been granted to the emperor's eunuch favourites, against the luxury of his harem and the number of his concubines, and against the general corruption and lack of proper conduct in the government. He was invited to further discussions on the basis of his knowledge of portents, but was also pressed to withdraw his stronger statements. Instead, he sent in a further eight thousand words reiterating his original comments.

Despite the controversy of his arguments, we are told that Liu Yu was graded First Class and was celebrated as "the Sincere and Upright candidate with long black hair" 方正長鬚. He was appointed a Consultant, but soon afterwards joined Cai Yan in protest against the punishment of Cheng Jin, the Administrator of Nanyang who had been arrested for killing the eunuch associate Zhang Fan and others during a time of amnesty. Their argument was outspoken, and both Liu Yu and Cai Yan were dismissed; Cheng Jin was later executed.

In 168, when the regency for the new Emperor

Ling was dominated by Dou Wu and Chen Fan, Liu Yu was brought back to the capital and appointed as a Palace Attendant. He took an active part in planning for the destruction of the eunuchs led by Cao Jie, and in the autumn he wrote to the Dowager and to Dou Wu and Chen Fan, warning them that the stars boded ill for great ministers and honest men, and urging them to take action. His letter triggered the first arrests of the eunuchs, and the interrogation of Zheng Li implicated Cao Jie and Wang Fu. Liu Yu was sent with the report to the Dowager recommending the purge, but the eunuch Zhu Yu found out, and Cao Jie and Wang Fu then destroyed Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

In the aftermath of the eunuchs' victory, Liu Yu and members of his family were among the first to be killed, and his major memorials to the throne were destroyed on the grounds that they were false. His biography in *HHS* 57/47, however, preserves a text of his candidate's memorial from 165. -*HHS* 57/47:1854-58*, 69/59:2241-44; deC 89:59-101.

Liu Yu 劉豫. Son of Liu Qian the King of Zhao, he succeeded his father in 164.

Liu Yu was succeeded by his son She. -*HHS* 14/4:559; Bn 54 appendix # 162.

Liu Yu 劉庾. A son of Liu Li the King of Hejian, in 174 he was enfeoffed as King of Ji'nan to maintain the lineage and sacrifices of Liu Chang, father of Emperor Ling. Liu Yu was succeeded by his son Yun. -*HHS* 55/45:1810.

HHS 55/45 gives the name of this man as Kang 康, but in *JJ* at 1951 Qian Daxin observes that an earlier ruler of Ji'nan had held that personal name, and his titular successor should have avoided the taboo. A fragment of *XHS*, preserved in *Taiping yulan*, gives the personal name as Yu 庾; the characters may have been confused in copying, but it is possible that he changed his name when he acceded to the fief.

Liu Yu 劉虞 [Bo'an 伯安] (d.193); Donghai. Son of Liu Shu, Liu Yu studied the classics and held local office in his county and commandery. He was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer, nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and became a magistrate in Dong commandery, where his virtue protected the county from a plague of locusts. He was then Inspector of You province on the north-eastern frontier. He wore the local clothing of fur and felt, his good government was praised by the people, and he received regular tribute from the non-Chinese.

After a period out of office, in 184 Liu Yu was sent as Chancellor to Ganling. His record was so good that he was excused the normal fine for official appointment, and his humane rule settled that hot-bed of Yellow Turban rebellion. He became Director of the Imperial Secretariat, then Minister of the Household, and was transferred to be Minister of the Imperial Clan.

In 188 Liu Yu was sent again to You province, this time as Governor with full authority over the territory ravaged by the rebellion of Zhang Chun and his Wuhuan allies. He arrived in 189, and following the campaigns of Gongsun Zan he induced the murder of Zhang Chun and persuaded Qiuliju to surrender. He was rewarded with enfeoffment and was appointed Grand Commandant, though he still remained in the northeast.

Dong Zhuo's regime later awarded Liu Yu honorary titles as Grand Marshal and then Grand Tutor, while Yuan Shao and some others of the eastern alliance wanted him to take regency power and even suggested him as a candidate for the throne: he was descended from Emperor Guangwu's son Liu Qiang, but his claim was extremely slight. Liu Yu rejected such offers, and he is said to have executed one of the messengers. Instead, while still keeping contact with Yuan Shao and his loyal rebels, he also sent reports to Chang'an, and he was rewarded with enhanced enfeoffment and wide civil authority; such favour, however, was of limited practical use in the troubles of the time.

You province had formerly been subsidised by revenues from Qing and Ji, but after the disruption of the Yellow Turbans this supply had dried up and the northeast was in great difficulty. Giving an example of thrift in his private life and conduct, Liu Yu encouraged silk farming, established a market in Shanggu for trade with the non-Chinese across the frontier, and developed the production of salt and iron. As a result the price of grain was low and refugees came from the south to this region of prosperity.

The aggressive Gongsun Zan disapproved of Liu Yu's peaceful policies towards the Wuhuan, and as Liu Yu sought to restrain him by limiting supplies to his army he became increasingly angry. In 191 Liu Yu's son He escaped from Chang'an to seek aid for Emperor Xian, but was held by Yuan Shu. Gongsun Zan then made alliance with Yuan Shu, Liu Yu with Yuan Shao, and the two came into open conflict.

As Governor, Liu Yu's capital was at Ji city in Guangyang, while Gongsun Zan built a fortified camp within the walls. In the winter of 193 Liu Yu led troops against him, but Gongsun Zan was fore-warned, while Liu Yu's men were not skilled and did not press hard. Gongsun Zan made a successful counter-attack, drove Liu Yu to flight, and a few days later he captured him with his wife and children. The emissary Duan Xun had just arrived from Chang'an with grants for both Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan, but Gongsun Zan charged Liu Yu with treason, based on Yuan Shao's earlier offer of the throne, and he obliged Duan Xun to approve the public execution of Liu Yu and his family. -HHS 73/63:2353-57*, XC 4:13a, SGZ 8:240-43.

Liu Yu 劉禹 *i.e.* Liu Shang 劉尚 the General who is Firm and Majestic. -HHS 18/8:680.

Liu Yu 劉興 see Liu Fang 劉方.

Liu Yuan 劉元 *i.e.* Liu Xuan 劉玄 the Gengshi Emperor. -DGHJ 23:1a-2b.

Liu Yuan 劉元, the Lady (d.22); Nanyang. Youngest sister of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, she married Deng Chen and bore him one son and three daughters, but she and the three girls were killed at the battle of Xiao-Chang'an in 22. In 26 Liu Yuan was awarded posthumous title as Senior Princess of Xinye in Nanyang. A temple was established for her west of the city and her son Deng Fan was granted a county marquisate so that he might maintain her sacrifices. -HHS 15/5:582-83, 14/4:555-56.

Liu Yuan 劉元; Nanyang. About 150 Liu Yuan killed the visiting scholar Zhang Zong. In revenge, Zhang Zong's colleague Chen Gang killed Liu Yuan when he was drunk. -HYGZ 10C:167.

Liu Yuan 劉瑗; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Liu Yuan was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai, in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -LS 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Liu Yuan 劉元 (d.180). Son of Liu Cheng the King of Liang, he succeeded his father in 164.

Liu Yuan was succeeded by his son Mi. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Yuan 劉淵 miswritten for Deng Yuan 鄧淵. -HHJ 28:334, ZZTJ 61:1960; deC 96:150.

Liu Yuanqi 劉元起; Zhuo. In the late 170s Liu Yuanqi's son Deran studied under the Academician Lu Zhi. Liu Bei, future First Sovereign of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han, was a fellow-student.

Though the families were kin, they were not closely related, but Liu Yuanqi gave provisions to Liu Bei in the same fashion as to Liu Deran. When his wife questioned him, he explained that Liu Bei was a man of great quality and prospects. -SGZ Shu 2:871.

Liu Yuanshou 劉元壽. The father of Liu Yuanshou, Liu Jing the King of Guangling, was a full brother of Emperor Ming, but in 67 he was disgraced and his state was ended. In 71, however, Emperor Ming enfeoffed Liu Yuanshou as Marquis of Guangling, with revenue from six counties of the former fief, and gave district marquisates to three of his younger brothers. In the following year, moreover, as he was travelling in the east of the empire, he called Liu Yuanshou and his brothers to audience, received them with honours and awarded them gifts.

Showing similar favour, in 82 Emperor Zhang called Liu Yuanshou and his brothers to attend court at the capital in company with the kings of the imperial house. -HHS 42/32:1448-49.

Liu Yun 劉贇 (d.207). Son of Liu Kang, he succeeded him as King of Ji'nan. In 207 Liu Yun was killed by Yellow Turban bandits, but his son Kai inherited the fief. -HHS 55/45:1810.

Liu Yuzhou 劉豫州 [Liu of Yu province] see Liu Bei 劉備.

Liu Ze 劉側 (d.102). Younger son of Liu Bing the King of Huaiyang, in 90 he was enfeoffed as King of Changshan to maintain his father's lineage.

Liu Ze died without sons, but the kingdom was maintained through his nephew Liu Zhang. -HHS 50/40:1678, 4:170.

Liu Zhan 劉瞻. Gentleman at the Yellow Gates in the Han court at Xu city under the control of Cao Cao, in 213 Liu Zhan presented the cap of manhood to Emperor Xian's son Liu Miao the King of Jibei. -HHS 94/4:3105.

Liu Zhan 劉展. A general and a district marquis, in 213 Liu Zhan was one of the officers who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -SGZ 1:40.

Liu Zhang 劉章 (d.46); Nanyang. Elder son of Liu Yan/Bosheng, in 26 Liu Zhang was enfeoffed as King of Taiyuan. In 35 he was transferred to be King of Qi, but two years later, with other members of the imperial clan, he was reduced in rank to be Duke of Qi. In 43 the royal title was restored.

By special favour of the emperor, Liu Zhang held appointments as a county magistrate in Henan and as

Administrator of Liang, but he normally resided at the capital. He was a friend of Wang Pan, and his death in 46 may have been the occasion for the accusations laid against Wang Pan and his associates in the autumn of that year.

Liu Zhang was succeeded by his son Shi, and his younger son Zhang 張 was later enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 14/4:553, 24/14:851; Bn 54 appendix # 118.

Liu Zhang 劉張. Son of Liu Zhang 章 the King of Qi [nephew of Emperor Guangwu by his elder brother Liu Yan/Bosheng], and younger brother of Liu Shi, in 54 Liu Zhang was enfeoffed as a marquis.

Liu Zhang was recognised for his good advice on matters concerning the non-Chinese peoples of the west, and in the winter of 74, following the success of Dou Gu against the Xiongnu in the previous year, he was appointed Commandant of Cavalry to lead one of three columns sent out from Dunhuang; overall command was held by Dou Gu, while Geng Bing led a third column. Defeating the Xiongnu and their local allies at Pulei Lake, the expedition moved west to take over the territory of Jushi north and south of the Bogda range and restore the Protectorate-General of the Western Regions.

Liu Zhang was later criticised and slandered, fell from favour and was stripped of his title. After his death, about 80, Emperor Zhang restored the fief to Liu Zhang's son Liu Tuoren, so that he might maintain sacrifices to his father. -HHS 14/4:553.

Liu Zhang 劉章 (d.127). Son of Liu Fang, when his uncle Liu Ze died without heirs in 102, Liu Zhang was enfeoffed as King of Changshan to maintain the lineage. Emperor He felt sympathy for his father's early death and treated him generously, but as the Dowager Deng took over government after the emperor's death in 106, he and the other kings were sent out to their states.

Liu Zhang was succeeded by his son Yi, and two older sons were later enfeoffed as village marquises. -HHS 50/40:1678.

Liu Zhang 劉章; Nanyang. Son of Liu Xun, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 14/4:568; Bn 54 appendix # 147.

Liu Zhang 劉璋 [Jiyu 季玉]; Jiangxia. Son of Liu Yan 焉, when his father went to Yi province as Governor in 188, Liu Zhang remained at the capital with his elder brothers Liu Fan and Liu Dan; he became Commandant of the Equipage. All three brothers accompanied the

court under the control of Dong Zhuo to Chang'an in 190, but soon afterwards Liu Zhang was sent to Yi province with a letter criticising Liu Yan for his moves towards independence. [It is also said that Liu Yan claimed to be ill and asked that his son be allowed to join him.] Liu Yan paid no attention to the letter, but he kept Liu Zhang with him.

During a rebellion in 194, Liu Fan and Liu Dan were killed by Dong Zhuo's successor Li Jue, and when Liu Yan died in the same year Zhao Wei and other leading men of the region set Liu Zhang in his place: he was seen as a humane man who would allow them greater autonomy. The court had sent a certain Hu Mao to be Inspector of Yi province, and there was an insurrection in his support inspired by Liu Biao from Jing province. The rebels were driven away, and an imperial letter then appointed Liu Zhang as Military Commissioner and Governor in succession to his father.

The theocratic warlord Zhang Lu had established himself in Hanzhong, but had been kept under some control by Liu Yan through the presence of his mother and other kinsmen in the capital, Chengdu. Liu Zhang followed the same policy, but in 200 Zhang Lu ceased to pay obeisance and moved towards real independence. Liu Zhang was provoked into killing Zhang Lu's mother, and as defiance turned to open hostility Zhang Lu occupied the north of Ba commandery.

It appears that Liu Zhang had also shown himself too weak for the taste of his earlier supporters; and they were particularly aggrieved at his reliance upon the Dongzhou Troops 東州兵, refugees from central China who had been recruited by Liu Yan and whose depredations against local people went unpunished. Zhao Wei, formerly a supporter of Liu Zhang, raised a rebellion based upon his garrison in the east. He gained wide approval in Guanghan, Jianwei and Shu commanderies, but when he brought an army against Chengdu, Liu Zhang received fierce support from the Dongzhou Troops, who feared for their lives under a new regime. Zhao Wei was driven away and then killed.

The Han court under Cao Cao's control sought to take advantage of this disturbance by sending Niu Dan as Inspector and calling Liu Zhang to appointment as a minister in the puppet government. Predictably, Liu Zhang refused, and he continued to hold chief power in the region. For the next several years Cao Cao was occupied by the contest with Yuan Shao and the

subsequent take-over of the northern plain, Liu Biao had to face Sun Quan on the lower Yangzi, while Zhang Lu provided a buffer against the various warlords of the Wei valley without himself being strong enough to challenge Liu Zhang directly.

In 208, as Cao Cao advanced into Jing province, Liu Zhang sent envoys, but Cao Cao was primarily concerned with the campaign against Liu Bei and Sun Quan, and though he granted Liu Zhang title as a general he did not treat his messengers with great generosity. The envoy Zhang Song recommended to Liu Zhang that he withdraw his offers of support, and the decision was encouraged by Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs. As Liu Bei established himself on the middle Yangzi Liu Zhang made alliance and sent troops to assist him, while a number of his officers, including Zhang Song and Fa Zheng, became agents for Liu Bei within Liu Zhang's own councils.

When Cao Cao defeated the warlords of the Wei valley in 211 he sent his general Zhong Yao south against Zhang Lu. Zhang Song and Fa Zheng pointed out the danger if Zhang Lu surrendered and joined Cao Cao to attack, and they urged Liu Zhang to call Liu Bei, so that he might take Hanzhong before Cao Cao did. Their proposal emphasised Liu Zhang's political weakness, in that leading men of the province such as Pang Xi had an erratic record of loyalty, while he should be able rely upon Liu Bei as a fellow-member of the imperial clan. This latter argument proved false, and several of Liu Zhang's other officers foretold the betrayal to come, but it is notable that after more than twenty years of family rule in the territory Liu Zhang could not rely upon strong local support.

Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei, the alliance was celebrated with ceremony and assurances of good faith, and Liu Bei was given quantities of troops and equipment to establish himself in Guanghan and oppose Zhang Lu. Over the following twelve months he took no effective action against Zhang Lu, but constantly complained how Liu Zhang kept him short of supplies, and when Cao Cao moved against Sun Quan in 212 he asked leave to go to the aid of his lieutenant Guan Yu in Jing province. Liu Zhang, feeling with justification that he had received small return for the provisions he had given, and that the situation in the east was by no means urgent, refused his request, and Liu Bei took the excuse to turn against him.

Killing those officers of Liu Zhang who remained

loyal, Liu Bei advanced against Chengdu. Liu Zhang was advised to refuse battle and adopt a scorched-earth policy which might force Liu Bei to withdraw, but he was unwilling to harm civilians by such a strategy. The troops he sent to oppose Liu Bei were defeated, and though Luo city in Guanghan, forty kilometres from Chengdu, held out for several months, Zhuge Liang and Zhang Fei brought troops from Jing province and the warlord Ma Chao came from the north to join them. By the summer of 214 Chengdu was isolated and invested, and after a few weeks siege, again reluctant to cause his people to suffer, Liu Zhang surrendered.

As he took over the government in Yi province Liu Bei sent Liu Zhang down-river to Gong'an, his headquarters in Jing province. Five years later, when Sun Quan's general Lü Meng destroyed Liu Bei's commander Guan Yu in 219, Liu Zhang came into his hands. As a challenge to Liu Bei, Sun Quan restored Liu Zhang's title as Governor of Yi province, with interim residence at Zigui, near the entrance to the Gorges. Soon afterwards Liu Zhang died. -SGZ Shu 1: 868-70*, HHS 75/65:2433-35*; deC 90:361-370, deC 96:297-298, 443-469, 551.

Liu Zhao 劉肇 (79-106) [Emperor He 和帝 (*reg.* 88-106)]. Born in 79, Liu Zhao was a son of Emperor Zhang by one of his two Honoured Ladies Liang. About this same time his elder half-brother Liu Qing, who had been born in the previous year to an Honoured Lady Song, was named Heir under the patronage of the Dowager Ma. When the Dowager died soon afterwards, however, chief influence in the harem was taken by the Empress Dou; in 82 the empress had the Ladies Song, Liu Qing's mother and aunt, sent to prison to die, and had Liu Zhao replace Liu Qing as Heir.

A grand-daughter of Liang Tong, leading associate of Emperor Guangwu's ally Dou Rong, Liu Zhao's mother was thus well-born and had an old connection with the family of the empress, but the Liang gained little from their scion's elevation; the Lady Dou had no wish to share her authority and influence. In 83 the Honoured Ladies' father Liang Song was charged with treason and executed. His daughters then "died of grief," and the Empress Dou thereafter brought Liu Zhao up as her own son; it is said that the child's true maternity was forgotten and he did not know the identity of his mother until many years later: the Lady Dou died in 97 and the matter was then investigated and reported by the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu. On

the other hand, Emperor Zhang continued to treat the former Heir Liu Qing well; despite their formal rivalry, the two princes were close friends.

ACCESSION AND TUTELAGE

On 9 April 88 Emperor Zhang died and Liu Zhao came to the throne at the age of ten *sui*. The Dowager Dou became regent, the Grand Tutor Deng Biao accepted the lead of her family, and the Dowager's eldest brother Dou Xian held great power in government. Soon afterwards Dou Xian was involved in the murder of the imperial kinsman Liu Chang, and as the scandal broke the Dowager sought to distract attention by placing him in command of an expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. There was considerable opposition within the court, but the dissidents were quelled, the army was prepared, and early in 89 Dou Xian embarked on a campaign of conquest.

The operation was completely successful, the power of the Northern Xiongnu on the steppe was destroyed and by 91 the remnant court had been driven away to the west. In the longer term, on the other hand, the high cost of the war placed overwhelming strain upon the Han regime, while the Southern Xiongnu, allies and puppets of China, were unable to establish an effective government over their former rivals.

As Dou Xian returned from the northwest in the summer of 92 the prestige and authority of his family appeared to be at its height, but Emperor He was resolved to free himself from the control of his over-mighty subjects. Encouraged and supported by Zheng Zhong and other eunuchs, he gave orders to arrest the supporters of the Dou clan and had Dou Xian stripped of his insignia. Dou Xian and his brothers were sent from the capital and were either killed or obliged to commit suicide, while the Dowager was held under arrest in her apartments; she took no further part in government.

Emperor He had taken the cap of manhood in 91, when he was eleven by Western count, and was thus formally competent to rule without a regency, but it is impressive that he could organise a coup eighteen months later against such a powerful and apparently well-entrenched family. He surely owed a great deal to the energy of Zheng Zhong and his colleagues, and this was the first of several occasions in which eunuchs of the palace played a critical role in a struggle for power at the capital. We are nonetheless told that Liu Zhao consulted his half-brother Liu Qing, one year

older than himself, as he was planning the project, so it appears that he was willing and able to take an active role.

Following the coup the Grand Tutor Deng Biao resigned his office, while the Grand Commandant Song You was obliged to commit suicide for his support of the Dou. Song You's successor Yin Mu was granted control of the affairs of the imperial secretariat, implying formal command over the government, but it is unlikely the emperor relinquished any real power; rather he was able to use Yin Mu as his chief executive. In any case, Yin Mu died in the following year, and for the rest of his reign Emperor He held undisputed authority.

COURT AND HAREM

In 92 the Lady Yin from Nanyang entered the imperial harem. A member of the same family as the second empress of Guangwu, she achieved swift promotion and imperial favour, and in 96 she was appointed empress. Unfortunately, she bore no children, and she steadily lost favour to her distant cousin the Honoured Lady Deng Sui, daughter of Deng Xun, former Protector of the Qiang, and also from a great clan of Nanyang. The empress showed her feelings at her gradual eclipse, and in 102 it was alleged that had engaged in witchcraft: it may have been a false accusation for political purposes, but it is possible she had sought magical aid to regain the emperor's affections and to conceive an heir. In any event, the Yin family was disgraced and the empress was dismissed and sent to the harem prison, where she died. A few months later, at the end of the year, the Lady Deng was named empress.

Born in 81, the Lady Deng had entered the harem in 96. She likewise bore her consort no children, though the emperor did have two sons by concubines. Nothing is known of the mothers, but Emperor He evidently trusted his empress to deal with the two boys, and when he died without naming an Heir in 106 the Lady Deng, now Dowager, was able to determine the succession and rule as regent.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The destruction of the Northern Xiongnu by Dou Xian was supposed to produce peace on the northern frontier, but the effect of that military triumph was weakened by the failure of the Southern Xiongnu regime to achieve a settlement with the Northerners for whom it was now formally responsible. The prince Shizi, an established friend of Han, attacked and plundered even

those who came south to submit, and when the new Shanyu Anguo sought to bring him under control in 93, Shizi appealed for help. In the following year a Chinese army attacked Anguo and he was killed. Shizi succeeded him, but there was then a rebellion amongst the Northerners, and though the Chinese came to his defence the insurgents escaped north into the steppe.

The leader of these rebels, Fenghou, was himself a Southern prince. He and his followers maintained their independence for several years, though they were under pressure not only from the Southern Xiongnu and the Han but, perhaps more dangerously, from Xianbi tribes moving west to fill the vacuum left by the fall of the Northern Xiongnu. By 104 Fenghou had been driven to seek surrender, but his request was not approved, and only in 118 were he and a remnant of his original following able to obtain refuge.

On the one hand, Fenghou's rebellion marked the failure of the Southern Xiongnu settlement; and on the other, his failure demonstrated how the Xianbi were taking over the steppe and removing any long-term hope of peace in the north. Furthermore, while the general Ren Shang was able to use Xianbi auxiliaries against Fenghou in 94, three years later there occurred the first recorded raid of Xianbi against the north-eastern frontier. The former allies were now turning against China itself, incidental attacks were reported in the following years, and in 104 a special military region was set up in the Daling ranges west of Liaodong. About the same time, moreover, perhaps inspired by the activities of the Xianbi, the people of Gaogouli [Koguryo] and other tribes of present-day Manchuria began to attack the far northeast.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor He there was trouble with the Qiang war-leader Mitang, whose father Miyu had been murdered by the Han official Zhang Yu. In 89 Zhang Yu was replaced as Protector by Deng Xun, who opposed Mitang with a mixture of diplomacy and force, so that by the early 90s Mitang had been largely isolated from his allied tribes, while the Little Yuezhi people of the hill country in the west of Jincheng, who had been well-treated by Deng Xun, volunteered to form a Loyal Auxiliary.

Deng Xun died in 92, but his successors maintained the pressure, and after a last attack on the Longxi frontier in 97, which required troops from the capital to settle, Mitang was obliged to surrender in 98. A rising in 100 was put down by the Protector in the following

year, and the court now ordered the restoration of Xihai commandery to the west of Jincheng near the Koko Nor/Lake Qinghai. This territory had been claimed by Wang Mang but later abandoned: it does not appear that the new unit was maintained for long.

The troubles on the frontier had made Chinese settlement in Liang province uneasy and unstable, and though the government sought to hinder emigration and to encourage new colonists, including convicts whose sentences were remitted as a reward, much land within imperial territory was taken up by Qiang people coming to live within the frontier. The process had begun with Ma Yuan at the beginning of the dynasty, but the growing numbers of these "Eastern Qiang" confirmed the demographic weakness of Han China in the northwest and brought major problems in the following reign.

Further afield in central Asia, by contrast to the misplaced effort in the northern steppe, the enterprise of Ban Chao achieved a great deal with small demand on resources from China Proper. He had been engaged in the region with increasing success since 73, he defeated an army of the Great Yuezhi in 90 and, following the destruction of the Northern Xiongnu in 91, he obtained the surrender of their former tributary Qiuzi [Kuqa], north of the Takla Makan. Though his brother Ban Gu died as a supporter of Dou Xian in 92, Ban Chao's position was not affected. He was named Protector-General of the Western Regions, and with the conquest of the remaining kingdom of Yanqi [Karashar] in 94 he gained control over the whole Tarim basin. The court received hostage princes and quantities of tribute from more than fifty states, while an embassy from Parthia came in 89, and a second, bringing a gift of ostriches 條枝大爵, arrived in 101.

Ban Chao was rewarded with enfeoffment in 95, and in 97 he sent Gan Ying on his celebrated mission to explore the far west. He remained at his post in Yutian [Khotan] until 102 when, at the age of almost seventy, he was at last given permission to retire. Ban Chao's achievements appear to have owed more to his personal authority and skill than to any real strength of Chinese arms, and his successor Ren Shang was a fighting man rather than a diplomat. Soon after the death of Emperor He in 106 a major rising amongst the dependent city-states forced the Chinese to withdraw from the region, and this was followed by the rebellion of the Qiang people in Liang province; the restoration

of empire in central Asia proved as short-lived as the dynasty's triumph on the northern steppe.

Elsewhere, rhinoceros and elephants were received from the southwest in 94, and in 97 King Yongyoutiao of Shan in present-day Burma/Myanmar sent an embassy with gifts to the court, while there was formal submission of tribespeople beyond the frontier of Shu commandery. On the other hand, the non-Chinese of Wuling were in "rebellion" from 92 to 94, and those of Nan commandery in 101 and 102; both incidents no doubt reflect local resistance to Chinese colonisation. And in the furthest south there was trouble with tribes in the south of Rinan in 100, requiring the appointment of a military command for that region two years later. The south of the empire, however, saw no events so dramatic as those of the north, for this region was affected rather by the quiet and steady pressure of colonisation than by the need to defend a weakened and vulnerable frontier.

SCHOLARSHIP AND PHILOSOPHY

Following the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79 the New Text had continued to dominate the University, but this tradition of thought and interpretation had lost its authority among the best scholars. Concerned at the Legalist tendencies of the government, regular New Text men such as Lu Gong and his brother Lu Bi sought to encourage moral teaching as a complement to the law, but as the struggle between orthodoxy and innovation continued, disillusion with the New Text, notably expressed in the writings of Wang Chong, affected the whole academic community.

Early in the reign, the capping ceremony of 91 was carried out according to the detailed New Rituals 新禮 which had been presented to Emperor Zhang by Cao Bao. Though Cao Bao was a scholar of the New Text, the timing of the imperial coming of age fitted the requirements of the Old Text tradition, for New Text theories would have delayed the ceremony until the ruler was twenty *sui*. The timing was important, for it entitled the young ruler to govern for himself, and gave him the opportunity to destroy the Dou family. The general procedure, however, had proven excessively complex, and about 95 the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu and Zhang Min of the Secretariat memorialised against the reforms and criticised Cao Bao for having confused the procedures laid down by the sages. Emperor He did not formally accept their recommendation, but Cao Bao's rituals

were largely abandoned.

Emperor He was interested in scholarship and tolerant of both Confucian traditions. He continued to favour Jia Kui, but he also respected the New Text scholar Lu Pi, who had himself been recommended by Jia Kui despite their different approaches, and in 100 these two and others held discussions at court. Otherwise, there was a general decline in orthodox learning. In 102 the Excellency Xu Fang complained that the traditional meanings of the Confucian classics were being lost amidst a plethora of new interpretations, and that the confusion was reflected at the Imperial University. Seeking to improve the situation, he urged that examinations should encourage literal readings and accepted interpretations, and candidates who failed to follow authority should be penalised. The proposal was discussed at court, agreed and duly ordered, but the effect was rather to stultify than reinvigorate official scholarship, and as the Dowager Deng took regency power after the death of Emperor He in 106, Fan Zhun of the Secretariat presented a memorial in which he deplored the decline of Confucian learning and the empty formality of orthodox teaching.

On the other hand, the emperor was definitely interested in history. As the celebrated Ban Gu had fallen victim to the coup which destroyed his patron Dou Xian in 92, Emperor He ordered that his history of Former Han should be continued by his sister Ban Zhao – as in his dealings with Ban Chao's affairs in central Asia, it is clear that he was more concerned with the work that was done than with pursuing the relatives of a disgraced politician. In a most unusual step, moreover, the Lady Ban received formal appointment at the Eastern Pavilion in order that she might use the archives and books. We are told that the emperor visited the library on several occasions, and that he showed personal interest in the materials which were held there and in the recruitment of skilled staff.

STYLE OF GOVERNMENT

Recognising the support he had obtained from the palace eunuchs for the coup against the Dou, Emperor He increased the number of their senior ranks: where Emperor Ming had had four Regular Attendants, there were now twelve positions available, and there were twenty Attendants at the Yellow Gates. Zheng Zhong, leader of the coup, was rewarded with enfeoffment in 102, and his title later passed to an adopted son. Both through the circumstances of the coup and the

imperial favour which followed, the eunuchs began to accumulate significant potential power, and gained influence at the expense of the traditional bureaucracy. On occasion Emperor He would ask advice from the generality of officials; he sought to improve and expand the procedures for selection; and he amended commandery quotas to accord with their population. It was nonetheless observed that gentlemen of middling rank were beginning to pay attention rather to their own interests than to those of the state and the dynasty, and there was concern that the bureaucracy was becoming corrupt and dysfunctional.

Unlike his father, Emperor He did not travel widely. He visited Chang'an to pay respects to the dynastic ancestors, but his only substantial journey outside the capital region was a tour to Jing province in 103, when he likewise visited ancestral tombs. He planned to visit the Yunmeng marshes by the junction of the Han and the Yangzi, but the Excellency Zhang Yu sent messengers to discourage him, for there had been rebellion in Nan commandery during the previous year. The emperor returned to Luoyang, and rewarded Zhang Yu for his advice.

More generally, despite criticism of the regime as unduly Legalistic, the emperor gave ostentatious attention to public welfare, and responded particularly to natural disasters and misfortunes of the people. In one incident, when there was drought in the capital region in 94 he went in person to inspect the prisons and hold jail delivery. When it was found that a number of people were being held on false charges he had the Prefect of Luoyang sent to prison himself, while the Director of Retainers and the Intendant of Henan were both reduced in rank; good rain fell soon afterwards. On the other hand, an ordinance of 103 provided that judgements of minor offences could be carried out in summer rather than waiting for autumn. It was intended that justice would be done more swiftly and prisoners would not have to wait so long to know their fate, but many local authorities found occasion to inflict even capital punishment during the summer [see *sub* Lu Gong].

There were serious plagues of locusts and drought in the middle 90s, followed by floods in 98 and 100, and a number of earthquakes. These were met by a remission of tax, the opening of granaries, loans from the state, remission of debts, frequent donations and frequent relief to the poor. In 99 permission was

given for distressed people to fish and gather fuel in the wilderness regions – they were probably doing so already – and edicts were issued for the resettlement of refugees from disaster areas. There were also three general remissions of tax, regardless of need.

Ebrey has remarked that the frequency and apparent success of such relief measures and donations indicates an overall prosperity and adequate government resources. It does appear, however, that the empire was affected by such a large number of natural disasters, and it is possible that the economy was weakened. The salt and iron monopolies which had been restored by Emperor Zhang were abolished early in the reign, and although a single office for iron was re-established in Zhuo commandery in 102, this was nothing like the scale which had applied during Former Han. Given the costs of war against the Xiongnu, the state had limited long-term capacity to maintain its benevolent role in time of need.

Towards the end of the reign of Emperor He there were some attempts to reduce expenditure on luxuries for the palace: in 103 it was ordered that the special courier service bringing lychees and longans to the imperial table from the south should be ended [see *sub* Tang Qiang], and this policy of restraint was followed still more energetically by the regent Dowager Deng after her husband's death. Increasingly, however, local communities were required to fend for themselves in time of emergency, and there are records of wandering people and evidence of weakening central authority.

DEATH AND JUDGEMENT

Emperor He died on 13 February 106, in the winter at the end of the Chinese year, twenty-seven years old by Chinese reckoning. He was succeeded by an infant son, and his widow the Lady Deng Sui maintained regency control of the government for fifteen years until her death.

The emperor was buried in the "Mound of Accord" 順陵, southeast of Luoyang [the variant "Mound of Circumspection" 慎陵 is probably mistaken: Bn 76: 118], and he was awarded the temple-name Muzong 穆宗 "Solemn Exemplar." In 190, however, the scholar Cai Yong recommended to Dong Zhuo, controlling the court of Han at the time, that Emperor He and his successors should be deposed from their permanent positions in the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the grounds that they had shown no merit or virtue.

As Mansvelt Beck has observed, this deposition

of Emperor He was necessary in order to rationalise the theory and rituals associated with the worship of the imperial ancestors and predecessors. His recommendations were accepted by a powerless court, but they made no real difference to the collapsing dynasty [MBeck 90:106-107]. In later times, historians have debated whether it was Emperor He or his successor Emperor An who was the first of the worthless rulers; given the circumstances of his time one must doubt whether Emperor He truly deserved the ferocity of Cai Yong's attack.

It appears nonetheless that the last years of the first century AD marked a critical point in the fortunes of Later Han. The government was still able to deal with its social and fiscal responsibilities, but it did so with increasing difficulty, while the unstable situations in the north and northwest were dangerous legacies for the future. The emperor himself had small opportunity to contemplate or deal with such problems: he died as a young man, after little more than ten years of active personal rule. For the sake of the dynasty, his greatest failure was his early death, and the fact that he left only children to succeed him: see Liu Sheng and Liu Long, the Young Emperor. -HHS 4*.

Liu Zhen 劉珍 or Liu Bao 寶 [Qiusun 秋孫 or Misun 秘孫 or Qianjiu 千秋]; Nanyang. A keen scholar when he was young, Liu Zhen became Supervisor of Internuncios about 110, and the regent Dowager Deng ordered him to join the scholars Liu Taotu and Ma Rong, with Academicians of the University under the supervision of the eunuch Cai Lun, to compile a definitive edition of the Five Classics, *Changes, History, Poetry, Ritual* and *Chunqiu*, in the library of the Eastern Pavilion.

In 120 Liu Zhen was further commissioned to work with Liu Taotu, Liu Yi and Li You on the official history of Later Han, later known as *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記. The history had been started by Ban Gu and others under orders from Emperor Ming, with the title "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記. This second instalment contained annals for the period 58 to 106, being the reigns of Emperors Ming, Zhang, He and the infant Shang, together with tables and biographies of leading men, imperial relatives by marriage and noted scholars; the whole work was now entitled *Han ji* 漢記 "Record of Han."

Liu Zhen was later a Palace Attendant and then a colonel in the Northern Army. In 125 he was appointed

Minister of the Imperial Clan in the government of Emperor Shun, and Minister of the Guards in the following year. He died soon afterwards.

It is said that Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu asked for the assistance of the scholar Zhang Heng to work on *Han ji*, but that this was not approved, and Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu died soon afterwards. This implies that the history was unfinished, and since later requests by Zhang Heng to complete the work were likewise rejected, the recension may never have reached final form.

Besides his editing of the classics and his contribution to the dynastic history, Liu Zhen composed seven *pian* of eulogies, hymns and other compositions. He is also said to have compiled a lexicographical work, *Shi ming* 釋名, though the surviving work of that name is generally ascribed to Liu Xi of the late second century. It is possible that Liu Zhen's work was developed by Liu Xi, but no identifiable portion remains. -HHS 80/70A:2617*, 59/49:1940; Bn 54:10-11, *Texts*:427 [Miller].

Liu Zhen 劉真. Son of Liu Ping, he inherited the family fief. -HHS 14/4:562; Bn 54 appendix # 130.

Liu Zhen 劉臻 (d.156). Son of Liu Su the King of Donghai, he succeeded his father in 125. Celebrated for filial piety and generosity towards their extended family, Liu Zhen and his marquis brother Jian were granted additional households to their fiefs by Emperor Shun.

Liu Zhen was succeeded by his son Zhi. -HHS 42/32:1426.

Liu Zhen 劉楨 [Gonggan 公幹] (d.217); Dongping. Liu Zhen was a grandson of Liu Liang/Gong/Cen [or possibly a son: *q.v. sub voce*]. Noted for his elegant literary style, he joined Cao Cao's staff and became a close friend of his sons. On one occasion at a private party, however, he was drunk and failed to bow to Cao Pi's wife the Lady Zhen when she came to meet the guests. When Cao Cao heard of this he ordered Liu Zhen's arrest and very nearly had him killed.

Liu Zhen died during the great epidemic of 217. In his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" Cao Pi honours him as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -SGZ 21:599-602*; Mather 76:550.

Another story says that Liu Zhen dreamt of a snake with four legs, foreshadowing a rebellion led by women, and that he was executed for Impiety. This appears to be a confused combination of the incident

with the Lady Zhen and a dream reported to Zhou Xuan *q. v.*

Liu Zheng 劉政 (d.102). Son of Liu Qiang the King of Donghai, Liu Zheng succeeded his father in 58. Described as a man of depraved taste and conduct, he had more than twenty sons.

In 90 Liu Zheng attended the funeral of his uncle Liu Yan the late king of Zhongshan, but took the occasion to seduce Liu Yan's chief concubine, the Lady Xu I, and other women of his harem. The Inspector of Yu province and the Chancellor of the state of Lu [part of Liu Zheng's fief] reported this to the throne and urged that he be executed, but Liu Zheng suffered only the loss of a single county from his fief.

Liu Zheng was succeeded by his son Su; twenty-one other sons were later enfeoffed as marquises. - *HHS* 42/32:1425.

Liu Zheng 劉正 see Liu Gai 劉丐.

Liu Zheng 劉政 (d.141). Son of Liu Kai the King of Hejian, he succeeded his father in 131. He behaved viciously and brutally, but was initially brought to order by the Chancellor Shen Jing and later by Zhang Heng.

Liu Zheng was succeeded by his son Jian. - *HHS* 55/45:1808.

Liu Zheng 劉政 (d.187). In 187 Liu Zheng was Administrator of Youbeiping. He was killed by the rebels Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju, aided by the Wuhuan chieftain Qiuliju and numbers of Xianbi. - *HHS* 73/63:2353.

Liu Zheng 劉政/正; Beihai. A man of local family, about 191 Liu Zheng went to Liaodong, where he set up a self-defence community. Gongsun Du, however, arrested his followers and intended to kill him. Sheltered by Bing Yuan, Liu Zheng went with Taishi Ci back to China proper, and Bing Yuan then persuaded Gongsun Du to let his people join him. - *SGZ* 11:350.

Liu Zheng 劉政 (d.206). Son of Liu Luan, he succeeded his father as King of Jibei. He left no sons when he died, and the kingdom was ended. - *HHS* 55/45:1807.

Liu Zhi 劉祉 or Liu Zhong 終 [Jubo 巨伯] (9 BC-AD 35); Nanyang. [His original personal name was Zhong, but he changed it later to Zhi.] Son of Liu Chang the Marquis of Chongling district in Caiyang county of Nanyang, Liu Zhi was a second cousin of Liu Xuan, future Gengshi Emperor, and a more distant kinsman of Liu Bosheng and his brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor

Guangwu. Though he took no active role, Liu Chang had been sympathetic to the rebellion of Liu Chong 崇 in 6 AD, which sought to restore the dynasty.

When that enterprise failed, seeking support and protection from another powerful family, Liu Chang arranged for Liu Zhi to marry a daughter of Zhai Xuan 翟宣, son of the late Imperial Chancellor Zhai Fangjin 翟方進. Just as the alliance was confirmed in 7, Zhai Xuan's brother Zhai Yi 翟義 made a further attempt at revolt in Dong commandery. The young Lady Zhai was killed by the authorities in Nanyang, and Liu Zhi was arrested. His father pleaded for him, and Wang Mang, already planning to take the imperial title, did not wish to appear too harsh, so Liu Zhi was not executed.

Liu Zhi remained in prison for several years, and when a tax case arose his distant cousin Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, went to Chang'an in 21 to plead on the family's behalf. About this time Liu Chang died and Liu Zhi was released and permitted to inherit the family property. He was forbidden to hold office, and the family fief had been abolished early in the new regime, but Liu Chang had retained his estates and Liu Zhi was now extremely wealthy, with great prestige among members of the former imperial clan.

As the Han rebellion began in 22, Liu Zhi and his kinsmen joined the cause, but the people of their households were taken and imprisoned by Wang Mang's administrator of Nanyang, Zhen Fu 甄阜. After the defeat at Xiao-Chang'an, moreover, as Liu Zhi took command of the defence of the rebel base in Jiyang county, Zhen Fu killed his mother, his younger brothers and his wife and children.

When the Gengshi Emperor was proclaimed outside Wan in 23, Liu Zhi was given title as a general and restored as marquis of the former family fief at Chongling. Soon afterwards Liu Bosheng was destroyed, and Liu Zhi took the place of his brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, as Minister of Ceremonies.

Liu Zhi accompanied the final campaign to the west against Wang Mang and Chang'an in 24 he was enfeoffed as a king. As the Gengshi Emperor surrendered to the Red Eyebrows in 25, Liu Zhi made his escape to Luoyang, and he was then the first of the imperial clan to join Liu Xiu, proclaimed as Emperor Guangwu, at his camp in Huai county in Henei. Guangwu was glad at the recognition, and in 26 Liu Zhi was named King of Chengyang, with all

the regalia of royalty, while his father was restored to posthumous title as a marquis.

Liu Zhi never went to his state, but lived and died at Luoyang. From his deathbed he returned his royal insignia, seeking only to maintain the rites of his ancestors as marquises. He was given posthumous title as king, but his sons Ping and Jian were enfeoffed as marquises.

In later years, the ancestral homeland of the imperial clan at Chongling district was changed to county status and renamed Zhangling. Because of the earlier position of Liu Zhi's family at the head of the clan in Nanyang, sacrifices and tomb estates were maintained for his father and other ancestors. -HHS 14/4:560-62*; Bn 54 appendix # 73.

Liu Zhi 劉植 [Boxian 伯先] (d.26); Julu [his county of Changcheng had been part of Xindu under Former Han, but the boundaries were later changed]. There is no record of any relationship to the imperial dynasty of Han, nor any account of earlier family history, but Liu Zhi and his kinsmen evidently held authority in their home country.

When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, Liu Zhi and his younger brother Liu Xi, with their cousin Liu Xin, gathered several thousand clan troops and personal retainers and seized the city of Changcheng. Declaring their support for Han, they opened the gates to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Xiu named Liu Zhi as a general, with Liu Xi and Liu Xin as lieutenant-generals. All were given title as marquises.

In the following year Liu Zhi was sent as an envoy to Liu ["Goitre"] Yang, King of Zhending, and persuaded him to accede to the Han cause. He then took part in the campaigns which settled the northern plain and captured Luoyang.

In 26 Liu Zhi was awarded his own home county as a territorial fief, and was sent to assist Jia Fu in operations in Yingchuan. He died in battle, and his general's command was transferred to his brother Liu Xi.

Recognising Liu Zhi as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 21/11:760*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 59:68-73, 152-153, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:84.

Liu Zhi 劉致, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 60 she was named Princess of Qinshui in Henei and later became a Senior Princess. She married Deng Gan. About 80 Dou Xian, brother of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang, used his influence to force the princess to sell him a pleasure ground at an unfairly low price. When the emperor found out about the extortion, he was furious. Though he did not punish Dou Xian, he forced him to return the property. -HHS 10B:459:16/6:606, 23/13:812.

Liu Zhi 劉祉. A major under the command of He Xi in 109, he accompanied Geng Kui and his Xianbi auxiliaries in their attack on the rebel Shanyu Tan of the Xiongnu in Xihe. -HHS 19/9:917.

Liu Zhi 劉祗. Administrator of Yuzhang in 120, Liu Zhi was advised on two inauspicious omens by Tang Tan. -HHS 82/72B:2719; Ngo 76:108, DeWoskin 83:68. [This cannot be the Liu Zhi from Shanyang who was involved in the Second Faction Incident of 169.]

Liu Zhi 劉志 (132-168) [Emperor Huan 桓帝 (*reg.* 146-168)]. Born in 132, Liu Zhi was a great-grandson of Emperor Zhang through his son the King of Hejian: the personal name of this man is normally given as Kai, but it may in fact have been Gong 恭 [*qq.v. sub* Liu Kai]. One of the king's sons was Liu Yi, Marquis of Liwu in Zhongshan, who had at one time been favoured by the Dowager Deng but had later been pressed into obscurity. Liu Zhi was born to the Lady Yan Ming, wife or perhaps concubine of Liu Yi.

ACCESSION AND TUTELAGE

In 146 Liu Zhi was brought to Luoyang and betrothed to the Lady Liang Nüying, younger sister of the regent Dowager Liang Na and her brother the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Liu Zhi's distant cousin Liu Zuan, eight years old, was on the throne at that time, but Liu Zuan had spoken disapprovingly of Liang Ji, and he died soon afterwards. There is debate whether the boy was murdered, but it is certainly remarkable that the Lady Liang Na was to be married to the outsider Liu Zhi, and not to the reigning Liu Zuan.

The Grand Commandant Li Gu argued that Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, who was known to be a young man of character, should be granted the succession. He had made the same suggestion at the time Liu Zuan was appointed, and he was initially supported by the other two Excellencies, Hu Guang and Zhao Jie, but these two allies withdrew under pressure from the

Liang group. When Li Gu continued to argue, the Dowager dismissed him. Liu Zhi was then brought to the throne, aged about fourteen by Western reckoning, and in 147 he was married to the Lady Liang Nüying. Soon afterwards, following an abortive rising in favour of Liu Suan, the unlucky pretender was exiled and committed suicide while Li Gu and Du Qiao both died in prison.

Emperor Huan took the cap of manhood in 148, and the Dowager formally handed power to him shortly before her death in 150, but in practice he was under the influence of his empress Liang Nüying, while the General-in-Chief Liang Ji exercised power as before. The emperor had no means to oppose his dominance, and it is possible that, like Emperor Shun before him, he had no particular ambition to do so. By the late 150s, however, after the Liang family had controlled the court for almost fifteen years, and Emperor Huan was in his middle twenties, it appears that he had become somewhat impatient and that he had reason to be concerned for his own future.

AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT 144-159

Though Liu Zhi had no real authority during the first years of his reign, it seems appropriate to provide a summary of events during that period, and indeed to extend the survey back to the two previous years, when his short-lived predecessors Liu Bing, Emperor Chong, and Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, were upon the throne.

Through the middle 140s the northwest of the empire continued to suffer from the aftermath of the second great Qiang rebellion, with occasional disturbance punctuated by formal surrenders. In the southeast, moreover, there was widespread rebellion in Yang province, led by Zhang Ying, Xu Feng and others, while a number of Administrators were found to have been corrupt or cruel, and suffered death in prison. Early in the regency, in 146, an edict complained of the quality of candidates recommended by the provinces and commanderies, and ordered that junior officers of ten years good service should be nominated, while the sons and grandsons of those found guilty of corruption should be excluded.

Also at this time, continuing the patronage which the Liang family had shown for the Imperial University during the reign of Emperor Shun, there was a first move towards establishing a regular procedure for student entrance into the imperial civil service. Later

Han had maintained no regular system of examination entry such as had been used in Former Han, but in 146 the heads of commanderies and kingdoms were ordered to nominate men between the ages of fifty and seventy as Understanding the Classics, presumably with a view to their joining the staff of the University, while sons of senior officials, from the General-in-Chief to those ranking at Six Hundred *shi*, were required to attend as students, and ten successful examinees were made gentleman cadets or members of the Suite of the Heir, entry-level appointments to the bureaucracy. Other officers, cadets and young men of family were likewise encouraged to study and were rewarded with recognition, money and advancement.

Two years later, during the minority of Emperor Huan in 148, it was ordered that all students sixteen *sui* or older could take examinations similar to those given to candidates recommended from the commanderies and kingdoms as Understanding the Classics. The thirty-one most successful were appointed Gentlemen of the Household, most senior of the gentleman cadets, the next seventeen became members of the Suite of the Heir, and the next seventeen became Gentlemen at the court of a king. In 156, with government still in the hands of the Liang, a new system was introduced, allowing candidates to take examinations in an increasing number of classics over a period of years, and to rise with each success, so that it became possible to obtain a substantive post in the bureaucracy. Compared to the number of students at the University, and the number of officials recruited by other means, this route of entry was narrow, but the changes marked a restoration of entry to the civil service by academic examination.

In general, after so many changes of ruler, the Liang government felt the need to seek popularity. After an eclipse early in 147, it was ordered that senior officers should report on the problems of the empire, and this was followed by an amnesty and a wide variety of awards of noble ranks among the people. Soon afterwards officers were sent out to deal with famine relief in Jing and Yang provinces. In the summer there was a wide call for nominations and further advice from senior officers and marquises, together with edicts threatening heavy punishment for corruption. There was also some lightening of penalties for those condemned to death less one degree, notably that they were no longer to suffer the *bastinado*, which

sometimes produced a fatal result, and orders were given year by year that convicts should be sent to settle the frontier regions; in reverse, an edict of 149 permitted the return of many families which had been exiled earlier.

In 148 the emperor's taking of the cap of manhood was celebrated by donations to the nobility and also to commoners over eighty, while the kingdom of Qinghe, held by the late Liu Suan, was renamed as Ganling and the son Liu Li/Hui of the Anping lineage was placed upon the vacant throne. More significantly perhaps, in the winter of that year there were two rebellions, one in Chen, where a certain Chen Jing styled himself the son of the Yellow Emperor 黄帝子, and one in Runan, where the chieftain Guan Bo proclaimed himself a Perfect Man 真人. Both were swiftly eliminated, but the titles they took were signs that the cult of Huang-Lao 黄老, combining worship of the legendary Yellow Emperor 黄帝 and Laozi 老子, had now acquired a political manifestation. About this time the regency government arranged for the construction of a temple to Laozi at his notional birthplace in Chen, and during the 160s Huang-Lao received patronage from Emperor Huan himself. These beliefs, however, also served as the basis of several rebellious movements, culminating in the Yellow Turban movement of the early 180s [Seidel 69:19-29, deC 80:78].

Following the financial crisis of 143, echoes of state poverty may be found in an edict of 149, allowing various penalties, including execution, to be alleviated by payment of a fine, though in the same year provision was made for grants to common people who could not afford the cost of a funeral. There were several ominous natural misfortunes, including earthquakes and floods, and occasional reports of such favourable signs as yellow dragons. In 151 there was pestilence in the capital and imperial officials were sent to distribute medicine, but later that year a drought is said to have caused famine leading to cannibalism in Rencheng and Liang. In 153 there were locusts over much of the empire, the Yellow River flooded, and there were numbers of displaced refugees in Ji province; the government attempted to provide relief, but similar disasters struck in the following year, and in 155 it was again necessary to provide aid to the starving in the region of the capital and in Ji province, this time by authorising the forced requisition of any supplies of grain that could be found.

Led by Gongsun Ju, there was serious banditry in the east about Taishan and Langye, affecting Qing, Yan and Xu provinces from 154. In 155 the government granted relief from taxes, and also established Commandant's offices in the affected commanderies, intensifying the military administration. In 156 the General of the Household Duan Jiong, later one of the leading military commanders of the day, settled that trouble, but after more than ten years of comparative quiet there was renewed difficulty in the north. In 155 the rebel chieftain Bode attacked the capital of the Southern Shanyu in Xihe, and although he was defeated by Zhang Huan, also to become a noted general, incursions by the Xianbi in following years extended along the whole frontier. In the south in 157, there was rebellion in Jiuzhen in present-day Vietnam and, within the empire, in Changsha.

In 154, evidently as further display of the regency government's commitment to good morality, it was ordered that mourning for parents must again be observed even by the senior officials of the provinces and commanderies, and two years later junior officers were ordered to follow the same regime. The reform had been attempted earlier, during the regency of the Dowager Deng for Emperor An in 116, but the disruption to government had brought its withdrawal in 121. The problem remained, and the edict was rescinded early in 159. In similar fashion, in 154 the government issued instructions to enforce the sumptuary laws for carriages and clothing, as in the ideal time of Emperor Ming.

Despite worthy edicts and moral exhortations, and attempts at generosity to the people, Liang Ji, his wife Sun Shou and their relatives were widely accused, probably with justice, of personal corruption and greed, and it appears that the emperor himself came to resent their dominance. The authority of the Liang was centred upon the empress, and when the Empress Liang died in the autumn of 159 the family position suffered a serious blow. Deprived of her alliance within the palace and the information which she had provided, Liang Ji was cut off from the centre of authority. He attempted to gain control of the emperor's favourite, the Lady Deng Mengnü, but her kinsmen resisted his plans and in an attempt to force their submission he killed her brother-in-law and attacked her mother, the Lady Xuan.

Given the history of his predecessors and the

immediate threat to his favourite's family, Emperor Huan was now concerned for his own safety, and in a secret meeting held in a lavatory he enlisted the aid of the palace eunuch Tang Heng. Tang Heng gathered four colleagues, Zuo Guan, Shan Chao, Xu Huang and Ju Yuan, they swore an oath in blood with the emperor, and the five eunuchs carried out the coup with surprising ease [see *sub* Ju Yuan]. As the Director of Retainers Zhang Biao brought guards to surround Liang Ji's residence and remove his seals of office, Liang Ji and the Lady Sun Shou killed themselves. Many of their kinsmen were arrested and died in prison, and officials at court and in the bureaucracy who were seen as having supported the Liang were disgraced and dismissed. The five eunuch allies were rewarded with county marquises and seven loyal officials received lesser fiefs.

PERSONAL RULE: THE POWER OF THE EUNUCHS AND THE POLITICS OF THE HAREM

In seeking assistance against Liang Ji, it was natural and inevitable that Emperor Huan should have looked to his eunuch attendants, for they were the only people with whom he had close contact and confidence: members of the outer court and the bureaucracy had no natural access and were controlled by the network of the Liang family power. At the same time, it was also true that after almost twenty years of dominance by the Liang there were many who had enjoyed their patronage and regarded the consort family as natural rulers of the state. In any event, the personal government of Emperor Huan was noted for the favour which he showed to his five eunuch allies, and the manner in which they and their colleagues, particularly the notorious Hou Lan, extended their influence and power.

Within a few months the division between the palace and the outer bureaucracy was entrenched by the case of Li Yun and Du Zhong, who were executed for their intemperate criticism. Attacks on the pretensions and corruption of the imperial favourites continued in following years, with some success, and in 167 Hou Lan, Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan were disgraced and dismissed, but the emperor's earlier support had offended many of the officials and gentry. The ruler's personal conduct was regularly called into question, there was criticism of his extravagance in construction and of the size of his harem, and protest from within and without the bureaucracy was combined, still more

dangerously, with an increasing reluctance by men of good-will to involve themselves in the service of a state whose procedures and policies were seen as corrupt and immoral.

In many areas of the countryside, moreover, eunuchs and their associates took advantage of influence at court to claim a position against the gentry who had generally dominated the local communities; such conflicts led to a number of atrocities [see, for example, the case of Xu Xuan]. There were private feuds among leading families which were equally ferocious [see, for example *sub* Su Buwei], but the activities of the eunuchs did a great deal to alienate the imperial regime from the gentlemen at court and in the country who should have been its chief supporters.

Financially, the central government continued to suffer pressure. There were only limited resources to assist those affected by natural disaster or otherwise in need, and the costs of rebellion and war were greater than regular imperial revenues could cope with. In 161 the salaries of all officials were reduced and the pensions of kings and marquises were halved, while secondary marquises, some lesser noble ranks, and various positions as guards about the palace were offered for sale [the regent Dowager Deng had been forced to a similar policy in 109]. In the following year, as an army was raised to deal with rebellion in the south, there was a forced loan of all official salaries, and royal and noble pensions were withheld. In 162 palace guards not on active duty lost their traditional allocation of winter clothing, and the issue was halved for all members of the bureaucracy. It is uncertain which of these measures applied only to that time of emergency or whether some were maintained for several years, but the evidence of stringency is clear.

In 165 an edict ordered a levy on arable land at the rate of ten cash per *mou* 畝. Land had long been subject to taxation, assessed at one-thirtieth of estimated production and normally paid in kind, but contemporary commentators such as Zhongchang Tong argued that this was quite inadequate for the needs of the state [Hsü 80:239, 72-76]. It appears that the new impost was an attempt to gain access to resources controlled by great landowners [Nishijima 86:595], but it is again impossible to judge how long the levy was maintained, though it was renewed by Emperor Ling in 185.

The general economic situation did not improve:

in 166 an edict observed that the harvest had failed, bringing hunger to the people, and that there had been floods, drought, pestilence and bandit disturbances, especially in the south. Relief from taxes was ordered for all territories, with full exemption for those most seriously affected. As famine became worse in the region of the capital and in Ji province, clerks of the Excellencies were sent to issue relief grain. In the following year there were river floods in six provinces and sea flooding at the mouth of the Yellow River. Once more there were awards of cash and orders for the distribution of grain.

During the few years of his personal rule, Emperor Huan left the capital only twice. In 163 he went on a hunting trip to Chang'an, accompanied by inevitable protests at such extravagance, and in the winter of 164 he made a two-month tour to the south, visiting the ancestral tombs at Nanyang, then journeying further to the Han River and the Yunmeng marshes by the junction of the Han and the Yangzi.

Despite the economic problems of the time, Emperor Huan is known as one of the great builders of Han. It is claimed that during the 160s his Court Architects were responsible for new parks and hunting grounds, while he took personal pleasure in the restoration of the Garden of the Shining Dragon in the Northern Palace [Bn 76:40: Sleek Dragon], including a number of pavilions and other buildings, and used it for his personal treasury. On the other hand, there were a remarkable number of fires during this period, so that much of Emperor Huan's building expense was owed to the need to repair palace buildings, tombs and other imperial sites after conflagrations. It is possible that some fires were deliberately lit by people discontented with the eunuch dominance of the state and seeking to protest by portent, and certainly the Excellencies Chen Fan and Liu Mou used a series of outbreaks at the end of 165 as grounds for memorials of remonstrance.

Besides his energetic construction work, we are told that Emperor Huan was fond of music, and was a fine performer on the lute 琴 and pipes 笙. He was more celebrated, however, for his love of women, and the size and expense of the imperial harem was a major cause for complaint. The inhabitants already numbered more than a thousand at the time of the Liang regency, presumably in the hope that they would distract the young ruler from more political matters, and the harem continued to grow even after complaints on its expense

caused six hundred women to be dismissed in 161. By 166 the number of six thousand third-rank concubines was cited by the critic Xiang Kai, and if this is correct Emperor Huan may hold the world record: a maximum of three thousand was recorded towards the end of Former Han [HHS 10A:399]; in modern times it is said that the nineteenth century Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz had nine hundred women in his seraglio at Istanbul; and the twentieth century King Faisal of Arabia accumulated more than a thousand. Xiang Kai may have exaggerated, and some of the women may have been servants and attendants to others and not formally taken as concubines, but apart from the practical problem of personal dealings with such a mass of femininity, even by roster, the costs of housing and food were a serious burden on the state.

The imperial harem, however, was not only for the emperor's pleasure: it was supposed to produce an heir, and in that regard both the sovereign and his women were quite unsuccessful. Emperor Huan was fertile, for he sired three daughters, and possibly a son who died young [see *sub* Zhou Teng], while it is claimed that several pregnant concubines were killed by the empress Liang Na; *XHS* 1:5b also refers to imperial children dying young. The Empress Deng, however, had no son, and early in 165 she was dismissed. One accusation was that she had been engaged in black magic, and she may indeed have sought to obtain a child by use of potions. She died in the harem prison a few days later, her kinsmen were disgraced, and some were killed.

In the winter of that year the Lady Dou Miao was named empress in her place. Though Emperor Huan was reluctant, his position was weakened by the disgrace of his former favourites Zuo Guan, Ju Yuan and Hou Lan, and he was pressed by his senior ministers, notably the Grand Commandant Chen Fan and the Director of Retainers Ying Feng, who argued that it was for the good of the dynasty that he take a woman of family as his consort. He had no interest in the Lady Dou, however, and attended her rarely, if at all. His preference was for the Lady Tian Sheng, who shared his bed and his favours with eight companions, probably in hope that the magic number nine would help produce male children. In the event, such efforts were unsuccessful, and when the emperor died two years later the Lady Dou became regent Dowager and avenged herself upon her late husband's favourites.

NON-CHINESE AFFAIRS AND INTERNAL
REBELLION

Following his coup against the Liang family in 159 Emperor Huan's prestige was no doubt enhanced when the court received an embassy from Tianzhu 天竺 [northern India, identified also as Shentu 身毒] a few months later. A second embassy arrived in 161, as did a tribute mission from Fuyu 夫餘, which bordered China in the region of Manchuria.

Most spectacularly, it is recorded that a mission from Daqin 大秦, identified as the empire of Rome, came to Luoyang from the south in 166. The envoys claimed that they had been sent by their king Andun 安敦, presumably the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [*reg.* 161-180], and the gifts they brought, including ivory, rhinoceros horn and tortoise shell, had evidently been gathered on their journey. There was and still is some suspicion that these men were enterprising traders rather than accredited officials, but their visit provided valuable prestige to the emperor at a time of political difficulty. [It may be only chance, but the date of this visit coincided with the outbreak of the Antonine plague which ravaged the Roman empire from the middle 160s: the question of epidemics is discussed in the entry for Liu Hong, Emperor Ling.]

Closer to home, there was continuing trouble on the frontiers and major rebellion within the empire. In 159 non-Chinese tribes made incursions on the western frontier of Yi province, which were settled in 161, but in the meantime there arose the first of a series of disturbances which were to bedevil the south of Jing province.

In 160 the non-Chinese of the region of Changsha raided the commandery, and the hill people of Wuling attacked into Nan commandery. They were dealt with by Du Shang and Feng Gun, but in 162 there was major rebellion affecting Changsha, Guiyang, Lingling and Cangwu. An initial attempt to restore order was unsuccessful, the Inspector and the Administrator of Cangwu fled, and the situation was compounded by a mutiny of local troops. As the capital of Changsha fell to the rebels, raiding in Wuling drove the Administrator there to flight too, while the insurgents extended their depredations across provincial borders east into Yuzhang and south into Nanhai.

Feng Gun was then given an army and a general's command, and he gained some success, but the cost of the enterprise was sufficient to require a forced loan

from official salaries and the withholding of royal and noble pensions. Trouble continued on a smaller but still substantial scale from 163, but was eventually settled by the Inspector Du Shang in 165.

During the middle 150s there had been widespread banditry about Taishan and Langye led by Gongsun Ju. Commandant's offices were established there, and though Gongsun Ju was killed in 156, his place was taken by Shusun Wuji. He in turn was eliminated in 160, but it was only in 162 that the Commandant's office was withdrawn from Langye, and not until 165 that the same sign of security was possible in Taishan. In that year, moreover, there were two rebel emperors, one northeast in Bohai and one southeast in Guangling. Both were swiftly destroyed, but they continued the religious tradition which had inspired similar claims in the late 140s.

The major problem facing the empire, however, was that of the Qiang in the northwest. Following the second great rebellion of the early 140s there was a period of comparative peace, notably in the late 150s through the benevolent administration of the Protector Diwu Fang. In 159 Diwu Zhong left that position, and he was succeeded by Duan Jiong, a man of very different temperament; the Qiang both within and outside the frontier became restless. In 160 a raid on Zhangye by "Western" Qiang was repelled by Duan Jiong, who then pursued the fugitives beyond the frontier and heavily defeated them.

Attacks nonetheless continued, and after Duan Jiong was dismissed in 161 on account of a mutiny, the situation rapidly became worse, as rebel "Eastern" Qiang from within the empire ravaged Liang and Bing provinces and threatened Chang'an. The general Huangfu Gui was sent out and defeated them, and in the following years various insurgencies were dealt with by local forces, but the whole territory was under constant threat and by 164 it appeared that Liang province was almost out of control.

At this point Duan Jiong was again appointed Protector, and began a program of active engagement against the Qiang along the frontier. After a series of campaigns, in the spring of 167 he achieved a decisive victory over the Dangjian group as they attacked Wuwei, and the Western Qiang were finally pacified.

There remained the Eastern Qiang, settled in what was nominally Chinese territory, whose most powerful tribe was the Xianlian. In the spring of 167, at the same

time as Duan Jiong was concluding his business in the west, the Xianlian Qiang raided towards Chang'an. They were defeated by the general Zhang Huan but made further attacks in the summer and the winter of that same year. Now, however, encouraged by the success of Duan Jiong's energetic strategy, the court approved his proposal to apply the same firm policy to the Eastern Qiang; the program, however, was not ready until 168, the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling.

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND POLITICAL

OPPOSITION

The regent government of the Liang family had maintained the custom of calling for special nominations to office, and made particular point of sponsoring scholarship and the Imperial University. Under such patronage, the numbers of staff increased, and it was said that there were as many as thirty thousand students. As Emperor Huan took power in 159, this became a problem for his government.

Firstly, the University itself was not well regarded, for the official New Text teachings continued to be out of favour among serious scholars, who regarded them as pointless and trifling. Second, there were still only limited means by which a student could obtain direct entrance to the commissioned civil service through examination, and the vast majority had to rely upon patronage from senior officials at the capital or in their home country: there was thus a large number of frustrated politicians.

Furthermore, though many moral and traditional Confucianists had opposed the apparent excesses of the Liang, their opposition was now turned against the eunuch favourites of the emperor, and the Liang family's past patronage of scholarship meant that Emperor Huan could have little expectation of support. On the contrary, through the 160s there was increasing protest at his government, and the students of the University, notably under their leader Guo Tai, gave vociferous support to strong opponents of the eunuchs such as Li Ying and Ying Feng.

At the same time there was increasing reluctance by many good men to enter the imperial service. To some extent this was a development of the hermit tradition which had developed in earlier generations [Vervoornt 90], but it was compounded by widespread disapproval of Emperor Huan's own government and, still more significantly, by a growing tendency for

men to reject nominations or resign their posts if they considered their patron or superior officer to be of poor moral quality 非其人. In effect, current Confucian principle regarded individual morality and personal relationships as more important than public service to the state. Many men, of course, were still prepared to serve, and long-term officials such as Hu Guang and members of the Yuan family received wide respect, but the imperial government itself received little support and considerable opposition from its traditional allies among the educated land-owning gentry.

By the middle 160s the excesses of the eunuchs and their associates had caused Emperor Huan to lose some confidence, but his relations with the moral Confucianist party was little improved and he was under pressure from his senior traditionalist ministers, particularly when they obliged him to accept the Lady Dou as his consort. It appears that he may have been seeking an alternative source of legitimacy, and found it in the worship of Huang-Lao 黃老, a combined deity of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and the ancient sage Laozi 老子.

Known since Former Han, the Huang-Lao cult became increasingly popular in the second century AD and inspired a number of religious and rebel teachers, such as Chen Jing and Guan Bo at the beginning of Emperor Huan's reign in the late 140s. About 148, moreover, the Liang regency dedicated a temple to Laozi at his putative birthplace in Chen, so there was a tradition of government patronage as well as rebel ideology.

In the spring of 165 the emperor sent the eunuch Zuo Guan to carry out worship at the temple to Laozi in Chen, the first occasion on which he had shown such interest. A few months later Zuo Guan and his family were disgraced, but in the winter the eunuch Guan Ba was sent on a second mission; it was probably at this time that the celebrated *Laozi ming* 老子銘 stele, composed by the local Chancellor Bian Shao, was set up. The inscription praised the combined deity and described how he could manifest himself to guide earthly rulers.

Very soon afterwards, moreover, an edict in the summer ordered the abolition of local shrines throughout the empire, on the grounds that they encouraged heterodox superstition. The prohibition does not appear to have lasted long, and certainly not after Emperor Huan's death, but it is probable that he

was likewise seeking to establish his own orthodoxy at the expense of local rivals. [Some scholars have suggested that the emperor's interest in Huang-Lao was inspired by the Empress Dou, but this seems unlikely: Zuo Guan's expedition had taken place before she came to the throne, and we are told that Emperor Huan had little interest in her. It may be that he was encouraged by the eunuchs and some women of his harem.]

As culmination of this policy, in the summer of 166 the emperor himself carried out worship to Huang-Lao in the Garden of the Shining Dragon at Luoyang. The Treatise of Sacrifices describes how the altar was covered with cloth of patterned wool, with gold utensils, a special throne and palanquin for the deity, and music suitable to the imperial sacrifice to Heaven, and we are told that the ceremony also referred to the Buddha, cited as 浮圖 or 浮屠.

The ruler was evidently making a claim for legitimacy independent of traditional Confucianism and with potential appeal to many people at the capital and the provinces, but there is no way to assess how far this policy might have extended or to what long-term effect. In a critical pair of memorials soon afterwards the scholar Xiang Kai derided his pretensions to morality, and in any case Emperor Huan died just eighteen months later. There was no repetition of his patronage.

At the same time as it developed the worship of Huang-Lao, the government sought to curb the Confucianist officials and the students who supported them. In 166 the two Administrators Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi were executed for having supported or permitted attacks on eunuch associates and clients in their territories, and later in the year the anti-eunuch official Li Ying and his colleagues were charged with seeking favour among the students of the University and support in the provinces, and forming a faction to plan treason. Furious, the emperor had some two hundred men arrested and held under torture for several months. Though the influence of Dou Wu and Chen Han they were released with an amnesty in the middle of 167, but it was ordered that they should be proscribed from holding any office in the future. From the terms for proscription 禁錮 and for faction 部黨, the group is known to history as the Proscribed Party 黨錮, and this First Faction Incident would have major repercussions in the reign of Emperor Ling.

DEATH AND JUDGEMENT

Emperor Huan died at the very end of the Chinese year 167, on 25 January 168, at the age of thirty-six *sui*. He was buried in the "Mound of Comprehension" 宣陵 southeast of Luoyang and received the temple-name Weizong 威宗 "Majestic Exemplar." In 190, however, the court of Han controlled by Dong Zhuo approved a recommendation of Cai Yong, that Emperor Huan's tablet should be deposed from a permanent position in the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the grounds that he had shown neither merit nor virtue: see MBeck 90: 106-107 and *sub* Liu Zhao, Emperor He.

Though the emperor left only daughters, his twin brother Liu Kui might have succeeded him to the throne. That possibility was destroyed, however, when Liu Kui was found guilty of treason in 165. The charge was doubtful, and Liu Kui was restored to his former position just two days before the emperor's death, but it was clearly not possible for him to take the throne. As a result, the Lady Dou, now Dowager, and her father Dou Wu had freedom to choose among all male members of the clan. Their choice, and one cannot feel that it was a good one, fell upon Liu Hong, Emperor Ling.

Emperor Huan has been widely criticised by historians, both Chinese and Western. He is commonly coupled with his successor among the worst emperors of all time, and the great Sima Guang referred to the "stupid tyranny" of Huan and Ling. The reasons are not far to seek: Emperor Huan's reliance upon his palace eunuchs and his estrangement from the bureaucracy and gentry of the countryside did a great deal of harm, and the Faction Incident marked a very low point.

On the other hand, it must be recognised that the government was facing great difficulties. The frontier and the north-western provinces were increasingly unstable and vulnerable, the resources of the state were limited, and the long hegemony of the Liang family had weakened the links which should have bound the ruler to his natural allies among officials and other leaders of local communities.

These were very large problems, and though the young ruler failed to solve them, he was little aided by the economic and philosophical tendencies of the age, which encouraged men to cultivate private interests at the expense of any contribution they might make to the public good. Emperor Huan had many faults and made several errors of judgement, but he was not necessarily

as bad as he has been painted by traditional historians. -HHS 7*; deC 81, deC 89.

Liu Zhi 劉質/瓚 [Wenli 文理] (d.166); Pingyuan. In 165 Liu Zhi was Administrator of Taiyuan. The commandery had been troubled by powerful families and associates of the palace eunuchs, and Liu Zhi attacked and punished many of these men and their followers. When it came to the eunuch Zhao Jin, however, who had also been causing trouble, Liu Zhi ordered his officer Wang Yun to deal with the matter. Wang Yun arrested Zhao Jin and, though there had lately been an amnesty, he nonetheless killed him. Zhao Jin's connections at court informed Emperor Huan, and Liu Zhi was arrested.

The case of Liu Zhi was linked to that of Cheng Jin, Administrator of Nanyang, who had killed a eunuch associate and his followers, also under amnesty, and also to those of Zhai Chao in Shanyang, who had attacked Hou Lan's property, and of Huang Fu in Runan, who had taken ferocious action against the eunuch relative Xu Xuan. There was great interest among the reform party at the capital, and the Grand Commandant Chen Fan, defying the emperor's anger, presented eloquent arguments, claiming that their disregard of the amnesty should be ignored in light of the officers' devotion to the public interest.

At this time too the scholar Xiang Kai came to court and submitted memorials on the government, with many references to portents and particular attention to the fate of Liu Zhi and Cheng Jin. The two men were indeed executed, but the intense interest and protests among those who sought reform and opposed eunuch influence played a major role in damaging the relationship between the imperial court and the administration which should serve it. -HHS 7:318, 66/56:2172, 102/12:3257-58, XC 4:3b; deC 76, deC 89:71-77.

Liu Zhi 劉祗; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Liu Zhi was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210, ZF:16a [in SGZ 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Liu Zhi 劉稚. Son of Liu Chang the King of Zhongshan, he succeeded his father in 174. He died without heirs and the fief was ended. -HHS 42/32:1450.

In contrast, the Annals at HHS 8:335 say that Liu Chang died without sons and the fief ended with him, and they have no further mention of the kingdom, nor of Liu Zhi. It may be that Liu Zhi died at almost the same time as his father, so his reign was not officially recorded.

Liu Zhi 劉祗 (d.200). Son of Liu Zhen the King of Donghai, he succeeded his father in 156, and died in 200. -HHS 9:381, 42/32:1426-27.

There is textual confusion about the kingdom of Donghai at this time. HHS 9:390 says that Liu Dun, son of Emperor Xian, was enfeoffed there in 212 but, as the commentator Qian Daxin points out at HHSJJ 9:258-59, this is mistaken. The kings of Donghai were descended from Liu Qiang, son of Guangwu, and the lineage was still maintained at that time through Liu Zhi's son Liu Xian: see HHS 70/60:2271. HHS 9 has miswritten Donghai for Beihai.

Again, HHS 70/60:2271 says that Liu Feng the King of Nanyang and Liu Zhi the King of Donghai died in 200, and goes on to record Emperor Xian's sorrow at their early death, while commentary to that text explains that both were sons of the emperor. As Qian Daxin observes at HHSJJ 70/60:2488, the reference to Liu Zhi in this passage is another error. Both kings indeed died in that year, the infant Liu Feng in the summer and the elderly Liu Zhi in the following winter, but only Liu Feng was the son of Emperor Xian, and only he was so mourned. The commentary of Qian Dazhao in HHSJJ 42/32:1521 is mistaken.

Liu Zhi 劉祗. Grandson of Liu He, long-lived King of Pengcheng, he succeeded him in 213. As the dynasty of Wei took over in 220, Liu Zhi and all other kings of the Han house lost their royal rank and were styled Marquises Who Honour Virtue. -HHS 50/40:1672.

Liu Zhide 劉直得, the Lady. Daughter of Liu Qing the father of Emperor An, following her brother's accession to the throne in 106 she and her sisters were given titles and estates as princesses, and after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121 she was named Senior Princess of Pingshi in Nanyang. She married Lai Ding. -HHS 55/45:1804, 10B:457, 15/5:593.

Liu Zhimao 劉智茂: probably miswritten for Liu Mao 劉茂. -HHS 104/14:3296; deC 89:376.

Liu Zhong 劉仲 (d.22); Nanyang. Younger brother of

Liu Bosheng and elder brother of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, Liu Zhong joined the rebellion against Wang Mang but was killed at Xiao-Chang'an in 22. He was given posthumous title as King of Lu [see *sub* Liu Xing]. -HHS 14/4:555-56; Bn 54 appendix # 82.

Liu Zhong 劉終 see Liu Zhi 劉祉 [Jubo 巨伯].

Liu Zhong 劉仲; Chu/Pengcheng. Younger brother of Liu Ping, he was killed by bandits about 24. -HHS 39/29:1295.

Liu Zhong 劉終 (d.34); Nanyang. Son of Liu Xi, distant cousin of Liu Bosheng and Liu Xiu, he was a childhood friend of the future Emperor Guangwu.

In 22, as Liu Bosheng moved against Huyang in the initial stages of his rebellion, Liu Zhong gained entry to the city on pretence that he was a local official from Jiangxia. Once inside, he persuaded the people to turn against the government, kill Wang Mang's Commandant and open the gates to the Han.

Liu Zhong became a Palace Attendant at the court of the Gengshi Emperor, but after that regime was destroyed in 25 he and his father Liu Xi went to join Guangwu at Luoyang. In 26 both received royal fiefs, Liu Zhong becoming King of Zichuan.

When Liu Xi died in 34, Liu Zhong carried out the mourning and was so affected by grief that he followed him a few weeks later. Their descendants held only the rank of marquis. -HHS 14/4:563; Bn 54:107 and appendix # 85, Bn 59:23-24.

Liu Zhong 劉仲; the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 74 she was named Princess of Junyi in Chenliu. She married Wang Du. -HHS 10B:460.

Liu Zhong 劉种. Eldest son of Liu Ying, the King of Chu deposed in 70, Liu Zhong was appointed Marquis of Chu楚 by Emperor Zhang in 77, and his five brothers were also enfeoffed. Liu Zhong's fief was later transferred to Liu county in Lujiang. -HHS 42/32:1430.

Liu Zhong 劉忠 (d.84). Son of Liu Cang the King of Dongping, in 58 he was granted a county marquisate.

Liu Zhong succeeded his father in 83. In 84 his state was reduced to provide the royal fief of Rencheng for his younger brother Liu Shang, while five other brothers were enfeoffed as county marquises.

Liu Zhong died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Chang. In 89 his nephew Liu Liang and his six younger sons were enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 42/32:1442.

Liu Zhong 劉种 see Liu Chong 劉冲, King of Fuling (d.91). -HHS 4:172.

Liu Zhong 劉重; Pengcheng. Son of Liu Xian, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 39/29:1306; Bn 54 appendix # 158.

Liu Zhong 劉忠 (d.189). Son of Liu Ding the King of Ganling, he succeeded his father in 176. At the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 Liu Zhong was taken prisoner by his own subjects. After his release there was question whether he should retain his state, but Emperor Ling, recognising the kinship of the imperial clan, insisted he be reinstated.

Liu Zhong's son and successor 嗣子 was killed by a group of Yellow Turbans, leaving no heir, but the date of his death is not clear. In 206 the state was formally abolished by the Han government under the control of Cao Cao. -HHS 55/45:1804.

Liu Zhong 劉終 see Liu Zhi 劉祉.

Liu Zhongli 劉中禮, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Guangwu, in 39 she was made Princess of Nieyang in Nanyang, and Emperor Zhang named her a Senior Princess. She married Dou Gu. -HHS 10B:458.

Liu [Zhongqing] 劉仲卿 see Liu Xiaqing 劉俠卿. -YSS:9a.

Liu Zhu 劉柱; Nanyang. Eldest son of Liu Zhong the King of Zichuan, after the death of his father in 34 Liu Zhu was granted a county marquisate so that he might maintain his sacrifices. -HHS 14/4:563; Bn 54 appendix # 121.

Liu Zhuang 劉莊 personal name Yang 陽 until 43 [Zili 子麗] (28-75) [Emperor Ming 明帝 (reg. 57-75)]. When Liu Yang was named Heir by his father Emperor Guangwu on 20 August 43, his personal name was changed to the less common character Zhuang in order to avoid problems of taboo. Despite anachronism, I regularly use the personal name Zhuang. The style Zili is given by YSS:1b.

BEFORE HIS ACCESSION

Liu Zhuang was born in 28, the fourth son of Emperor Guangwu but his eldest by the Honoured Lady Yin. After the conquest of Gongsun Shu in the west, the emperor was urged to grant fiefs to his sons, and in 39 Liu Zhuang was named Duke of Donghai.

We are told that the young prince was competent in *Chunqiu*, and about this time he was permitted to attend court audience behind a screen in the throne-room. Emperor Guangwu knew that registers of cultivated land were often falsified, and he was doubtful

of the figures provided on the population of each commandery. Since the inspectors and administrators favoured the local gentry, they concealed the truth, but when the officer from Chenliu gave his report, he held a slip of bamboo which he did not present. The emperor demanded to see it, and found that the note said, "You can ask about Yingchuan and Hongnong, but not about Henan or Nanyang." The officer claimed to have found the slip on the road, and to know nothing more, but Liu Zhuang suggested this referred to the fact that Henan and Nanyang were exempt because the local gentry were protected either by contact with the court or by relationship to the imperial clan. Guangwu instigated a full investigation and in the following year, 40, a dozen heads of commandery units were executed, imprisoned or dismissed for having provided false returns.

In 41 Liu Zhuang's mother the Lady Yin was appointed empress in place of the Lady Guo, probably due to pressure from the Nanyang clique at court. The Lady Guo's eldest son, Liu Qiang, continued as Heir, but logic required Liu Zhuang should likewise replace his half-brother.

In 43 the general Zang Gong was engaged with a group of religious rebels led by Dan Chen in Henan, but several assaults had gained no success. Senior ministers argued that the attacks should be pressed harder, but Liu Zhuang urged that pressure be eased, in expectation that the rebels would seek to escape from the siege and could be defeated in detail. Zang Gong was instructed accordingly, and the enemy indeed scattered and were destroyed.

In the summer, soon after this successful advice, Guangwu appointed Liu Zhuang as his Heir, and Liu Qiang took his place as King of Donghai.

Liu Zhuang evidently held a substantial position in the counsels of the court. In 51, particularly, following the submission of the Southern Shanyu Bi of the Xiongnu, the Northern regime asked for peace. There was considerable debate, but Liu Zhuang argued that the commitment of Han to the Southern court precluded any rapprochement with the North; the new tributaries might become uncertain, and the long-term goodwill of the Northern barbarians could not be relied upon. It appears that he expressed both the consensus of the meeting and the wishes of his father.

ACCESSION AND REIGN

On the death of Emperor Guangwu in the early

summer of 57, Liu Zhuang came to the throne without opposition or incident. Thirty years old by Chinese reckoning, he was the second and last of the rulers of Later Han to ascend the throne as a mature man. Adopting the reign-title Yongping 永平 "Everlasting Peace," he maintained it until his death, and the empire was indeed comparatively calm, with occasional natural misfortunes but several good harvests, and a number of favourable omens.

The Treatise of Economics of *Jin shu*, JS 26:781, says that Emperor Ming established an Ever-Full Granary 常滿倉 at Luoyang in 62. There was already a Great Granary 太倉 at the east of the city, by the terminus of the Yang Canal which brought supplies up from the Vast Canal system of the eastern plain; the emperor's initiative was to set up a system of official marketing, by which the government bought grain when it was cheap and sold it at low prices when supplies became limited. Senior advisers endorsed the scheme, and it was claimed that the price of a *hu* 斛 of unhusked grain [some 20 litres] was reduced from about a hundred to just twenty cash [see Yang 63:154 and the discussion of Bn 76:59-60].

Former Han and Wang Mang had maintained such a policy [*e.g.* Hsü 80:194-196], and there was an Office for Price Adjustment and Stabilisation by the Ao Granary at the head of the Vast Canal near Rongyang. Wang Mang's policy on this line, however, part of his government's monopolies or Six Controls 六筭/管, had been a focus of complaint from his opponents, and Emperor Guangwu had abolished the office [HS 98B: 4118, HHS 11/1:486, and see *sub* Liu Penzi]. Emperor Ming's program thus restored an earlier scheme, and reflected a centralising policy opposed to the new traditions of Later Han.

The matter was reconsidered a few years later, about 68, and at that time the official Liu Ban argued that though the idea was attractive, official purchasing actually raised the price of grain to profit great landholders in times of plenty, while the common people gained no advantage in time of shortage. The plan was therefore dropped. It may be noted that the biography of Liu Ban is the only text where official price control of grain is mentioned in *Hou Han shu* [HHS 39/29:1305; Hsü 80:243, Ch'ü 72:460]. Liu Ban was probably right: price control was a good idea, but its administration was beyond government competence. The experiment was short-lived and not attempted again. [Bielenstein,

however, argues that price stabilisation was maintained by Later Han in the same fashion as Former Han: Bn 80:45-46 and Bn 76:59-60.]

More generally, in his father's style, Emperor Ming was prepared to tolerate the power of great landed families, and though there was an attempt to prohibit individuals from being involved in both farming and trade, the policy was largely ignored: by the middle of the second century the *Simin yueling* 四民月令 of Cui Shi described the working of a manorial holding, an impressive combination of agricultural production and marketing enterprise.

The economic recovery during the years after Emperor Guangwu's restoration of power allowed for a deal of new construction: in 60 the Northern Palace at Luoyang was restored, and new offices were built for a number of ministries. More importantly, it was now possible to tackle the immense problem of the flooded Yellow River, and in the late 60s, under the direction of Wang Wu and with the designs of Wang Jing, the government embarked upon the repair of the Vast Canal and Bian River complex by Rongyang in Henan. Emperor Ming inspected the completed work in 70, and issued an edict to commemorate the achievement.

With further controls established across the North China plain in following years, the danger of flooding was largely ended. Commanderies along the restored course were ordered to appoint officers to maintain the dykes 河堤員吏, while reclaimed land was to be distributed among the common people, not to the benefit of those who already possessed great holdings.

Like his father, Emperor Ming kept a firm hand on government, but he made considerable show of public goodwill, with several awards of noble rank, donations of land to the poor, and exemptions from taxation for favoured localities, while he also travelled widely: to Chang'an in 59, extensively across the east in 62, to the dynastic homeland in Nanyang in 67 and again to the east in 72, when he carried out the Ploughing ceremony at Xiapi. He was praised by later generations for maintaining his father's sense of morality and restraint, for his support of Confucian principles, and for the efficient conduct of his government. When the historian and writer Ban Gu presented his "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" 兩都賦 he compared the moral restraint of Later Han to the excesses of the Former

dynasty; and though Ban Gu was something of a flatterer he does appear to have expressed the ideals of the time.

FRONTIER AFFAIRS

During the late 50s the Qiang war-leader Dianyu embarked on a series of raids from outside the north-western frontier against Jincheng and Longxi, but he was defeated by Ma Wu and Dou Gu and brought to surrender in 59. Following the precedent set by Ma Yuan twenty years earlier, numbers of tribespeople were brought to settle within the frontiers of the empire: half a century later this policy proved to present a major problem.

Immediately to the north of the empire, the division of the Xiongnu in the time of Emperor Guangwu during the early 50s had weakened the traditional enemy, and the commitment of Han to the Southern Shanyu remained firm. In 65 there was some concern that the two sides might come to terms, so the office of General on the Liao 度遼將軍 was established, with an army based in Wuyuan to strengthen defences and ensure that the non-Chinese remained divided. Former Chinese inhabitants were encouraged to go back to the north, and prisoners were sent to join the army and to settle their families there, with rewards and recompense for those who died, but the program had only limited success: few people had any desire to return to the uncertain lands along the frontier.

For their part, the Northern Xiongnu vacillated between requests for peace and intermittent raiding, and in 73 the emperor approved a punitive campaign. The main army missed the rendezvous, so little was achieved directly and the commanders Zhai Tong and Wu Tang were punished. On the other hand, the western column led by Dou Gu defeated a Xiongnu king and occupied the region of Yiwu by present-day Hami, and in the following year Dou Gu and Geng Bing established a position in the region of Jushi near Turfan. This was the first time that Chinese arms had returned to central Asia since the time of Wang Mang, and some cities sent hostages to the Han court while the post of Protector-General of the Western Regions was re-established. Very soon afterwards, in 75, the garrisons were driven out by a counter-attack from the Xiongnu [see *sub* Geng Gong].

In the far southwest, the empire achieved a vast, albeit nominal, expansion in 69 when the king of the Ailao people came to the frontier by the Dali Lake

and offered his submission. This followed a similar approach in 51, but the new subjects were numbered at over half a million, and other tribes likewise offered tribute. The commandery of Yongchang, comprising two new counties and six from Yizhou commandery, was set up to cope with the increase. The territory formally extended from present-day Yunnan into Burma/Myanmar and had general command of the routes towards India, but it was never strongly controlled by Han [see *sub* Liumiao.]

In similar fashion, under the influence of the Inspector Zhu Fu of Yi province, during the 70s the Zuodu people from the upper reaches of the Yangzi presented songs in praise of Han, while other tribes of the south and west and the Dan'er people of Hainan presented tribute in 74. Such donations and obeisance were of small local significance, but they added to the prestige of the imperial court.

IMPERIAL RELATIVES

In 52, while he was still Heir, Liu Zhuang took the young Lady Ma, daughter of Ma Yuan, into his harem. The Ma family was at that time out of favour, but the Lady made herself agreeable both to her consort and to her mother-in-law the Empress Yin, and in 60 she was proclaimed empress. She was unable to bear children, but an agreement was reached that she should foster Liu Da, fifth son of Emperor Ming by his Honoured Lady Jia, who was a maternal cousin of the Lady Ma. The child was named Heir on the same day as the empress was appointed.

The emperor held to the principle that close imperial relatives should not be involved in regular government, and he refused a request by his sister, the Princess Liu Hongfu, that her son his nephew should be commissioned into the civil service. Similarly, though the agreement of the Ma and the Jia marked a successful alliance between a leading family of the northwest and the Nanyang faction at court, neither family gained particular advantage from close connection to the throne; the model of the Wang at the end of Former Han was still very close. The Empress Ma made a point of her modesty, and her relatives received no fiefs or appointments. The Lady Jia was awarded insignia and gifts after the death of the Dowager Yin in 64, but she died in obscurity in the rear palace, and even after her son, Emperor Zhang, came to the throne ten years later she received no acknowledgement.

Emperor Ming enfeoffed his sons as kings in 72,

but their states were only half the size of his brothers and half-brothers the sons of Emperor Guangwu. As he was planning their territories, with the maps spread out in front of him, his empress said, "Your sons have fewer counties to maintain themselves; isn't that a reduction?" The emperor replied, "How can I allow my sons to rank with those of my late father? If they have an income of twenty million a year, that is surely enough!"

The emperor had problems with his brothers. At the time of his accession the King of Shanyang Liu Jing, full brother of the emperor, sought to persuade the former Heir Liu Qiang to rebel against the new ruler. Liu Qiang promptly reported this treasonous advice to the throne, and the matter was smoothed over, but in the 60s Liu Jing began to give himself imperial airs, and in 67 he was found guilty of encouraging magicians and shamans to devise curses against his sovereign. He was arrested and committed suicide; it is likely he was not entirely sane, but the whole history made the emperor uneasy.

Soon afterwards and more seriously, there arose the affair of Liu Ying the King of Chu. A close friend of the emperor before his accession, Liu Ying was interested in various forms of the occult, including Huang-Lao and some early forms of Buddhism, and though there had been questions about his conduct during the 60s his brother had firmly supported him. In 70, however, Liu Ying was accused of wicked associations and seeking false omens, and the emperor was disillusioned and angry. Liu Ying was sent into exile, his fief was reduced to a marquissate, and he killed himself in the following year.

The affair did not end at this, for the emperor pursued the alleged conspiracy with the utmost energy. Thousands of people were arrested and tortured, and great numbers were killed. Another half-brother, Liu Kang, was implicated and punished, and though the persecution was later eased a further, similar, allegation was made against the ruler's full brother Liu Yan, King of Huaiyang, in 73. Many more were killed, including the Excellency Xing Mu and Han Guang, husband of a princess.

Liu Yan was arrogant and aggressive, and he and his royal brothers may have been inappropriately interested in the occult, but there appears to have been no good evidence of an organised conspiracy. This series of problems, however, first with Liu Jing, then

the alleged treason of Liu Ying, involving also Liu Kang, and finally Liu Yan, affected Emperor Ming. He had initially shown trust, and done his best to support his brothers, but during the latter years of his reign he was embittered and suspicious, and the accusations and purges did not end until his death. Disruptive though they were for the court and the high nobility, however, these unfortunate affairs do not appear to have had wide affect upon the empire as a whole.

RITUAL AND SCHOLARSHIP

Confucian scholarship and ritual were important to the apparent legitimacy of the rulers of Han, and Emperor Ming paid them a great deal of attention. Early in 59 he held a great assembly at the Bright Hall 明堂, attended by the whole court, and it appears that he not only completed the ceremonial buildings commenced by his father but also inaugurated the rituals and costumes to accompany them [MBeck 90:236].

Also in 59 the new ruler established sacrifices at the Five Suburban Altars 五郊祀 about the capital, to Welcome the Ethers 迎氣 at the beginning of each of the four seasons and at the middle of the year [Bodde 75:192-200, MBeck 90:101-103]. These were additional to the Southern and Northern Altars set up by Guangwu in 56 for the worship of Heaven 南郊 and Earth 北郊 [Bn 76:73-76], and Emperor Ming also added an Altar for Rain 雩場 to the complex about the Altar of Heaven, established the Temple of the Epochal Founder 世祖廟 in honour of his father [Bodde 75:192-198, 223-226, Bn 76:54-55, 74-77], and paid honours to Confucius. He several times undertook the ceremony of Ploughing the Sacred Field 耕藉田, and in 59 he also revived the ceremony of the Great Archery 大射 and, more importantly, that of Serving the Aged 養老, both at the Hall of the Circular Moat 辟雍 [Bodde 75:361-372, Bn 76:66-68].

In 58, moreover, the New Text scholar Fan Shu, a cousin of the late Emperor Guangwu, persuaded Emperor Ming to act as patron to studies on the classics by Academicians and other senior advisers, and it appears that the subsequent winter ceremonies at the Hall of the Circular Moat included expository sessions at which scholars discussed questions with the sovereign. On the first occasion the Five-fold Experienced Huan Rong and his disciples took part in discussions before the ruler, and in 71 Emperor Ming himself promulgated *Wu[xing]jia yaoshuo zhangju* 五行家要說章句 "Detailed Commentary to Major Points

of the Tradition of the Five Powers." Final editing was carried out by Huang Rong's son Huan Yu, who was later involved in the conference at the White Tiger Hall under Emperor Zhang, and the compilation was then placed in the library of the Hall of All-Embracing Brightness in the Northern Palace. [For analysis and argument, see *sub* Huan Yu, and deC 2006B.]

The scholarly work carried out under the patronage of Emperor Ming may be compared to the debate in the Hall of the Stone Conduit [石渠 *Shiqu*], held by Emperor Xuan of Former Han in 51 BC, and to the later conference in the White Tiger Hall. Though Tjan 49:158 suggests that Emperor Ming held just one meeting in 59, it appears that the program began in 58 under the encouragement of Fan Shu, that it was maintained through the 60s and that publication of *Wujia yaoshuo zhangju* marked its culmination in 71; Emperor Zhang, in contrast, held a single long meeting in 79. Again, unlike the Stone Conduit debates, which were concerned to decide between contending texts, Emperor Ming appears to have fully accepted the New Text. The White Tiger Discussions sponsored by his son proved more influential, and began at least as a questioning of orthodoxy, but it was the intention of both rulers to appear as patrons of scholarship and philosophy, while Huan Yu's work of compilation was analogous to that of Ban Gu in 79.

During the course of this program, some time in the middle 60s, it appears that the emperor was considering abolishing the University, presumably because the work being carried out in the Hall of the Circular Moat rendered the deliberations of the Academicians superfluous. He was dissuaded by the Excellency Zhao Xi, who argued that both institutions had a role, and both should be maintained.

As another aspect of his concern for scholarship, in 66 Emperor Ming set up the Palace School for Noble Families 四姓小侯學校 [literally: "little lords of the four lineages"]. Established in the Southern Palace, the School was designed initially for young gentlemen of the four great clans of relatives by marriage, the Fan family of the mother of Emperor Guangwu, the Yin and Guo of Guangwu's two empresses, and the Ma of Emperor Ming's own consort [the phrase "little lords" indicated that they could expect noble titles, but had not yet been enfeoffed]. The School also accepted the families of kings and marquises, and likewise catered to princes of the Xiongnu who came as hostages. The

curriculum was based firmly upon the Five Classics: *Changes, History, Poetry, Ritual* and *Chunqiu*, and this academy for young noblemen was maintained for most of the dynasty though, not surprisingly, its standards varied with the passage of time. The name of only one member of staff is recorded: Zhang Pu, first Tutor for the *Classic of History*, was later a tutor to the Heir Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, and rose to become Grand Commandant. [On the Palace School, see particularly *HHS* 2:113, 79/69A:2546, and Bn 76:27.]

DEATH AND BURIAL

After a reign of eighteen years, Emperor Ming died on 5 September 75, at the Chinese age of forty-eight. He was awarded the temple name Xianzong 顯宗 "Illustrious Exemplar", and his tomb northwest of Luoyang was named "Mound of Illustrious Integrity" 顯節陵.

The emperor had no sons by his Empress Ma, and his chosen Heir was his fifth son Liu Da, born to the Honoured Lady Jia in 57. Liu Da's elder brothers had been born to concubines of no noted lineage, so Emperor Ming's choice of Heir was reasonable, but he left a very young successor. -*HHS* 2*.

Liu Zi 劉次, the Lady. Daughter of Emperor Ming, in 60 she was named Princess of Pingshi in Nanyang. -*HHS* 10B:459.

HHS 10A:413 tells how a fire accidentally started by a servant in the suite of the Princess of Xinping 新平 in the Northern Palace spread to the harem apartments. There was no such fief at this time, but Xinping may be a miswriting of Pingshi 平氏. Bielenstein suggests that this was a fire recorded for the winter of 76/77: see *sub* the Lady Ma, Empress/Dowager of Emperor Ming, and Bn 76:39, 112.

Liu Zi 劉次 (137-162). Son of Liu An the King of Jibei, he succeeded his father in 145. He was only nine years old at the time, but he displayed such filial piety that in 147 the Dowager Liang commended him with a special edict and added to his fief.

Liu Zi was succeeded by his son Luan. -*HHS* 55/45:1807.

Liu Zichan 劉子產; Yuyang. In 71, when Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan was accused of involvement in the conspiracy of Liu Ying the King of Chu, Liu Zichan was named as one of his contacts. -*HHS* 42/32:1431.

Liu [Zihui] 劉子惠; Zhongshan. In 189 Liu Zihui was Headquarters Officer to Han Fu the Governor of Ji

province. Yuan Shao proposed to raise rebellion against Dong Zhuo, who had seized power in the capital, but Han Fu was reluctant to approve, and wondered whether he should support the Yuan clan or the Dong. Liu Zihui told him that the rising was for the good of the state, not the interests of any one family or faction. Suitably chastened, Han Fu gave his approval to Yuan Shao's enterprise. -*HHS* 74/64A:2377; deC 96:33.

Liu [Zijing] 劉子敬; Zhuo. Son of Liu Xiong and younger brother of Liu Hong, Liu Zijing expressed concern that the ambitions of his nephew Liu Bei would bring ruin upon the family. -*SGZ* Shu 2:871.

Liu [Ziping] 劉子平 As a county magistrate in Runan, Liu Ziping behaved discourteously to Chen Fan when he was out of office in the mid-160s. When Chen Fan returned to power, Liu Ziping was impeached for corruption. -*FSTY* 7:56.

Liu Ziping 劉子平 see Liu Ping 劉平 of Pingyuan.

Liu [Zishan] 劉子山. Magistrate of a county in Nanyang, in 168 Liu Zishan was the subject of a stele inscription. -*LX* 20:3b-4a.

Liu Zong 劉宗 miswritten for Liu Chong 劉崇, King of Lecheng. -*HHS* 101/11:3236.

Liu Zong 柳宗 [Boqian 伯騫]; Shu. About 160 Liu Zong gathered a group of nine friends to study together. He later held senior office in his commandery and the province, and he arranged that four of his colleagues received appointment in the imperial bureaucracy.

Liu Zong himself received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent. He served as a county magistrate in Youfufeng and perhaps as Administrator of Jiangxia. -*HYGZ* 10A:134-35, 12:214.

Liu Zong 劉琮. Son of Liu Rong the King of Pei, he succeeded his father in 164.

Liu Zong was succeeded by his son Yao. -*HHS* 42/32:1428.

Liu Zong 劉琮; Shanyang. Younger son of Liu Biao, he was favoured by his father through the influence of the Lady Cai, second wife of Liu Biao, whose niece Liu Zong had married. When Liu Biao died in 208, Liu Zong succeeded his father as warlord Governor of Jing province. Soon afterwards Cao Cao invaded from the north, and Liu Zong surrendered. He was named Inspector of Qing province and enfeoffed with a marquisate, but held no power. -*HHS* 74/64B:2423-24, *SGZ* 6:213-15.

Liu Zu 劉祖 also mistakenly as Liu Bo 伯 [Fengxian 奉先]; Nanyang. A fragment of *Han-Wei xianxian*

xingzhuang, quoted by Hou Kang at *HHSJJ* 95/5:3542, tells how Liu Bo, whose style was Fengxian, was a conscientious scholar and a man of fine morality. During the early 140s he was an Investigator in the commandery, and when Yu Xu, the corrupt and greedy Administrator of Yuzhang, came to his territory and sought to exploit his position, Liu Bo attacked him and drove him away.

Hou Kang notes that the style of this man is the same as that of Liu Zu, who also served as a local officer in Nanyang and was Minister of the Imperial Clan in 171. He therefore suggests that this is a story from Liu Zu's early career and that the character 祖 has been miswritten as Bo 伯.

FSTY 5:39-40; *Nylan* 83:471-474 describes how when Liu Zu, future Minister of the Imperial Clan, was a clerical officer in Nanyang, the Administrator Gongsun Qing carried out the annual ceremonies for the imperial ancestors in Zhangling county [see *sub* Liu Zhi 劉祉]. Liu Zu was invited to hold the reins of the official chariot, which was regarded as a post of honour, but he declined on the grounds that it was inappropriate for a member of the imperial house to take such a menial position. Admiring his stand, Gongsun Qing nominated him Filial and Incorrupt; Ying Shao disapproves of Liu Zu's arrogance.

A text by Cai Zhi, preserved by the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 95/5:3121-22, describes the enthronement of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling in 171 and mentions the role of Liu Zhi, as Minister of the Imperial Clan, at that ceremony. [In *HHSJJ* at 3528 Hui Dong cites *FSTY* 5 as above.]

Liu Zu 劉租. A commandery medical officer 醫曹吏 in the late second century, Liu Zu applied deep and direct acupuncture to the local officer Xu Yi, but mistakenly hit the liver rather than the stomach. The celebrated doctor Hua Tuo observed his mistake but could do nothing to help, and Xu Yi died five days later. -*SGZ* 29:800.

Liu Zuan 劉纘 (138-146) [Emperor Zhi 質帝 (*reg.* 145-146)]. Son of Liu Hong the King of Le'an, Liu Zuan was a great-great-grandson of Emperor Zhang. His mother the Lady Chen was a former singing girl who had been taken by Liu Hong but had not been formally appointed as a concubine in his royal harem.

At the beginning of 145 the infant Emperor Chong, son of Emperor Shun, became mortally ill. Liu Zuan was brought to the capital by the General-in-Chief

Liang Ji, brother of the regent Dowager Liang, and when the emperor died on 15 February, the Dowager and her brother agreed to place him upon the throne. Liang Ji was given the Staff of Authority to bring Liu Zuan from his lodgings to the Southern Palace, on 6 March he was enfeoffed as a marquis, and that same day he was placed upon the throne. Liang Ji continued to hold control of the Imperial Secretariat, together with the Grand Tutor of Emperor Chong, Zhao Jun, who died a few months later, and the Grand Commandant Li Gu.

There appears to have been little to distinguish Liu Zuan as superior to any other cadet of the imperial house, his mother's ancestry left much to be desired, and Li Gu had urged the claims of Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, a young, but grown, man of character. In fact Liu Zuan's chief claim to selection appears to have been that at the age of seven by Western reckoning he was old enough to avoid the risks of infant mortality, and young enough to require the guidance of a regent.

Despite his youth, Liu Zuan could notice the tight limits to his notional authority, though he was not perceptive enough to keep silent on the matter. On one occasion he glared at Liang Ji in public court and referred to him as an "over-bearing general" 跋扈將軍. Then, on 26 July 146, as the emperor was eating dumplings he was seized by stomach cramps. He called the minister Li Gu and asked for water, but Liang Ji, who was also present, forbade it in case the liquid made him vomit and compounded the problem. Almost immediately the boy died.

It was traditionally argued that Liang Ji poisoned Liu Zuan to remove a future threat to his authority, but it was possibly only bad cooking, and he may have been naturally weak and sickly. The death formally occurred in the Jade Hall, where Emperors Shun and Chong had also died, so one way or another it may have been prepared for. The most suspicious part of the affair is that the young Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, had been called to the capital before the death of Liu Zuan and formally betrothed to Liang Nüying, younger sister of the Dowager. Had it been expected that Liu Zuan would reign a normal life-time, the Lady Liang would surely have been committed to him in order to maintain the influence of her family. As it is, one must assume that Liang Ji and his elder sister had early knowledge of his fate.

Li Gu insisted that the imperial physicians be

impeached and the death investigated, but nothing more came of the matter and the Liang group were free to maintain their power.

Liu Zuan was buried in the "Mound of Repose" 靜陵, east of Luoyang, but because his reign had been so short he did not receive a temple-name. Events during this short period are summarised in the biography of his successor Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan. -HHS 6:278-82, 63/53:2085.

Liu Zun 劉遵; Nanyang. Son of Liu Shun, he succeeded to his marquisate in 35, but was later found guilty of private communication with kings of the imperial family. His fief was transferred from Shanyang to Hedong, and its value reduced from two counties to one. -HHS 14/4:566; Bn 54 appendix # 109.

Liu Zun 劉遵/尊 (d.138). Son of Liu Shou the King of Langye, he succeeded his father in 120.

Liu Zun was succeeded by his son Ju, and three other sons later received district marquisates. -HHS 42/32:1452.

Liulang 柳狼 see Liumiao 柳貌. -HYGZ 4:60.

Liuli 劉利; Xiongnu. A chieftain of the Southern Xiongnu, he was a supporter of the prince Shizi. In 94 the Chinese officials Du Chong and Zhu Hui reported to the throne that the Shanyu Anguo planned to kill Shizi and Liuli. Anguo himself was later destroyed. -HHS 89/79:2955.

Liumiao 柳貌/邈. King of the Ailao people in the far southwest of China, in 69 Liumiao sent his son to the Chinese frontier by the Dali Lake to offer submission. His people were numbered at more than half a million. To cope with this vast increase in his subjects, Emperor Ming established the commandery of Yongchang, comprising two new counties and six from Yizhou commandery. The new unit extended across the frontier of present-day Burma/Myanmar, and had general command of the routes towards India, but it was never strongly controlled by Han. -HHS 86/76:2849; Bn 67:77-78, Yü 67:117.

HYGZ 4:60 gives the king's name as Liulang 柳狼 or Yilang 抑狼. Cf. also HHSJJ 86/76:3150 quoting Hui Dong, who cites the *Ailao zhuan* 哀牢傳 of Yang Zhong and suggests that Liumiao was the name of the father of King Huli [or Xianli], who paid tribute in 51, and that the man who brought his people to submit in 69 was Huli/Xianli's son Liulang.

Liumo 柳貌 miswritten for Liumiao 柳貌.

Liyan 黎弇 of Shule [Kashgar] (d.75). When Shule

was attacked by the armies of King Jian of Qiuzi [Kuqa] in 75, the Chinese agent Ban Chao and his men initially fought alongside the defenders, but then Ban Chao was ordered to return to China. Angry and in despair at being abandoned, the Shule commander Liyan cut his own throat. -HHS 47/37:1575.

Long 龍 [personal name unknown]; non-Chinese of Zangke. Head of the clan of that name in the middle 20s, he and other leaders supported the Chinese Xie Xian, Officer of Merit of the commandery, in maintaining allegiance to Han rather than acknowledging the imperial claim of Gongsun Shu. They sent messengers by the south-eastern route through present-day Guangdong, and Guangwu rewarded them with ceremonial robes. -HHS 86/76:2845, HYGZ 4:54.

Long Duan 龍端 (d.121); Liaodong. A clerical officer in the commandery, in the summer of 121 Long Duan accompanied the Administrator Cai Feng and the local militia in an attempt to deal with a major raid from Gaogouli [Koguryo], supported by Xianbi from the north. Their troops were defeated with the loss of several hundred men. Long Duan and his colleagues Geng Hao and Gongsun Pu tried to shield their master Cai Feng, but all of them were killed. -HHS 85/75:2814-15.

Long Shang 龍尙 (d.166); Guangling. Evidently the head of a religious sect, about 165 Long Shang was joined by Dai Yi, who brought a blank golden seal which he had found. They accordingly held sacrifice to wells and fountains and prepared written charms and amulets 符書. Either Dai Yi or possibly Long Shang took title as Grand Supreme Emperor 太上皇 [cf. He Deng], but early in 166 they were taken and executed. -HHS 7:316.

Long Shu 龍述 [Bogao 伯高]; Jingzhao. In the early 40s Long Shu was a county magistrate in Nanyang. In a letter from Ma Yuan to his nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun, reprimanding them for their excessive criticism of others, he praised Long Shu for his cautious speech, while still keeping high moral standards. With such an endorsement Long Shu was promoted to be Administrator of Lingling. -HHS 24/14:844-45.

Long Yuan 龍淵 [Dragon Well?]. An expert physiognomist, Long Yuan could also judge a client by the sound of his voice, and would receive each in accordance with his future rank. Interviewing Zhang Ji, he foretold that he would become an Excellency, but only after paying for the honour.

Just at this time Liu Hong the future Emperor Ling, aged about ten and at that time only the Marquis of Jiedu Village, also came to call. When he learnt that Long Yuan was engaged he turned away, but Long Yuan told Zhang Ji that this would be a good young man to treat well, and Zhang Ji went after him and gave him generous gifts.

Later Liu Hong came to the throne, and Zhang Ji did become an Excellency – possibly being judged to have paid for the post in advance. -*HHSJJ* 45/35:1642 Hui Dong citing the third century compilation *Shixue pian*.

Longqiu Chang 龍丘萇; Kuaiji. Longqiu Chang was a respected gentleman scholar of the northern part of Kuaiji, which later became Wu commandery. In the time of Wang Mang he retired to live as a hermit, supporting himself by farming his own land, and he refused many invitations to office.

In 23 the youthful Ren Yan was appointed Commandant of Kuaiji for the Gengshi Emperor. His officers urged him to summon Longqiu Chang, but Ren Yan, a devotee of non-action 無爲, recognised Longqiu Chang's nature and instead sent frequent emissaries with gifts of books and medicines. After a year Longqiu Chang came in his palanquin to Ren Yan's office and asked to take office in order to discharge the debt of courtesy he had acquired. Ren Yan gave him an honorary post as an adviser. Longqiu Chang died soon afterwards, but the leading men of the commandery, inspired by his example, were now anxious to enter Ren Yan's service. -*HHS* 76/66:2461, *XC* 7:14b, *XS*:3a; Vervoor 90:131-132.

Longyuan 龍淵 [Dragon Well?] see Long Yuan 龍淵.

"Lord" 公 [honorary title of a scholar or gentleman] see under the relevant surname.

Lord of Thunder 雷公 see Zhang Leigong 張雷公.

Lou Fa 婁發. A military officer of Yi province under the Governor Liu Yan, after Liu Yan's death in 194 Lou Fa joined a rebellion against Liu Yan's son Liu Zhang to aid Hu Mao, the new Inspector who had been nominated by the government at Chang'an and who was supported by Liu Biao in Jing province. The insurgents were defeated, and Lou Fa and his fellows took refuge in Jing province. -*SGZ* Shu 1:868.

Lou Gui 婁圭 [Zibo 子伯]; Nanyang. A man of courage and ambition, in the early 190s Lou Gui established himself in the northwest of Jing province, recruiting

refugees from the troubled region of Chang'an as retainers. He first supported Liu Biao, but then led his men to join Cao Cao, an old acquaintance, who gave him high rank as an adviser, but no direct command.

After campaigns against the Yuan family in Ji province, in 208 Lou Gui followed Cao Cao into Jing, where he advised that, since Liu Zong had come with his official insignia, his surrender was genuine. Lou Gui later distinguished himself in operations against Ma Chao in the northwest, notably by his recommendation of building a temporary fortification from watered sand in order to protect the bridgehead over the Yellow River.

Favoured by Cao Cao, Lou Gui accumulated great wealth, but was later reported to have presumed upon his position and shown a lack of respect. Cao Cao killed him. -*SGZ* 12:373-74*.

Lou Shou 婁壽 [Yuankao 元考] (97-174); Nanyang. Though his grandfather had been a General of the Household and his father was an Academician, Lou Shou lived as a scholar recluse 玄儒. He was nonetheless admired for his generous and courteous conduct, and when he died his neighbours set up a stele in his memory. -*LS* 9.9a-12a, Nagata 94:208.

Lou Wang 婁望 [Zici 子次] (21-100); Chenliu. As a young man Lou Wang studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan interpretation, and he was respected in his locality for his fine moral standards. About 45 Liu Xu the King of Zhao, cousin of Emperor Guangwu, heard of his reputation and sent messengers with gifts, inviting him to serve as his teacher. Lou Wang refused, but he later served as Officer of Merit in his commandery.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming, Lou Wang was appointed a Palace Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army, and he taught the residents of the imperial palace. In 73 he was made Minister of Finance and in 75 he became Minister of Ceremonies.

In 79 Lou Wang took part in the great conference on Confucian philosophy at the White Tiger Hall, but in the following year he lost his ministerial office on account of some fault. He was made a Palace Counsellor and then a Gentleman of the Household responsible for gentleman cadets.

Despite his official career, Lou Wang continued to teach, and he was recognised as the doyen of Confucian scholars. He died in office at the age of eighty, and several thousand students accompanied his funerary

cortège. -HHS 79/69B:2580-81*; Tjan 49:160-163.

Lou Yi 樓異. In 194 Cao Cao attacked Lü Bu in the city of Puyang in Dong commandery. As his troops were defeated, Cao Cao fell from his horse and injured his arm in a fire. Lou Yi gave him his horse, and so Cao Cao was able to escape [cf. Cao Ang and Cao Hong]. -SGZ 1:11.

Louban 樓班 (d.207); Wuhuan. Louban was a son of the Shanyu Qiuliju of Liaoxi, who died about 193 when Louban was still young. His cousin Tadun acted as Louban's guardian.

By the early 200s Louban was grown up and he was recognised by Nanlou, Supuyan and other chieftains as their suzerain, but Tadun continued as war leader and chief of planning.

In 207 Tadun gathered the tribes to aid Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi. When Cao Cao destroyed the Wuhuan army at White Wolf Mountain, Louban fled to Gongsun Kang in Liaodong, who killed him. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 1:29, 30, 34-35; deC 84:403-411.

Loudeng 樓登; Qiang. Chief of the White Horse tribe who lived outside the frontier of Guanghan, in 27 Loudeng led five thousand households to pay allegiance to the new government of Emperor Guangwu. He was enfeoffed as Lord Who Turns to Righteousness 歸義君長. -HHS 87/77:2898.

Lu 陸, the Lady; Wu. Daughter of Lu Kang and a sister of Lu Ji, the Lady married Gu Yong and became the mother of Gu Shao: see SGZ Wu 7:1229, where Lu Ji is described as a maternal uncle 舅 of Gu Shao.

Lu 祿; non-Chinese. During the 140s Lu was the household slave of a village headman in Yingchuan. Ying Feng and Xu Xun passed that way on a journey to Luoyang and Ying Feng later surprised Xu Xun by his ability to recall the man's name. -HHS 48/38:1607.

Lu 路 [personal name unknown] was a Commandant in Kuaiji. -LS 24:3b-4a.

Lu Ang 陸印; Kuaiji. Lu Ang was a son of Lu Hong. -XTS 73B:2965.

Lu Bao 陸褒 [Shuming 叔明]; Kuaiji. Son of Lu Xu, Lu Bao was a dedicated scholar who refused all invitations to office. -HHS 81/71:2683.

Lu Bing 魯炳; Youfufeng. Commandant of Hongnong in 104, Lu Bing was guilty of an offence. His kinsman Lu Gong, Excellency over the Masses, was implicated and compelled to leave office. -HHS 25/15:879.

Lu Cheng 盧程; Anding. Younger brother of the pretender Lu Fang, he accompanied him about 26 to

the court of the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu, where Lu Fang was enthroned as Emperor of Han. Lu Fang then stayed in the north, while Lu Cheng was given title as General of the Household and led a troop of Xiongnu cavalry back to Anding and Beidi.

In that region the Lu were opposed to the power of Wei Ao, who dominated the upper Wei valley from Tianshui. Lu Cheng is not heard of again, and when Lu Fang established himself on the northern loop of the Yellow River a few years later, he does not appear to have held any position south of the Ordos. -HHS 12/2:506.

Lu Cheng 鹵承 see Lucheng 鹵承.

Lu Chong 魯充. As an Academician, Lu Chong received imperial orders to give advice on procedures for the seven altars about the imperial capital 七部 [i.e. those for Heaven and Earth and for the five directions], for the Three Enclosures [the Bright Hall, the Hall of the Circular Moat and the Spiritual Terrace], and for the ceremonies of Serving the Aged and the Great Archery. -XHS 5:19a. It seems probable that such advice was required in the late 50s, as Emperor Ming was establishing these official rituals, so this was presumably not the same man as immediately below.

Lu Chong 魯充. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat at Chang'an in 195, Lu Chong joined Zhong Yao and others in a plot with Yang Feng, an officer of Liu Jue, to kill him. The plan was unsuccessful, but Yang Feng set himself up independently, Li Jue was weakened, and Emperor Xian made his escape to the east soon afterwards. -HHJ 28:336-37.

Lu Chou 陸稠; Kuaiji. Son of Lu Xu, Lu Chou became Inspector of Jing province and then Administrator of Guangling. -HHS 81/71:2683, XTS 73B:2966.

Lu Cui 路粹 [Wenyu 文蔚] (d.219); Chenliu. A student of Cai Yong and a man of literary talent, Lu Cui followed the Han court to and from Chang'an in the 190s, became a member of the Imperial Secretariat and then a senior clerical officer on Cao Cao's staff. In 208 Lu Cui drafted the memorial which accused Kong Rong of Impiety and brought about his execution.

Appointed as an officer of the state library in 219, Lu Cui accompanied Cao Cao on campaign to Hanzhong, but was found guilty of disobeying the sumptuary laws and was executed.

The Heir, Cao Pi, had been very fond of Lu Cui. He wept for him, and when he took the throne in the following year he appointed Lu Cui's sons to senior

clerical office. -SGZ 21:602-03*, HHS 70/60:2278.

Lu Dang 陸黨 see *sub* Lu Yu 陸紆.

Lu Fang 盧芳/方 [Junqi/ji 君期]; Anding. During the later years of Wang Mang, about 20, Lu Fang raised a mixed troop of Chinese, Qiang and Xiongnu based upon Sanshui, by the Yellow River in present-day Ningxia, and he established a local power in Anding and Beidi with support from leading families. When the Gengshi Emperor came to Chang'an in 24 he named Lu Fang Commandant of Cavalry with responsibility for Anding and the west, and after the collapse of the Gengshi regime at the end of 25 Lu Fang took title as Supreme General 上將軍 and King Who Pacifies the West 西平王.

Lu Fang had by this time devised his own genealogy, asserting that his true name was Liu Wenbo 劉文伯 and that he was a great-grandson of Emperor Wu of Former Han, born of his empress who was a Xiongnu princess. According to Lu Fang, he was descended from the third son of this marriage: the eldest was the Heir who died in the case of Witchcraft in 91 BC, and the second became Emperor Xuan. Lu Fang's own ancestor had taken refuge in Anding and refused invitations to return. Lu Fang thus claimed descent from the ruling houses of both Han and the Xiongnu. In fact, the consort of Emperor Wu involved in the Witchcraft case was a woman of the Wei 衛 family, and the rest of the story was equally spurious: Loewe 74:37-90.

Wei Ao and other leaders of the northwest either accepted the claim or pretended to believe it, and Lu Fang allied himself with the Qiang and the Xiongnu. In 26 the Xiongnu Shanyu Yu invited Lu Fang to his capital and enthroned him formally as Emperor of Han. Lu Fang stayed at the Shanyu's court, but sent his younger brother Lu Cheng back to Anding with a troop of Xiongnu cavalry. Faced with the power of Wei Ao, however, who controlled the upper valley of the Wei, they gained no more than a marginal position in the Dependent State of Anding, and Lu Fang was thus increasingly committed to the north and reliant upon the support of the Xiongnu.

In 28 the Shanyu sent a senior officer to the local warlords in Wuyuan and Shuofang, persuading them to accept Lu Fang's claims, and in 29 Li Xing and Min Kan escorted Lu Fang back onto Chinese soil. He set his capital at Jiuyuan, chief city of Wuyuan, near present-day Baotou, and at the end of that year he

repeated the ceremony of accession. Giving titles to his new warlord allies as administrators and magistrates, he held some authority over Shuofang, Wuyuan, Yunzhong, Dingxiang and Yanmen, but he does not appear to have had any position in his homeland of Anding, for the territory south of the Ordos had been absorbed into the interests of Wei Ao and his rival Dou Rong.

In 30 Emperor Guangwu made a diplomatic approach to the Xiongnu, but the Shanyu did not respond well and in the summer of that year, with the support of Xiongnu cavalry, Lu Fang's general Jia Lan attacked Dai, killed Guangwu's Administrator Liu Xing, and seized the commandery. Forced onto the defensive, in 31 Guangwu sought to strengthen his line with military colonies in Yanmen and Taiyuan.

Later that year Lu Fang killed the local chieftain Li Xing, whom he had named as his Administrator of Wuyuan, together with his brothers. He presumably sought to eliminate an ostensible ally of doubtful loyalty, but others now distrusted him. Tian Li of Shuofang and Qiao Hu in Yunzhong made terms with Guangwu, who confirmed them as administrators. The territory under Lu Fang's control thus shifted to the east, with Dingxiang, Dai and northern Yanmen linked through Xiongnu territory to his headquarters in Wuyuan. Guangwu was at that time occupied with Wei Ao, so he made no attempt to take advantage of the new situation. Indeed he withdrew his forces from Yanmen at the beginning of 33 and allowed refugees to settle in Taiyuan.

Then Wei Ao died, and Guangwu was able to concentrate men against Lu Fang. In the summer of 33 the Grand Marshal Wu Han was sent against Dai commandery with fifty thousand men. The attack was defeated by Lu Fang's generals Jia Lan and Min Kan, supported by Xiongnu cavalry and Wu Han returned to Luoyang, leaving defensive garrisons in Yuyang, Zhuo, Changshan and Shanggu. At the end of the year the general Du Mao led another assault, but the Han troops were again driven back by Jia Lan and the Xiongnu cavalry, and when Wu Han tried again in the spring of 34 he was no more successful. The Shanyu was evidently not willing to give Lu Fang the support he needed to challenge Guangwu for the empire, but he had no hesitation in sending such assistance as he needed to hold his position, and the Xiongnu themselves raided regularly along the frontier.

Later in 34 Guangwu formally abolished Dingxiang commandery and transferred refugees into Xihe, and in 35 he combined Shuofang, hitherto a separate entity, with neighbouring Bing province. Guo Ji, new Governor of the enlarged northern province, put a price on Lu Fang's head.

In 36 Lu Fang left his capital to lead an attack from the west on Yunzhong commandery, at the same time as Jia Lan invaded from Dai in the east. Sui Yu, however, Lu Fang's commander at Jiuyuan, was evidently interested in Guo Ji's reward. Subverting a large number of Lu Fang's troops, he attempted to take him captive. Lu Fang escaped, but he was followed by only a few horsemen and was forced to take refuge with the Xiongnu. Jia Lan disappeared, many of Lu Fang's officers changed sides, and Wuyuan, Yanmen and Dai commanderies now came under imperial authority.

The whole of the north, however, was still open to raiding by the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan, and a series of walls and connecting roads marked the retreat of the imperial forces and the capacity of the non-Chinese to live within the nominal border.

In the winter of 39 Lu Fang returned to take up residence with his allies in Dai commandery, but a short time later he unexpectedly sent messengers asking to surrender, and confirmed his submission by offering his imperial seal. Though he still maintained the pretence of imperial descent, it appears Lu Fang may have tired of his border-line game and his non-Chinese allies, while one account claims that the Xiongnu themselves told him to surrender in the hope of obtaining a reward. Guangwu enfeoffed Lu Fang as King of Dai, gave him presents of embroidered silk, and asked him to use his influence to make peace with the Xiongnu.

In fact, Dai commandery was now once more beyond imperial control, and the royal title did no more than recognise Lu Fang's position in the north. Late in 40, moreover, Lu Fang was called to audience for the coming New Year, but as he was on his way to the capital another message ordered him to halt, and advised that the meeting had been postponed twelve months. Angry and concerned at such discourtesy, Lu Fang turned away, and within three months of his nominal submission he was again in rebellion. This time, however, the disturbance was no more than local, and Lu Fang failed to establish a position of his own.

In the summer of 42 Lu Fang left Chinese territory for the last time, as he and his family were escorted to residence under the protection of the Shanyu. He died in Xiongnu territory some ten years later.

As Bielenstein observes, it is difficult to judge the degree to which Lu Fang was a free agent, an imperial candidate sponsored by the Xiongnu, or just a puppet of the Shanyu. In any case, fortunately for China, he never attracted the full support of the Shanyu, and he was an adventurer on the margins of the frontier rather than a serious challenger for central power. -HHS 12/2: 505-08, Bn 67:104-114.

Lu Feng 陸逢; Kuaiji. Son of Lu Xu, Lu Feng became Administrator of Le'an and was a senior officer of the Imperial Secretariat. He was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 81/71:2683.

XTS 73B:2968 attributes five sons to Lu Feng, but only by name, and the chronology is very doubtful.

Lu Fu 魯撫; Youfufeng. Son of the Excellency Lu Gong, in 103 Lu Fu was made a gentleman cadet and then appointed as an officer of the imperial escort. Nothing is known of his later career, and he probably died soon afterwards. -HHS 25/15:878.

Lu Fu 路佛; Taiyuan. In the early 170s the Administrator of Taiyuan, Wang Qiu, admired Lu Fu and wanted to bring him into his office. His officer Wang Yun opposed the idea, for Lu Fu had shown no particular ability. Wang Qiu threatened to kill Wang Yun, but Wang Yun was then called to join the staff of the Inspector Deng Sheng, and Lu Fu was sent away. -HHS 66/56:2172.

Lu Gong 魯恭 [Zhongkang 仲康] (32-112); Youfufeng. A man of family, Lu Gong's grandfather Kuang 匡 had been a noted minister under Wang Mang. Lu Gong's father became Administrator of Wuling under Emperor Guangwu, but died in office when Lu Gong was only twelve, and he and his seven-year-old brother Pi were admired for their extravagant display of mourning.

In 46, at the age of fifteen, Lu Gong went with Pi and their mother to the Imperial University at Luoyang, where he studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu. Both young men were noted for their devotion to learning and numbers of other students came to attend them. The Excellency Zhao Xi sent one of his sons each year to present wine and food, but they always refused the gifts. Lu Gong was concerned to see Pi established before he took any office himself, so he pleaded ill health when invited.

When the commandery administration sent repeated and most courteous requests, and his mother also added her pleas, he left for the west and maintained private teaching in Jingzhao.

Eventually, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, Lu Pi received nomination, and Lu Gong then accepted local office in his commandery. Zhao Xi, now Grand Tutor, promptly appointed him to his own staff, and in 79 Lu Gong took part in the imperial council on the Confucian classics at the White Tiger Hall.

On further recommendation from Zhao Xi, Lu Gong received a special invitation and was appointed magistrate of Zhongmou in Henan. He governed by example, avoided using punishments, and persuaded some of the most recalcitrant litigants to yield their claims. In 82 a wide-spread plague of locusts destroyed crops in all the surrounding territories, but Lu Gong's county was spared. The Intendant Yuan An heard of this but did not believe it, and he sent his officer Fei Qin to check the story. Fei Qin found it was true and was amazed at Lu Gong's influence for good. A young boy refused to harm a nesting pheasant, snakes avoided the territory, and that same year the auspicious grain 嘉禾 appeared in Lu Gong's residence.

Yuan An gave him special commendation and reported to the throne. Emperor Zhang was duly impressed, and he later accepted Lu Gong's nomination of the local scholar Wang Fang for office. The people of Zhongmou celebrated his rule by setting up a shrine and a stele which recorded how his virtues extended even to the wild beasts [LS 20:4b-5a].

Lu Gong resigned his office when his mother died about 85, but he was later appointed to the Imperial Censorate. Generous in his support of others, he nonetheless exposed any wrong-doing.

In 88, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor He, Dou Xian the brother of the regent Dowager proposed to attack the Northern Xiongnu. Lu Gong sent in a strong memorial against the plan. He argued that the current famine in China deserved chief attention, that peace should be preferred to warfare, that it was immoral to seek advantage from the present weakness of the Xiongnu, that non-Chinese should not live mixed among the Han people and, finally, that earlier attempts had shown how the difficulties and distances of the steppe made an expedition dangerous and unlikely to achieve long-term success. His advice was not followed and the great campaign duly took place.

Appointed Academician for the New Text Lu interpretation of *Poetry* at the Imperial University, Lu Gong did a great deal to revive scholarship in that field. He then became a Palace Attendant, with his advice sought frequently by the emperor, and then went out as Chancellor of Le'an.

There were many bandits in the east at this time, but Lu Gong presented such a model of virtue and good will that the chieftain Zhang Han came with his followers to surrender. Lu Gong named Zhang Han a county commandant, and as the other leaders fought among themselves they were attacked and destroyed. The whole region was settled.

In 97 Lu Gong was brought back to the capital. Initially he was only a Consultant, but after Emperor He gave him special precedence at a banquet he was appointed as a Palace Attendant, and at the end of the year he became Minister of the Household. His recommendations for office were honest and fair, and none of the great families at the capital could influence him.

In 101 Lu Gong became Excellency over the Masses. In the following year he was sent to take the seal and ribbon from the deposed Empress Yin, and in 103 he accompanied Emperor He on tour to Nanyang. His son Lu Fu was made a gentleman cadet and then appointed as an officer of the imperial escort. As Lu Pi was a Palace Attendant at this time, three members of the family now held rank at court.

In 104 Lu Gong was involved in the disgrace of his kinsman Lu Bing, Commandant of Hongnong. He was obliged to leave office, but when the Young Emperor Liu Long came to the throne in 106 Lu Gong became Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the regent Dowager Deng. In the following year, under the new Emperor An, he was restored as Excellency over the Masses.

A strong moralist, Lu Gong was concerned at the increasing Legalist influence upon government. During the reign of Emperor He an ordinance of 103 had provided that judgements of minor offences could be carried out in summer rather than waiting for autumn. The intention was to speed the administration of justice and ease the lot of prisoners awaiting trial, but local authorities took the opportunity to hasten the application of penalties and some even carried out executions for major offences during the summer. Soon after his re-appointment as an Excellency in

107, Lu Gong sent in a memorial urging that, as in ancient tradition, penalties should be inflicted only in autumn or winter. At a court conference called to discuss the whole question of timing, he emphasised that the well-meant reforms had been misinterpreted by junior officials, so that cases were not being investigated properly, while disruption of the natural cycle of the seasons not only interfered with farming but also brought bad weather and crop failures. The government agreed to revert to the original pattern.

During his two terms as an Excellency, Lu Gong recommended only men of the highest quality, regardless of family background; dozens of his nominees rose to high rank. At the same time, he was modest and reserved, preferring to gain his ends quietly and by indirection, so he was not widely praised as a man of heroic principle. He retired in 109 on account of old age and ill health, and died three years later. - *HHS* 25/15:873-82*, *XHS* 2:15a-16a; Hulsewé 55:106, Loewe 86C:304.

Lu Gong 陸宮 (d.145); Danyang. A bandit chieftain and an associate of Yu Lai, in 145 Lu Gong was defeated by the Administrator Jiang Han. - *HHS* 6:278.

Lu Hong 陸閭 [Zichun 子春]; Kuaiji. Member of an ancient and distinguished family, Lu Hong served as Director of the Secretariat under Emperor Guangwu. A handsome man, he regularly wore plain clothes of Yue 越 cloth from his homeland. The emperor admired the material and ordered that tax from Kuaiji should thereafter be paid in that fabric.

Lu Hong later became Administrator of Yingchuan, where his government was celebrated by the visit of phoenixes 鳳凰 and by sweet dew 甘露. - *HHS* 81/71:2682, *XC* 5:15a-b, *XTS* 73B:2965. *XC* describes Lu Hong as a man of Wu, but this is an anachronism, for the commandery was not separated from Kuaiji until 129; the family did, however, come from Wu county.

Lu Hong 盧洪. About 214 Lu Hong and Zhao Ta were Examiners in the kingdom of Wei; this new style of appointment probably represents an attempt by Cao Cao to establish a Censorate in the central government over personal conduct and the sumptuary laws. When their activities were criticised by the regular official Gao Rou, Cao Cao initially argued that the men were suited to their task, but he later found they were indeed corrupt. Lu Hong and Zhao Ta were executed. - *SGZ* 24:684.

Lu Huan 陸桓 [Shuwen 叔文]; Kuaiji. Son of Lu

Hong, Lu Huan died comparatively young. - *XTS* 73B:2965, *HHS* 81/71:2682 [which tells how his son, Lu Xu, was orphaned as a child].

Lu Huan 陸桓, wife of; Kuaiji. Wife and widow of Lu Huan, the Lady was the mother of Lu Xu. She had a distinctive manner of cutting food when she cooked, which her son recognised when he was in prison. - *HHS* 81/71:2682-83.

Lu Ji 魯奇. In 35 Lu Ji was a lieutenant-general in the army of Han commanded by Cen Peng, who was planning an assault on the defences on the Yangzi established by Gongsun Shu's general Tian Rong. Cen Peng offered rewards to whoever was first to reach the floating fortress bridge, which was guarded by a palisade of stakes set in the river. Lu Ji gathered a force of volunteers and, aided by a strong monsoon wind from the east which drove their boats upstream against the current, he led the attack. Blocked by the stakes in the river, they drove forward over the dead bodies of their comrades. Reaching the bridge, they set it on fire and opened the way for Peng Cen and his fleet to destroy the enemy.

Though the text is not specific, Bielenstein says that Lu Ji died in this enterprise. Certainly, the casualties were heavy, the leader's death is likely, and Lu Ji does not appear again. - *HHS* 17/7:661; Bn 59:189.

Lu Ji 陸績 [Gongji 公紀] (188-219); Wu. Son of Lu Kang and a precocious youth, Lu Ji was an expert in calendrical calculations. Despite the fact that Sun Ce had fought his father, Lu Ji joined Sun Quan's administrative staff in the early 200s, and became Administrator of Yulin and a lieutenant-general in his service. He then suffered ill health, and though he continued in office he concentrated upon the study of the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*], writing a commentary to the *Book of Changes* and to the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery" by Yang Xiong 楊雄, and compiling *Yuntian tu* 憚天圖, a chart of the heavens. As an astronomer, Lu Ji was compared to the great Zhang Heng, and he constructed an armillary sphere which developed his principles further.

It is said that Lu Ji foretold the day of his own death. - *SGZ* Wu 12:1328-29*; Needham 59:359, Mather 76:554.

Lu Jun 魯峻 [Zhongyan 仲巖] (112-172); Shanyang. A man of family, whose father and grandfather both held commissioned appointment in the imperial service, Lu Jun studied the New Text Lu school of the

Classic of Poetry and the Zhuang/Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu*. Having served as a local officer in his commandery and in Yu province, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after a period of probation as a gentleman cadet he became an Internuncio and then Assistant to the Administrator of Henei.

Lu Jun left office at the death of his father, but was later appointed to the offices of the Excellencies, graded First Class and became an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. He was then a county magistrate in Dong commandery, and after four years he was promoted to be Administrator of Jiujiang; in both places he was admired for his honest and humane government.

Returning to the capital as a Consultant, Lu Jun became Chief Clerk to the Grand Commandant, transferred to be Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, and in 164 he was made Director of Retainers. After a period of successful service, he resigned once more on the death of his mother.

Lu Jun later returned to office, again as a Consultant, and then as a colonel in the Northern Army. He left office on grounds of ill health, and died at the end of 172, aged sixty-one. He was buried in the following year, and more than three hundred gentlemen from different states and commanderies acknowledged themselves as his students [門生 *mensheng*] and set up a stele in his honour. -LS 9:4b-7a, LX 12:22a-23a, Nagata 94:202-04.

Lu Jun 陸駿 [Jicai 季才]; Wu. Son of Lu Yu, Lu Jun was admired for his generosity to his retainers and clients. About 188 Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha crossed his borders to aid a nephew of Lu Kang, Administrator of Lujiang, against local rebels; this magistrate may have been Lu Jun.

About 190, probably reflecting the territorial ambitions of his uncle Lu Kang, Lu Jun was named Commandant of Jiujiang. He died soon afterwards. -SGZ Wu 13:1343, 1:1096.

XTS 73B:2968 says that Lu Jun was at some time an Academician.

Lu Jun 陸儁; Wu. Son of Lu Kang, in 195 he was named a gentleman cadet by the court at Chang'an in recognition of his father's heroic but unsuccessful defence of Lujiang. -HHS 31/21:1114.

Lu Kai 陸凱 [Jingfeng 敬風]; (198-269); Wu. A younger cousin of Lu Xun, Lu Kai was a noted scholar of the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*] and of divination. He became a high-ranking military and civil officer

under Sun Quan and his successors. -SGZ Wu 16:1399-1403*; Mather 76:555.

Lu Kang 陸康 [Jining 季寧]; Kuaiji/Wu. Son of Lu Bao and member of a noted local family, Lu Kang was born about 125. A successful officer in the commandery, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Li Su. Li Su was later executed for cowardice, but Lu Kang escorted his body home to Yingchuan and carried out full mourning. He was admired for his loyalty.

Recommended as Abundant Talent by the Inspector Zang Min, Lu Kang became a magistrate in Bohai. The county had been considered a frontier territory, and there was therefore a local military levy, but Lu Kang ended it and maintained good order by honest and generous government. He was repeatedly commended for his work.

About 180 Lu Kang was Administrator of Wuling, then of Guiyang and of Le'an. From this last, about 185 he sent in a memorial protesting the extravagance and corruption involved in the project of Emperor Ling and his eunuchs for rebuilding the palaces at Luoyang. He was criticised for making analogies with bad rulers of the past, and his crime was categorised as Great Disrespect, a mortal offence, but the censor Liu Dai wrote on his behalf and Lu Kang suffered only dismissal.

Lu Kang returned home, but later went back to the capital as a Consultant. About 188 he was sent as Administrator to Lujiang, where he put down the rebel chieftain Huang Rang. As the empire fell into turmoil in the early 190s, Lu Kang maintained connection to the court of Emperor Xian, sending reports and tribute. He was named a general and raised in rank.

When Yuan Shu was driven south into Jiujiang by Cao Cao in 193, he sought provisions and supplies from Lu Kang but was refused. He then sent troops, at some time commanded by Sun Ce, to attack Lujiang. After two years siege in his capital, with heavy losses among his followers and kinsmen, Lu Kang surrendered, probably in 195. He died a month later, aged seventy. -HHS 31/21:1112-14*, XC 1:10b; Ch'ü 72:320-321, deC 90:155-156.

Lu Kuang 魯匡 [Gongfu 公輔]; Liang. Son of an Administrator, Lu Kuang became a county magistrate in Qinghe. He was commemorated with a stele at his tomb. -SJJ 22:16a.

Lu Lei 陸類 see Lulei 陸類.

Lu Li 陸颯 see *sub* Lu Yu 陸紆.

Lu Liang 陸梁. Probably in 189, Lu Liang was chief of a group of bandits in Yang province. The censorial officer Zhang Na was sent against him, and Lu Liang was destroyed. -LS 5:10b-15a.

Lu Mao 陸瑁 [Zizhang 子璋] (d.239); Wu. Son of Lu Jun and younger brother of Lu Xun, who became Chancellor of the imperial state of Wu, Lu Mao was known for his scholarship. He respected and supported colleagues who came to the south as refugees, and cared also for the children of his uncle Lu Ji and the gentleman Xu Yuan.

Lu Mao initially refused invitations to office, but joined Sun Quan's Secretariat in 232; he warned him against wasting resources in an attack on Gongsun Yuan in Liaodong. -SGZ Wu 12:1336-38*.

Lu Nu 盧奴; Zhongshan. Administrator of Nanyang in 163, Lu Nu built a temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -LS 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Lu Nüsheng 魯女生; Chenliu. Lu Nüsheng was a contemporary of the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo in the latter part of the second century AD, but he spoke so naturally and in such detail of the time of Emperor Ming, a hundred years earlier, that people believed he must have been alive at that time. Despite his age he had a flourishing, youthful appearance and could easily walk a hundred miles in a single day.

Lu Nüsheng's longevity was initially ascribed to a special cake of sesame or linseed, but a number of supernatural tales gathered about him. In particular, it was said that a goddess had presented him with a copy of *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 "Veritable Images of the Five Sacred Peaks." These mystical diagrams, also known as *Wuyue tu* 五岳圖, served as a talisman against misfortune, particularly for travellers, and modern copies may still be seen: e.g. Ngo 76:112. [Another tradition says that the symbols were presented to Emperor Wu of Former Han by the Queen Mother of the West 西王母.]

Lu Nüsheng disappeared in the early 190s. It was said that he had achieved apotheosis on the sacred Mount Hua, and a temple was erected there in his honour. -HHS 82/72B:2740-41; Ngo 76:127.

Lu Pi 魯丕 [Shuling 叔陵] (37-111); Youfufeng. A man of family, Lu Pi's grandfather Kuang 匡 was a noted minister under Wang Mang. Lu Pi's father became Administrator of Wuling under Emperor

Guangwu, but died in office when Lu Pi was only seven. Lu Pi and his elder brother Gong were admired for their extravagant display of mourning.

In 46, at the age of ten, Lu Pi went with Gong and their mother to the Imperial University at Luoyang. Like his brother, he studied the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Lu, but he was also expert on the *History* and had a good knowledge of all the classics. Devoted to learning, Lu Pi had small time for social contact, but he did teach privately and was recognised as one of the leading scholars of his day. He later returned to his home country, where he became an Investigator and then Officer of Merit in the commandery.

In 76, when the new Emperor Zhang called for nominations of Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, the minister Liu Kuan recommended Lu Pi. Assessed as the best of a hundred candidates, he was appointed a Consultant and then a county magistrate in Nanyang. After just one year, he received the highest grading from the provincial office, and he was promoted to be Inspector of Qing. Lu Pi was concerned to promote good men and reluctant to inflict punishment, but in 82 he was found guilty of some crime and was sentenced to two years convict labour.

In 84 Lu Pi was recalled to office and became Chancellor of Zhao. He continued to teach more than a hundred students, and he was celebrated throughout the east of the empire for his knowledge of the classics. The king Liu Shang was evidently a superstitious man, and on one occasion he sought to avoid an illness by taking up residence in the offices for education. When Lu Pi refused permission, Liu Shang appealed to the emperor. Lu Pi argued that man's fate did not depend on such niceties as site, and the king's request confused the proper barriers. The court agreed, and when Emperor Zhang came on tour to the east Lu Pi was granted a special audience and was rewarded.

In 90 Lu Pi was transferred to be Administrator of Dong commandery, and then to Chenliu. In each territory he encouraged irrigation to improve the people's livelihood, and he sought out and recommended worthy gentlemen for office. After three years in Chenliu, however, he was found to have made a false nomination, and was again sent to two years convict service.

In 99 Lu Pi was once more recalled to office, and became a Palace Counsellor. The Palace Attendant Jia

Kui recommended him as an intelligent man, worthy of high office, and Emperor He invited him to take part in debate with a group of scholars at court, including Jia Kui and Huang Xiang, Director of the Imperial Secretariat. Impressed with Lu Pi's arguments, the emperor awarded him a suit of special robes, and Lu Pi responded with an eloquent memorial. In 101 Lu Pi became a Palace Attendant, but retired some time later.

In 108 the new regent government of the Dowager Deng called for nominations of learned men, and her brother the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi recommended Lu Pi. He became Palace Attendant once more, was made a General of the Household, and was honoured as Thrice Venerable, a central figure in the annual ceremony of Serving the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat. He died in office at the age of seventy-five. -HHS 25/15:883-85*.

Lu Ping 魯平. Administrator of Chenliu in the 90s, Lu Ping invited the scholar recluse Li Chong to become his Officer of Merit. When Li Chong refused, Lu Ping became angry: he had him arrested at his school and forced him to act as headman at the county capital.

Some years later Li Chong and Lu Ping were both Academicians at the Imperial University. Whenever they met, Lu Ping paid respects to Li Chong. -HHS 81/71:2685.

Lu Qi 鹿旗 became Administrator of Ba commandery. -FSTY 6f:137.

Lu Qian 魯謙; Youfufeng. Son of the Excellency Lu Gong, Lu Qian became a gentleman cadet and was later a well-reputed Administrator of Longxi. -HHS 25/15:883.

Lu Qian 陸謙; Kuaiji. XTS 73B:2966 says that Lu Qian was a son of Lu Chou and a brother of Lu Su.

Lu Qin 盧禽; Anding. Elder brother of the pretender Lu Fang, in 26 he accompanied him to the court of the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu, where Lu Fang was enthroned as Emperor of Han. He may have remained in the north as a partial hostage, but he is not heard of again. -HHS 12/2:506.

Lu Run 路潤. In 29, as Wang Ba and the general Ma Wu were besieging Liu Yu and his supporter Zhou Jian at Chuihui in Pei, their ally Su Mao came to the relief. He captured Ma Wu's baggage, and Zhou Jian and Liu Yu then made a sortie which put Ma Wu to flight.

Wang Ba held his men back until the enemy had committed themselves to pursuit but then sent Lu Run

and a few dozen volunteers from the rear of his camp to attack the enemy. Having cut off their hair to show their zeal, Lu Run and his comrades took the enemy by surprise and drove them away in disorder. -HHS 20/10:736; Bn 59:220.

Lu Shang 陸尚; Kuaiji. Grandson of Lu Kang, about 189 Lu Shang was named a gentleman cadet in reward for Lu Kang's success as Administrator of Lujiang. He was the first husband of the Lady Xu V, future concubine of Sun Quan, but died about 200. -HHS 31/21:1114, SGZ Wu 5:1197.

Lu Su 魯肅 [Zijing 子敬] (172-217); Xiapi. A man of wealthy family, Lu Su's father died when he was born and Lu Su was brought up by his grandmother. By the time he came of age the country was increasingly disturbed, and for his part Lu Su was both disorganised and extravagant. Within a few years he had lost much of his estates, but he had an excellent reputation for his patronage of scholars and his generosity to the poor.

When Zhou Yu, then in the service of Yuan Shu, came on a foraging expedition about 198, Lu Su invited him to take the contents of one of his two granaries. Zhou Yu was impressed, and the two men became close friends. Yuan Shu appointed him magistrate of his home county, but Lu Su foresaw his failure. young men and trained them in the use of arms collected many of the people and led them to join Zhou Yu and go to the south of the Yangzi; at one stage of the journey he was threatened by provincial troops, but drove them off with arrows.

Having brought the group to Danyang, Lu Su returned to his home country for the funeral of his grandmother, then returned to the south. He was uncertain whether to remain, but Zhou Yu introduced him to Sun Quan, whom he impressed by his plans to establish a state, based on the middle and lower Yangzi, which might remain its independence of the north. Zhang Zhao believed Lu Su was over-confident, but Sun Quan showed him favour and gave such gifts that he was wealthy once more. He became a confidential adviser and agent.

When Liu Biao died in 208, Sun Quan sent Lu Su to Jing province, ostensibly to bear condolences but in fact to spy out the situation. As Cao Cao came forward and Liu Biao's son and successor Liu Zong prepared to surrender, Lu Su told the *condottiere* Liu Bei that Sun Quan might support him against the invader. He returned to the south, and when Cao Cao called for

surrender he persuaded Sun Quan to call Zhou Yu, and they determined on the strategy which led to the victory of the Red Cliffs.

As Zhou Yu was dying in 210, he nominated Lu Su to succeed him in command in the west. Lu Su's command, however, was only that of a colonel, he lacked Zhou Yu's prestige and authority, and he was concerned at the exposed nature of the territory in Jing province. He therefore persuaded Sun Quan to grant or "loan" Nan commandery to Liu Bei and himself became Administrator of Hanchang, a new commandery set up from the north of divided Changsha, facing Liu Bei's holdings. As a lieutenant-general he took part in the capture of Lujiang in 214, and he was then promoted to full general.

In 215, after Liu Bei had taken over in Yi province, Sun Quan sought "compensation" on the middle Yangzi, notably by the return of the alleged "loan" of Nan commandery which had been negotiated five years earlier. Liu Bei was unwilling, and Lu Su then faced Guan Yu while Lü Meng led a detached force to seize the southern commanderies. The confrontation did not result in full-scale war, and a new agreement allocated more territory to Sun Quan and set the Xiang River as the frontier of the two warlord states.

Two years later Lu Su died. He was mourned by Zhuge Liang in Shu-Han, and when Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 he gave credit to Lu Su's long-term planning. On another occasion, he compared Lu Su unfavourably to Zhou Yu and to Lü Meng for his advice to cede part of Jing province to Liu Bei in 210; but in the circumstances of that time Lu Su's advice was probably best. It was only later, when Guan Yu over-extended himself to the north, that Lü Meng and Sun Quan had an opportunity not available before. - *SGZ* Wu 9:1267-72*; *deC* 90:303-310, 373-375.

Lu Su 陸肅; Kuaiji. *XTS* 73B:2966 says that Lu Su, son of Lu Chou and a brother of Lu Qian, was a county magistrate in Danyang.

Lu Wen 陸溫; Kuaiji. *XTS* 73B:2965 says that Lu Wen was a son of Lu Hong.

Lu Xu 陸續 [Zhichu 智初/知初]; Kuaiji. Son of Lu Huan and grandson of Lu Hong, Lu Xu was orphaned when he was young. He became a clerk in the commandery, and when the harvest failed one year he was sent to issue gruel. The Administrator Yin Xing was impressed by his careful report on each of the six hundred people who received rations. Lu Xu then

became Attendant Officer of Yang province, but left on grounds of illness and returned to the commandery staff.

During investigation of the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu, in 70, Yin Xing's name appeared on a list. He was taken to prison at Luoyang, while five hundred of his officers, including Lu Xu, were also brought in for interrogation. Fiercely tortured, more than half succumbed and died, but Lu Xu refused to change his plea of innocence.

Lu Xu's mother had followed him to the capital, and though she could not let him know she was there, she contrived to send in food for him. Despite his suffering, Lu Xu had shown no emotion, but when he saw the dish of food he wept, explaining that he knew it was from his mother because of the neat cubes of meat and the way she cut the vegetables using her thumb as a measure. Enquiries were made, and she was indeed waiting outside.

Impressed by such filial recognition, the prison officers reported the matter, and Emperor Ming pardoned Lu Xu and his fellows. Though they were proscribed from office for life, they were able to return home and Lu Xu died old. -*HHS* 81/71:2682-83*, *XC* 5:15b, *XTS* 73B:2966; Bn 67:34, Bn 76:50.

Lu Xu 魯旭 (d.192); Youfufeng. Possibly a son of Lu Qian, Lu Xu served as Administrator in several commanderies and then became Minister Coachman. In 190 he accompanied the court to Chang'an, and in 192 he joined the conspiracy led by Wang Yun which destroyed Dong Zhuo. As Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo captured the capital later that year, Wang Yun and Lu Xu were both killed. -*HHS* 25/15:883, *SGZ* 6:182.

HHS 95/5:3121 LC quotes a description by Cai Zhi of the enthronement of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling in 171. One of the participants in the ceremony was a member of the Imperial Secretariat who is cited only by his personal name of Xu. In *HHSJJ* at 3528, Hui Dong suggests that this may refer to Lu Xu.

Lu Xun 陸遜 [Boxin 伯信] (183-245); Wu. Son of Lu Jun 駿, his original personal name was Yi 議. His parents died when he was young, and Lu Xun accompanied his great-uncle Lu Kang to Lujiang. In 194, as Yuan Shu came to attack, Lu Kang sent Lu Xun and other members of his family back to their home country in Wu. Several years older than Kang's son Lu Ji, Lu Xun acted as his guardian.

Early in the 200s Lu Xun joined Sun Quan's staff, first at headquarters, then in command of military colonies north of Hangzhou Bay. By issuing grain in time of shortage, and encouraging agriculture, he attracted people from the wilderness, and he defeated the rebel bandit Pan Lin.

In 216 Lu Xun accompanied He Qi in his attack on You Tu in Poyang in Yuzhang. He was then made a colonel, stationed on the Yangzi near Sun Quan's capital Jianye, and married a daughter of Sun Ce. To consolidate the power and resources of the government, he encouraged the policy of expansion against Chinese escapees and the non-Chinese of the south. As Sun Quan approved the strategy, Lu Xun attacked the renegade Fei Zhan in Danyang and settled the hill country of the southeast.

In 219 Lü Meng and Sun Quan made secret plans to attack Guan Yu in Jing province, and as part of the deception, Lü Meng pretended to be ill and came back to Jianye. Not knowing his true intention, Lu Xun urged him to strike against Guan Yu, echoing the strategy which was already underway. Impressed by such energy and imagination, Lü Meng recommended he be given command in the west.

From this new position, Lu Xun wrote courteous and even obsequious letters to deceive Guan Yu. Then, as Guan Yu was committed in the north against Wei, Lü Meng came from behind with the main attack, while Lu Xun moved directly west. He defeated and forced the surrender of Liu Bei's local commanders, seized the entrance to the Gorges and so cut the lines of communication up the Yangzi to Yi province.

Lu Xun was made a general, enfeoffed as a marquis, and given military authority over Jing province. In 221, as Liu Bei came down the Gorges with a great army to avenge Guan Yu and retake the territory, Sun Quan appointed Lu Xun as Commander-in-Chief 大都督 with the Staff of Authority.

Several senior officers were jealous of his promotion, and many urged him to counter-attack quickly, but Lu Xun waited through spring and summer until Liu Bei had extended a line of camps along the banks of the Yangzi. He then attacked from the flanks with fire. His victory was dramatic and decisive, much of the enemy force was destroyed, and quantities of equipment were taken. Liu Bei himself barely avoided capture, and his northern column was compelled to flee north and surrender to Wei.

Lu Xun now held great power, not only through his military command in Jing province, but also as Sun Quan's closest adviser. As Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229, Lu Xun became guardian to the Heir Sun Deng, and in 244 he was made Imperial Chancellor, still with authority in the west. In the following year, now aged in his early 60s, he was reprimanded for supporting the Heir Sun He 和 against his brother and rival Sun Ba 霸: angry and indignant, he died.

The Lu family continued its prosperity through the history of the state of Wu and the dynasty of Jin. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1343-54*; deC 90:334-339, 419-424, 502-503, Mather 76:555.

Lu Xun 陸遜, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 VII.

Lu Yi 陸議 see Lu Xun 陸遜.

Lu Yin 陸惇 see *sub* Lu Yu 陸紆.

Lu Yu 陸紆 [Shupan 叔盤]; Kuaiji/Wu. Son of Lu Bao and a substantial scholar, Lu Yu became Colonel of the City Gates at Luoyang. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1343.

XTS 73B:2968 says that Lu Yu had five sons: Dang 黨, Yin 惇, Li 颯, Yun 贇 and Jun 駿. Jun was the father of Lu Xun, minister of Wu, but nothing is recorded of the others.

Lu Yu 盧毓 [Zijia 子家] (183-257); Zhuo. Lu Yu's father Lu Zhi died when Li Yu was ten, and his two elder brothers also perished in the early stages of the civil war at the end of Han. During the famine which accompanied the fighting between Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan in the 190s, Lu Yu cared for his brothers' widows and children, while he also became known as a scholar. In 211 he was appointed to the suite of Cao Pi.

Lu Yu then served as Registrar in the administration for Ji province, the fief territory of Cao Cao. When a man of leading family fled from Cao Cao's jurisdiction, it was required by regulations that the Lady Bo his wife should be executed, but Lu Yu argued she should be spared, for the marriage was recent and she had never lived with her husband. Impressed by his erudition, Cao Cao accepted the advice. He took Lu Yu onto his staff in the office of Imperial Chancellor, and in 216 Lu Yu joined the Secretariat of the royal state of Wei.

Lu Yu held senior provincial positions under the government of Cao Pi, returning to the Secretariat under Cao Rui; his recommendation was critical for senior appointments. In 239, out of favour with Cao Shuang, he was demoted to a ministry, but was restored and enfeoffed by Sima Yi. In 256 Lu Yu was made an

Excellency, but he died in the following year. -SGZ 22: 650-52*, JS 44:1255.

Lu Yun 陸贄 see *sub* Lu Yu 陸紆.

Lu Zhao 路招. An officer of Cao Cao, as Yuan Shu was attempting to leave the south in the summer of 199 and join his kinsman Yuan Shao in the north, Lu Zhao was sent with his colleague Zhu Ling to support Liu Bei in intercepting him. Then Yuan Shu died, and Zhu Ling and Lu Zhao went back to the north, leaving Liu Bei in charge of Xu province. Liu Bei rebelled soon afterwards.

As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Lu Zhao was given command over one of seven divisions in Nanyang under the Area Commander Zhao Yan. In 212 Lu Zhao and Zhu Ling were at Chang'an under the command of Xiahou Yuan in operations against the remnants of the north-western warlords. -SGZ 9:270, 23:668, SGZ Shu 2:874.

Lu Zhao 陸昭. Assistant Administrator of Kuaiji for Sun Ce in the late 190s, Lu Zhao arranged a meeting with the hermit scholar Gao Dai to discuss *Zuo zhuan*. The occasion went very badly. -SGZ Wu 1:1109.

Lu Zhi 路芝. A county magistrate in Qi in the middle 150s, Lu Zhi committed a number of faults. Then a son killed the murderer of his father in a vendetta; the Administrator Qiao Xuan was going to pardon him for his filial piety, but Lu Zhi executed him. Knowing Qiao Xuan would be angry, he tried to run away, but was caught and flogged by bastinado until he died. -XC 2:15b, HHSJJ 51/41:1831.

Lu Zhi 盧植 [Zihan 子幹] (d.192); Zhuo. Eight feet two inches tall [190 cm], with a deep, bell-like voice, Lu Zhi studied both Old and New Text Confucianism under Ma Rong. Noted for morality, he disliked frivolous essays and rhapsodies, and though Ma Rong led an active private life he admired Lu Zhi's self-control; Lu Zhi, on the other hand, had great capacity for wine. Refusing several nominations for office, he taught at home as a private scholar, but in 168 he presented a memorial criticising the General-in-Chief Dou Wu for awarding fiefs to himself and his family.

About 170 Lu Zhi came to the University as an Academician, and he compiled commentaries to the *Classic of History* and to *Ritual*. He supported and shared in the project of Cai Yong and others to engrave a definitive edition of the classics, including *History* and *Ritual*, onto stone.

Lu Zhi's scholarly work was interrupted in 175

when he was appointed Administrator of Jiujiang to deal with rebellion among the non-Chinese. He resigned on account of ill health, but his record as an honest and generous ruler meant that he was entrusted soon afterwards with a similar mission to Lujiang.

About this time, probably in 177, the court commissioned a further instalment of the dynastic history *Han ji* 漢記. Lu Zhi was named a Consultant and appointed to the committee, whose other members were Ma Midi, Cai Yong, Yang Biao and Han Yue. The work included annals for emperors An and Shun, for the infants Chong and Zhi and for Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. It was at this time that the history acquired the name *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, from the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 of the Southern Palace where the library and workrooms were located.

Lu Zhi later became a Palace Attendant and then joined the Imperial Secretariat. In 178 he used the occasion of an eclipse to urge pardon for members of the Proscribed Faction, and he criticised the current procedures for appointment, including Emperor Ling's policy of selling offices for the benefit of his private treasury. His advice was not well received.

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, Lu Zhi was commissioned as General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North with the Staff of Authority, commanding a force made up of troops from the Northern Army, the strategic reserve at the capital, Wuhuan auxiliaries and militia levies. He attacked Zhang Jue, killed or captured over ten thousand of the rebels and drove their leaders to refuge at Guangzong city in Julu. As he was preparing equipment to storm the place, however, he was slandered by the eunuch Zuo Feng, to whom he had refused to pay a bribe and who now reported that Lu Zhi had no will to fight. Emperor Ling ordered his recall and arrest; he was brought to the capital in a cage cart, and was sentenced to death less one degree.

A few months later Huangfu Song, victor over the Yellow Turbans, urged Lu Zhi's merits and achievements and obtained his release. Lu Zhi once more entered the Secretariat.

Following the death of Emperor Ling in 189, Lu Zhi warned the General-in-Chief He Jin against bringing Dong Zhuo to the capital. When He Jin was killed, Lu Zhi prevented the eunuchs from seizing the Dowager, and when they sought to escape with the

young emperor Liu Bian and his brother Liu Xie, he went in pursuit. Supported by a posse under Min Gong, he brought the imperial children back to Luoyang.

Dong Zhuo seized power and announced his intention to replace the Little Emperor by his younger half-brother, the future Emperor Xian. Lu Zhi spoke against the proposal, and without intervention by his old colleague and friend Cai Yong, now in Dong Zhuo's favour, he would have been killed.

Now aged almost sixty and suffering from illness, Lu Zhi fled from Luoyang. Dong Zhuo sent men after him, but he escaped into the hill country north of his home in Zhuo. He lived there in seclusion; the warlord Governor Yuan Shao asked him to act as his military adviser, but he took no further part in affairs.

When Lu Zhi died in 192, he ordered his family to bury him in the simplest fashion, in a plain shroud without a coffin. He left a quantity of essays, inscriptions, memorials and historical writings, and he was celebrated as a fine Confucian. As Cao Cao passed that way in 207 he had ceremonies held at Lu Zhi's tomb. -HHS 64/54:2113-19*.

Lu [Zhongweng] 路仲翁. A fine scholar, Lu Zhongweng stayed at home, but students came long distances to attend his teaching. He was later an Academician at the University in Luoyang. -XC 6:14a.

Lu'er 盧兒 "Black Boy" see Yin Li 尹禮.

Lü 呂 [personal name unknown] (161-221); Nanyang. A general of Wei who served against Guan Yu in 219, he was rewarded with enfeoffment and commemorated with a stele at his death. -LS 19:14b-16b.

Lü Ba 呂霸; Runan. After Lü Meng's death in 219, Sun Quan gave three hundred families and a quantity of land to his son Lü Ba, so he could care for his tomb. -SGZ Wu 9:1280.

Lü Bing 呂并. A settler in an agricultural colony in Youfufeng, about 210 Lü Bing led a rebellion, occupied the city of Chencang, and proclaimed himself a general. Cao Cao's Area Commander Zhao Yan brought an army and destroyed him. -SGZ 23:669.

Lü Bo 呂勃. In 144 Lü Bo was a Counsellor Remonstrant. Following the death of Emperor Shun in that year, the regent government of his Dowager Liang proposed that his funerary tablet should be given a higher position than that of his short-lived predecessor the Young Emperor Liu Long, an infant who reigned just a few months in 106. This would mean that in a future generation Liu Long's tablet would be removed

first.

The Minister of Ceremonies Ma Fang endorsed the idea, but Lü Bo argued that the proper order should be kept, and when the matter was opened for discussion at court the Minister Herald Zhou Ju agreed with him. The precedence was therefore maintained in order of chronology and dynastic descent. -HHS 61/51:2029-30.

Lü Bu 呂布 [Fengxian 奉先] (d.198); Wuyuan. An expert horseman, archer and fighting man, Lü Bu became the protégé of the military commander Ding Yuan, joined his staff and accompanied him to Luoyang in 189. When Dong Zhuo seized power, he was concerned about Ding Yuan's influence, but persuaded Lü Bu to kill his patron.

Lü Bu then became a confidant of Dong Zhuo and commanded his bodyguard. He was granted enfeoffment and they took oath as father and son. As the capital was moved to Chang'an in 190, Lü Bu was sent to plunder the imperial tombs about Luoyang. In 191 his disruptive conduct caused his commander Hu Zhen to be defeated by Sun Jian, and he was in turn defeated by Sun Jian and driven from Luoyang.

Dong Zhuo sometimes swore at Lü Bu, and on one occasion he threw a dagger at him. An enthusiastic womanizer, Lü Bu was also concerned that Dong Zhuo might learn of his liaison with a woman of the palace. In 192, therefore, he was persuaded by Wang Yun to join a conspiracy against Dong Zhuo, and he ambushed and killed his master.

Lü Bu now joined Wang Yun in government at Chang'an, but their regime lasted barely a month before troops led by Dong Zhuo's former officer Li Jue stormed the city and killed Wang Yun. Lü Bu fled to Yuan Shu in the east, but his men were unruly, Yuan Shu disapproved, and Lü Bu went to Zhang Yang in Henei. When Li Jue offered a reward for his capture, Lü Bu fled to Yuan Shao in Ji province.

In 193 he joined Yuan Shao's attack on the Black Mountain bandits, but his men again acted brutally, and Yuan Shao was angry. At Lü Bu's request, Yuan Shao named him Director of Retainers and sent him back to Luoyang, but he also ordered the escort to kill him. Lü Bu was suspicious: he had a man play on the zither in his tent and went himself into hiding. When his tent was attacked and destroyed he made his escape, and none of the men dared pursue him.

Lü Bu returned to Zhang Yang, calling on Zhang

Miao in Chenliu as he passed.

When Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian in Xu province in 194, his officer Chen Gong persuaded Zhang Miao and others to invite Lü Bu into Yan province. At first they did well: only three cities held out for Cao Cao, and he suffered several defeats. After several months fighting, notably about the city of Puyang in Dong commandery, both sides were exhausted and made a halt, but in 195 Cao Cao became increasingly successful. By the summer of that year Lü Bu had been driven away and took refuge with Liu Bei in Xu province.

In 196, however, as Yuan Shu attacked Liu Bei from the south, Lü Bu changed sides and seized Liu Bei's headquarters and his family at Xiapi. Liu Bei surrendered to Lü Bu. Lü Bu now quarrelled with Yuan Shu, so he restored some of Liu Bei's authority and renamed him Inspector of Yu province, subordinate to himself as Governor of Xu province.

Soon afterwards Lü Bu agreed to a new alliance with Yuan Shu, to be confirmed by marriage of his son to a daughter of Yuan Shu. Yuan Shu sent an army against Liu Bei, but Lü Bu, concerned that one of his two rivals might destroy the other and become too powerful, intervened to save Liu Bei. In a celebrated feat of archery, he hit the spike on a halberd set above a gate of the camp, so impressing Yuan Shu's men that they withdrew. On the other hand, when Liu Bei gathered more troops, Lü Bu turned against him once more and drove him away to Cao Cao.

Cao Cao aided Liu Bei to re-establish himself in the southeast, and the tripartite contest continued. In 197, with another flurry, Lü Bu first agreed to marry his daughter to a son of Yuan Shu, then broke from him to make formal submission to the Han government under Cao Cao.

By this time, however, Cao Cao had determined to eliminate the erratic warrior. In 198 he sent Xiahou Dun with an army to assist Liu Bei; both men were defeated, so in the autumn he went himself. Lü Bu was not a good co-ordinator, his commanders operated separately and were repeatedly defeated in detail, and he was driven back into the city of Xiapi. In a last-minute attempt to restore the marriage alliance with Yuan Shu, he made an unsuccessful sortie carrying the girl on his saddle-bow, but although he received some support, a group of his officers opened the city and Lü Bu was captured.

Lü Bu tried to persuade Cao Cao to accept him

as a subordinate, but Liu Bei spoke against him, and Cao Cao hardly needed advice to rid himself of an untrustworthy nuisance. Lü Bu was strangled. -SGZ 7:219-27*, HHS 75/65:2444-52*.

Lü Bu 呂布, wife of. In 198, when Lü Bu was besieged by Cao Cao at Xiapi city, his officer Chen Gong proposed that he leave him and Gao Shun to hold the city, while he led a sortie on Cao Cao's line of supply. The Lady warned him not to trust the two men, and Lü Bu gave up the idea. -SGZ 7:227-28, HHS 75/65:2450.

Lü Bu 呂布; daughter of. In 196 she was betrothed to a son of Yuan Shu, but when Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197, Lü Bu was persuaded to change his mind. The young woman was already on the road, but Lü Bu had her brought back, cancelled the match and sent Yuan Shu's envoy to Cao Cao for execution.

In the following year, as Lü Bu was besieged by Cao Cao in Xiapi he sought to revive the alliance with Yuan Shu. Tying his daughter to his horse, he attempted to fight his way out and deliver her to her promised spouse. He failed to get through, and the city fell soon afterwards. -SGZ 7:227.

Lü Cang 呂倉. In 108 Lü Cang was a Consultant at court when Fan Zhun, head of the Imperial Censorate, proposed a commission of enquiry into the eastern provinces to assess the causes of local distress and unrest and the means by which they might be alleviated. The policy was adopted, and while Fan Zhun was named an acting Household Counsellor and sent to Ji province, Lü Cang went to Yan. Fan Zhun established public granaries, arranged relief, and settled a number of the wandering people. Lü Cang's commission no doubt gave him comparable responsibility, but the histories have no further account of him. -HHS 5:209, 32/22:1128.

Lü Chang 呂常; Zuopingyi. A county magistrate in Yingchuan in 118, Lü Chang initiated the project for a stele to honour Mount Song. -Nagata 94:58-59 and see *sub* Zhu Chong.

Lü Chang 呂常; Nanyang. Having served before under Liu Yan, Lü Chang went with him into Yi province when he was appointed Governor there in 188. He died there in the early 190s. -SGZ Shu 9.988.

Lü Chong 呂种 (d.52). In 49 Lü Chong was a major on the staff of Ma Yuan during the campaign against the non-Chinese of Wuling. Ma Yuan died, but the enemy were ready to surrender, so the senior adjutant

Zong Jun forged an imperial edict, and sent Lü Chong to the enemy camp to persuade them to terms. Lü Chong then became a provisional magistrate in the newly-occupied territory.

At an earlier time, Ma Yuan had warned Lü Chong of the dangers his kinsmen Wang Pan and Wang Su were running by emphasising their wealth and the numbers of their retainers. After the death of the Lady Guo, former empress of Guangwu, in 52, the emperor was persuaded that Wang Su was a danger, and he ordered the arrest and execution of all his associates. Lü Chong was caught up in the purge; as he went to execution he praised Ma Yuan's foresight. -*HHS* 41/31: 1412, 24/14:851.

Lü Dai 呂岱 [Dinggong 定公] (161-256); Guangling. Having held local office in his county and commandery, Lü Dai moved south of the Yangzi during the troubles of the 190s. When Sun Quan took power in 200, Lü Dai went to him and was made an assistant magistrate in Wu. On a tour of inspection, Sun Quan found his stores and legal administration in perfect order, and he appointed him to his personal staff. Lü Dai was later sent out as magistrate in Kuaiji, and he raised more than a thousand good soldiers there.

About 205 Lü Dai was sent as a colonel under Jiang Qin to put down rebellion on the southeast coast, and was then promoted to be a General of the Household. In 211 he was sent on an abortive mission to seek alliance with Zhang Lu in Hanzhong.

In 215 Lü Dai led a combined force to seize Changsha and Guiyang, received the surrender of Liu Bei's and Guan Yu's officers there, and destroyed a later rising by loyalists in the south-eastern hills. He was then made Administrator of Luling commandery, established from the south of Yuzhang.

In 220 Lü Dai succeeded Bu Zhi as Inspector of Jiao province in the far south and put down a series of disturbances. He was made a general and enfeoffed.

When the local warlord Shi Xie died in 226, his sons Shi Hui and others sought to maintain themselves independently. Lü Dai promised them good treatment if they submitted, but when they duly came to his camp he executed them. He now took over the whole region, and also sent envoys south to obtain tribute from the states of Funan, Linyi and Tangming.

In 231 Lü Dai was brought back to Jing province, where he held civil and military office. He became a chief general, and in 252 he became Grand Marshal

under Sun Liang. With no concern for private or family interest, he was noted for his honesty and plain living. He died at the age of ninety-six. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1383-87*; deC 90:443-449.

Lü Fan 呂範 [Ziheng 子衡] (d.228); Runan. Though not of wealthy background, Lü Fan was a fine-looking man and held local office in his county when he was still young. He sought to marry a young woman of the prosperous Liu clan [the Lady Liu 劉 XIII]; the mother demurred, but the father was confident Lü Fan would do well, and he approved the match.

In the early 190s Lü Fan went south to Jiujiang to avoid the civil war. He met Sun Ce and brought a hundred retainers to join him. Sun Ce had him go to Guangling to collect his mother the Lady Wu and his brothers. Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province was not fond of the Sun family and suspected Lü Fan was a spy sent by Yuan Shu. He had him arrested, but a group of Lü Fan's followers managed to rescue him and Lü Fan returned to Sun Ce.

Lü Fan and Sun He were Sun Ce's closest companions, and he treated them as members of his family. They accompanied him on campaign in Lujiang and then south of the Yangzi in 195. Lü Fan held magistrate appointments in Danyang and dealt with the local people of the hills, but then took service as adjutant (都督 *dudu*) for Sun Ce; though this was a lower rank, Lü Fan argued that it was essential for the future of the enterprise for administration to be properly ordered.

As Sun Ce turned on White Tiger Yan in 197, he sent Lü Fan on an expedition, probably by sea, to drive away Cao Cao's agent Chen Yu in Guangling. Lü Fan took part in campaigns against Zu Lang and Taishi Ce in Danyang, then against Huang Zu in Jiangxia in 199, followed by the conquest and occupation of Yuzhang.

As Sun Ce was killed in 200, Lü Fan returned to Wu for the funeral, and he remained at headquarters for several years in association with Zhang Zhao. He accompanied the army to defeat Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs in 208 and was later promoted to be a general and stationed on the Yangzi by the Poyang region.

After the destruction of Guan Yu and the conquest of Jing province, Sun Quan moved his headquarters there and sent Lü Fan back to Danyang, as Administrator and Area Commander eastwards to the sea. When Wei attacked in 223 there was a period of confusion as a storm wrecked several ships under Lü Fan's command, but the line of the Yangzi was held and Lü Fan was

then named Governor of Yang province. He was to be appointed Grand Marshal in 228, but died before the seal was conferred; Sun Quan held mourning for him and had the insignia awarded posthumously.

Though scrupulously honest in his accounting, Lü Fan was personally extravagant. He matched He Qi in display, but his troops were always in good order and he was well respected; Sun Quan refused to hear any criticism of him. -SGZ Wu 11:1309-11*.

Lü Fang 呂放. A client of Liang Shang, about 136 Lü Fang was Prefect of Luoyang. He reported the poor conduct of Liang Shang's son Liang Ji, chief of police at the capital, and Liang Shang reprimanded him.

Liang Ji had Lü Fang killed, but concealed his involvement by claiming the murder was the result of some private quarrel. He arranged for Lü Fang's brother Lü Yu to be appointed in his stead and obliged him to arrest and execute over a hundred of his brother's household. -HHS 34/24:1178-79.

Lü Gai 呂蓋 [Junyu 君玉 or Junshang 君上]; Henan. In 97 Lü Gai was promoted from Minister of the Household to be Excellency over the Masses; he held that position until the winter of 101.

In 100 the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu laid a complaint against the Director of Retainers Yan Cheng for his investigation of clerks in the offices of the Excellencies, and Emperor He called a full court assembly to consider the matter. Lü Gai argued that Zhang Pu should have known better than to attack the Director of Retainers, who was fully entitled to carry out an investigation, and that he had set a poor example to the empire. Zhang Pu was dismissed. -HHS 4:184-89; HHS 45/35:1533.

Lü Gong 呂公 see Lü Jie 呂介.

Lü Gong 呂貢. In 219 Lü Gong was Cao Cao's Inspector of Yu province. As Sun Quan attacked along the Huai, Lü Gong brought troops to support Wen Hui the Inspector of Yang province. Soon afterwards Guan Yu attacked up the Han, and Cao Cao called Lü Gong and his men to assist the defence on that front. -SGZ 15:479.

Lü Guo 呂國 [Wenbao 文寶]; Youfufeng. Commandery Assistant of Wudu, in 171 Li Gong sponsored a stele to commemorate the road construction work of the Administrator Li Yu. -LS 4:10a.

Lü He 呂合; Kuaiji. About 205 Lü He and Qin Lang were leaders of rebellion on the southeast coast. The trouble was put down by Sun Quan's general Jiang

Qin, and both men were captured. -SGZ Wu 10:1286.

Lü Jie 呂介. In 192 Lü Jie was an officer under Huang Zu in the service of Liu Biao. His troop was attacked by Yuan Shu's commander Sun Jian, and one of his men killed Sun Jian. -HHS 74/64B:2421, SGZ Wu 1:1101 [as Lu Gong 公].

Lü Ju 閭舉; Jiangxia. Well-treated by Sun Jiao, Sun Quan's commander in the west about 215, Lü Ju was a devoted officer, and he later served Sun Jiao's brother Huan with similar commitment. -SGZ Wu 6:1208.

Lü Kai 呂凱 [Jiping 季平]; Yongchang. About 220 Lü Kai was Officer of Merit in his commandery, and from the early 220s he maintained defence against the local leader Yong Kai who was supported by Wu. When Zhuge Liang came on his southern expedition in 225 he had him enfeoffed and appointed Administrator, but Lü Kai was soon afterwards killed by insurgents. -SGZ Shu 13:1046-48*; Fang 52:160.

Lü Kuang 呂曠; Dongping. In 203, as Cao Cao assisted Yuan Tan to attack Yuan Shang, Lü Kuang and Gao Xiang, officers of Yuan Shang, prepared to join him. Yuan Tan, however, sought to recruit them to his own service and secretly gave them seals as generals. They reported this approach to Cao Cao, who enfeoffed both men, and now had an excuse to turn against Yuan Tan. -HHS 74/64B:2414, SGZ 1:24, 6:202.

Lü Meng 呂孟 [Zhenji 真紀]; Guanghan. Lü Meng was known for his fine conduct. -HYGZ 3:39.

Lü Meng 呂蒙 [Ziming 子明] (178-219); Runan. About 195 Lü Meng and his family went south of the Yangzi to join his sister's husband Deng Dang, who became an officer under Sun Ce, and he accompanied Deng Dang on campaign against the hills people. Both Deng Dang and Lü Meng's mother protested at the danger, but Lü Meng argued that the family was poor and that military success was the only way to gain a position.

When one of Deng Dang's clerical officers slighted him on account of his youth, Lü Meng killed him. He took refuge for a time, but then gave himself up. He was granted pardon, and Sun Ce made him one of his personal attendants. Deng Dang died about 199 and Sun Ce allowed Lü Meng to take over his command with rank as a senior major.

As Sun Quan succeeded Sun Ce in 200, he held inspections in order to decide which of the smaller units of his army should be amalgamated. Lü Meng bought equipment for his men on credit, dressed

them in red uniforms with bound leggings, and held a practice session for them to show their military skills. Sun Quan was impressed, and put more men under his command. Lǚ Meng did well in operations in Danyang, was promoted colonel and appointed as a magistrate.

In 208 Lǚ Meng commanded the van in the final attack on Huang Zu, and he killed the opposing commander Chen Jiu. As Huang Zu fled and was killed, Sun Quan promoted Lǚ Meng and awarded him ten million cash. Later that year he was with the army which defeated Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs.

When Xi Su, an officer of Yi province, came to surrender, his troops were allocated to Lǚ Meng. Lǚ Meng argued that Xi Su was worthy of command and should not suffer such a loss, so his men were returned to him. Some years later, he used the same argument in refusing to accept the troops of his late colleagues Cheng Dang, Song Ding and Xu Gu; despite Sun Quan's wishes, he was a firm supporter of the developing principle that a military unit was the possession and heritage of its commander. He was also generous and tolerant, putting up with the sneers of Cai Yi and even with the brutal and erratic behaviour of Gan Ning.

In 209, as the army was bogged down outside Jiangling in Nan commandery, Lǚ Meng advised Zhou Yu to send Gan Ning upstream to outflank the defenders, and he later suggested sending the major army to support Gan Ning, leaving Ling Tong with a skeleton force to hold the base. The operation was successful and Cao Ren withdrew to the north. Lǚ Meng was appointed as a lieutenant-general and magistrate of Xunyang, a strategic county on the Yangzi at the frontier of Jing and Yang provinces.

When Lǚ Meng began his career, he had paid small attention to scholarship or literary skills, but Sun Quan encouraged him to study, arguing that he needed more than a quick wit and military ability, and he set a reading list of the classics, histories and books on the art of war. When Lu Su succeeded Zhou Yu as commander in the west in 210, he came past Xunyang and was greatly impressed by the improvement in Lǚ Meng and by the quality of his planning. He paid his respects to Lǚ Meng's mother, and the two men became close friends.

About 211 Lǚ Meng attacked Cao Cao's commander Xie Qi, drove him away, and received the surrender of several of his officers and their followers. In 212

he took part in operations north of the Yangzi towards the Huai, and he encouraged Sun Quan to establish a fortified bridge-head at Ruxu in Lujiang. In 214 he joined Gan Ning in storming Huan city, capturing Cao Cao's local commander Zhu Guang. He was named Administrator of Lujiang, with increased troops, but continued in station at Xunyang, from where he put down local insurrections; Huan city was now an isolated outpost.

In 215, as Sun Quan pressed Liu Bei for a more equal division of Jing province, Lu Meng was sent with a detached force to the south. He persuaded Liu Bei's administrators of Changsha and Guiyang to submit, then tricked He Pu the Administrator of Lingling into surrendering. He then joined Lu Su to hold off Guan Yu, and after the settlement he returned to Xunyang, now with two fief cities to provide personal revenue.

Later that year Lǚ Meng accompanied the main army in the disastrous attack on Hefei, though he personally did well in the rearguard. When Cao Cao attacked south across the Huai early in 217 Lǚ Meng shared command of the defence about Ruxu with Jiang Qin. He repelled the attack and was promoted to full general.

A few months later Lu Su died, and Lǚ Meng took over in the west as Administrator of Hanchang, the north of Changsha, with four fief cities. Facing Guan Yu, he made every effort to reassure him of their alliance, but he discussed plans for a surprise attack with Sun Quan. In 219, as Guan Yu attacked Cao Cao's positions north up the Han River, the opportunity came. Lǚ Meng was ill, but he took advantage of that circumstance, withdrawing to Sun Quan's headquarters as a means to set Guan Yu's mind at ease but meanwhile preparing for the offensive. In the winter, disguising much of his force as a merchant fleet, he struck westwards up the Yangzi, seized Guan Yu's base garrisons, and cut him off from Yi province. The conquest was accompanied by generous treatment to secure support from the local people, and as Guan Yu returned from the north he was isolated, captured and killed.

Lǚ Meng had taken active command of the invasion, and had secured the whole of Jing province for his master, but his illness was now severe. Named Administrator of Nan commandery, he received great rewards of cash and was due to be enfeoffed by the Han court controlled by Cao Cao, but before the documents arrived he entered his last agony. Sun Quan

watched him constantly, through a hole in the wall so as not to disturb him, and when there was a brief recovery he issued an amnesty in celebration. Soon afterwards, however, Lü Meng suffered a relapse and died, but not before he had given orders for all his gifts to be returned to the public treasury; there was barely enough even for his funeral.

Sun Quan granted land and followers to Lü Meng's sons so they could care for his tomb, and in later discussion he ranked him second only to Zhou Yu among his generals. -SGZ Wu 9:1273-80*; deC 90:385-407.

Lü Mu 吕睦; Runan. After Lü Meng's death in 219 Sun Quan gave three hundred families and a quantity of land to his son Lü Ba in order that he could care for his tomb. Lü Ba died and was succeeded by his elder brother Lü Zong, and after the death of Lü Zong the estate passed to his younger brother Lü Mu. -SGZ Wu 9:1280.

Lü Qian 吕虔; Pengcheng. Administrator of Zhuo commandery about 180, Lü Qian was a leading sponsor of a stele at the tomb of his former teacher Wen Mu of Runan. -S/Z 23:9a.

Lü Qian 吕虔 [Zike 子恪]; Rencheng. As Cao Cao took over Yan province in 192 he heard that Lü Qian was clever and brave. He appointed him an Assistant Officer and gave him command of a garrison in Shanyang.

When a mutiny broke out among the militia commanded by the colonel Du Song in Donghai, the rebels planned to make alliance with the bandit leader Chang Xi. Cao Cao sent Lü Qian to take Du Song's place. As soon as he arrived Lü Qian invited the ring-leader Gui Mu and some dozens of his leading associates to a feast. He passed the wine around until they were drunk, then called his own men from hiding and had every one of his guests killed. He encountered no resistance thereafter among the rank-and-file.

Cao Cao then appointed Lü Qian Administrator of Taishan. Because of the troubled times, many people had hidden away in the rugged terrain of the region, while Guo Zu, Gongsun Du and others who had received titles from Yuan Shao had positions in the mountains from which they raided the settled population.

Lü Qian came with his household troops and offered generous and honest government. Guo Zu and his fellows came to submit, and the people who

had taken refuge in the wilderness returned to their farms. Lü Qian chose the strongest among them to be soldiers, and the troops from Taishan became the finest in the empire.

In 206 Lü Qian joined Zang Ba under the command of Xiahou Yuan to attack the Yellow Turban Xu He of Ji'nan. After a dozen engagements, killing and capturing thousands of people, the rebellion was put down. Cao Cao then gave Lü Qian command of a combined force from the commanderies of Qing province and sent him to attack the bandit Li Tiao in Donglai, on the tip of the Shandong peninsula. He was successful, and Cao Cao issued an ordinance in praise of Lü Qian's achievements, granting him formal nomination as Abundant Talent and appointing him a Commandant of Cavalry. Continuing in Taishan, Lü Qian maintained effective government there for over thirty years; he was admired for both his authority and his leniency where required.

As Cao Pi came to the throne he promoted Lü Qian to be a major-general and granted him a village marquissate. He then transferred him to be Inspector of Xu province with rank as a general. He was admired for his ability to recommend and appoint good men to office, while still dealing firmly with occasional rebels. Lü Qian's fief was increased in the time of Cao Rui. He died about 240. -SGZ 18:540-41*.

Lü Qiang 吕羌. At the end of Former Han or in the time of Wang Mang Lü Qiang and Liang Gong and Fan Sheng were fellow-students of the *Book of Changes* according to the system of Liangqiu He.

At the beginning of Later Han Lü Qiang became Administrator of Shanyang.

About 27 Emperor Guangwu proposed to appoint Fan Sheng to the chair for the Liangqiu school in the restored University. Fan Sheng replied that Lü Qiang and Liang Gong were both older than he and better scholars, and he urged that one of them be appointed, but Guangwu gave him the post. -HHS 36/26:1227; Bn 79:187.

Lü Qiang 吕彊/强 [Hansheng 漢盛] (d.184); Henan. A eunuch, Lü Qiang entered the imperial palace when he was young, became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates and then a Regular Attendant. Honest and loyal, with strong concern for the public good, he refused an offer of enfeoffment, and Emperor Ling eventually accepted his decision.

About 179 Lü Qiang sent in a memorial protesting

at the extravagance and luxury of the court and the harem, at the dangers of excessive eunuch influence in government, and at the unfair treatment accorded to such loyal officials as Duan Jiong and Cai Yong. Though the emperor is said to have admired his good intentions, he made no changes. A second memorial, objecting to the transfer of public money into the imperial private treasury through a notional commission, was equally ineffective.

Following the outbreak of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184, Huangfu Song proposed that the proscription of the men of Faction, which had been maintained since 169, should be ended. Emperor Ling asked Lǚ Qiang for his opinion, and Lǚ Qiang agreed, emphasising that a number of disaffected and resentful gentry might even join the rebels. The emperor was concerned, and promptly issued a general amnesty.

Zhao Zhong, Xia Yun and other senior eunuchs, concerned at this development, accused Lǚ Qiang of plotting against the throne, and the emperor sent guards with a summons. Lǚ Qiang was so angry at this sign of distrust that he killed himself; his enemies used this as proof of his guilt, and his family was arrested and stripped of their possessions. -*HHS* 78/68:2528-33*, 67/57:2189, *XC* 5:8a; *deC* 89:159-161, 168, 178.

Lǚ Qiuhong 閻丘弘 see Lǚqiū Hong 閻丘弘.

Lǚ Rong 呂榮, the Lady. The Lady Lǚ was married to Xu Sheng, an immoral man and a gambler. She worked to support the family, notably her mother-in-law, and would admonish her husband with tears for his bad behaviour. On the other hand, when her father wanted to take her away from such an unsatisfactory household she insisted on remaining.

Eventually, touched by his wife's good will, Xu Sheng reformed, travelled to study, and became a reputable scholar. About 140 he was called to local appointment in the province, but on the road he was killed by a brigand. The killer was captured soon afterwards, just as Lǚ Rong was on her way to receive her late husband's coffin. She went to the provincial office and asked the Inspector Yin Yue for revenge on the man. As her wish was granted, she cut off the murderer's head and presented it as an offering to Xu Sheng's spirit.

Some time later the commandery was attacked by bandits, and one of them attempted to rape her. Lǚ Rong climbed a wall to escape, but the attacker chased her and threatened her with a knife. For the

sake of her honour, she still refused, and he killed her. At that moment a fierce storm of wind, rain, thunder and darkness came and terrified the bandits. They kowtowed in apology to the Lady's corpse and prepared it for burial.

According to *Latter Biographies of Worthy Women* 列女後傳, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ* 84/74:3080, the Lady's attacker was a Yellow Turban named Chen Bao. The name could be correct, but the attribution to the Yellow Turbans is most unlikely: apart from the fact that the region of Wu was not affected by the rebellion, which broke out in 184, the Lady's husband died about 140, and it seems improbable she would have been a suitable target for rape forty years later. *Latter Biographies*, moreover, says that the Administrator Mi gave money to assist in the construction of her tomb as a memorial, and another source identifies this Administrator as Mi Bao, who held office in Wu in 154. There are several different versions of the story of Lǚ Rong, and she has a biography in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -*HHS* 84/74:2795*; *Ch'ü* 72:308.

Lǚ [Shudu] 呂叔都 (d.115). Probably a renegade Chinese, Lǚ Shudu was a commander in the service of the rebel Qiang leader Lianchang. With other groups in 115, he led an attack south into Yi province. The invaders were opposed by the General of the Household Yin Jiu in command of levies from Nanyang, and Lǚ Shudu was assassinated by a group of Chinese from Shu commandery. -*HHS* 87/77:2889.

Lǚ [Shugong] 呂叔公; Youfufeng. During the first half of the second century Lǚ Shugong was a teacher of the classics. -*HYZ* 10C:174.

Lǚ Tiao 呂條; Henan. In the time of Emperor Shun Lǚ Tiao was a local bully. He killed the student Zhang Chang, but was himself slain by Zhang Chang's friends Ning Shu and Wang Yan. -*HYZ* 10B:150.

Lǚ Wei 呂鯁 also as Li Wei 李鯁; Youfufeng. A man of gentry family, Lǚ Wei became warlord of his native Chencang county during the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows. He and other local leaders were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 Emperor Guangwu sent his general Feng Yi to attack them.

Lǚ Wei and his colleagues Zhang Han and Jiang Zhen asked Gongsun Shu for help, and in 28 Gongsun

Shu sent an army under his officer Cheng Wu. Feng Yi defeated the allied forces and drove Cheng Wu away. He then turned against Lü Wei, put him to flight, and received the surrender of his former dependents.

Lü Wei fled south to take service directly under Gongsun Shu, and in 35 he was sent with Yan Cen to oppose the advance of Guangwu's general Zang Gong up the Fu River into Guanghan. They were heavily defeated and Lü Wei is not heard of again. -HHS 13/3: 522-23, 537, 17/7:647-48, 662; Bn 59:161, 191-192.

Lü Weihuang 吕威璜 (d.200). An officer in the escort of Yuan Shao's supply train near Guandu in 200, he was killed by Cao Cao's raiding party. -SGZ 1:22.

Lü Xiang 吕翔. HHS 74/64B:2414 records Gao Xiang 高翔 and Lü Kuang 吕曠 as officers of Yuan Shang who joined Cao Cao in 203. SGZ 1:24 and 6:202 have the surname of Gao Xiang as Lü, but this is probably dittography.

Lü Yan 吕晏; Yingchuan. In the spring of 23, as Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, brought Han troops into Yingchuan, Lü Yan went to join him. In the summer Wang Mang's local officer Feng Yi, an old friend of Lü Yan, was captured. Lü Yan helped him to meet Liu Xiu, and he became one of the leading generals of the new empire.

In 24, as Liu Xiu first engaged Wang Lang, he appointed Lü Yan, Yao Qi and Fu Kuan as officers under Deng Yu. Deng Yu considered that Yao Qi had the greater ability, so he promoted him to be a lieutenant-general with command of two thousand men, and placed Lü Yan and Fu Kuan under him with only a few hundred soldiers each. -HHS 17/7:639, 20/10:731.

Lü Yi 吕义 (d.251); Nanyang. Orphaned son of Lü Chang, about 220 Lü Yi was appointed an assistant officer of the salt monopoly of Shu-Han under Wang Lian. He later held high office in the state. -SGZ Shu 9.988.

Lü You 吕由 (d.200). An officer of Tao Qian in Xu in 193, he was defeated by Cao Ren. -SGZ 9:274.

Lü Yu 吕禹. About 136 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji had Lü Fang, Prefect of Luoyang, killed. Concealing his involvement by claiming the murder was the result of a domestic quarrel, Liang Ji had Lü Fang's brother Lü Yu appointed in his stead, and obliged him to arrest and execute over a hundred of Lü Fang's household. -HHS 34/24:1179.

Lü Zhang 吕章. Recommended by the Director of the

Secretariat Han Leng about 90, Lü Zhang became a good official. -HHS 45/35:1535.

Lü Zhi 吕植. As a man who understood ritual and the classics, Lü Zhi acted as master of ceremonies when the Gengshi Emperor Liu Xuan was set upon the throne in 23. He was named a general, but in 24 he was persuaded to surrender by Cen Peng, officer of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. -DGHJ 23:1b, HHS 17/7:654.

Lü Zizhi 閻子直; Dong. About 160 Lü Zizhi joined Sun Bin and Zhen Ziran to rescue Diwu Zhong from exile and death, then sheltered him for several years. -HHS 41/31:1404.

Lü Zong 吕琮; Runan. After Lü Meng's death in 219 Sun Quan gave three hundred families and a quantity of land to his son Lü Ba in order that he could care for his tomb. When Lü Ba died, his elder brother Lü Zong succeeded him. -SGZ Wu 9:1280.

Luan Ba 爰巴 [Shuyuan 叔元]. Luan Ba is the centre of a number of stories, many of them relating to the supernatural. HHS 57/47 says he came from Wei commandery but the third century text *Shenxian zhuan*, claiming him as a Taoist adept, says he was a man from Shu; as Luan Ba is not mentioned in *Huayang guo zhi*, this is doubtful.

In the time of Emperor Shun Luan Ba served in the imperial harem and became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. He had a strong sense of honour, and did not engage in the corrupt intrigues of his colleagues.

He later regained his virility. Reporting this to the throne, he asked to quit his position, and he was appointed a gentleman cadet. After a series of lesser posts Luan Ba was sent to the south as Administrator of Guiyang. The people of this region were strongly influenced by shamans, but Luan Ba enforced marriage and funeral customs, established schools to develop Chinese culture and insisted that his local officials attend. After seven years he sought to retire on grounds of ill health, but the Inspector Li Gu, recognising his excellent service, secured his appointment as a Consultant at the capital.

In 142 Luan Ba was named an acting Household Counsellor and joined the special commission of eight sent out to observe the conduct of the empire; Luan Ba was despatched to Xu province. Little came of the project and government fell further into the hands of the empress's brother Liang Ji and their kinsmen.

Luan Ba then became Administrator of Yuzhang,

where he again encountered local cults, this time based upon the mystic marriages of young men and women to spirits of the mountains and rivers, while shamans extorted money for their rituals. Luan Ba countered the shamans with his knowledge of magical arts, destroyed their shrines and freed the people from their former superstitions.

Transferred to be Chancellor of Pei, he soon afterwards returned to take a position in the Imperial Secretariat at the capital. At the death of Emperor Shun in 144 the officials in charge of his tomb planned to clear a number of lesser burials from the area. Luan Ba protested, but the regent Dowager Liang resented this and sent him to prison. He was allowed to commute his punishment, but was proscribed from office and sent back to his home country.

More than twenty years later, when Dou Wu and Chen Fan held power after the accession of Emperor Ling in 168, they called Luan Ba back to court as a Consultant. Soon afterwards the eunuchs overthrew Dou Wu and Chen Fan, and Luan Ba was viewed as one of the defeated faction. Sent away to be Administrator of Yongchang in the far southwest, he sought to refuse the office on grounds of ill health but was refused. He presented a memorial of complaint, and also protested the cruel treatment shown to Dou Wu and Chen Fan. The young emperor, furious, ordered his arrest, and Luan Ba killed himself. -HHS 57/47:1841-42*.

Luan He 樂賀; Wei. Son of Luan Ba, during the reign of Emperor Ling he was Administrator of Yunzhong. -HHS 57/47:1842.

Luan Kui 樂規; Youfufeng. A gentleman scholar, in the mid-180s Luan Kui received official appointment. -JSCB 18:3a; Ebrey 80:342.

Luan [Wenbo/Wenfu] 樂文博/傅. About 200 Luan Wenbo was a Confucian teacher in the region of Chang'an. -SGZ 11:365.

Lucheng 鹵承; non-Chinese. A leader of the Kunming people who lived south of the Dali Lake in Yongchang, in 77 Lucheng brought troops to assist imperial militia against the Ailao chieftain Lei'ao. Lei'ao was defeated and killed, and Lucheng was rewarded with ten thousand rolls of silk and title as a marquis. -HHS 86/76:2851.

Luhu 盧忽(d.121); Qiang. In the early 120s Luhu and Renliang were chieftains of the Dangjian tribe. They were undecided whether to follow the example of their colleague Jiwu, who raided Chinese territory in

120. The Protector Ma Xian defeated Jiwu's incursion, however, and early in 121 he approached the Dangjian territory, summoned Luhu, and cut off his head. -HHS 87/77:2892.

Lulei 陸類; non-Chinese. Chieftain of the Qiaoyao tribe of pygmies in the far southwest, in 107 Lulei came to the frontier of Yongchang commandery with three thousand people and sent messengers with tribute gifts of elephant tusks, water-buffalo and another species of cattle 封牛. -HHS 86/76:2851; Bn 67:78, Schafer 67:47.

Luo Gaiyan 駱蓋延 see Luo Yan 駱延.

Luo Hao 落皓 (d.187). Magistrate of Zhongmou in Henan, Luo Hao was killed by bandits from Yingchuan. -HHS 8:354.

Luo Gong 羅貢, the Lady; Shu. Daughter of Luo Qing, the Lady was married to Jing Ji, a man of a neighbouring county. He died young and the couple had had no children; since she was still young her father sought to arrange a marriage with a certain He Shi. The Lady wrote to him, however, that she would not return from her late husband's house.

Luo Qing had He Shi complain to the provincial office, which ordered the county to send the Lady back. She in turn appealed to the Inspector, who admired her fidelity and accepted her plea. -HYGZ 10A:140, 12:216.

Luo Heng 羅橫; Shu. In 115, responding to a call from the general Yin Jiu, Luo Heng joined Chen Sheng to assassinate Lü Shudu, the leader of rebel Qiang who had come to attack Yi province. Both men were enfeoffed and rewarded with money. -HHS 87/77:2889.

Luo Heng 羅衡 [Zhongbo 仲伯]; Shu. Former students of He Chang, in the late second century Luo Heng and his colleague Yang Ban were celebrated for their administration as county magistrates. Luo Heng in particular established such secure government that people would leave their horses and cattle at the side of the road "entrusted to Lord Luo" 屬羅公, and two counties erected temples in his honour. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Luo, Huanglong 黃龍羅 [Yellow Dragon Luo] see Huanglong Luo 黃龍羅.

Luo Hun 羅暉 [Shujing 叔景]; Jingzhao. The *Sanfu jue* of Zhao Qi describes how Luo Hun and Zhao Xi, of the mid-second century, sought to emulate the *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style" calligraphy of the earlier

masters Cui Yuan and Du Bodu. The great Zhang Zhi, however, considered their work clumsy, and inferior to his own. -HHS 64/54:2122-23, HYGZ 10C:174.

Luo Jun 駱俊 [Xiaoyuan 孝遠] (d.197); Kuaiji. A man of both civil and military ability, Luo Jun became a local officer of his commandery when he was young. He was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after a period in the Imperial Secretariat he became Chancellor of Chen. He treated the parents of newborn children well, with gifts of grain and meat, and a great many children were named Luo in his honour.

As civil war broke out in the early 190s, the king Liu Chong raised an army, and he and Luo Jun maintained Chen as a place of security. Though they were neighbours of the imperial claimant Yuan Shu, they maintained independence for several years, but in 197 Yuan Shu asked for supplies and Luo Jun refused him. Yuan Shu sent retainers to kill him and Liu Chong by treachery. So the state of Chen was destroyed.

The people mourned Luo Jun as if he had been a parent. -HHS 50/40:1669-70, XC 8:9a, SGZ Wu 12:1334-35.

Luo Ling 羅陵. Assistant Magistrate in Jianwei, he died in that office. His friend Wei Bao, magistrate of a neighbouring county, left his post to escort the body home. -HHSJJ 26/16:973 Hui Dong quoting the local history *Jingzhao jiushi*.

Luo Meng 羅蒙; Nan. About 200 Luo Meng travelled to Yi province to avoid the civil war. He became Administrator of Guanghan under Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 11:1008; Fang 65:483.

Luo Qing 羅倩; Shu. Luo Qing was the father of the Lady Luo Gong *q.v.*

Luo Shao 羅邵. As the remnant imperial court came under Cao Cao's control in 196, the Consultant Luo Shao was one of those enfeoffed for good service in the escape from Chang'an. -HHS 72/62:2342, HHJ 29:344.

Luo [Shujing] 羅叔景. At the end of Han, Luo Shujing and Zhao Yuansi were celebrated in the west of the empire for their calligraphy in the informal *caoshu* 草書 "Grass Style." -JS 36:1065.

Luo Su 駱肅 [Wensi 文思]; Nanyang. A former Administrator of Yizhou, in 156 Luo Su was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16a.

Luo Tong 駱俊 [Gongxu 公緒] (193-228); Kuaiji. Luo Tong was a son of Luo Jun, but after the death

of his father at the hands of Yuan Shu in 197, his mother became a secondary wife 小妻 to Hua Xin the Administrator of Yuzhang. Hua Xin surrendered to Sun Ce in 199. He returned to the north in the following year, but Luo Tong remained in the south and went to live with his elder sister's family in Kuaiji; he became known for his sympathy with the refugees of good family who suffered in time of famine.

When Luo Tong was twenty, about 212, he was given probationary office as a county magistrate in Wu. He did so well that he was appointed to Sun Quan's staff and was married to a daughter of Sun Fu. He encouraged Sun Quan to choose men of quality for his service, and to ease the burden of taxation, corvée labour and military levies, particularly at a time of widespread epidemic. He became a General of the Household, with command of three thousand archers, and when Ling Tong died in 217 he took over his troops too.

In 222 Luo Tong took part in the campaign to defeat Liu Bei at the Yangzi Gorges. He was promoted lieutenant-general and enfeoffed, and held command of the Ruxu fortress in Lujiang. He presented many reports and recommendations, and much of his advice was followed. He died at the age of thirty-six. -SGZ Wu 12:1334-36*.

Luo Tong 駱俊, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 IX.

Luo Wei 羅威. A filial son, in cold weather he would lie on a mat to warm it, then let his mother take the place. -YSS:21b.

Luo Xian 羅憲 [Lingzi 令則] (d.280); Nan. Son of Luo Meng, even he was young Luo Xian was known for his scholarly ability and his skill in literary composition. About 220 he was appointed to the suite of Liu Shan, Heir of Shu-Han, and later rose to high rank. When Shu-Han surrendered, Luo Xian transferred his allegiance with dignity and was honoured by the Jin. -SGZ Shu 11:1008-09, JS 57:1551-52; Fang 65:483.

Luo Yan 駱延 also as Luo Gaiyan 蓋延; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Luo Yan became warlord in his home county of Zhouzhi. He and other local leaders were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -HHS 17/7:647.

Luo Yan 羅衍 [Boji 伯紀]; Shu. A junior officer at

the court of Gongsun Shu about 30, he persuaded Xie Wenqing and Zheng Wenbo to urge Gongsun Shu to submit to Emperor Guangwu of Han. Gongsun Shu was angry, and Xie Wenqing and Zheng Wenbo died in prison [on the date of this incident see *sub voce*.]

Luo Yan later became an Academician at the court of Han. -HYGZ 10A:138.

Luo Yao 駱曜 [the personal name of this man may have been Zhao 昭, changed to avoid taboo on the personal name of Sima Zhao, a founder of the Jin dynasty in the third century]. During the 170s Luo Yao was the leader of a heterodox, mystical sect in the region about Chang'an. He was probably a faith-healer, responding to the frequent epidemics at this time. -HHS 75/65:2436, SGZ 8:264.

Luo Ye 駱業. Intendant of Henan in 194, Luo Ye accompanied the cortège for the re-burial of the Beauty Wang, mother of Emperor Xian, by the tomb of Emperor Ling at Luoyang. -HHS 10B:452.

Luo [Yisun] 駱異孫; Zuopingyi. In the early second century Luo Yisun was a scholar and a teacher. -HYGZ 10B:148.

Luo Zhao 駱昭 see Luo Yao 駱曜.

Luo Zhen 駱珍. During the early 70s Luo Zhen was Administrator of Nanyang. -DGHJ 18:8a.

Luoluo 落羅 see Zhijianluoluo 置鞬落羅.

Luorilü 羅日律 see Zhijianluoluo 置鞬落羅 and/or Rilü 日律.

Luoshi 羅市 was the sobriquet of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. -SGZ 8:261.

Luxi 魯昔 (d.215); Wuhuan. A chieftain from Taiyuan, Luxi commanded an auxiliary force to Cao Cao's army. After the defeat of Zhang Lu and the conquest of Hanzhong in 215, he and his men were stationed in garrison in Youfufeng.

Luxi had a wife of whom he was very fond, but he had been required to leave her in Jinyang, capital of Taiyuan commandery, and he was afraid he would never see her again. Taking five hundred horsemen with him, therefore, he left his post and went back to Jinyang. He hid his followers in the hills and went alone into the city to collect his wife.

Luxi was known as a fine archer, and when the local Chinese officers learned of his escape they were reluctant to pursue him, so the Area Commander Liang Xi had his officer Zhang Jing call a group of Xianbi and lead them in chase. Luxi's horse was weighed

down by its double load, and before he could reach the safety of his own men he was shot and killed by his pursuers.

When Cao Cao first heard that Luxi had absconded, he was worried that he might cause trouble on the northern borders. Delighted with the news of his death, he rewarded Liang Xi with enfeoffment. -SGZ 15:470.

Lüqiu Hong 閭丘弘/宏. In 124 Lüqiu Hong joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. It is uncertain whether Lüqiu Hong was a Palace Attendant or a General of the Household at the time. The demonstrators achieved no success, but their support was recognised: Lüqiu Hong died before Liu Bao came to the throne at the end of the following year, but his son was appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Lüqiu Mao 閭丘邈 or Lüqiu Qian 遷; Pengcheng. A scholar in retirement about 120, he was recommended for office by the Chancellor Zhang Hao. -SGZ Shu.1073 [邈], HYGZ 10B:155 [遷].

Lüqiu Qian 閭丘遷 see Lüqiu Mao 閭丘邈.

M

Ma 馬, Empress of Emperor Ming: see the Lady Ma I below.

Ma 馬, the Lady I (40-79); Youfufeng: Empress of Emperor Ming. The Lady was the youngest daughter of Ma Yuan 援 by his concubine the Lady Lin. Her father died in 49 and was followed swiftly by her full brother Ma Keqing, a child of great talent. Demented by grief at this double loss, the Lady Lin died soon afterwards, and the ten-year-old Lady Ma managed her household and its staff like a full adult. For some time no-one else in the family knew of her mother's fate, and when the situation was discovered everyone admired the girl's conduct.

Earlier, as the future empress was suffering a long illness, the chief wife of Ma Yuan had called in a shaman to tell her fortune. The shaman observed that the girl appeared both unlucky and destined for great honour; with such contradictory signs it was impossible to make any forecast. Some time later a physiognomist was invited to observe the three daughters of the family, and when he saw the youngest

he remarked that he should call himself her subject, foretelling that she would rise to honour by caring for another's child more than for her own.

After Ma Yuan died on campaign against the non-Chinese people of Wuling in 49, his factional opponents, notably the Geng family but also Liang Song and Dou Gu, claimed that his strategy had been mistaken. The Ma lost favour, Ma Yuan was posthumously deprived of his fief, the family were unable to give his body burial in the family tomb, and even an audience with Emperor Guangwu failed to win a pardon. Under constant threat, they began to look for protection in a subordinate alliance with their rivals of the Dou faction.

Their cousin Ma Yan, however, had Ma Yuan's widow offer her daughters to the imperial family, and sent a letter to Emperor Guangwu praising the qualities of the three sisters and describing their physical qualities as "above the middle upper" 上中之上: the grade of 上中 [A2] was second of a possible nine. In 52, therefore, at the age of thirteen *sui* this youngest Lady Ma was selected into the harem of the Heir Liu Zhuang. The Lady was seven feet and two inches tall [166 cm], with a square-jawed face and beautiful hair, so luxuriant she could dress it into four triple coils and still have some draping down. She did not paint her eyebrows, but placed a dot of black at the corner of her left eye to lengthen the line. When opposed, she would claim to be ill, and she always got her way in the end. She understood the *Book of Changes*, enjoyed reading *Chunqiu*, and was particularly fond of *Zhou li* 周禮, *Zhou guan* 周官 "The Offices of the Zhou dynasty" and the works of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 of Former Han. She also recited from *Chu ci* 楚辭 "The Songs of the South" but is said to have done so only to enjoy the rhythm; she disapproved of the poets' florid vocabulary.

Within the imperial household, the Lady paid great attention to the Empress Yin, mother of Liu Zhuang, and was admired for the courtesy with which she treated all ranks of guests and friends. She was greatly favoured, and regularly visited the empress's private apartments at the rear of the harem.

When Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, came to the throne after the death of Guangwu in 57, the Lady Ma was appointed an Honoured Lady, most senior rank of concubine. The new ruler had nine sons, none by the Lady Ma, but his fifth, Liu Da, was born in 57 to her

cousin the Honoured Lady Jia: the Lady Jia's mother was an elder sister of the late mother of the Lady Ma. The Dowager Yin took over the child and had the Lady Ma act as his foster-mother. This she did with devotion, more than if he had been her own son, and Liu Da responded with affection.

At the same time, though she herself remained childless, the Lady placed the utmost importance upon maintaining the lineage, and would recommend other ladies for the imperial favour. Generally, she befriended and supported her colleagues and controlled the conduct of the slaves and other attendants. At one time it is said she undertook to prepare the dancing costumes for the harem, and worked so hard that her hands became raw.

In 60 the senior ministers urged the emperor to choose an empress. Even before he had addressed the question his mother the Dowager Yin told him that "In virtue the Honoured Lady Ma is leader of the harem. She is the one." So on 8 April she was appointed empress, and Liu Da was designated Heir on the same day. It is said that the decision was foreshadowed to the Lady in a dream a few nights earlier: a great number of small insects flew to her, some went under her skin, then they flew away again.

While the Lady's virtues and good conduct may be exaggerated, she had managed well in the complex politics of harem and court. The support of the Empress Yin was obviously critical, and the Lady Ma was able to convince her that she would pose no threat to the interests of her family. At the same time, the Lady Jia was obliged to acquiesce in losing not only her child but all the benefits to her kinfolk which might have flowed from his accession. Though the Jia were related to the Ma through a distaff line, it appears that they were in no position to withstand the rivalry of other factions, and one must assume that sponsorship by the Dowager and a take-over by the Lady Ma were the best options open. In fact, the male members of the Jia family gained no advantage from their close connection to the throne, and though the Lady Jia was awarded insignia and gifts after the death of the Dowager in 64, she died in obscurity in the rear palace and received no acknowledgement even after her son, Emperor Zhang, came to the throne ten years later.

The male members of the Ma family were likewise kept at a distance. Emperor Guangwu had noted how the power of the Wang family culminated in

the usurpation of Wang Mang at the end of Former Han, and his son Emperor Ming neither ennobled the relatives of his consort nor gave them any significant office. The Empress Ma fully approved this policy, and she made a point of modest behaviour, always wearing a long robe of plain silk, without the border due to her rank. On one occasion, the ladies of the harem came to pay her court. They saw the robe from a distance and thought it was of the highest quality, but laughed when they got close and realised what poor stuff it was made of. The empress explained that she used the material because it took dye very well, and all the women admired her sense and frugality.

The Lady Ma did not enjoy excursions, and seldom took part in them. There was one time the emperor was in a park at the Northern Palace, surrounded by his concubines, with his son Liu Yan and others in attendance. They asked that the empress join them, but the emperor laughed and explained that "She does not enjoy music, so she takes no pleasure in such parties as these." At another time, when he was visiting a detached palace for a hunting party she expressed concern that he risked his health in the wind and damp of the early morning.

During the early 70s many people were implicated in the case of Liu Ying the King of Chu and were arrested. The empress was concerned at the numbers affected, and as she and the emperor were together at night she interceded for them. Influenced by her plea, the emperor became more uncertain, and many people were treated more leniently. About the same time, however, when he enfeoffed his sons as kings but granted them only small estates, she spoke on their behalf with little effect.

On another occasion there was a proposal from his military commanders, presumably on policy to deal with the non-Chinese peoples of the north and central Asia. His senior ministers gave conflicting opinions, but when the emperor discussed it with the Lady Ma she swiftly analysed the problem and found a solution to give all parties what they wanted. Thereafter he consulted her on many different affairs of state; she often made good suggestions and sought no advantage for her family. He admired her more and more, and never found cause for complaint.

As Emperor Ming died in 75, he was succeeded by Liu Da, Emperor Zhang, the son who had been brought up by the Lady Ma, and she now became Dowager.

When the Honoured Ladies of the harem were sent to live in the Southern Palace the Dowager was sorry to see them go; she had each of them granted royal insignia, a comfortable carriage, and quantities of fine cloth, silk and gold.

She took her position as Dowager most seriously: when a fire started accidentally in the suite of a princess in the Northern Palace and spread to affect the harem apartments, she took it as a portent in response to her own faults, became most depressed, and would not take part in a visit to the mausoleum of Emperor Guangwu because she felt unworthy to face him. [HHS 10A says the suite was that of the Princess of Xinping 新平, but no such fief had been awarded; it may have been the residence of the Lady Liu Zi, daughter of Emperor Ming, who was named Princess of Pingshi 平氏 in 60. Bn 76:39 & 112 suggests this was a fire recorded for the winter of 76/77.]

The Dowager also gave personal attention to compiling the Diary of Activity and Repose [起居注 *Qiju zhu*] for the reign of her late husband. During the last year of his illness her half-brother Ma Fang had attended the emperor with medicines morning and night, but she omitted all reference to this in the history. Emperor Zhang protested that Ma Fang's devotion should be recorded as an example to posterity, and it was wrong to leave it out, but the Dowager replied that she did not wish later generations to learn of the ruler's close connection to his relatives by marriage. It is said that she had the advice and encouragement of her brother Ma Liao in seeking to avoid too high a profile for herself and her family, and she certainly took the policy to heart.

In 76, the first full year of his reign, Emperor Zhang proposed to grant fiefs to the Dowager's half-brothers Ma Liao, Ma Fang and Ma Guang. He gave up the idea when she objected, but in the following year the matter was raised again, with the argument that a drought indicated the Han should return to earlier tradition, whereby the ruler's male relatives by marriage were granted "grace and favour" marquisates 恩澤侯. In a long and worthy statement, the Lady argued strongly against the proposal, citing the bad precedent of the Wang clan at the end of Former Han and the deliberate policy of Emperor Ming to restrict the size and value of his own sons' fiefs compared to those of Emperor Guangwu's; on the same analogy, her own family should not be given honours to match those awarded

to Guangwu's Empress, the late Dowager Yin.

Furthermore, she added, though she herself, as mother of the empire 天下母, had made a point of living simply, to serve as an example to others, when her relatives went to audience with her late husband they had filled the roads with carriages and horses of the finest quality, their retainers clad in splendid green and white: her brothers' array was finer than the imperial entourage. She had not been angry at this, but had quietly arranged to restrict their annual expenditure, for fear they would bring misfortune to the state and destruction to the family. Ministers should not seek to match their ruler, and this applied with even greater force to relatives by marriage. She was concerned lest the Ma suffer the same fate as the distaff families of Former Han, which had risen to the heights and then been destroyed.

Emperor Zhang returned to the debate, but the Dowager responded, observing that at the beginning of Former Han Emperor Gao promised his followers there would be no kings who were not members of the imperial Liu clan and no marquises who had not given service to the state: the grace and favour marquises were thus quite inappropriate. Moreover, she added, while it was reasonable that men should seek wealth and honour to maintain their ancestral sacrifices and for their own comfort and that of their families, the family sacrifices of the Ma were paid for by treasure from all parts of the world [no doubt through the conquests of Ma Yuan], while their personal expenses were met from the imperial treasury. Why should they be enfeoffed as well? Again the fiefs were not awarded.

Before this, when the chief wife of Ma Yuan, the Dowagers' father, died in 74, her sons raised a tomb-mound for her slightly higher than regulations allowed. The Dowager now heard about this and made her views known, and the top of the tomb was lowered. She acted as a censor both for her own family and for the male members of the imperial house, making detailed investigations, giving praise and rewards for good and restrained conduct, and punishing those who behaved excessively, sometimes by having them sent back to their home country. So all the sumptuary laws were obeyed, and the imperial relatives showed far greater respect than in the time of Emperor Ming.

Within the palace the Dowager established a Weaving House for the rearing of silkworms and the

making of silk, and she enjoyed visiting to observe the work. She spoke daily with Emperor Zhang about the Way of right action and good government, gave instruction to the young princes on the classics and the histories, and herself worked to the end of her life.

In 79, as the empire celebrated a good harvest and there was peace on every frontier, Emperor Zhang at last granted enfeoffment to the Lady Ma's half-brothers. She warned them against the danger for the future, but they accepted the honours. A few years later, in 83, the ostentatious conduct of the Ma earned them reprimands from the emperor, and the influence of the family began to decline.

That same year the Dowager was taken ill. She had no trust in shamans or medicine men, but went several times to pray. She died in the summer, on 16 August 79, after twenty-three years on the throne, aged just over forty *sui*.

The Lady Ma had sought to provide for the succession of the emperor and the continuing prosperity of her clan through patronage of two daughters of her cousin Song Yang. She brought them into the harem of Liu Da, and when he came to the throne in 75 both sisters became Honoured Ladies. In 78 the elder gave birth to Liu Qing, who became Heir in the following year.

HHS 10A:414 claims that the Dowager admired and approved of the Empress Dou, appointed in 78, but one may doubt that is true, for the rise of the Dou clan was a threat to the Ma. Political considerations would in any case encourage the ruler not to commit himself too firmly to one distaff faction, and after the Dowager's death the Song sisters and the brothers Ma were indeed exposed to attack from the Empress Dou and her family. In 82 the Dou were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir, the Ladies Song were forced to suicide, and in the following year the brothers Ma were disgraced.

The Lady Ma's efforts had thus preserved her family clique for some time after her death, but her forecasts of misfortune proved correct. On the other hand, while the Ma may have appeared greedy and over-powerful, their conduct paled into insignificance compared to that of the Dou, Deng, Liang and other distaff relatives who followed them. Admittedly the Ma had re-established the model of ambitious but brittle relatives by marriage observed in Former Han but, given the nature of harem and court politics

and the formal responsibilities of an empress and/or dowager, it is doubtful if any self-abnegation would have prevented the pattern from developing once more. -HHS 10A:407-14*; Bn 76:38, Bn 86A:279-280, O'Hara 55:243-248, Ch'ü 72:297-298.

Ma 馬, the Ladies II & III; Youfufeng. Two daughters of Ma Yuan 援, they were born in 38 and 39. The family fell from favour after their father's death in 49, but in 52, when they were fifteen and fourteen, his widow offered the two ladies and their youngest sister to the imperial harem, while their cousin Ma Yan sent a letter praising their virtues and describing their physical qualities as "above the middle upper" 上中之上: the grade of 上中 [A2] was second of a possible nine.

The youngest sister, the Lady Ma I, was selected into the harem of the Heir Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, and later became his empress, while their eldest sister, the Lady Ma Jiang, married Jia Wuzhong. Nothing more, however, is recorded of the Ladies Ma II and III. -HHS 10A:408.

Ma 馬, the Lady IV. Principal wife and then widow of Liu Yi the Marquis of Liwu, who was the father of Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, she was not, however, Liu Zhi's natural mother: see *sub* the Lady Yan Ming.

Liu Zhi was brought to the imperial throne in 146, and in 148 the Lady Ma was named an Honoured Lady to attend the tomb of Liu Yi, with maintenance from the revenue of three counties. Also in 148, Liu Zhi's brother Shi was enfeoffed as King of Pingyuan. He was often drunk and incapable of carrying out his duties, so the Lady Ma was given charge of his affairs. -HHS 55/45:1809.

Ma 馬, the Lady V (122-187); Youfufeng. Apparently a grand-daughter of Ma Yan, and certainly connected to the family of imperial relatives by marriage from the first century, the Lady Ma was married to the Excellency Yuan Tang. Cai Yong composed a funerary inscription for her. -Cai 9:55.

Ma 馬, the Lady VI; Longxi. Daughter of Ma Chao, she became the wife of Liu Li 劉理, King of Anding and son of Liu Shan 劉禪, the second Sovereign of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 6:967.

Ma 馬 [personal name unknown] (d.24); Xindu/Anping. Member of a leading local family and younger brother of Ma Chong, in 24 he was a colonel under Li Zhong, officer of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu but at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor. When Ma Chong turned against Han and invited the

troops of the pretender Wang Lang into Xindu, he took members of Li Zhong's household hostage and sought to have him change sides. Li Zhong refused, and he killed Ma Chong's brother.

Ma 馬 [personal name unknown]; Youfufeng. Son of Ma Kang 伉, this young man lived at Luoyang with his uncle Ma Rong. He died about 120, and Ma Rong resigned office in respect for him. -HHS 60/50A:1970.

Ma Ai 馬艾. Administrator of Dunhuang, he died in office about 220. -SGZ 18:550.

Ma [Boji] 馬伯濟; Nanyang. Son of Ma Wu, about 70 it was alleged that he was involved with Yan Zhong in a conspiracy on behalf of Liu Ying, King of Chu. The family fief held by Boji's younger brother Ma Tan was abolished, and it is likely Ma Boji was executed. -HHS 22/12:786.

Ma Can 馬參 see Ma Qi 馬齊.

Ma Ce 馬側; Nanyang. Son of Ma Zhen, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 22/12:786.

Ma Ce 馬策 see Ma Ying 馬英.

Ma Chang 馬昌; Nanyang. About 150, when Emperor Huan was under the regency of the Liang family, the marquise inherited from Guangwu's general Ma Cheng was abolished because the incumbent, Ma Chou, was found guilty of some crime. When the emperor took power for himself in 159 he restored the inheritance in favour of Ma Chang, a great-great-grandson of Ma Cheng. The fief territory, however, was now only a village in Changsha commandery. -HHS 22/12:780.

Ma Chao 馬超 [Mengqi 孟起] (176-222); Youfufeng. Son of Ma Teng, about 197 Ma Chao served under his father against Han Sui, but was wounded and nearly killed by Han Sui's officer Yan Xing.

In 202 Ma Chao was sent to assist Cao Cao's Director of Retainers Zhong Yao against Guo Yuan and Gao Gan of the Yuan family. They defeated the enemy at Pingyang in Hedong, and Guo Yuan was killed.

As his father and brothers moved east in 208, Ma Chao remained in command about Chang'an, with rank as lieutenant-general and enfeoffment as marquis. About 210 he established a rapprochement with Han Sui: he told Han Sui how he had refused the orders of Cao Cao's agent Zhong Yao to assassinate him, described himself as Han Sui's son now that Ma Teng had gone to Cao Cao, and sought his paternal support.

In the following year, as Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan moved into the northwest Ma Chao and Han Sui gathered other chieftains to oppose him, but in the autumn Cao Cao defeated the allies at Huayin by the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River. The warlords were driven back to the west, and in the following year Ma Chao's father and brothers were killed at Ye city.

In 213 Ma Chao, now based in Longxi, allied to the Qiang and Di people and supported by Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, invaded Hanyang, seized the capital, Ji city, and styled himself ruler of Bing and Liang provinces. Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan could make no headway against him, but in the autumn a local rising led by Yang Fu and Jiang Xu broke Ma Chao's power and drove him south across the ranges to take refuge with Zhang Lu.

Zhang Lu at first received Ma Chao well, gave him high rank, and intended to have him marry his daughter. He was dissuaded from this because of Ma Chao's reputation for abandoning his father and brothers, but he did support Ma Chao in another attempt to re-establish himself in Liang province in 214. This time Ma Chao was defeated by Xiahou Yuan and, as Zhang Lu would assist him no further, he took refuge with the Di. Soon afterwards he was invited to join Liu Bei in his attack on Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province. His accession was valuable, and when Liu Bei took over the province he made Ma Chao a chief general.

When Liu Bei attacked Hanzhong, now controlled by Cao Cao, in 217, Ma Chao and others were sent to occupy Wudu, but they were forced to withdraw early in the following year.

After Liu Bei captured Hanzhong and proclaimed himself king in 219, Ma Chao was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. He was appointed General of the Left with the Staff of Authority, and when Liu Bei took the imperial title in 221 he was named General of Agile Cavalry, Governor of Liang province, and was raised in fief. He died in the following year. -SGZ Shu 6:944-47*.

Ma Chao 馬超, wife of: see the Lady Yang 楊.

Ma Chao 馬超, concubine of: see the Lady Dong 董 V, and also *sub* Chong 种 [surname unknown].

Ma Cheng 馬成 [Junqian 君遷] (d.56); Nanyang. As a young man Ma Cheng was a local officer in his home county, but when rebellion against Wang Mang broke out early in 23 he joined the staff of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, with responsibility for

military discipline. He accompanied the expedition to Yingchuan and later became a county magistrate in Runan under the Gengshi Emperor.

In 24 Ma Cheng heard that Liu Xiu had been sent as a commissioner to the north, and he left his post to join him, travelling on foot and carrying his own baggage. He was again appointed to Liu Xiu's personal guard and took part in all his campaigns. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25, Ma Cheng was named Commandant Protector of the Army, chief of military police.

In 26 Ma Cheng followed He Yan to attack the pretender Liu Yong, and after the death of Liu Yong in 27 he accompanied Liu Long and others on their first offensive against the claimant Li Xian, south of the Huai. In 28 he joined the main imperial army against the south-eastern warlords.

As the emperor arrived at Shouchun on the Huai, Ma Cheng was named a general and was sent with Liu Long, Song Deng and Wang Chang to raise troops in the commanderies about the lower Yangzi and the Huai and bring them against Shu city in Lujiang, Li Xian's last stronghold. Under strict instructions, they refused all challenges to battle but maintained a tight siege for more than a year. By the spring of 30 the city was starving and the imperial troops took it by storm. Li Xian and his family were killed, the remnants of his party surrendered, and the territory of the lower Yangzi and the south of the Huai was settled.

In 31 Ma Cheng was enfeoffed as Marquis of Pingshu 平舒, a county in Dai commandery whose name gave courteous reference to his "pacification" of Shu 舒 city. In the following year he joined the campaign against Wei Ao and was named Administrator of Tianshui, still with a general's command of troops. In the winter, however, after the main army had turned back to deal with rebellion to the east, Ma Cheng was faced with a local revival of support for Wei Ao and was obliged to withdraw to Chang'an. Wei Ao died soon afterwards, and in 33 Ma Cheng returned with the army under Lai Xi to mop up the last of his forces. After a preliminary advance into Wudu, Ma Cheng and Liu Shang were left to deal with the local non-Chinese and take over the whole commandery.

Early in 35 Ma Cheng accompanied Ma Yuan against the Xianlian Qiang in Jincheng, and in the summer he joined Lai Xi for the attack south through the Qin Ling ranges against Gongsun Shu. When Lai

Xi was assassinated by an enemy agent the campaign on that front was halted, but Ma Cheng settled Wudu commandery, then joined Ma Yuan to deal with the Qiang in Longxi.

In the winter of 36/37 the Excellency of Works Li Tong left office. Ma Cheng was named Acting Excellency in his place, but returned to command as a general a few months later.

In 38 Ma Cheng was sent north to supervise the defence of Changshan and Zhongshan against raiding from the Xiongnu. He took over the troops formerly commanded by the chief general Zhu You, and later replaced also the disgraced general Du Mao. For five or six years Ma Cheng was engaged in the construction of walls and signal-towers across Taiyuan and along the ridge of the Taihang Mountains as far south as the Wei River. Further north, another line of defence was built across Dai commandery, and in 39 the people of Yanmen, Shanggu and Dai were brought to the south. The fortifications were ambitious and extensive, but they meant that most of the territory outside the North China plain was abandoned to raiding and then settlement by the Xiongnu.

About 44 Ma Cheng was recalled to the capital on leave. Many people in the region remembered his efforts on their behalf, and as the Xiongnu were divided and weakened, and the north obtained a measure of peace, Ma Cheng was appointed Administrator of Zhongshan. He returned his general's insignia, but retained the right to lead troops beyond the commandery borders.

In the autumn of 48 Ma Cheng was sent with the Internuncio Li Song to halt the depredations by non-Chinese tribes in the west of Wuling, who had destroyed an imperial army under Liu Shang and were raiding into Nan commandery. Achieving no success, Ma Cheng resigned his office and Ma Yuan was given charge of the campaign.

In 51 Ma Cheng's county fief was transferred into Jiujiang. He took up residence there and died in retirement five years later. When Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Ma Cheng was one of those who were honoured. -*HHS* 22/12:778-79*; Bn 59:142, Bn 67:112-113, 138, 171, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:85.

Ma Cheng 馬成 (d.48). A client of the Yin family of the empress, Ma Cheng was a bully and trouble-maker in Luoyang. In 48 the new Prefect Yu Yan arrested

him, and though the empress's brother Yin Jiu appealed for him Guangwu supported Yu Yan. Ma Cheng was executed. -*HHS* 33/23:1152-53.

Ma Cheng 馬承; Longxi. Son of Ma Chao, in 222 he was granted succession to his fief in the state of Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 6:947.

Ma Chong 馬寵 (d.24); Xindu/Anping. Member of a leading local family in Xindu city, in 24 Ma Chong opened the gates and gave entry to troops of the pretender Wang Lang at the expense of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu but at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor. Wang Lang appointed a king of Xindu, presumably Ma Chong.

Ma Chong and his associates had captured the families of Liu Xiu's officers Li Zhong and Pi Tong, and they sent other members of their households with a call to change sides. Pi Tong wept and refused, while Li Zhong, more ferocious, arrested and killed Ma Chong's younger brother, who had been serving as a colonel in his command. Soon afterwards Xindu city was recaptured by troops of the Gengshi Emperor under Xie Gong, and the families of both Li Zhong and Pi Tong were rescued unharmed.

As Li Zhong now killed supporters of Wang Lang, Ma Chong and his family were certainly among the victims. -*HHS* 21/11:755-56, 758-59; Bn 59:74-75.

Ma Chou 馬醜; Nanyang. Son of Ma Yi 邑, Ma Chou succeeded to the family marquise, but he was found guilty of a crime about 150 and the fief was ended. See also *sub* Ma Chang. -*HHS* 22/12:780.

Ma Da 馬達 or Sima Da 司馬達 [the surname appears in two forms at two different places, and it is not possible to judge which is correct]. Administrator of Dunhuang, in the summer of 151 Ma/Sima Da led four thousand commandery troops, with allied forces, to attack Xiongnu raiders who had laid siege to the town of Yiwu [Hami]. The enemy withdrew and the Chinese gained no success.

Later that year the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions Zhao Ping died at Yutian [Khotan], and King Chengguo of Jumi [present-day Yutian] claimed he had been poisoned by King Jian. Zhao Ping's son reported this to Sima/Ma Da, who encouraged Zhao Ping's successor Wang Jing to investigate. Jian, however, was assassinated, and Wang Jing was killed in the rioting that followed. Sima/Ma Da wanted to lead an army against Yutian, but the court did not approve and he was recalled. -*HHS* 88/78:2916 [as Ma Da], 2930 [as

Sima Da].

Ma Da 麻達 wrote a commentary to the *Analects* of Confucius. -*FSTY* 6f:137.

Ma Dai 馬岱; Longxi. A cousin of Ma Chao, Ma Dai became a general and a marquis in the state of Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 6:947.

Ma Daosong 馬道嵩; Julu. A local officer under Zhang Dao the Administrator of Julu in 149, Ma Daosong took part in his work of water control on the Zhang River. -*SJZ* 10:17a.

Ma [Dibo] 馬第伯. As a junior official, Ma Dibo took part in the Feng and Shan sacrifices held by Emperor Guangwu in 56. His *Feng-Shan yi ji* 封禪儀記 is a personal record of their observance. -*Bn* 79:172-180.

Ma Du 馬度. Grandson of Ma Liao, in 109 the government of the Dowager Deng granted him a county marquissate in Yingchuan. This restored the fief which had been reduced and then abolished in the lineage of his uncle Ma Zun. -*HHS* 24/14:855.

Ma Dun 馬敦 or Ma Fu 敷 [Ruqing 孺卿]; Youfufeng. Son of Ma Yu and younger brother of Ma Yan, Ma Dun shared in his travels as a child. He was likewise respected as a scholar and a gentleman, though in the early 40s Ma Yuan sent a letter to reprimand Ma Yan and Ma Dun for their willingness to criticise others.

The family was briefly disgraced after the death of Ma Yuan in 49, but returned to favour as Ma Dun's cousin, the Lady Ma I, became consort to Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming. Ma Dun served as General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger. -*HHS* 24/14:844, 858-62.

Ma Fang 馬防 [Jiangping 江平 or Gongping 公平 or Xiaosun 孝孫] (d.101); Youfufeng. Second son of Ma Yuan 援 and half-brother of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming, in 70 Ma Fang and his younger brother Guang were appointed Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. Ma Fang gained favourable notice from the emperor for his suggestions on supplying fodder for horses in campaigns beyond the frontier against the Xiongnu.

Though Emperor Ming neither ennobled the brothers of his consort nor gave them significant office, they each received a substantial pension from the official treasury. For several months, moreover, when the ruler was on his deathbed, Ma Fang came day and night to look after him and bring medicines.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, he wished to enfeoff Ma Fang, Ma Liao and Ma Guang, half-brothers of his adoptive mother the Empress, now

Dowager, Ma. The Dowager opposed the plan, arguing that the favour was not deserved and would make the family too vulnerable. For the time being Ma Fang was made only a General of the Household and then Colonel of the City Gates.

In the summer of 77 the Qiang chieftain Miyu led tribesmen from Longxi and Jincheng into Hanyang. Despite opposition from the Excellency Diwu Lun, Ma Fang was named Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry and was sent with thirty thousand men from the Northern Army and local levies to attack the invaders.

As they came into Hanyang, the enemy chieftain Buqiao had laid siege to Lintao, headquarters of the southern Commandant of Longxi. Ma Fang wanted to go to the relief, but the army was held back by the difficulty of the terrain and the road. He therefore sent two majors with a few hundred horsemen as an advance guard, to set up a great camp some twenty kilometres short of Lintao and plant a multitude of banners to make it appear that the main army was on its way. The enemy scouts were indeed deceived, and returned to their own people with the news that an overwhelming force was about to arrive.

On the following day the small advance guard went forward to beat of drum, and the Qiang were frightened and fled. The Chinese pursued and defeated them, claiming more than four thousand heads, and the siege of Lintao was broken.

Ma Fang now persuaded the main Shaoqiang tribe of the Qiang to surrender, giving promises of fair dealing, and only Buqiao remained defiant in the valleys to the southwest. At the end of the year, however, the Qiang rose once more, defeating troops of Ma Fang's second-in-command Geng Gong and the Chief Clerk of Longxi in the hill country and inflicting several hundred casualties.

In the spring Ma Fang returned with a three-pronged attack against the enemy: as the major Xia Jun led five thousand men in a direct advance, his colleague Ma Peng took another five thousand in an oblique approach to surprise their base territory, while Ma Fang's own Chief Clerk Li Tiao led four thousand men to encircle them on the west. The three contingents joined to attack the enemy and defeated them, killing or capturing more than a thousand and taking a hundred thousand cattle and sheep. As the Qiang fled, they defeated Xia Jun in a rear-guard

action, but Ma Fang resumed the advance and Buqiao, exhausted, brought ten thousand of his people to surrender. By autumn the Shaodang Qiang were again under control, and Ma Fang re-established a military presence in southern Longxi, with fortresses, watch-towers and signal posts.

Confirmed as full General of Chariots and Cavalry while still holding office as Colonel of the City Gates, Ma Fang returned to Luoyang. The emperor came in person to visit him, and Ma Fang was granted the right to nominate two candidates for the imperial service each year.

Ma Fang's second-in-command Geng Gong had been left to deal with those who had not yet surrendered. Geng Gong had earlier put forward a strategy to deal with the Qiang: noting that the north-western warlord and later minister Dou Rong had established good relations with the non-Chinese at the time of the restoration, he proposed that Dou Rong's nephew Dou Gu, a man of military achievement, be sent as an envoy with authority to settle them, while Ma Fang was stationed in Hanyang to provide a credible threat against any who stayed recalcitrant.

The plan may have been genuine, but the Geng had an old factional alliance with the Dou clan against the Ma, and Ma Fang saw the secondary place proposed for him as an insult to himself and to his family, which also had a long tradition in the northwest. On his return to the capital he made his feelings known, and an inspecting officer duly reported that Geng Gong lacked concern for his duties and resented imperial orders. Geng Gong was recalled, arrested and dismissed from his appointment.

In 79 Ma Fang ceased to be General of Chariots and Cavalry, but he and his brothers Liao and Guang received county fiefs, with title as Specially Advanced so that they might maintain residence at the capital; the brothers had initially asked to receive only secondary marquisates. Ma Fang now also received credit for the care he had given Emperor Ming on his final sickbed, and for his conquests in the west. His fief in Yingchuan, with an appanage of 6,000 households, was augmented by a further 1,350 households.

The death of the Dowager Ma that summer brought no immediate decline in the family fortunes, and in 80 Ma Fang became Minister of the Household while Ma Guang was made Minister of the Guards.

Ma Fang regularly gave advice on matters of

government, and he invited scholars and literary men to join his staff. He was a particular patron of music: he supported Bao Ye's proposal to reform the system of court music; and performances at his own events were compared to the state sacrifices. In 80 he proposed a musical enhancement of the seasonal ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers, and though his full repertoire was rejected because of the cost of instruments and players, the new ritual, based upon the *Yue ling* 月令 "Monthly Ordinances" of the pre-Han period, followed his initiative.

In 82 Ma Fang sought to retire on grounds of ill health. An imperial edict approved that he continue as Specially Advanced, and receive the estates in the capital district formerly held by Liu Yan, King of Zhongshan, maintaining him in royal style. The family was now at the height of influence and favour. Both Ma Fang and Ma Guang had over a thousand male and female slaves, goods valued in millions of cash, and great mansions and pavilions constructed on the finest land in the capital district. Their clients filled the roads and they had hundreds of resident guests, including such men of quality as Du Du, a celebrated man of letters from Jingzhao. Numbers of inspectors, administrators and magistrates came from the clan, and the bounty they extended to their dependent villagers each year was unmatched in history.

Besides his wealth within the empire, Ma Fang had also acquired great herds of horses and cattle which he used to gain support amongst the Qiang and other non-Chinese peoples. Displeased at this, however, the emperor reprimanded him on several occasions and eventually forbade all such contacts. As Ma Fang lost favour, the number of his clients declined.

Moreover, though the Dowager Ma had sought to protect her family by arranging the appointment of Liu Qing, son of her cousin the Honoured Lady Song, as Heir, after her death in 79 all were exposed to attack. In 82 the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir and the Ladies Song were forced to suicide.

In the following year it was further alleged that Ma Fang's nephew Ma Yu had complained to some junior members of the clan about the family's loss of influence: he was executed for criticising the throne. Soon afterwards Ma Fang and Ma Guang were accused of corruption and bad influence on the government. They were dismissed from their office and Ma Fang

and Ma Liao were ordered out to their estates.

Ma Guang was allowed to remain at the capital and later returned to ministerial rank, but after the Dou clan was overthrown by Emperor He and his eunuch allies in 91 he was accused of association with them. The rest of the family was then involved, and Ma Fang was sent to Danyang, south of the Yangzi, with his county fief reduced to that of a district; his revenue, however, remained substantial and he was left independent of local officials.

Some time later, because of the unhealthy damp of the southeast, Ma Fang asked to return to his home country. Emperor He agreed, and Ma Fang died in Youfufeng in 101. -HHS 24/14:855-58*, 3:135-37, 87/77:2881; Bodde 75:199, Ch'ü 72:376.

Ma Fang 馬訪 also as Zhen Fang 甄訪. Following the death of Emperor Shun in 144, the regent government of his Dowager Liang proposed that his funerary tablet be given higher position than that of his short-lived predecessor Liu Long the Young Emperor, an infant who had reigned for just a few months in 106. This would mean that in a future generation Liu Long's tablet would be removed first.

As Minister of Ceremonies, Ma Fang endorsed this idea, but the Counsellor Lü Bo argued that proper order should be observed, and when the matter was opened for discussion at court the Minister Herald Zhou Ju agreed with him. So precedence was maintained in order of chronology and dynastic descent. -HHS 61/51: 2029.

Ma Feng 馬豐; Nanyang. Son of Ma Xiang, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 22/12:780.

Ma Fu 馬浮 [Yuanxian 元顯]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Ma Fu was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Ma Fu 馬敷 see Ma Dun 馬敦.

Ma Fu 馬復 see *sub* Ma Lang 馬郎.

Ma Gu 馬固; Youfufeng. Eldest son of Ma Yan, he did not distinguish himself. -HHS 24/14:862.

Ma Guang 馬光 [Shushan 叔山] (d.91); Youfufeng. Third son of Ma Yuan 援 and half-brother of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming, in 70 Ma Guang and his elder brother Fang were given junior office as Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates. Though Emperor Ming neither ennobled the brothers of his consort nor gave them significant appointment, they did receive a substantial pension from the official treasury.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 he wanted to enfeoff the three half-brothers of his adoptive mother the Empress Ma, now Dowager. The Lady Ma opposed the plan, arguing that the favour was not deserved and would make the family too vulnerable, and she maintained her opposition for several years. The success of Ma Fang against the Qiang in the mid-70s, however, enhanced the fortunes of the family, and in 78 Ma Guang was promoted from a colonel in the Northern Army to become Bearer of the Mace.

In 79 all three brothers were at last made marquises of counties, with title as Specially Advanced, permitting them to remain in residence at the capital; we are told that they initially sought to reject the full fiefs, and asked only for secondary marquises. The death of the Dowager that summer brought no immediate loss to the family fortunes, for in 80 Ma Guang became Minister of the Guards while Ma Fang was made Minister of the Household.

A cautious and conservative man, Ma Guang did not play such a leading role in government as his brother, but with income from six thousand households at his fief in Yingchuan he shared Ma Fang's prosperity. Each possessed more than a thousand slaves, millions of cash in property, and mansions and pavilions across the capital district. They had a host of clients and hundreds of resident guests, while the clan produced several inspectors, administrators and magistrates.

The Dowager Ma had sought to protect her family by arranging the appointment of Liu Qing, son of her cousin the Honoured Lady Song, as Heir, but after her death in 79 all were exposed to attack, and in 82 the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir and the Ladies Song were forced to suicide.

In the following year it was alleged that Ma Yu, son of Ma Liao, had complained about the family's loss of influence: he was executed for criticising the throne. Ma Guang and Ma Fang were then accused of corruption and bad influence on the government and were dismissed from their offices. Ma Fang and Ma Liao were ordered out to their estates, but Ma Guang had attracted the sympathy of Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, by his evident distress at the time of his mother's death in 74, and he received a last-minute reprieve. An edict ordered that he be allowed to take part in seasonal ceremonies to honour the late Dowager, and he was restored as Specially Advanced,

with right to reside at the capital.

In 90, under the government of the young Emperor He controlled by the Dowager Dou and her family, Ma Guang returned to ministerial rank as Coachman. Besides the imperial stables, a major responsibility of that office was the breeding of horses for the army, and Ma Guang is said to have brought substantial savings to the expenses of the ministry. In the following year, however, after the power of the Dou was overthrown by Emperor He and his eunuch allies, Ma Guang was thought to have been too close an associate to the defeated faction, and he was ordered away to his estates.

Yu Dang, a slave of Dou Xian, was afraid for his life. He approached Ma Guang for help, but Ma Guang, no doubt to keep as much distance as possible, turned him away. Yu Dang was resentful, and when he was later arrested he claimed that Ma Guang had plotted treason with Dou Xian. Unable to disprove the allegation, Ma Guang killed himself.

Another former slave of Dou Xian by the name of Guo Hu later gave evidence which exonerated Ma Guang. His son Ma Lang then wrote to request that he might bring his body back for burial in the family tomb; this was approved. -*HHS* 24/14:855-58.

Ma Guang 馬光; Anding. When the frontier general Ma Xian was defeated by the Qiang in 141, his two sons also died in battle. In sympathy and recognition of Ma Xian's earlier achievements, Emperor Shun gave awards to the family, and in 142 he enfeoffed his grandson Ma Guang as a village marquis, with an annual pension of a million cash. -*HHS* 87/77:2895.

Ma Guo 馬國. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Ma Guo took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county fief in Julu.

In 126 Ma Guo joined Sun Cheng and others to support the Director of Retainers Yu Xu in attacking the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang. The emperor was compelled to disgrace Zhang Fang, but he was angry at the result, and in the following year Sun Cheng, Ma Guo and all their colleagues were sent out to their fiefs. In 128 the emperor formally recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. -*HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Ma Ji 馬期 see Ma Qi 馬期.

Ma Jiang 馬姜, the Lady (34-106); Nanyang. A

daughter of the general Ma Yuan and a sister of the Empress of Emperor Ming, the Lady married Jia Wuzhong, son of Jia Fu, and bore him four daughters.

Her husband died in 64, when the Lady was still young, but she brought up her daughters carefully. They all made good marriages, and one joined her aunt in the harem of Emperor Ming and became an Honoured Lady.

When the Lady died at the age of seventy-three, her children and grand-children had a stele set up at her tomb. -Nagata 94:44.

Ma Jiang 馬姜, the Lady [Zongmei 宗美]; Youfufeng. *Sanfu juehu*, cited by *HHSJJ* 24/14:908 Hui Dong, says that the wife of Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧, author of that work, was the Lady Ma Jiang. The biography of Zhao Qi in *HHS* 64/54:2121 says that his wife was the Lady Ma Zongmei, a niece of Ma Rong; Zongmei was presumably the Lady's style.

Ma Jiang 馬江 [Yuanhai 元海] (114-153); Jiyin. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt in 150, Ma Jiang entered probationary appointment as a gentleman cadet. Three years later, at the age of forty he became ill and died.

When Ma Jiang's widow the Lady Cao died in 170, a stele was erected to commemorate his life, her long widowhood, and also Ma Jiang's brother Wenxu, who had died earlier. -*LS* 8:11b-13a.

Ma Jiang 馬江, wife of: see the Lady Cao 曹 I.

Ma [Jichang] 馬季長; Youfufeng. Noted for his literary and scholarly ability in the first part of the second century, Ma Jichang later had an official career. He is mentioned by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -*HHS* 80/70A:2617 & *JJ* at 2870 Hui Dong, *HYGZ* 10C:174.

Ma Jingsi 馬敬司 see Sima Jingsi 司馬敬司.

Ma Ju 馬鉅; Youfufeng. Son of Ma Fang, at the time of the family prosperity and favour in the early 80s, Ma Ju was enrolled in the Palace School for Noble Families. When he was due to be capped in 81 Emperor Zhang gave orders for the ceremony to be held in the palace. He attended in person, and at the same time Ma Ju received appointment as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates.

When the family lost favour in 83, Ma Fang was dismissed from the capital and then sent into exile, but after his death in 101 Ma Ju was allowed to succeed to his district fief. He later became a colonel in the Northern Army. -*HHS* 24/14:856-58.

Ma Kang 馬康 I (d.91); Youfufeng. Son of Ma Guang,

about 84 Ma Kang became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and when his father became Minister Coachman in 90 he was made a Palace Attendant.

After the power of the Dou family was overthrown by Emperor He and his eunuch allies in the following year, Ma Guang was accused of treachery and committed suicide. Members of his household and other dependents were sent back to their homelands, and many of them, including Ma Kang, were killed by local officials. -HHS 24/14:858.

Ma Kang 馬伋 II; Youfufeng. Second son of Ma Yan, he did not distinguish himself. -HHS 24/14:862.

Ma [Keqing] 馬客卿; Youfufeng. Youngest son of Ma Yuan 援 by his concubine the Lady Lin, and full brother of the future Empress Ma of Emperor Ming, Ma Keqing could sometimes appear slow, but was in fact extremely clever. He showed great talent as a child, and at the age of six he was able to greet and converse with visitors and clients. On one occasion, as a man fleeing from a death sentence came past, he hid him in a wine-jar and saved his life.

His father admired him and believed he had ability to hold the highest office. Inspired by the great travelling diplomats and administrators such as Zhang Yi 張儀 and Yu Qing 虞卿 of the pre-Qin period, he gave him the style Keqing "guest minister"; the personal name is not recorded.

Ma Keqing died young, soon after his father's death in 49. -HHS 24/14:852.

Ma Kuang 馬況 [Changping 長平 or Junping 君平]; Youfufeng. Eldest brother of Ma Yuan 援, he was Administrator of Henan and was enfeoffed under Wang Mang. -HHS 24/14:827, DGHJ 12:1a.

Ma Lang 馬郎 or Ma Fu 復 (see below); Youfufeng. Son of Ma Guang, after the death and disgrace of his father on allegations of treason, it was found that the charges were false. Ma Lang sought permission to collect his body and bury it in the family tomb, and Emperor He gave his approval.

In 113 the regent Dowager Deng called the descendants of Ma Lang's grandfather Ma Yuan 援 back to the capital for the seasonal ceremonies, and Ma Lang was enfeoffed with a district marquisate in Donghai. -HHS 24/14:858.

One edition of *Shuijing zhu* gives the personal name of this man as Fu 復, and dates his enfeoffment to the year 120: SJZ 25:7b.

Ma Leng 馬陵 [Bowe 伯威]; Youfufeng. Ma Leng

was a descendant of Ma Yuan 援. His parents died when he was young and he was brought up by his cousin Ma Yi as if he were his own brother. When Ma Yi died, Ma Leng maintained the full three-year mourning for him.

Ma Leng became Officer of Merit in his commandery about 80, and was recommended Filial and Incorrupt. The clan fell into disgrace about this time, but Emperor Zhang admired Ma Leng's personal qualities and appointed him an Internuncio.

He became Administrator of Guanghan in 87, at a time of severe drought; grain was dear and people were starving. Ma Leng recommended abolition of the official salt monopoly to ease the burdens on the people, he reduced taxes, issued relief to the poor, and arranged public works of water control to develop arable land. The people set up a stele in his honour.

In 90 he was transferred to Hanyang, where he established a reputation for firm government. When Dou Xian was on campaign in Wuwei, Ma Leng enforced heavy taxation to raise money for the army. This was held against him when Dou Xian was destroyed in 92, but he was allowed to escape punishment by paying a fine.

A few years later, when there was unrest along the lower Yangzi, Ma Leng was sent to be Administrator of Danyang. He raised troops to attack the bandits and put down the disorder. There was some embarrassment when he was accused of involvement in robbery and banditry, but when the case was forwarded to the Minister of Justice at Luoyang, Ma Leng was exonerated. Transferred to Kuaiji, he was again noted for his good government.

About 110 Ma Leng returned north as Administrator of Henei, but a few years later he was found guilty of some fault. Having ransomed himself once more, he died at home. -HHS 24/14:862-63.

Ma Liang 馬良 [Jichang 季常] (186-222); Nan. Talented and good-looking, Ma Liang and his brothers were admired in their community, and Ma Liang was noted for having white hair in his eyebrows. A friend of Zhuge Liang, he became an Attendant Officer to Liu Bei after the victory at the Red Cliffs in 208. As Liu Bei and then Zhuge Liang went to the west in 212 and 213, Ma Liang remained behind in Jing province, but later returned to Liu Bei's personal staff and served as ambassador to Sun Quan.

When Liu Bei took the imperial title in 221, he

named Ma Liang as a Palace Attendant, and as he embarked on his ill-fated attack down the Yangzi against Jing province, he sent Ma Liang into Wuling to raise the local tribes as allies. Liu Bei's army was defeated in the following year, and Ma Liang was cut off and killed. -SGZ Shu 9.982-83*.

Ma Liao 馬廖 [Jingping 敬平] (d.92); Youfufeng. Eldest son of Ma Yuan 援, Ma Liao was a keen scholar of the *Book of Changes*. He became a gentleman cadet in *ren* right of his father, but when Ma Yuan died in 49 factional opponents claimed that his last campaign, against the non-Chinese of Wuling, had been a failure. The family suffered eclipse and Ma Liao was refused the succession to his father's fief.

In 60, however, Ma Liao's younger half-sister became the Empress of Emperor Ming, and Ma Liao became an officer in the Feathered Forest guards and then General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

In 74 Ma Liao went with Zheng Zhong to the conquest of Jushi [Turfan], and he remained in Dunhuang with a watching brief as Protector of the Western Regions.

The testamentary edict of Emperor Ming ordered that Ma Liao should be given control of all access to the private apartments of the palace, and in 75 the new Emperor Zhang brought him to the capital as Minister of the Guards. He treated him with favour and respect, and the family held great influence at court.

The Lady Ma, now Dowager, paid close attention to government, but Ma Liao was concerned that although her intentions were good there could be difficulty later. He urged his sister to withdraw further from public life, and she indeed did so. Honest and loyal, Ma Liao had no interest in a great name for himself. The senior ministers argued that past precedent called for his family to be enfeoffed, and the emperor was anxious to arrange it, but Ma Liao and the Dowager opposed the idea on grounds that the favour was not deserved and would make the family too vulnerable.

In 79, after the success of his brother Ma Fang against the Qiang in the northwest, Ma Liao received a county fief in Nanyang, with title as Specially Advanced so that he might maintain his residence at the capital. At first, he and his brothers had asked only for secondary marquises, and though he was awarded many gifts, Ma Liao said that he was unworthy of such generosity, and refused them. He was too easy-going to engage in factional intrigue, and people at Luoyang

admired his modesty.

On the other hand, though his brothers held ministerial rank, and his half-sister the Dowager had arranged the appointment of Liu Qing, son of her cousin the Honoured Lady Song, as Heir, when she died in 79 all the Ma group were exposed to attack. In 82 the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir and the Ladies Song were forced to suicide.

In the following year it was alleged that Ma Liao's son Ma Yu had complained of the family's loss of influence, and the senior ministers had him executed for criticising the throne. Soon afterwards Ma Fang and Ma Guang were accused of corruption and bad influence on the government. They were dismissed from their offices, and Ma Liao and Ma Fang were ordered to go to their estates.

Ma Liao was later permitted to return to the capital, and at his death in 92 Emperor He, recalling his status as brother-in-law to Emperor Ming, gave gifts for his funeral, held mourning in his honour, and awarded him a posthumous title. -HHS 24/14:854-55*, XC 1:4b-5a.

Ma Ling 馬陵 see Ma Leng 馬陵.

Ma Liu 馬留; Youfufeng. Sixth son of Ma Yan, he did not distinguish himself. -HHS 24/14:862.

Ma Lun 馬倫, the Lady (122-184); Youfufeng. A daughter of the scholar Ma Rong, she possessed comparable talent. Her husband Yuan Wei attempted to over-awe her with the prosperity and power of his family as compared to that of her own, while he also had strong and restrictive views about a woman's role. The Lady defended herself and her father, and she embarrassed Yuan Wei by her learned replies.

Yuan Wei later became an Excellency, and Ma Lun was also well known. Her biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2796*, XC 6:8a-b.

Ma Mian 馬勉 (d.145); Jiujiang. In 144, after the initial success of the insurrection led by Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng, Ma Mian and his fellow-countryman Xu Feng also rebelled. While Xu Feng styled himself General Supreme, Ma Mian took the more ambitious title of Yellow Emperor 黃帝, indicating a claim to take over from Han. Wearing a deer-skin cap with yellow robes and carrying a jade seal, he set up a notional court in the hill country, proclaimed his own reign title, and sent a detached troop to attack the capital of the commandery. In the following year the rebels were

heavily defeated by a provincial army led by Teng Fu. Ma Mian was killed. -HHS 6:276-77, 38/28:1279.

Ma [Miaoqi] 馬妙祈; Ba. Husband of the Lady Ma Yi, he died when she was young. -HYGZ 1:4.

Ma Midi 馬日碑 [Wengshu 翁叔] (d.194); Youfufeng. A collateral descendent of Ma Rong, Ma Midi was a noted scholar. As a Counsellor Remonstrant in 175, he joined Cai Yong and others in proposing that five Confucian classics be engraved on stone, to prevent deterioration of the transmitted text and forgeries by contemporary scholars. Emperor Ling agreed and the Stone Classics were completed in 183. With Cai Yong, Ma Midi played a major role in editing the *Ritual*, and his name appears in the colophon to the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*.

Probably in 177, moreover, the court commissioned a fourth instalment of the official dynastic history *Han ji* 漢記, and Ma Midi was appointed to the committee. Other colleagues were Cai Yong, Yang Biao, Han Yue and Lu Zhi, but these held appointments only as Consultants, and it seems likely that Ma Midi, as Counsellor Remonstrant, was the formal chairman and convenor of the group. Their work included annals for emperors An and Shun, for the infants Chong and Zhi and for Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. It was at this time that the history acquired the name of *Dongguan Hanji*, from the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 of the Southern Palace where the library and workrooms were located. In 178 Ma Midi was among a group of scholars who were consulted by Emperor Ling on a series of portents.

Ma Midi was later a colonel in the Northern Army, and in 188 he was made Grand Commandant, highest post in the imperial civil service. He probably owed his advancement to political adaptability in the eunuch interest, and he certainly paid money for the appointment.

Early in 189 Ma Midi was reduced in rank to become Minister of Ceremonies, but he was re-appointed Grand Commandant in 191 under the government of Dong Zhuo. After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192, he spoke bitterly against the subsequent killing of Cai Yong by Wang Yun.

Later that year, as Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo seized power at the capital, Ma Midi was named Grand Tutor with formal control of the Imperial Secretariat. He was then sent as ambassador

for the new regime to the warlords of the east, but when he reached the camp of Yuan Shu he was forced to accompany him south to the Huai. Yuan Shu bullied and harassed him, seized his imperial insignia of authority, and tried to make him enter his service. Powerless and humiliated, Ma Midi became ill and died. Though a fine scholar, he was out of his depth as a public official.

In 197 his body was brought back to the imperial court, now controlled by Cao Cao at Xu city. It was suggested that he be given a state funeral, but Kong Rong argued that Ma Midi had been no more than a puppet for others and had failed to match the responsibilities of his great office. The proposal was dropped. -HHS 64/54:2117, 60/50A:1972, 60/50B:1990, 70/60:2264-65, SGZ 6:208-09, LS 14:8b.

Ma Mingsheng 馬鳴生 of Shu was the sage who taught Yin Changsheng *q.v.*

Ma Mu 馬牧 [the Shepherd] see Ma Yao 馬瑤.

Ma Mu 馬睦. In 162 Ma Mu was sent as Internuncio to command the local forces of Jing province against bandits from Yuzhang who were attacking Changsha. The army was defeated, and he and the Inspector Liu Du fled. Both men were sentenced to death less one degree. -HHS 38/28:1285, 86/76:2834.

Ma Peng 馬彭. A major under the general Ma Fang, in the spring of 78 he was sent with five thousand men in an oblique attack against the home country of the Qiang of Longxi, while his colleagues Xia Jun and Ma Peng led two other columns against the enemy. Attacking in combination, the three killed or captured over a thousand men and seized more than a hundred thousand cattle and sheep. -HHS 24/14:856.

Ma Ping 馬平 [Zishuo 子碩]; Youfufeng. Ma Ping's family claimed distant descent from the celebrated general Ma Yuan 援. During the 160s Ma Ping was a county commandant in Hanyang, and though he lost that post, he stayed in the west. Too poor to wed a Chinese, he took a woman of the Qiang people and they became the parents of Ma Teng. -HHS 72/62:2335, SGZ Shu 6:945.

Ma Pu 馬普; Ji Yin. A scholar of history, Ma Pu came to the south during the civil war at the end of Han. The Administrator of Danyang Sun Yu ordered his officers and their dependents to receive his teachings. -SGZ Wu 6:1206.

Ma Qi 馬期. In 25 Ma Qi was Administrator of Wuwei under the Gengshi regime. When that government was

destroyed, the commander Dou Rong was recognised as chief of the northwest. Ma Qi did not accept this and was obliged to leave. -HHS 23/13:797.

Ma Qi 馬齊 [Chengbo 承伯]; Ba. About 214 Ma Qi was Officer of Merit to the Administrator Zhang Fei. Zhang Fei praised him to Liu Bei, and Ma Qi was appointed to the Secretariat. He later joined the staff of Zhuge Liang and then became Administrator of Guanghan. After Zhuge Liang's death he returned to the Secretariat of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 15:1086-87. HYGZ 12:222 lists Ma Can/Shen 馬參 with the style Chengbo as a hero of Ba commandery. Can/Shen was evidently an alternative or later personal name of Ma Qi.

Ma Qiang 馬強; Youfufeng. When Ma Rong was Administrator of Nan commandery about 146, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji had him accused of corruption. Among other allegations, it was claimed that Ma Rong's son Qiang had taken a bribe from the local Bo Shang to obtain a senior appointment on his local staff. -HHSJJ 60/50A:2130 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu jue*.

Ma Qin 馬秦 (d.218); Guanghan. In 218 Ma Qin and Gao Sheng led a great bandit force into Jianwei. The Administrator Li Yan brought commandery militia to defeat them, and both leaders were killed. -SGZ Shu 10:998-99.

Ma Qiu 馬秋 (d.215); Longxi. Son of Ma Chao by his secondary wife 小妻 the Lady Dong V, Ma Qiu and his mother were left in Hanzhong when Ma Chao left Zhang Lu to join Liu Bei in 214. When Cao Cao conquered Zhang Lu in 215, he gave Ma Qiu into his charge, and Zhang Lu killed him with his own hands. -SGZ Shu 6:948.

Ma Rong 馬融 [Jichang 季長] (79-166); Youfufeng. Ma Rong was one of seven sons of Ma Yan, possibly the youngest: commentary to the biography of Ma Yan at HHS 24/14:862 lists Ma Rong as the fifth son and Ma Xu as the last, but HHS 84/74:2785 describes Ma Xu as an elder brother of Ma Rong.

Handsome and talented, Ma Rong went to study with the scholar recluse Zhi Xun, who so admired his knowledge of the Confucian classics that he gave him his daughter in marriage. Probably about 100, when Ma Rong was in his early twenties, he and his brother Ma Xu were among the scholars chosen to assist the Lady Ban Zhao complete the *Han shu* of her late brother Ban Gu.

In 108 the general Deng Zhi invited Ma Rong to join his personal staff, but Ma Rong disapproved of him. He went to the borderlands of Wudu and Hanyang, but as the great Qiang rebellion became increasingly serious, food was in short supply and people were dying of starvation. So Ma Rong returned to take service with Deng Zhi, explaining in a letter to friends, and citing the teachings of the sages Laozi and Zhuangzi, that to avoid the wickedness of the court by destroying himself was not a proper course of action. He took the position of a disengaged "hermit at court" 朝隱, but he was a political operator and not all his contemporaries believed in the eremitic pose.

In 110 Ma Rong was appointed a collator in the library of the Eastern Pavilion, joining a team of scholars who were editing the classics and other philosophical texts under the supervision of the eunuch Cai Lun. Hitherto Confucianists had generally given preference to the civil arts and sought to downgrade military matters. No doubt influenced by his experience in the west, Ma Rong protested such imbalance, and in 115 he presented the satirical *Guangcheng song* 廣成頌 "Hymn to the Guangcheng Park" to make the point. His work offended the regent Dowager Deng, so Ma Rong gained no preferment. Though Deng Zhi's son Deng Feng recommended him, this did not help, for Deng Feng was disgraced in 118. Ma Rong remained at the Eastern Pavilion until about 120, when the death of his nephew gave him cause to resign. He was then proscribed even from local office.

Following the death of the Dowager in 121, Ma Rong was recalled to office. He was still only a gentleman cadet and he went out to be the head of stables to the king of Hejian, a very petty appointment. As Emperor An came on tour to the east in 124, however, Ma Rong presented a commemorative hymn, the emperor admired it, and Ma Rong was brought back to the capital, though still only as a member of the corps of cadets. When the emperor died in 125, and the Yan family placed the infant emperor Liu Yi upon the throne, Ma Rong pleaded ill health and returned home. He later became Officer of Merit in his commandery and then a county magistrate in Yingchuan. From this position he took the occasion of an eclipse to present a long memorial urging reform.

In 133, after a series of earthquakes and other ominous portents, there was a call for nominees to give advice, and Ma Rong was recommended by the

senior official Cen Qi. His proposals were anodyne, but he was appointed a Consultant and became a senior member of staff of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang. In 140 he was Administrator of Wudu. He sent in protest against the punitive expedition proposed by Ma Xian; as he foretold, the enterprise was a disaster and major rebellion broke out as a consequence.

Ma Rong was later Administrator of Nan commandery. Though he governed well, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji became suspicious of his connection to Liang Buyi, his brother and potential rival, and he had Ma Rong impeached for corruption and sentenced to banishment in Shuofang. Ma Rong stabbed himself, but was then pardoned and reappointed as a Consultant. He returned to his scholarly work in the Eastern Pavilion.

Having defied two consort families and suffered the consequences, Ma Rong was evidently intimidated. He composed a hymn to the General-in-Chief, and it is claimed that in 147 he drafted the proposal to execute the loyal official Li Gu. Shamed by this, Ma Rong later retired on grounds of ill health. [There are doubts on this story.]

Ma Rong maintained an academy in his home until his death almost twenty years later, and his chequered official career was far out-weighted by his importance in the world of scholarship. A leader of Old Text learning, he regularly received more than a thousand students, including the later celebrated scholars Lu Zhi and Zheng Xuan. By eliminating many exaggerated theories of the official New Text, his work on the Confucian classics restored much of their authority; he compiled commentaries to the *Analects* of Confucius, to the *Poetry* and the *History*, the *Ritual* and *Zhou li*, the *Book of Changes*, and the *Book of Filial Piety*. Besides these, he also made notes on the *Laozi*, *Huainan zi*, the *Li sao* 離騷 of Qu Yuan 屈原 and on a *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳, biographies of women, either a work by Liu Xiang 劉向 of Former Han or the relevant chapter in the *Han shu* of Ban Gu. He produced a major commentary on the legal system and a great number of literary works, including rhapsodies, poems, hymns, songs, letters, inscriptions, essays and memorials.

Ma Rong reflected his eclectic approach to philosophy in his personal life. He would meet and teach students at the front of his home, but the rear part was private. There he played music – he was skilled on the drums, the zither and the flute – and

enjoyed female companionship. He was "not bound by the moral constraints of the *ru*" 不拘儒之節. -HHS 60/50A*, XC 3:10a-b, JS 20:923; Künstler 69, Dull 72:37-38, Mather 76:557, Vervorm 90:160-161.

Ma Run 馬閏; Guanghan. A local officer about 130, Ma Run revealed a private conversation with the Administrator Wu Fang. His colleague Yang Kuan and his brother Yang Kun spoke for him, but Ma Run later repeated his offence, and Yang Kuan in turn told of his private affairs. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Ma Shen 馬參 see Ma Qi 馬齊.

Ma Shi 馬寔/實 [Boqian 伯鸞]; Youfufeng. Presumably a member of the powerful clan of that region, when Ma Shi was a young man he studied the classics, and also the arts and skills of war. He travelled to Shanyang to pay his respects to Wang Chang, who at that time had yet to hold any official position. Wang Chang initially tried to turn him away but Ma Shi persisted, and Wang Chang eventually received him and treated him with the greatest friendship.

Returning to his home country, Ma Shi was recommended as Filial and Incorrupt and then joined the Imperial Secretariat. When the second great rebellion of the Qiang broke out in 140, Wang Chang was Director of the Secretariat and, knowing Ma Shi's interests and abilities, he recommended him for active service.

Ma Shi became Emissary to the Xiongnu, and in 143 he had an assassin kill the rebel chieftain Wusi. He sent the head to the court of Emperor Shun, and was rewarded with a hundred thousand cash. -HHS 6:273-74, 89/79:2963, XC 8:11b, HHJ 19:230.

Ma Shikuang 馬適匡 see Mashi Kuang 馬適匡.

Ma Shuan 馬鱣 Youfufeng. Fourth son of Ma Yan, Ma Shuan was known for his scholarship. When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 57, he appointed him a gentleman cadet and invited him to the palace, but Ma Shuan did not distinguish himself further. -HHS 24/14:860-62. The character for this man's personal name can be pronounced in modern Mandarin as either *shuan* or *zhuan*. The reading *shuan* is indicated by HHS 24/14:860 TC; see also GSR:2311.

Ma Su 馬謖 [Youchang 幼常] (190-228); Nan. A younger brother of Ma Liang, Ma Su became an Assistant Officer to Liu Bei in Jing province. He later followed him to the west, where he became magistrate of Chengdu and then Administrator of Yuexi.

A talented man, Ma Su was interested in military

planning, but Liu Bei was doubtful of his abilities in that field and warned Zhuge Liang. Zhuge Liang successfully used Ma Su as an adviser in his southern campaign, but when he gave Ma Su command against Wei in 228, Ma Su made serious errors and was defeated. Zhuge Liang executed him. -*SGZ* Shu 9.983-84.

Ma Tan 馬檀; Nanyang. Son of Ma Wu, Ma Tan succeeded to his father's marquisate in 61. Ten years later, however, he was stripped of his fief because it was claimed that his brother Boji had been involved with Yan Zhong in conspiracy on behalf of Liu Ying the King of Chu.. -*HHS* 22/12:786.

Ma Teng 馬騰 [Shoucheng 壽成] (d.212); Youfufeng. Ma Teng's family claimed descent from the celebrated general Ma Yuan 援, but Ma Teng's father Ma Ping was poor and his mother was a woman of the non-Chinese Qiang people. Ma Teng grew to be over eight feet tall [185 cm], well-built and strong-featured; he initially made a living as a wood-cutter.

Ma Teng later joined the militia and did well against the rebels of Liang province. In 187 he held a major's command under the Inspector Geng Bi, but when Geng Bi was killed by mutineers, Ma Teng and his men joined them, and under the command of Wang Guo he styled himself a general and joined the attack against Chang'an. After Wang Guo was defeated and deposed in 189, Ma Teng established himself in Longxi and maintained frontier warfare against the non-Chinese Qiang and Di.

When Dong Zhuo came to Chang'an in the early 190s he persuaded Ma Teng, with his fellow-rebel Han Sui of Jincheng, to assist him against the allies east of the mountains. After Dong Zhuo's death in 192 his successors, Li Jue and his fellows, confirmed Ma Teng as a general; he camped in Youfufeng.

In 194 Ma Teng turned against Li Jue and his colleagues, and attacked them with the aid of sympathisers inside Luoyang. He was supported by Han Sui, but they were defeated at the Changping Slope northwest of Chang'an. Withdrawing into Liang province, Ma Teng was pardoned and again given a general's title.

About 197 Ma Teng was persuaded by Cao Cao's agent Zhong Yao to sent hostages to the imperial court. Soon afterwards, again probably under the influence of Zhong Yao, he quarrelled with Han Sui, and their forces were engaged in a number of skirmishes. Han

Sui apparently had the better of the exchanges, at one time capturing and killing Ma Teng's wife and some children. Zhong Yao eventually negotiated a truce, and Ma Teng withdrew to his home territory of Youfufeng, setting his base at Huaili, near Chang'an; he was popular in that region.

In 202, Cao Cao's agent Zhang Ji persuaded Ma Teng to send his son Ma Chao with troops to support Zhong Yao against Yuan Shao's officer Guo Yuan in Hedong, and in 205 he and others assisted Du Ji, Cao Cao's new Administrator of Hedong, against the warlord Zhang Cheng.

In 208 Cao Cao's agent Zhang Ji persuaded Ma Teng to travel to the east. He was enfeoffed and appointed Minister of the Guards, but was kept hostage at Ye city while Ma Chao took over his troops in Liang province. In 211 Ma Chao joined Han Sui against Cao Cao, and in the following summer Ma Teng and his household were killed. -*SGZ* 6:182-87, 13:392-93, 15:472, *SGZ* Shu 6:945, *HHS* 72/62:2333, 2343.

Ma Tie 馬鐵 (d.212); Longxi. Son of Ma Teng and younger brother of Ma Chao and Ma Xiu, in 208 he went with his father to Ye city and held minor military office in the imperial government under Cao Cao. In 212 he was executed with Ma Teng in revenge for Ma Chao's opposition to Cao Cao in the northwest. -*SGZ* Shu 6:945.

Ma Wan 馬玩. In 211 Ma Wan was one of the north-western warlords who opposed Cao Cao; they were defeated at the battle of Huayin. -*SGZ* Shu 6:946.

Ma Wei 馬衛; Nanyang. Son of Ma Cheng, he succeeded to his fief in 56. -*HHS* 22/12:780.

Ma [Wenxu] 馬文緒; Jiyin. A brother of Ma Jiang, he is described as a man of talent. He served as commandery Registrar and Investigator, but died at the age of thirty-two. In 170, when a stele was erected in memory of Ma Jiang and of his late widow the Lady Cao, Ma Wenxu was also mentioned. -*LS* 8:11b-13a.

Ma Wu 馬武 [Zizhang 子張] (d.61); Nanyang. As a young man of the gentry, about 20 Ma Wu took refuge in Jiangxia from the consequences of a family feud. There he joined local bandits and became a leader of the Troops from Xinshi, associated with Wang Kuang and Wang Feng. He accompanied the group as they moved north into Nanyang and joined Liu Bosheng and the gentry rebels against Wang Mang.

When Liu Xuan took title as [the Gengshi] Emperor in the spring of 23, Ma Wu failed to obtain

ministerial rank, but he was named a Palace Attendant, and after the victory at Kunyang in the summer he was made a general. In 24 he served under Xie Gong in the campaign to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu and at that time regional commissioner, against Wang Lang.

Following the defeat of Wang Lang, Liu Xiu had private contact with Ma Wu, and when Xie Gong was murdered by his nominal allies at the end of the year Ma Wu had no hesitation in changing allegiance. As Bielenstein observes, Ma Wu's position as a member of the gentry, particularly from Liu Xiu's home commandery, made it easier for him to gain acceptance than for commoner bandit leaders who received less generous treatment. On the other hand, as a late-comer to Liu Xiu's service, Ma Wu was low in the ranks of the Nanyang faction who supported the future emperor; he later became an adherent of the Dou family from the northwest.

Ma Wu became an attendant of Liu Xiu, and in late 24 he commanded the rear-guard of the army against the Youlai and Five Banners bandits in the north. After initial success, early in 25 the troops advanced too confidently and were taken by surprise. Ma Wu defended the withdrawal, broke the enemy line, and prevented the setback from turning into a debacle.

He was then in the van as the army of Wu Han and He Yan moved into Yuyang and Youbeiping. Following this success, and the victory achieved by Kou Xun over Zhu Wei at Luoyang, Ma Wu was the spokesman for Liu Xiu's generals as they urged him to take the imperial title. In accordance with propriety, Liu Xiu refused, and he accepted only on the fourth request, in the sixth month. He named Ma Wu a Palace Attendant and Commandant of Cavalry, and enfeoffed him as a county marquis.

In 26 Ma Wu took part in the campaign of Wu Han against the Tanxiang bandits of Dong and Wei commanderies, then followed He Yan to attack Liu Yong. After the death of Liu Yong, in 28 he led a detached force to capture county cities in Ji Yin. Named as a general, in the autumn he was sent with Wang Ba to lay siege to the remnant of Liu Yong's party, now formally headed by his son Liu Yu, at Chuihui in Pei.

In the spring of 29, as a relief force under Su Mao appeared, Ma Wu lost his stores to a cavalry attack, then suffered a sortie from Chuihui led by Zhou Jian. His men fled, but Wang Ba had kept his troops in

reserve, and as Su Mao and Zhou Jian pursued Ma Wu he struck them from the rear and turned the battle. On the following day Su Mao and Zhou Jian challenged the imperial troops to fight, but they refused, and as Su Mao and Zhou Jian withdrew they found the gates of Chuihui closed against them. Ma Wu and Wang Ba now attacked. They killed Zhou Jian, occupied the city, and put the rest of the enemy to flight.

Soon afterwards Pang Meng rebelled in Chu and drove He Yan north across the Si River. Ma Wu made a successful counter-attack, but Pang Meng established himself in Dongping/Rencheng. In the sixth month the imperial army under Guangwu arrived, and Ma Wu joined the campaign which defeated Pang Meng and the south-eastern warlords.

In the summer of 30 Ma Wu was ordered to join the chief general Geng Yan, initially to advance against Gongsun Shu, but then in direct attack on the recalcitrant Wei Ao. The imperial troops were defeated on the Long Slope, and as they withdrew Ma Wu once more took command of a rear guard. With a group of elite cavalry he halted Wei Ao's men, killing several thousand of the enemy and gaining a respite for the main forces to regroup.

In 35, as Wu Han attacked Gongsun Shu through the Yangzi Gorges, Ma Wu and others were sent to attack Wudu commandery in the north. After Gongsun Shu was destroyed, in 37 Ma Wu's fief was raised in value and transferred to Pingyuan, and he was sent north against the Xiongnu to support the defences in Changshan. His base was at Xiaquyang in Julu, on the Hutuo River east of present-day Shijiazhuang in Hebei; his position on the edge of the North China plain indicates the depth of the raiders' incursions, and two years later he was involved with Wu Han and Ma Cheng in the evacuation of Yanmen, Dai and Shanggu, bringing Chinese officials and people from those commanderies to be resettled in the plain.

Ma Wu was later found guilty of having killed one of his officers. He was ordered to take his family to residence in his fief, but went instead directly to Luoyang to return his general's insignia. His estate was reduced by five hundred households, and his fief was shifted to a smaller territory, but he was granted title as Servant at Court, which allowed him to remain at Luoyang. Ma Wu sometimes drank too much and made inappropriate comments, but Guangwu was prepared to laugh at his faults.

Following several years without appointment, in 48 Ma Wu was named a General of the Household to accompany Ma Yuan against the non-Chinese people of Wuling. After the successful conclusion of the campaign at the end of 49, he returned to the capital and handed in his insignia, but then joined Geng Shu and Liang Song in the unjustified denigration of Ma Yuan's responsibility for the victory, while he also claimed that Ma Yuan had appropriated pearls and rhinoceros horn after his campaign in the far south in 43.

In 51, following the establishment of the Xiongnu prince Bi as Southern Shanyu under Chinese protection, his northern rival the Shanyu Punu sent ambassadors to seek terms of peace on his own. At the court conference held to discuss the matter, Ma Wu and Zang Gong were leaders of the party which urged rejection of peace and a full-scale attack to destroy the northern state. Their advice was not accepted, but forty years later the Northern Shanyu was indeed destroyed by the armies of Dou Xian; the aftermath of that apparent triumph would indicate that Guangwu made the right decision.

After a further period without command, in 58, early in the reign of Guangwu's son Emperor Ming, Ma Wu was once more appointed a general and sent west against Dianyu, war-leader of the Qiang, whose forces had over-run Jincheng and Longxi. Ma Wu's army of forty thousand included trained men from the camps about Chang'an and from Liyang in Wei commandery, together with contingents of Wuhuan, loyal Qiang and other non-Chinese, as well as a number of convicts released into military service. His subordinate commanders included Wang Feng, Dou Gu and Chen Xin.

The army was victorious in a skirmish near present-day Lanzhou, but as the Chinese advanced through the Xining valley they were in their turn defeated, and the raiders escaped across the frontier. Nothing daunted, Ma Wu led his men south into the enemy homeland on the upper Yellow River, and there he gained real success: 4,600 Qiang were killed, 1,600 were captured, and the remainder took to flight. In 59 Dianyu surrendered and, following the earlier policy of Ma Yuan, Ma Wu brought seven thousand of the non-Chinese people east to settle in the region about Chang'an. In the long term this would be a problem, but for the time being the frontier troubles were ended.

Rewarded with an increased pension from his fief, Ma Wu died two years later. When Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Ma Wu was among those who were honoured. -*HHS* 22/12:784-86*, 11/1:467, *XC* 1:4a; Bn 54:106-136, Bn 59:18-20, 77, 86, 102, 142, Bn 67:70, 113, 123-126, Bn 76:26, deC 84:79, 248.

Ma Xian 馬賢 (d.141). A Commandant of Cavalry in 113, Ma Xian accompanied the Protector Hou Ba in an attack on rebel Qiang in Anding. They captured a thousand men and twenty thousand herd animals, which were given to the non-Chinese who had assisted them. In the following year they led their allies west and re-took the territory on the upper reaches of the Yellow River, and in 115, after the disgrace of Pang Can for the failed offensive against Beidi, Ma Xian replaced him as Protector of the Qiang.

In the winter of 117 Ma Xian joined the general Ren Shang for a final assault on the last major Qiang leader, Langmo. His troops were initially defeated by Langmo in Anding, but the combined army then gained a decisive victory at Fuping in Beidi, on the Yellow River by present-day Qingyang in eastern Gansu. Five thousand of the enemy were killed, a hundred thousand head of stock were taken, and a thousand prisoners were rescued.

Though the major Qiang rebellion was ended, lesser risings and raids remained endemic. In 119 Ma Xian killed Haoliang in Longxi, and in 120 he led an army into Zhangye against raiders from the Shendi tribe of Shang commandery: he was defeated in the first engagement but destroyed the enemy on the next day. He then had to deal with the Dangjian tribe in Jincheng and the Shaodang and Shaohe in Zhangye, each of which had taken advantage of his absence. And in 121 he summoned the Dangjian chieftain Luhu from the upper Yellow River and cut off his head.

Ma Xian was enfeoffed for his successes, but Luhu's comrade Renliang predictably distrusted him. Forming a coalition to attack the Xining valley and Jincheng, he defeated Ma Xian and his auxiliaries of the Xianlian tribe; while at the same time the chieftain Manu of the Shaodang group defeated the commandery troops of Wuwei and Zhangye and plundered the region. Recovering from this set-back, Ma Xian pursued the enemy forces south through the Xining valley and across the Yellow River, defeating them and forcing

their surrender.

After some further disturbances, in 126 Ma Xian defeated the Zhong tribe of the Qiang in Longxi and was again raised in fief. For the next few years Liang province remained without incident, but in 129 Ma Xian was dismissed for some wrongdoing.

In 133, reacting to Chinese expansion, the chieftain Langfeng attacked Longxi and Hanyang. The Protector Ma Xu [not a close kinsman] gained some success against the raiders, but Ma Xian was then appointed as Internuncio to take command. In 134 he killed 1,800 men and seized 50,000 head of herding beasts, and in 135 he killed Langfeng and forced his followers to surrender. He then turned against Langfeng's colleague Jiechang and likewise forced his submission.

In the following year Ma Xu was transferred to be General on the Liao. Ma Xian took his place as Protector, and in 137 he attacked and killed Jizhi and Leizu, leaders of the White Horse Qiang who lived on the frontier of Wudu and had been troubling the territory for some years. It was claimed that the northwest was now settled, but in 138 the Shaodang chieftain Nali brought three thousand horsemen to raid Jincheng. Ma Xian defeated them, capturing 1,400 horses, but the raiders turned west to attack Chinese settlements and allies. In 139 Ma Xian led ten thousand cavalry of the Huangzhong Auxiliary and other non-Chinese, and this time he killed Nali, took 1,200 heads, and obtained over a hundred thousand herding animals. He was promoted to be Administrator of Hongnong.

Ma Xian had been succeeded as Protector by a joint appointment of Lai Ji and Liu Bing, but despite advice they evidently caused trouble: in 140 a series of attacks by groups of Qiang against Jincheng stirred up rebellion amongst the non-Chinese of the Xining valley, many of whom had traditionally been allies of China. The combined force advanced to ravage the region about Chang'an, and Ma Xian was named a general and given command of a hundred thousand men, including elements of the professional Northern Army and also local militia. He advanced into Hanyang, while three hundred fortresses were set up to guard the Wei valley.

Though his nominal command was large, few of his men appear to have been suitable for active service, for at the beginning of 141 Ma Xian took only some six thousand horsemen into Beidi to attack the insurgents. In a major disaster for the Chinese, Ma Xian's small

force was wiped out by the enemy, he and his two sons were killed, and the rebellion spread across northwest China as far as the Yellow River in Zuopingyi.

Emperor Shun mourned Ma Xian. He awarded grain and cloth to his family, and enfeoffed his grandson Guang as a village marquis with an annual pension of a million cash.

Ma Xian had spent almost thirty years on the frontier and his military career had been largely successful, but it appears from the record that he was both fierce and greedy. He was always aggressive, and his frequent seizure of herding animals – 50,000 from the Zhong tribe in 134 and 100,000 from the Shaodang in 138 – can have done little to reconcile the Qiang people. In that regard, the policy of Ma Xian and his colleagues explains much of the trouble which the empire encountered on the frontier. -HHS 87/77:2888-95; deC 84:106-120.

Ma Xian 馬憲; Wei. Possibly a eunuch, as a Palace Internuncio in 135 Ma Xian was responsible for the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; because the bridge was built at the junction of the Gu with the Yang Canal, it is also known as the Yang Canal Bridge.

This has been claimed as the first bridge in China to be built entirely of stone, though Needham observes from the inscription recorded in *SJZ* 16 that it was probably constructed with stone pylons and wooden beams rather than with full stone arches. -*SJZ* 16:14b; Needham 71:172, Bn 76:17.

Ma Xiang 馬襄. Chief Clerk of Xihe in 62, Ma Xiang led local troops to aid the Southern Shanyu Shi repel a raid by the Northern Xiongnu against the frontiers of Wuyuan and Yunzhong. -HHS 89/79:2948.

Ma Xiang 馬香; Nanyang. Son of Ma Wei, he succeeded to the family marquise. -HHS 22/12:780.

Ma Xiang 馬香/相 (d.188). Bandits of Liang province, Ma Xiang and his colleague Zhao Zhi extended their operations south into Guanghan. Describing themselves as Yellow Turbans, within a very short time they had raised several thousand followers. They killed the magistrate Li Sheng, and as the government forces scattered their army rose to more than ten thousand men.

Ma Xiang then sent troops to attack Luo city, headquarters of Yi province, where they killed the Inspector Que Jian; in the east his men defeated and killed Zhao Bu the Administrator of Ba commandery.

As the rebels dominated the north of the province, Ma Xiang took the imperial title, but the Assistant Officer Jia Long then led a counter-attack from Jianwei, defeated Ma Xiang and killed him. -HHS 8:356, 75/65:2432, SGZ Shu 1:866, HYGZ 5:70.

Ma Xin 馬歆; Youfufeng. Third son of Ma Yan, he did not distinguish himself. -HHS 24/14:862.

Ma Xiu 馬休 (d.212); Longxi. Son of Ma Teng and younger brother of Ma Chao, he accompanied his father to Ye city in 208 and held minor military office in the imperial government under Cao Cao. In 212 he was executed with Ma Teng in revenge for Ma Chao's opposition to Cao Cao in the northwest. -SGZ Shu 6: 945.

Ma Xu 馬余 see Ma Yu 馬余.

Ma Xu 馬續 [Jize 季則]; Youfufeng. A son of Ma Yan, he was possibly the youngest: XTS 72C:2722 and commentary to the biography of Ma Yan at HHS 24/14:862 TC lists his seven sons with Ma Rong as the fifth and Ma Xu as the last; but HHS 84/74:2785, describes him as elder brother to Ma Rong, who was born in 79.

At the age of seven Ma Xu had read the *Analects*, by thirteen he understood the *Classic of History*, and at sixteen he controlled the *Poetry* and had a broad knowledge of the rest of the canon. He was also an expert mathematician and astronomer. The death of Ban Gu in 92, involved in the fallen faction of the Dou family, meant that his work on *Han shu* was left in disarray, while the Treatise on the Heavens 天文志 and the Tables 表 remained unfinished. Emperor He gave instructions that Ban Gu's sister the Lady Ban Zhao should complete the work in the library of the Eastern Pavilion with the assistance of scholars including Ma Xu and his brother Ma Rong; the two were at that time probably in their twenties. Though the Lady Ban had some ability in mathematics and astronomy, it is generally accepted that Ma Xu compiled the Treatise on the Heavens, and he may also have been involved in preparing the substantial introduction to the Table of Officials 百官公卿表: see MBeck 90:112, also Swann 32 and Bn 80. The Treatise on the Heavens is a major work, combining historical data of Former Han with knowledge acquired during the first century AD, including the calculation of synodic cycles and the attempted prediction of eclipses: see Needham 59:200.

After the conclusion of this scholarly enterprise

Ma Xu evidently obtained appointment in the regular imperial service. The first posts he held are not recorded, but in the autumn of 119 he was Emissary to the Xiongnu stationed in Xihe when a large force of Xianbi attacked the frontiers of Dai commandery. Similar incursions had taken place the year before, but this time the Chinese response was effective, as Ma Xu brought Xiongnu cavalry to assist Deng Zun, the General on the Liao, and militia from further east. They caught and defeated the raiders in the field, pursued them across the frontier, and returned with booty. The office of Emissary did not necessarily entail command of troops, so this was probably Ma Xu's first experience of active service.

During the 120s Ma Xu became Administrator of the frontier commandery of Zhangye, and in 131 he was appointed Protector of the Qiang, responsible both for liaison with the non-Chinese of the northwest and also, if required, for military action. Though the great Qiang rebellion had ended in 118, the northwest had long suffered its effects, but in 129, on urgings from the official Yu Xu, the court had resolved to restore the position of the past. Transferring the headquarters of Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies back to their former territories, the Chinese began a program of resettlement, and Han Hao, Ma Xu's predecessor, had set up military colonies on the Yellow River west of Longxi.

The Qiang were restless at this, and Ma Xu at first conciliated them by withdrawing the colonies north into the Xining valley of Jincheng; then, however, he developed that new area until by 132 there were fifty such settlements. In 133 a commandant's district was set up in the south of Longxi and in the following year, reacting to the Chinese expansion, the Qiang chieftain Langfeng attacked Longxi and Hanyang. Ma Xu achieved some success against the raiders, but a former Protector Ma Xian [not a close kinsman] was then handed command of operations; he killed Langfeng and forced his followers to surrender.

In 136 Ma Xu was transferred to be General on the Liao, commanding a army based in Wuyuan to watch the Xiongnu. In the early summer of 140 the chieftains Wusi and Che'niu led a rising in Yunzhong and Dingxiang, then moved west against Xihe, where they attracted the support of the Worthy King of the Right, Yiti. Eight thousand men now raided across the north of the Ordos region, killing senior officials

in Dai and Shuofang, and attacking the capital of the Shanyu Xiuli at Meiji in Xihe.

Aided by the Emissary Liang Bing, Ma Xu raised garrison troops and local levies, reinforced by Qiang tribesmen from the south and Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries led by Wang Yuan the Protector of the Wuhuan. Though the combined army of twenty thousand forced the rebel Xiongnu back, they could not be brought to surrender and they continued to ravage the countryside. A few weeks later the situation was made more serious by rebellion among the Qiang to the south, followed by the suicide of the Southern Shanyu under pressure from the official Chen Gui. The traditional leadership of the Xiongnu thus fell into limbo, and in autumn, supported by his dominant colleague Wusi, Che'niu claimed the vacant title.

Ma Xu had been ordered to avoid direct combat, but to establish defences in the north and persuade the rebels to surrender. The Worthy King Yiti did return to his allegiance, but this was now of small consequence, for Wusi and Che'niu had the greater support, and had links with the Qiang and the Wuhuan. Defeating the local troops of Shang commandery, they raided south towards the Wei valley, while their influence extended from Bing southwest into Liang province, east into You, and even across the Taihang ranges to the North China plain. The empire was obliged to withdraw the administration of Xihe and Shang commanderies to the south, and combine Shuofang into Wuyuan, where the remnant civilian regime could be guarded by the garrison under Ma Xu.

In the winter at the end of 140 the Emissary Zhang Dan defeated the Xiongnu in Yanmen and forced the surrender of Che'niu, and a few weeks later Ma Xu led five thousand Xianbi horsemen to defeat Wusi and his Wuhuan allies in Xihe. Wusi made his escape, and continued his depredations in Bing province until he was assassinated in 143.

Ma Xu had been replaced as General on the Liao in the summer of 141; it is not known when he died. Though he has only a minimal biography in *HHS*, Ma Xu's abilities and career represent a notable combination of the talent in his family. As an indication of the variety of his achievements, *CHOC* indexes him as two different men, one the astronomer and the other a frontier general. -*HHS* 24/14:862, 87/77:2894, 89/79:2960-62; Needham 59:200, 265, MBeck 90:112, 172-173, 196-197, 270, deC 84:117-118, 298,

306-315.

Ma Xuan 馬玄. An officer on the staff of Zhao Chong the Protector of the Qiang in 144, Ma Xuan went over to the Qiang and sought to lead them outside the frontier. The Deputy Protector Wei Ju/Yao chased the fugitives and heavily defeated them, but when Zhao Chong sought to follow up this success, he was caught in an ambush and killed. -*HHS* 87/77:2897.

Ma Xuan 馬玄; Nanyang. Son of Ma Feng, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 22/12:780.

Ma Xun 馬勳 [Shengheng 盛衡]; Ba. A clerical officer under Liu Zhang, Ma Xun was appointed to Liu Bei's staff as he took over Yi province in 214, and later served as his Attendant Officer. He died about 220. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1086-87.

Ma Yan 馬嚴 [Weiqing 威卿] (17-98); Youfufeng. Ma Yan's father Yu, an elder brother of Ma Yuan 援, held office and was enfeoffed under Wang Mang, but died in 23 when Ma Yan was very young.

After Ma Yu's death, Ma Yan's mother went with him and his younger brother Ma Dun to live with the father of his elder sister's husband, Wang Shu 王述, who was Administrator of Jiujiang and had been a marquis under Wang Mang. Ma Yan's mother died in the following year, and about the same time Wang Shu lost his position with the fall of Wang Mang's regime. The family went to live in Pei commandery, where Wang Shu died in 26. In the following year Ma Yan's cousin Cao Gong became a county magistrate in Chu, and he invited Ma Yan and Ma Dun to join him.

Late in 28 Ma Yan's uncle Ma Yuan came past on an embassy from Wei Ao to Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time campaigning against Li Xian in the southeast, and on his return in 29 he took Ma Yan and Ma Dun with him to the northwest. Ma Yan, now eleven, was taught military arts by one of the family retainers, became expert in sword-play and a practiced archer and horseman. He also studied the Confucian classics under Yang Taibo of Pingyuan, and at the age of thirteen he went to Luoyang where he was tutored by Chen Yuan in the Old Text scholarship of *Chunqiu* with *Zuo zhuan*. He proceeded to study the teachings of all the pre-Qin schools, was admired by the most senior men of the capital, and became a protégé of the powerful slave Bu.

For a time Ma Yan held local office as an Investigator in his native commandery of Youfufeng. His uncle Ma Yuan regularly discussed matters with him, and gave

him charge of the affairs of the family. On the other hand, in the early 40s he wrote to reprimand Ma Yan and his brother Dun for their assumption of a high moral tone and their willingness to criticise others.

After Ma Yuan's death and posthumous disgrace in 49, the Ma were so out of favour that they were unable to give his body burial in the family tomb, and even an audience with Guangwu failed to win a pardon. Ma Yan and Ma Dun withdrew to Anling in Youfufeng, where they took up residence in the district of Juxia. Admired for their fine conduct, they were known in the region as the "two gentlemen of Juxia" 鉅下二卿.

Ma Yan encouraged the widow of Ma Yuan to offer her three daughters to the imperial family, and he sent a letter to Emperor Guangwu, noting the family's previous connection to the throne through two concubines of Emperor Cheng of Former Han, and praising the qualities of the young women. In 52 the junior Lady Ma was selected into the harem of the Heir Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, and she was appointed as his empress in 60.

Even after this success, Ma Yan remained in retirement. Indeed, anxious that he might be the object of envy and criticism because of his connection to the throne, he sent all guests and clients away and moved into Beidi.

In 72 the empress arranged for Ma Yan to be called to Luoyang and received by Emperor Ming. The emperor was impressed and appointed him to the committee which was compiling the annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu; this work, initially known as the "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Han ji*. As Bielenstein observes, the committee was delicately balanced: it was chaired by Ban Gu, a member of the Dou faction which had been instrumental in the disgrace of Ma Yuan in 49; Ma Yan and Meng Ji represented the rival interest; and Chen Zong and Du Fu were probably neutral: Bn 79:121. Ma Yan was also friendly with members of the imperial clan; he joined the scholar Liu Fu in discussions on government, and both men were favoured by Emperor Ming.

Later Ma Yan was appointed Chief Clerk at Meiji in Xihe, with three thousand men of the Northern Army and Feathered Forest troops guarding the Southern Shanyu. He had majors and attendant officials under his command, and authority over local officials. As he was leaving Luoyang, he passed by the Arsenal

and held sacrifice to Chiyou 蚩尤 the god of war. The emperor came to see the parade, and the people admired the quality of his troops.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 he appointed Ma Yan to the Imperial Censorate and soon afterwards made him its head; his son Ma Shuan became a gentleman cadet. In response to an eclipse of the sun that winter, the new ruler invited officials to present sealed memorials, and Ma Yan took occasion to deplore the lack of energy and concern displayed by provincial officials. He particularly accused the inspectors Zhu Fu, Ni Yue and Yin Ye, in Yi, Yang and Liang provinces, for the poor quality of candidates they recommended for office. He regretted the decision of Emperor Guangwu to do away with the office of the Guardian of Honesty, a censorial office under the Excellency over the Masses which had formerly reviewed nominees, but argued that officials should in any case be held to account.

The emperor dismissed all three inspectors. On the other hand, considering that Zhu Fu, long-serving in Yi province, had persuaded many non-Chinese in the southwest to submit to Han, and that the tribes which had come to him withdrew after he left, Ma Yan's criticisms may have been excessive, and not necessarily fair or appropriate.

In 76 Ma Yan was transferred to be a General of the Household, and three more of his sons were made cadet gentlemen. Ma Yan was regularly involved in discussions on frontier policy, and when the hero Geng Gong took leave for the death of his mother, Ma Yan was sent to present an ox and wine for the funeral, then ask him to end his mourning and return to office at Luoyang.

In 77 Ma Yan was named Administrator of Chenliu. As he left the capital he warned Emperor Zhang not to allow the Dou family too close to the throne, and cited the disgrace of Dou Xun under Emperor Ming and the wasteful expedition into the Western Regions led by Dou Gu in 73. Just at this time, two daughters of Dou Xun had been admitted to the imperial harem, and the eldest of them would be appointed empress in the following year. Dou Gu's enterprise, moreover, had not been so unsuccessful as Ma Yan implied. It is likely that his admonitions were designed to assist the intrigues of the Dowager Ma in support of the Ladies Song, her own candidates for the position of consort. In the event, Ma Yan's comments were reported to the

Dou family, which did rise to power.

As soon as Ma Yan arrived in Chenliu he established firm government and kept his territory quiet. When there was a rumour that bandits were approaching from the east the people fled in all directions, spreading panic through neighbouring commanderies and affecting the capital. Imperial couriers were sent out to seek reports, but Ma Yan believed the fears to be groundless and made no special preparations for defence. His judgement proved correct.

In Chenliu Ma Yan reported the county magistrate Cao Bao, a scholar of ritual, for failing to execute a group of captured bandits, and had him dismissed for lack of moral courage. On another occasion he was taken ill and sent his officer Li Gong to report to the capital. Emperor Zhang called Li Gong to a personal audience, enquired about Ma Yan's condition, sent presents of gold, silk and a sword, and despatched the imperial physician to treat him.

In 81 Ma Yan was recalled on account of his involvement with the ministers Liu Yi and Ding Hong. He was still appointed a Palace Counsellor and then Court Architect, but in 82 the Empress Dou confirmed her authority in the harem by arranging the change of Heir and the elimination of the Song sisters, protégées of the late Dowager Ma. The power of the Ma family was broken and Ma Yan was dismissed.

Because of the enmity of the Dou, Ma Yan never held office again, and when Emperor Zhang died and the Lady Dou became regent Dowager he retired from public life to concentrate on the education of his sons and grandsons. He died at home, aged over eighty. - *HHS* 24/14:858-62*, 40/30A:1334; Bn 54:10.

Ma Yan 馬延. In 204 Ma Yan was an officer under Yuan Shang facing Cao Cao. As the armies engaged outside Ye city, he led his troops to change sides. - *SGZ* 1:25, 6:202.

Ma Yao 馬瑤; Youfufeng. In the second century Ma Yan lived as a hermit in the hills and trapped rabbits for a living. He had great influence for good among the local people, who named him Master Ma the Shepherd 馬牧先生. - *HHS* 83/73:2772.

Ma Yi 馬義, the Lady; Ba. Wife of Ma Miaoqi, who died when she was young, the Lady refused to marry again. As Qiang raiders attacked her homeland about 110, she was afraid they would take her chastity. With the Lady Wang Ji and the Lady Zhao Hua, two women in the same situation, she leapt into the Han River and

drowned herself. They were celebrated as the Three Virtuous Women 三貞. - *HYGZ* 1:4.

Ma Yi 馬翼. In 124 Ma Yi was Emissary to the new Shanyu Ba of the Southern Xiongnu. The chieftain Azu rebelled and attempted to flee across the frontier to the north. The General on the Liao, Fa Du, was evidently ill, for he died soon afterwards, but Ma Yi led troops in pursuit of the fugitives and killed great numbers of them. None appear to have made their escape. - *HHS* 89/79:2959.

Ma Yi 馬毅; Youfufeng. A descendant of Ma Yuan 援, Ma Yi became Commandant of the Zhangye Dependent State.

As an elder cousin of Ma Leng, when Ma Leng's parents died he cared for him as if he had been his own brother. Ma Yi himself died comparatively young, leaving no children, and Ma Leng maintained full three-year mourning for him. - *HHS* 24/14:862.

Ma Yi 馬邑; Nanyang. Son of Ma Xuan, he succeeded to the family fief. - *HHS* 22/12:780.

Ma Ying 馬英 [Wensi 文思] (d.121); Taishan. In 115 Ma Ying was promoted from Minister Coachman to be Grand Commandant.

In 118 the successful general Ren Shang faced charges of corruption. Ma Ying and his colleague Li He joined members of the Deng family in seeking to shield him, but the Excellency Liu Kai pressed the case. Ren Shang was executed and Ma Ying and Li He were reprimanded.

In 121 Ma Ying died in office. - *HHS* 5:223-33, 39/29:1308.

Ma Yu 馬余 or Ma Xu [Shengqing 聖卿] (d.23); Youfufeng. Second elder brother of Ma Yuan 援, Ma Yu was a colonel in the Northern Army and Inspector of Yang province under Wang Mang, and received enfeoffment. - *HHS* 14/4:827, *DGHJ* 12:1a.

Ma Yu 馬豫 (d.83); Youfufeng. Son of Ma Liao and a nephew of the Dowager Ma, former empress of Emperor Ming, Ma Yu became a colonel in the Northern Army. The Dowager had sought to protect her kinfolk by arranging the appointment of Liu Qing, son of her cousin the Honoured Lady Song, as Heir, but after her death in 79 all the family was exposed to attack. In 82 the intrigues of the Empress Dou and her family were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir and the Ladies Song were forced to suicide.

In the following year it was reported that Ma Yu had complained to some junior members of the

clan about the family's loss of influence. The senior ministers recommended that he should be dismissed from his appointment for criticising the throne; he was executed soon afterwards. -HHS 24/14:855.

Ma Yu 馬宇 (d.194). Early in 194 Ma Yu was a Palace Attendant at Chang'an under the control of Li Jue and his fellow-generals. There was a quarrel between Li Jue's party and the Liang province warlord Ma Teng, and Ma Yu joined Chong Shao in a plot to serve as agents within the capital for Ma Teng and to kill Li Jue. The conspiracy was discovered and the plotters fled to Huaili in Youfufeng, just west of Chang'an. Li Jue's army drove Ma Teng away, then captured Huaili and killed them. -HHS 56/46:1830, 72/62:3334.

Ma Yuan 馬援 [Jizhu 季主]; Youfufeng. Next elder brother of Ma Yuan 援, he became Administrator of Shang commandery under Wang Mang. As the regime was destroyed in 23 he fled into Liang province.

At the end of 25, after Emperor Guangwu had taken the throne, Ma Yuan went to join him at Luoyang and was reappointed to his former office in Shang. He died there a short time later. -HHS 24/14:827-29.

Ma Yuan 馬援 [Wenyuan 文淵] (14 BC-49 AD); Youfufeng. Tracing its ancestry back to the pre-Qin state of Zhao 趙, Ma Yuan's family had been brought to the region of the imperial capital in the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han. His ancestor Ma Tong 馬通 rose to high office, but rebelled and was executed after the Witchcraft Case of 91 BC. [After Ma Yuan's daughter became the consort of Emperor Ming, Ma Tong's surname was changed in the histories to 莽, pronounced *Mu*: Dubs 44:118, Bn 79:122, QHX:441.]

Two of Ma Yuan's aunts had entered the harem of Emperor Cheng, but the male generations of the family gained no high appointments. Ma Yuan's father Zhong 仲 died in 3 BC, when Ma Yuan was twelve *sui*, and Ma Yuan then lived with his elder brother Kuang. Ma Yuan grew to be seven feet five inches tall [173 cm] and *DGHJ* provides a [perhaps idealised] physical description: regular complexion and colour, strong hair, heavy brows and eyes like a dragon.

Ma Yuan studied at the capital under Man/Pu Chang 滿/溥昌, expert in the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Qi, but he was no great scholar. His elder brothers Kuang, Yu and Yuan 員, however, all of whom held office under Wang Mang, admired his abilities and potential, but rather than follow their administrative careers Ma Yuan planned to make

his fortune as a grazier in the northwest. Ma Kuang argued against the idea but died about this time. Ma Yuan carried out full mourning for him, then became an Investigator in Youfufeng, his home commandery. As he was escorting a prisoner accused of a serious crime, Ma Yuan took pity on the man: he let him go, and himself fled into Beidi. A general amnesty was issued soon afterwards, and he was able to set himself up as a pastoralist.

Ma Yuan had connections in the region through his grandfather, his father and his brother Yuan 員, who had acquired clients and held office in the government horse-breeding enterprise. Now in his thirties and evidently a man of personal authority, Ma Yuan built upon these contacts and took six hundred families into his service. Extending his interests across the mountains from Longxi into the upper valley of the Han, he acquired thousands of head of cattle, horses and sheep, and vast quantities of grain. He nonetheless lived simply, dressed in sheepskins, and distributed his wealth to his brothers and to old friends.

In the early 20s, as rebellions were breaking out against the government of Wang Mang, the General of the Guards Wang Lin 王林 called up Ma Yuan and Yuan She 原涉 as leading men of the region. He first appointed them to clerical positions in his office, then recommended them to his cousin Wang Mang. Wang Mang named them as administrators, Yuan She in Tianshui and Ma Yuan in Hanzhong.

After Wang Mang was destroyed in 23 Ma Yuan's elder brother Yuan 員, Administrator of Shang commandery, took refuge in Liang province, and Ma Yuan left his position to join him. At the end of 25 Ma Yuan 員 went to the new Emperor Guangwu and was reappointed to Shang, but Ma Yuan remained in the west and took service with the warlord Wei Ao. Wei Ao admired him greatly, gave him title as a general and made him a member of his council.

In 26 Wei Ao sent Ma Yuan to visit Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title at Chengdu. Ma Yuan came from the same district as Gongsun Shu and the two had been friends, so he probably expected a special relationship and was very likely prepared to change allegiance. Gongsun Shu, however, insisted upon full court etiquette, and though he offered to appoint Ma Yuan a chief general and grant him enfeoffment, Ma Yuan was offended by the formality with which he had been received and persuaded Wei Ao to reject

an alliance. Two years later, in the winter of 28, Wei Ao sent Ma Yuan on another embassy, this time to Guangwu, who was at that time campaigning in the southeast. Guangwu joked that he had now visited two emperors, himself and Gongsun Shu, and Ma Yuan, confident of his value, observed that, "These days, it is not only the sovereign who selects his subjects; the subjects also choose their sovereign."

Ma Yuan remained with Guangwu until the following year and accepted a minor appointment at court. He then accompanied the return envoy Lai Xi, who invited Wei Ao to send his eldest son as a hostage. It appears Ma Yuan had already accepted Guangwu, but for the time being he concealed this from Wei Ao. Asked for information and advice, Ma Yuan persuaded him to agree to the emperor's requests.

It is possible that at this time Lai Xi and Ma Yuan also went on embassy to Gongsun Shu, though their proposal for his submission was firmly rejected: see *sub* Chang Shao.

In 30 Wei Ao was forced from his isolation by pressure from Guangwu, and the two came to open warfare. Ma Yuan, now firmly in the imperial camp, obtained a commission from Guangwu to travel with an escort and seek to persuade supporters of Wei Ao and leaders of the Qiang people to change sides. An eloquent letter to Wei Ao's officer Yang Guang, preserved in *HHS* 24/14, was not successful, but he did attract the defection of Gao Jun and probably that of Ren Yu.

As the Han army attacked Wei Ao in 32, Ma Yuan advised Guangwu on the vulnerable points of the enemy and made a topographical map from rice grains to show the best routes for advance. After the death of Wei Ao in 33 Ma Yuan served under Lai Xi for the final campaign against the remnants of his party, and in the following year he was named a Palace Counsellor and second-in-command to Lai Xi for operations against the Qiang.

On Lai Xi's recommendation, in the summer of 35 Ma Yuan was appointed Administrator of Longxi to deal with incursions of the Qiang, and he defeated the Xianlian tribe at Lintao. Soon afterwards Lai Xi was assassinated by agents of Gongsun Shu, but Ma Yuan joined the general Ma Cheng in a campaign against the Qiang in Jincheng. They were successful, but Ma Yuan was wounded and could not maintain the pursuit.

In 36 Ma Yuan was given authority also over

Jincheng, but there was a proposal at court that the western part of that commandery, the Xining valley, should be abandoned. Ma Yuan opposed the plan, arguing that the territory was excellent and that if it was left to the Qiang they would have a base to cause constant trouble. His strategy was accepted, and orders were given that the Chinese who had taken refuge in Wuwei should return. Some three thousand were brought back, and Ma Yuan supervised the reconstruction of settlements, farmlands and irrigation works, roads and fortresses. The numbers, however, were far less than the former population, for most of the refugees had gone to the south.

Ma Yuan sent messengers to persuade groups of Qiang and of Di people from Wudu to surrender to Han, and in a final campaign in 37 he starved the rebel Shenlang Qiang of Wudu into submission. For the time being the frontier was at peace.

Besides attempts to bring Chinese back to the frontier, Ma Yuan sent many of the Qiang who had surrendered to settle within Chinese territory, the commanderies of Longxi, Tianshui/Hanyang and Youfufeng. It seems likely that numbers of non-Chinese were already there, and the program followed an established pattern of migration, while it certainly relieved external pressure on the frontier. Later, however, the uneasy cohabitation of Chinese and non-Chinese brought great difficulties for Han in Liang province.

While still on the frontier, Ma Yuan wrote to the emperor urging the reintroduction of *wushu* cash 五鑄錢, which had been in circulation under Former Han but was withdrawn by Wang Mang. The question was referred to the Excellencies, who shelved the matter, but when Ma Yuan was recalled to the capital as a General of the Household about 40, he asked for the arguments against the proposal. Thirteen items were raised, but Ma Yuan sent in a memorial replying to each one, and Guangwu ordered the re-issue of the coinage. Thereafter Ma Yuan held great influence at the court and with the emperor, who accepted any other proposals that he put forward, and remarked on one occasion that he had total confidence in Ma Yuan's planning.

Ma Yuan's military experience had hitherto been in the northwest, but from this time on he became the leading general of the dynasty. In 41 he was sent to deal with the religious rebel Li Guang in Lujiang. He

raised troops from several commanderies, gathered a force of more than ten thousand and destroyed the insurgents.

In 42 Ma Yuan was sent to attack the rebel Zheng/Tr'ung sisters in Jiaozhi, and received title as General Who Calms the Waves 伏波將軍, a style by which he is widely known in the history of southeast Asia. He gathered 8,000 men from the south of Jing province and a further 12,000 from Cangwu on the upper Pearl River, then made rendezvous with a support fleet of 2,000 ships on the coast of Hepu. From there he advanced some two hundred kilometres through mountains and wilderness, rife with sickness, to reach the Red River delta in early 43. He may have suffered a set-back, but soon regained the initiative, and in the summer his associate Liu Long defeated and killed the elder sister Zheng Ce. As Ma Yuan then captured and executed Zheng Er, the rebels scattered, and in the winter Ma Yuan moved south to destroy remnant groups in Jiuzhen.

Ma Yuan now embarked on a brief but effective campaign of colonisation and control. Following the same policy as on the northern frontier, he brought several hundred non-Chinese leaders back to forced settlement in Jing province, while in Jiaozhi he set up stele, constructed roads, harbours, irrigation canals and fortifications, and established new counties. Forcing the non-Chinese people to accept Han law, he seized the sacred drums which had been the symbol of their chieftains' power. A connoisseur of horses, Ma Yuan had the bronze treasures melted down and re-cast into the figure of an ideal steed: this was presented to Emperor Guangwu and set up in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. As a result of Ma Yuan's energies, the region of the far south was free from major disturbance for more than a hundred years.

Ma Yuan returned to the north in the autumn of 44, reaching Luoyang in the early winter. Almost half of his men had succumbed to malaria 瘴疫 in the tropics, but he and the survivors were rewarded and Ma Yuan was now ranked with the nine ministers.

A few weeks after his return to Luoyang, the Xiongnu and their Wuhuan allies raided Ma Yuan's home country of Youfufeng, and Ma Yuan sought and was given chief command on the northern frontier. He established his headquarters in Zhao kingdom, and in the autumn of 45 he took three thousand men to raid the Wuhuan. They reached as far as Dai commandery,

a territory now beyond Chinese control, but the enemy avoided his thrust, and as he returned he was attacked from the rear. Ma Yuan's troops were routed and he lost a third of his cavalry.

Though Ma Yuan remained in charge in the north for several years, he embarked on no further offensives, for the Wuhuan and the Xianbi turned against the Xiongnu, and as the Xiongnu state divided in the late 40s and the Southern Shanyu Bi became a client of Han, the Wuhuan chieftain Haodan also offered peace. With no further need or desire for active military action, the Han was able to resume its former territory and attempt to persuade or force the former Chinese inhabitants to return there.

In 48 the general Liu Shang and his army were destroyed by the non-Chinese of the Five Streams region, among the hills to the west of Wuling commandery. It seems likely, as Bielenstein suggests, that Ma Yuan was becoming concerned at the position of his family and faction at court, and felt the need for a demonstration of loyalty and energy after his comparative inactivity on the northern frontier. Though now sixty-two, he asked to lead a punitive expedition, and when the emperor suggested he was too old he showed his mettle by mounting his horse in full armour and weaponry. Guangwu laughed and said, "This is a valiant old man!" and gave him the appointment. His troops numbered 40,000, including levies from twelve commanderies and convicts released from punishment 弛刑, and he had four Generals of the Household under his command.

Geng Shu, one of these officers, argued that the army should approach the enemy by the land route north of the Dongting Lake, but despite difficulties in bringing supplies Ma Yuan preferred the more direct route south of the lake. The question was referred to the emperor, who endorsed Ma Yuan's plan.

At the beginning of 49 Ma Yuan defeated a raid by the tribesmen, then followed them as they withdrew into the wilderness. By the end of spring he had driven the enemy back to their fortifications and cut off their supplies. Supplies were also hard to come by for own army, and the troops were plagued by sickness through the summer, but the enemy became increasingly desperate. Though Ma Yuan was taken ill and died, by the beginning of winter the tribespeople had been starved into surrender, and Ma Yuan's deputy Zong Jun received their submission.

In the mean time, however, Geng Shu had written to his brother Geng Yan, a close confidant of Guangwu, criticising the conduct of the campaign. As Bielenstein observes, Geng Shu's complaints may have had some base in the earlier disagreement about strategy, but they were also a manoeuvre in court politics, for the Geng were supporters of the faction led by Dou Rong, rivals to the Ma.

The emperor sent his son-in-law Liang Song to investigate. By the time he arrived Ma Yuan's strategy had proved successful, but Liang Song was also an adherent of the Dou family and he had personal animosity to Ma Yuan, who had refused to show him the respect he believed he deserved. So his report endorsed the complaints of Geng Shu, and Guangwu accepted this and withdrew Ma Yuan's enfeoffment.

The way was now open for accusations of corruption and embezzlement, and the Ma were so far out of favour that Ma Yuan's widow dared not even bury his body in the family tomb. When she and her kinfolk approached the emperor directly, he showed them Liang Song's report, and after they had made repeated apologies for Ma Yuan's alleged wrongdoings the funeral was allowed to take place. Three years later, however, Ma Yuan's daughter entered the harem of the Heir Liu Zhuang and the fortunes of the family began to revive, reaching a peak as the Lady Ma became the empress of Emperor Ming in 60.

When Emperor Ming had the portraits of his father's great assistants painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang he omitted Ma Yuan; when his brother Liu Cang questioned this he laughed. In 74, however, after the death of Ma Yuan's widow, the emperor repaired his tomb and set up a shrine in his honour, and in 78 Emperor Zhang restored Ma Yuan's marquisate and granted him the posthumous title of "Loyalty Complete" 忠成.

Thanks to his enterprise in Vietnam, Ma Yuan has been celebrated for centuries as the General Who Calms [or Subdues] the Waves, and he was certainly one of the leading military commanders of his day. He dealt from a position of local power to establish the fortunes of his family and faction under the new dynasty, and for much of the first century the Ma played a leading role at court and in the palace. -HHS 24/14:827-44*, 86/76:2837, 90/80:2982, DGHJ 12, XC 1:4b, SJZ 37:9a; Ch'ü 72:133, Bn 59:164-167, Bn 67:63-65, 69-72, 115, Bn 76:26-27, Bn 79:87-88, 107-

113, deC 84:68-75, 377-381, deC 90:37-39, Schafer 67.

Ma Yuan 馬援, wife of (d.74); Youfufeng. Mother of Ma Yuan's three elder sons Liao, Fang and Guang, she had the fortunes told of her step-daughter the Lady Ma I, future empress of Emperor Ming.

After Ma Yuan's death in 49 a mass of accusations were presented against him, and the family lost such favour that the Lady his widow dared not even bury his body in the family tomb. An audience with the emperor had little effect, and only after repeated formal apologies was the funeral allowed to take place. When the future empress joined the harem of the Heir Liu Zhuang three years later, however, the fortunes of the family began to revive. -HHS 10A:408, 24/14:852, 858.

Ma Yuan 馬援, concubine of: see the Lady Lin 蘭.

Ma Yuanyi 馬元義 (d.184). A Division chieftain 方 of the religious leader Zhang Jue, Ma Yuanyi held command of several tens of thousands of the faithful in Jing and Yang provinces, and was a leader in planning rebellion against Han. Visiting Luoyang on several occasions, he claimed adherents even among the palace eunuchs.

It was planned to make a massive rising in the third month of 184, including a coup within the capital, but some weeks earlier the renegade disciple Tang Zhou sent a message to the court to tell of the conspiracy. Ma Yuanyi was arrested and then torn apart by chariots, while a purge of Zhang Jue's followers in Luoyang brought another thousand to execution. -HHS 71/61:2299-2300.

Ma Ze 馬側 see Ma Ce 馬側.

Ma Zhen 馬震; Nanyang. In 113 the regent Dowager Deng granted a village marquisate to Ma Zhen, grandson of Ma Wu [see also *sub* Ma Tan]. -HHS 22/12:786.

Ma Zhi 馬芝, the Lady; Youfufeng. Daughter of the scholar Ma Rong, and a younger sister of the Lady Ma Lun, Ma Zhi was also a woman of talent and character. She was young when her parents died, but she later composed the rhapsody *Shenqing fu* 神情賦 "Expressing my Feelings" in their memory. -HHS 84/74:2796.

Ma Zhong 馬忠. A major under Pan Zhang of Wu in 219, Ma Zhong captured Guan Yu in Jing province. -SGZ Wu 10:1299.

Ma Zhong 馬忠 [Dexin 德信] (d.234); Ba. Ma Zhong's

original personal name was Du 篤, and he was brought up by his mother's kinsmen, so he took their surname Hu 狐; he later reverted to his original surname and changed his personal name.

Having held local commandery office, about 220 Ma Zhong was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate, again in his home commandery. In 222 he was sent with reinforcements to Liu Bei, whose expedition against Wu had been defeated. Liu Bei was impressed with him, and Zhuge Liang appointed him to his staff.

Ma Zhong accompanied Zhuge Liang on his expeditions against Hanzhong and in the south, and in 233 he became Area Commander of Laixiang, controlling the southern part of Yi province. He put down insurgents, was enfeoffed and ranked as a general, but died in the following year. -*SGZ* Shu 13: 1048-49*.

Ma Zhu 馬助. An Imperial Clerk in the 180s, Ma Zhu was a member of the cortège sent by Emperor Ling to honour the funeral of the Excellency Yang Ci. -*Cai* 3:17.

Ma Zhuan 馬鱗 see Ma Shuan 馬鱗.

Ma [Zishuo] 馬子碩 see Ma Ping 馬平. -*HHS* 72/62: 2335, *SGZ* Shu 6:945.

Ma Zongmei 馬宗美, the Lady: see the Lady Ma Jiang 馬姜.

Ma Zun 馬遵; Youfufeng. Ma Zun was a son of Ma Liao. In 91, when the family was accused of having supported the powerful Dou clan lately overthrown by Emperor He and his eunuch allies, Ma Zun and his uncle Ma Fang were exiled to Danyang, south of the Yangzi. In the following year Ma Zun was allowed to succeed to his father's county fief, but was then transferred to a district. He died without sons and the fief was ended. -*HHS* 24/14:855-58.

Man 滿 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. As Chancellor of Donghai in 172, he worshipped at the temple by the sea founded by his predecessor Huan, and celebrated his achievement with a stele. -*LS* 2: 10b-12a.

Man Chong 滿寵 [Boning 伯寧] (d.242); Shanyang. At the age of eighteen, in the late 180s Man Chong became an Investigator. The Administrator sent him to deal with Li Shou and a number of other men who had gathered retainers and were bullying the people. They acknowledged their wrong-doing and did not offend again.

Man Chong then became a brevet magistrate in the commandery. Zhang Bao, a resident of the county, was an Investigator, but he was greedy and corrupt and disrupted the government. Man Chong waited until he came on circuit, then brought officers to arrest him. He interrogated Zhang Bao and published his crimes, and on the day the process was ended he left office and returned to his own home.

As Cao Cao took over in Yan province in 192 he appointed Man Chong as an Assistant Officer, and when he took title as an Excellency in 196 Man Chong became his staff officer with responsibility for recruitment.

Soon afterwards Man Chong was appointed Prefect of Xu, the new capital of the imperial government under Cao Cao's control. As there was continuing trouble with the followers of Cao Cao's cousin Cao Hong, Man Chong arrested them, ignoring complaints and threats from Cao Hong. Then Cao Hong persuaded Cao Cao to summon the officers of Xu county. Man Chong knew that he would be ordered to pardon the offenders, so he killed them. Cao Cao admired his energy and attention to duty.

In the following year, Cao Cao ordered the arrest of the former Excellency Yang Biao, who was related by marriage to the claimant emperor Yuan Shu. Yang Biao was charged with treason and was sent to the prison at Xu city. Kong Rong and Xun Yu urged Man Chong not to question Yang Biao too harshly, and particularly not to flog him, but Man Chong applied normal procedures. He then went to Cao Cao and reported that Yang Biao continued to claim his innocence, and it would be an error to punish such a well-known man without good evidence. Because Man Chong had applied the full process, Cao Cao was prepared to accept his advice, and he let Yang Biao go. Kong Rong and Xun Yu had initially been angry at Man Chong, but after Yang Biao had been freed, they appreciated his policy.

Yuan Shao, the warlord north of the Yellow River, was at that time Cao Cao's chief rival. He came of distinguished family from Runan, and a number of clients and associates of the Yuan had established local forces to oppose Cao Cao. Cao Cao appointed Man Chong as Administrator, and Man Chong called up five hundred men and over-ran the various enemy camps. He then captured by trickery those leaders who had not surrendered, and killed about a dozen of them. The territory was pacified and Man Chong acquired

two thousand soldiers and some twenty thousand households, which latter he returned to farm-work in the fields.

In 208 Man Chong accompanied Cao Cao into Jing province; as Cao Cao withdrew, he left Man Chong as an acting general in garrison in Nan commandery. Later, as Sun Quan launched a number of attacks against the Huai, Man Chong was called back to Runan. He was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis.

When Guan Yu attacked north in 219, Man Chong brought troops to assist Cao Ren. As flooding on the Han destroyed the support army under Yu Jin and began to erode the defence walls of Fan city, some officers urged that the position should be abandoned. Man Chong argued that losing Fan would expose great areas of the north to Guan Yu's assault, while it was reasonable to expect that the floods would go down as swiftly as they had come. Cao Ren agreed, and Man Chong drowned a white horse and gathered the defenders for an oath and covenant. As the city was relieved and Guan Yu forced to retreat, Man Chong distinguished himself in the fighting. He was rewarded with a village marquisate, and when Cao Pi succeeded as King of Wei he promoted Man Chong to be a full general.

In the following twenty years Man Chong served as a general and as an Area Commander, chiefly on the south-eastern front against Sun Quan. He returned to the capital in 242 and was honoured as an Excellency, but died soon afterwards. -SGZ 26:721-25*.

Man Yin 滿殷. Man Yin and Gao Dan are described as clients of Dou Xian about 90. Both held office as Administrators of Nanyang. -HHS 45/35:1520.

Man Zun 滿遵 see Pu Zun 蒲遵.

Mang 莽 [surname] *i.e.* Ma 馬 *q.v.*: see the entry for the surname Mu 馬/莽.

Manqu 滿居 of Anxi [Parthia]. In 101 King Manqu of Anxi sent an embassy to the court of Emperor He with gifts of lions and ostriches. -HHS 88/78:2918.

Mantou 滿頭; Xianbi. In 54 the chieftain Mantou and his colleague Yuchouben brought tribute to the court of Emperor Guangwu. Yuchouben was granted title as a king and Mantou was made a marquis. -HHS 90/80:2985; deC 84:291.

Manu 麻奴; Qiang. Son of Donghao, about 106 he succeeded his father as chief of the Shaodang tribe, which at that time was settled within Chinese territory in Anding commandery. In 107, disturbed by the

mutiny of Qiang conscripts in Jiuquan and by the flight across the frontier of Dong'an and other chieftains, Manu and his younger brother also led their people to escape to the west. This marked the beginning of the unravelling of the Han position in the northwest and the start of the great Qiang rebellion.

Manu appears to have taken no major action during the period of the rebellion, but in 121 he allied with the chieftain Renliang of the Dangjian tribe on the upper Yellow River. As Renliang attacked Jincheng and defeated the Protector Ma Xian and his followers of the Xianlian tribe, Manu and his people defeated the militia of Zhangye and Wuwei and plundered the latter commandery.

Recovering from this set-back, Ma Xian attacked Manu, put him to flight, and in 122 he pursued Manu south across the ranges, through the Xining valley, and over the Yellow River. Manu's followers surrendered, and in the winter Manu brought his remaining people to submit. He was granted a gold seal and purple ribbon, while his followers were also rewarded.

Manu is not heard of again, but his younger brother Xigu was recognised as chief of the Shaodang in the following year. -HHS 87/77:2886-92.

Mao Dan 茅丹 see Fang Dan 芳丹.

Mao Gan 毛甘; Danyang. Mao Gan was leader of a group of Chinese renegades in the Huang Shan range of southern Danyang. He and his allies were conquered by He Qi in 208. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Mao Ji 毛機; Chenliu. Mao Ji was a son of Mao Jie, who died about 216; he was appointed as a gentleman cadet at court. -SGZ 12:377.

Mao Jie 毛玠 [Xiaoxian 孝先]; Chenliu. Noted as a local officer when he was young, Mao Jie took refuge in Yuyang about 190, but later returned and became a staff officer to Cao Cao when he came to Yan province in 192. He persuaded Cao Cao to seek recognition from the court at Chang'an in order to justify and bolster his position.

When Cao Cao became Imperial Chancellor in 208 Mao Jie and Cui Yan were given control of appointments and promotions, and they enforced morality and restraint.

In 213 Mao Jie was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and he later became Deputy Director of the Secretariat for the state of Wei. When Cui Yan was disgraced in 216, however, Mao Jie was upset and Ding Yi and others then accused

him of treason. Huan Jie and He Xia spoke for him, but Cao Cao refused to examine the matter further. Mao Jie was not formally punished, but he was dismissed and died at home. -SGZ 12:374-77*.

SGZ 12:377 says that despite this quasi-disgrace, Cao Cao granted funerary equipment for Mao Jie, and appointed his son Mao Ji as a gentleman cadet. SGZ 2:58 says that after Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, in recognition of Mao Jie's past loyal service, one of his sons or grandsons was made a gentleman cadet. [These statements may reflect the same award, probably that made by Cao Pi, presumably to Mao Ji.]

Mao Jun 毛暉. When Cao Cao was in Yan province in the early 190s he appointed Mao Jun and his colleague Xu Xi as **military officers**. As Lü Bu came to take over the province in 194, Mao Jun and Xu Xi **changed** to support him, and when Cao Cao recaptured the territory in the following year they fled to take refuge with Zang Ba in Langye.

After the destruction of Lü Bu in 198, Zang Ba gave his allegiance to Cao Cao. Cao Cao sent Liu Bei to require that he send him the heads of the two renegades, but Zang Ba explained that it was a matter of honour for him not to behave in such a way to men who had come for refuge. He felt obliged to obey Cao Cao's orders, but in turn he asked Cao Cao to be magnanimous, as befitted a true national leader. Cao Cao accordingly pardoned the two men, and appointed each as a commandery administrator. -SGZ 8:537.

Mao Kai 毛愷 (d.151). Major in charge of the military colony at Yiwu near present-day Hami, in 151 Mao Kai led five hundred men to oppose a raid of the local Xiongnu king with three thousand horsemen. His **troop** was wiped out. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Mao Qin 毛欽; Donglai? In 169 Mao Qin was an official in Donglai. As the reformist Zhang Jian fled the eunuchs' persecution, he took refuge with the gentleman Li Du. Mao Qin came in pursuit, but Li Du persuaded him to let such a worthy man go. -HHS 67/57:2210 [which describes Mao Qin as a county magistrate], HHJ 22:262 [which has him as an Investigator]; deC 89:113, 445.

Mao Rong 茅容 [Jiwei 季偉/瑋]; Chenliu. At the age of forty Mao Rong was a peasant. He was ploughing with others when it came on to rain, but as they sheltered under a tree his companions huddled together, while Mao Rong kept a dignified distance. The celebrated judge of character Guo Tai was passing by, noticed

him, and asked to lodge with him.

In the morning Mao Rong brought a chicken. Guo Tai thought must be in his honour as a guest, but Mao Rong gave half the bird to his mother, put the rest away into storage, and offered Guo Tai only a share of his own vegetable dish. Impressed by his individual code of conduct, unwilling to give the food destined to his parents at a guest, Guo Tai encouraged Mao Rong to study, and he became a scholar of great virtue, celebrated for his ability in oratory and debate.

In 164, as scholars gathered to pay their respects at the funeral of Huang Qiong, the recluse Xu Zhi also came with an offering. Because of his skill in conversation Mao Rong was sent after him. He gave Xu Zhi food, which he accepted, then talked with him, but Xu Zhi would speak only of farming. There was feeling about this, but Guo Tai defended Xu Zhi's policy of withdrawal. -HHS 68/58:2228*, XC 4:10a; deC 89:44-45, Vervorn 90:182.

Mao Shu 茅叔. As the youthful Lian Fan left for the west to collect his father's body, he entrusted Mao Zhong, a former officer and client of the family, with a thousand acres of farmland. Mao Zhong died before Lian Fan returned, but he left instructions in his testament for his son Shu to return the property.

Mao Shu duly handed the land back, but Lian Fan returned it to him. He believed that the constancy shown by Mao Shu and his father was more important than his family's ownership: the loyalty of men was more important than the possession of things. -HHJ 9:114.

Mao Shuzhi 毛檣之 became a county magistrate in Dongping. -FSTY 5f:120.

Mao Tong 茅通. In 128 Mao Tong was a physiognomist assessing prospective recruits to the harem of Emperor Shun. On seeing the Lady Liang Na he exclaimed at her noble appearance. Liang Na was immediately appointed an Honoured Lady, and she became empress a few years later. -HHS 10B:438.

Mao Yi 毛義 [Shaojie 少節]; Lujiang. A man of humble family, Mao Jie became known for his filial piety. He was appointed commandant and then provisional magistrate of a county in Runan, but left office when his mother died and refused all further invitations.

Honouring Mao Yi's filial conduct, an edict of Emperor Zhang in 84 ordered the Administrator of Lujiang to present him with a quantity of grain and provide a sheep and a measure of wine each year. Mao

Yi died of old age at his home. -HHS 39/29:1294-95, 27/17:946, XC 7:14b.

Mao Zhen 毛珍. A clerical officer under the Grand Commandant in 119, Mao Zhen questioned Ban Yong's proposal to restore the office of Protector-General of the Western Regions, arguing that in the past the cost of embassies from tributary states had been excessive. Ban Yong replied that such states were valuable allies of Han to protect the northwest of the empire, and the expense was far less than the cost of war if they fell under the sway of the Xiongnu. -HHS 47/37:1588.

Mao Zhen 茆鎮 see Yuan Zhen 苑鎮. -LS 12:6a-7b.

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Mashi Kuang 馬適匡; Hedong. Mashi Kuang was a local leader, but early in the reign of Emperor Guangwu he and his associates were executed by the Commandant Fan Ye. The commandery promptly came to order. -HHS 77/67:2491.

"**Master**" 子 [honorary title of a scholar] see under the relevant surname.

"**Master**" 先生 [honorary title] see under the relevant surname or sobriquet.

Mei Cheng 梅成 also as Mei Qian 乾 (d.209); Lujiang. A local bandit, Mei Cheng was allied to Chen Lan. About 200 they accepted the authority of Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu but continued to operate in the foot-hills of the Dabie Shan. After Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 they established a loose alliance with Sun Quan south of the Yangzi.

In 209 Cao Cao sent Yu Jin and Zhang Liao to attack Mei Cheng and Chen Lan. Though Mei Cheng pretended to surrender to Yu Jin, when Yu Jin withdrew he brought his men to join Chen Lan. The combined force then took refuge in the hill country of the Dabie Shan, but Zhang Liao pursued them into the wilderness, attacked their camp, and killed both leaders. -SGZ 6:209, 15:463, 17:518, ZZTJ 66:2098; deC 89:406.

Mei Fu 梅敷. In 220 Mei Fu was a general of Wei on the frontier of Nanyang facing Sun Quan's new position in Jing province. When Cao Cao died and Cao Pi succeeded him, Mei Fu sent his officer Zhang Jian with an offer to surrender, and came over with

five thousand families from his former territory. -SGZ Wu 2:1121.

Mei Gen 枚根 (d.24). Administrator of Yuexi for Wang Mang, Mei Gen appointed the non-Chinese chieftain Ren Gui as a military officer. In 24, after the fall of Wang Mang in the previous year, Ren Gui led his people to kill Mei Gen, then took local power for himself. -HHS 86/76:2853.

Mei Ping 梅平; Guangling. In the late second century the military officer Mei Ping was taken ill while on service and returned to his homeland. As he was staying at the house of a friend on the way, the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo came by. Mei Ping's host arranged for him to see him, but Hua Tuo told Mei Ping that it was too late. If he hurried home, he would be in time to farewell his family, but he would be dead in five days. The prognosis proved correct. -SGZ 29:800-01.

Mei Qian 梅乾 see Mei Cheng 梅成.

Meng 猛, the Lady, see Deng Mengnü 鄧猛女.

Meng 孟 [surname unknown]; Wudu. Formerly a local officer at the headquarters of the commandery, in 171 this man sponsored a stele to commemorate the road construction work of the Administrator Li Yu. -LS 4: 10a.

Meng 孟 [personal name unknown] married the Lady Guo Yu, elder sister of the empress of Cao Pi, who bore him a son, Meng Wu 孟武. -SGZ 5:164; C/C 99:106.

Meng 猛; Xiongnu. XTS 75B:3437 says that Meng was a younger brother of Qubi, ruler of the remnant Xiongnu state under Cao Cao. The Dugu 獨孤 clan of Tang traced their ancestry through him. See, however, *sub* Liu Jinbo.

Meng Ben 孟賁; Henan? A eunuch Regular Attendant, in the late 130s Meng Ben was an ally of Cao Teng in faction struggles with various rivals in the palace of Emperor Shun. They were slandered by a group of eunuchs associated with the emperor's wet-nurse Song E, but in 137 the accusations were found to be false and their enemies were exiled.

Two years later the eunuch Zhang Kui and his associates, concerned at the favour enjoyed by Meng Ben and Cao Teng and their association with the Liang family of the empress, claimed they were planning to depose the emperor. Emperor Shun was reluctant to believe them, but Zhang Kui and his fellows had Meng Ben and Cao Teng arrested. They presumably hoped to extract some confession under torture, but Meng Ben managed to get a message to the emperor,

who promptly arranged their release. Several of their accusers were killed and others fled for their lives.

Cao Teng went on to a notable career, but Meng Ben is not heard of again, so it is probable that he died about this time. -HHS 78/68:2518, 34/24:1176, 101/11:3245.

XHS 1:6a, quoted in SGZ Shu 12:1024 PC, says that Meng Ben was elder brother to the Grand Commandant Meng Yu, who came from Henan; see *sub* Meng Yu.

Meng Biao 孟彪; Ba. A local gentleman in the 190s, Meng Biao was recommended by Wang Shang and nominated Abundant Talent by the warlord Governor Liu Zhang. He rose to high office in Yi province. -HYGZ 10B:147, 12:219.

Meng [Boyuan] 孟伯元; Guanghan. In the early first century Meng Boyuan sought to avenge his father's death on Jia Xu of a rival family. He was arrested by the local authorities, but Jia Xu then killed himself to end the chain of violence. -HYGZ 10B:150-51.

Meng Bu 孟布. Meng Bu was a member of the Imperial Secretariat about 120, when debate arose on whether the right to wear a cap with two bridges 梁 [loops from front to back] should be granted to all officers ranking at 600 *shi*. The Foreman Clerk Zhi Kan put forward the argument, and though Meng Bu opposed it; the distinction was indeed extended over the next several years.

In 121 Meng Bu joined the Director Dai Feng in arguing for an end to the policy which required senior officials to leave office on account of mourning, as it caused excessive disruption to administration. Their proposal was approved. -HHS 120/30:3667 [as Meng Xi 希], 46/36:1560; MBeck 90:259.

Meng Chang 孟常; Wei. About 118 Meng Chang was second in charge of a village post station when Liu Qian the King of Zhao came on one of his incognito journeys. When the king sent his slave Jin to take bedding from the post hostel, Meng Chang tried to stop him, but Jin stabbed him. The post authorities sent a posse after Liu Qian's party. The king first tried to escape involvement by hiding Jin, but then strangled him and left his body by the roadside. -DGHJ 7:2a.

Meng Chang 孟嘗 [Bozhou 伯周]; Kuaiji. We are told that members of Meng Chang's family had held local office in the commandery for three generations; they probably included Meng Ying and Meng Zhang *qq.v.*

About 150 Meng Chang was Officer for Households

戶曹, responsible for population registers, for sacrifices, and for the general conduct of the common people. A woman who had cared for her dying aunt had incurred the resentment of other relatives, who accused her of poisoning her aunt and also her own mother. When the case came to the commandery, the Administrator failed to investigate it properly and passed swift sentence. Meng Chang knew the true situation and attempted to present a case, but the Administrator paid no attention. Meng Chang lamented outside the gates of the *yamen*, then claimed he was ill and went away. The woman was executed.

There was drought in the region for the following two years, and no manner of prayers brought any rain. When the new Administrator Yin Dan arrived, he enquired the reason for such misfortune. Meng Chang came forward and told the story of the wrongful execution. He urged Yin Dan to punish the people who had laid false charges, and as soon as this was done there was abundant rain and an excellent harvest.

Meng Chang later received both commandery and provincial nomination and became a magistrate in Xiapi. With excellent reports for his government, he was appointed Administrator of Hepu in the far south. This commandery occupied a narrow strip of coast east and west of the Leizhou peninsula, with some contact to Hainan island. It produced neither grain nor fruit, and the people obtained their food by trading sea-pearls with neighbouring Jiaozhi commandery about present-day Guangzhou. Greedy for the profits, previous officials had insisted on excessive harvesting; so the oyster-beds were fished out, pearls became rarer and there was no means to buy food. When Meng Chang arrived he took people's advice and reduced the demand. Such conservation meant that the pearls "returned," so trade was restored and Meng Chang was praised for a miracle.

When Meng Chang sought to leave office on grounds of ill health, it is said that the people held back his carriage so that he could not go, and he was obliged to escape on a boat by night. He retired into marshland in his home country, but such was his reputation that more than a hundred families came to live near him. Some time in the 160s his fellow-countryman Yang Qiao, a member of the Secretariat with influence at court, praised his splendid work in Hepu and urged that he be given another appointment. This did not happen, and Meng Chang died at home aged seventy.

He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66:2472-75*, XC 5:3b-4a; Yü 67:181.

Meng Da 孟達 [Zijing 子敬 later Zidu 子度: see below] (d.228); Youfufeng. In the late 190s Meng Da and his fellow-countryman Fa Zheng abandoned the devastated region about Chang'an and went to join Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province. After the battle of the Red Cliffs in 208, Liu Zhang sent Meng Da and Fa Zheng to take support troops to Liu Bei, and they then became secret agents of Liu Bei at Liu Zhang's court.

In 211 Meng Da accompanied Fa Zheng on the embassy to invite Liu Bei into Yi province. Liu Bei took him into his own service, he stayed in garrison at Jiangling on the middle Yangzi, and when Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he was appointed Administrator of Yidu, on the Yangzi below the Gorges.

In 219 Meng Da was ordered to attack Fangling, the neighbouring commandery of Cao Cao to the north. Occupying that territory, he advanced to Shangyong on the Han River, so he now held the western flank of Cao Cao's position in the north of Jing province and linked with Liu Bei's territory in Hanzhong.

About this time Liu Bei proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong, and Meng Da changed his style from Zijing 子敬 to Zidu 子度 in order to avoid taboo on the name of Liu Bei's uncle Liu Zijing. Despite this, Liu Bei had become uncertain of Meng Da's loyalty, and he ordered his adopted son Liu Feng to move down the Han into Shangyong and take over command.

As Guan Yu attacked Cao Cao's forces in Xiangyang later that year he sent several requests for assistance, but Liu Feng and Meng Da claimed it would be dangerous to leave their newly conquered territories, and they made no move. After Guan Yu was destroyed by the attack of Sun Quan's general Lü Meng, both men felt uneasy, and they quarrelled. In 220 Liu Feng took over Meng Da's military band of trumpeters and drummers, and at this insult Meng Da resolved to change sides. He sent a letter to Liu Bei to bid farewell, and led four thousand followers to surrender to Wei.

Meng Da was a man of notable presence, and Cao Pi treated him generously. He shared his carriage with him, granted him a marquissate and title as a general, and appointed him Administrator of Xincheng, a new commandery formed by combining Fangling and Shangyong on the border of Hanzhong. Supported by the Wei army and aided by the rebellion of Shen

Yi, Meng Da drove Liu Feng away and reclaimed the territory.

The minister Sima Yi and others, however, had advised Cao Pi that Meng Da could not be relied upon, and after the death of his patron in 226 Meng Da felt insecure. As his colleague Shen Yi accused him of planning to change sides once more, Meng Da became increasingly uneasy. He responded to overtures from Zhuge Liang of Shu-Han, but before he was ready Sima Yi forced a crisis, and when Meng Da did rebel at the end of 227 he was swiftly attacked and killed. -SGZ Shu 10:991-94; Fang 52:29-30, 245-249.

SGZ 24:679 mentions an Administrator of Anding named Meng Da, but this appears to be a different man of the same name.

Meng Dai 孟岱. An officer of Yuan Shao, after the defeat at Guandu in 200 Meng Dai claimed that Shen Pei's loyalty was doubtful, for he had two sons captive with Cao Cao. He was appointed Supervisor of the Army and replaced Shen Pei in command of the garrison at Ye city. -HHS 74/64A:2402-03.

Meng Dang 孟瑯. A member of the Imperial Secretariat, in 166 Meng Dang was found guilty of taking bribes and revealing state secrets. He was executed. -HHS 102/12:3258; MBeck 90:128.

Meng Fu 孟孚 see Meng Li 孟李.

Meng Fu 孟扶. Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding in 185, Meng Fu was a sponsor for the stele of Li Kuan. -LX 12:5b cited by Hui Dong in HHSJJ 12/2:498.

Meng Gong 孟宏/肱; Zhuo. In 28 Meng Gong was Officer of Merit to the rebel Administrator of Zhuo commandery Zhang Feng. As the Han imperial forces approached, he took Zhang Feng prisoner and went to surrender. -HHS 20/10:740.

Meng Guan 孟觀. Inspector of a province, Meng Guan was in trouble for some wrongdoing, but he had his officer Zhou Shu prepare his defence and so escaped punishment. -XC 8:6b.

Meng Guang 孟光, the Lady [Deyao 德曜]; Youfufeng. Though not good-looking, the Lady Meng was a woman of strong and fine character. She had many suitors but refused them all. When she was over thirty her parents asked her whom she would choose, and she told them she wanted to marry Liang Hong. He too had refused many offers of marriage, but when he heard of the Lady Meng's interest he came and proposed to her.

When they were first married the Lady wore her finest clothes, but Liang Hong would have no dealings with her. She knelt before him and asked the reason, and he told her he wanted a wife who dressed in coarse cloth. Delighted with such plain virtue, she encouraged her husband to abandon the world for the hill country on the edge of the Qin Ling ranges. There she wove while he worked in the fields, and they established a model of hermit life together.

Meng Guang later accompanied Liang Hong to the east and south. In Wu her display of humility and respect for her husband caused the wealthy Gao Botong to appreciate his quality and receive him as an honoured guest. When Liang Hong died in the southeast, the Lady and her children returned to their home country. -HHS 83/73:2766-68; Vervorn 90:197, 302. [A variant text, probably mistaken, says that the Lady had the surname Zhao 趙, not Meng.]

Meng Guang 孟光 [Xiaoyu 孝裕]; Henan. A kinsman of Meng Yu, Grand Commandant under Emperor Ling, Meng Guang was widely read, expert in the precedents of Han and in the Gongyang version of *Chunqiu* and in *Zuo zhuan*. He held clerical office at the capital in the late 180s, but escaped to Yi province when Dong Zhuo took the court to Chang'an in 192.

Meng Guang was well treated by both Liu Yan and Liu Zhang, and when Liu Bei took over in 214 he appointed him a Consultant and had him work on the codification of procedures and rituals. Due to quarrelling between Xu Ci and Hu Qian, nothing came of this project, while Meng Guang had scholarly disagreements with his colleague Lai Min.

During the reign of Liu Shan, Meng Guang held a series of appointments at court, and rose to ministerial rank. He died aged over ninety. -SGZ Shu 12:1023-25*.

Meng Guang 孟廣 see Meng Xuan 孟璇. -Nagata 94:266.

Meng Ji 孟冀; Youfufeng. After the fall of Wang Mang in 23, as the region about Chang'an fell into disorder, Meng Ji accompanied Du Lin and other gentlemen of the commandery leading a group of refugees to the west. On the road they encountered a group of several thousand bandits, who stole their goods, taking even their clothes, and intended to put them to death. Meng Ji, however, threatened them with the wrath of Heaven, who had punished the mighty Red Eyebrows and would deal all the more surely with such petty troops as these.

The leader of the band was impressed and fearful, and he let the party go. [Note, however, that in 23 the Red Eyebrows may have been perceived as a distant threat, but they had not yet reached the capital district, nor had they been destroyed, so there is anachronism in the account of this incident. As Bielenstein observes, such stories are of doubtful validity: Bn 54: 64-65]

Meng Ji became well known for quick thinking, and was a trusted adviser of his fellow-countryman Ma Yuan. Though Ma Yuan was posthumously disgraced in 49, his daughter became the consort of Emperor Ming in 60. In 72, as an officer under the Director of Retainers, Meng Ji was appointed to the committee of historians chaired by Ban Gu, which was commissioned by Emperor Ming to compile the annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu. This work, initially known as the "Diary of the Jian'an Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Hanji*. It appears that Meng Ji and his colleague Ma Yan were chosen to represent the Ma faction, while Ban Gu and Yin Min represented the rival Dou interest and two other scholars were neutral. -HHS 27/17:935, 24/14:841; Bn 54:10, Bn 79:105, 121.

HHS 40/30A:1334, followed by Bielenstein 54:10, names the colleague of Ban Gu as Meng Yi 異 but, as the Qing commentator Hui Dong observes in HHSJJ at 1422, this is surely a miswriting for Meng Ji 冀. In later writings Bielenstein accepts the emendation.

Meng Jian 孟建 [Gongwei 公威]; Runan. During the 190s Meng Jian took refuge in Jing province from the civil war, and he studied under Sima Hui. Among his colleagues were Xu Shu, Shi Tao, Pang Tong and Zhuge Liang. Meng Jian was among those who recognised Zhuge Liang's particular abilities.

When Cao Cao came to Jing province in 208 Meng Jian went to join him. He became Inspector of Liang 涼 province in the far northwest and was later a general under Wei. Zhuge Liang always recalled him with affection. -SGZ 15:479, Shu 5:911-12.

Meng Li 孟李 or Meng Fu 孚. In the mid-140s Meng Li and his younger brother Mao, stone-masons, were paid 150,000 cash to prepare and erect a set of pillars for the Wu family of Shanyang. -Wu 89:24-25, and see *sub* Wu Liang.

There is uncertainty about the personal name of this man. The passage as transcribed by Chavannes in 1907, published by him in 1913 and reproduced by Wu 89, gives the names as 孟孚李弟卯. In his translation

Wu interprets 孚 as a first 李, but the text is confused.

Meng Mao 孟卯. In the mid-140s the stone-masons Meng Mao and his elder brother Meng Li/Fu were paid 150,000 cash to prepare and erect a set of pillars for the Wu family of Shanyang. -Wu 89:24-25, and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Meng Min 孟敏 [Shuda 叔達]; Julu. Meng Min was a migrant into Taiyuan, the home country of Guo Tai. When a pot he was carrying on his back fell to the ground, he walked on without turning his head. Questioned by Guo Tai, Meng Min observed, "The pot is broken. What is the point of looking at it?" Guo Tai spoke with him further, admired his quality, and urged him to study at Luoyang. After ten years Meng Min had gained a high reputation. He was offered appointment in the offices of all three Excellencies, but refused the invitations.

On one occasion a kinsman had committed a crime and was liable to the death penalty. Meng Min was asked to plead for him, but at first refused to interfere in the course of justice. He was eventually persuaded to go to the county office, but did not say anything. The magistrate, however, was so impressed by Meng Min's mere presence that he treated the case leniently. -HHS 68/58:2229; Mather 76:558, deC 89:45-46.

Meng Sheng 孟生. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in the time of Emperor He, Meng Sheng was a collator in the imperial library of the Eastern Pavilion.

Meng Sheng became a Regular Attendant, and he was probably involved in the failed attempt of the Yan clan to keep Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, from the throne in 125; in 126 he was among those who were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu and were eventually dismissed. -HHS 58/48:1870.

Meng Sheng 萌生. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Meng Sheng, Zhang Pu and four other Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒 received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -LX 3:8a-9a, cited by Qian Daxin in HHSJJ 75/65. 2689 *jiaobu*.

Meng Shu 孟叔. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Meng Shu took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and set Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county fief in Nan commandery.

In 126 Meng Shu joined Sun Cheng and others to support the Director of Retainers Yu Xu in his attack on

the imperial favourite Zhang Fang and other eunuchs. The emperor was eventually compelled to disgrace Zhang Fang, but he was angry at the result, and Sun Cheng, Meng Shu and all their colleagues were sent out to their fiefs. In 128 the emperor formally recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Meng Shu was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were sent to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Meng Tuo 孟佗 [Bolang 伯郎]; Youfufeng. A wealthy man, Meng Tuo befriended a slave of the powerful eunuch Zhang Rang, and gave many gifts to him and to his fellows. When they enquired what they could do in return, Meng Tuo asked only that they bow to him in public. This was done, and when people saw such display of respect they assumed Meng Tuo was on excellent terms with Zhang Rang. They gave him presents, which he shared with Zhang Rang, who had him appointed Inspector of Liang province; another story says he presented Zhang Rang with grape-wine, possibly as much as twenty litres, an import from the far west.

In 170, after Hede of Shule [Kashgar] had killed his nephew the king during a hunt and seized the throne, Meng Tuo sent his officer Ren She with a large allied army to attack Shule and restore order. They gained no success, and Shule was left effectively and chaotically independent. -HHS 78/68:2534, 88/78:2927; Ch'ü 72:491, deC 89:120.

Meng Xi 孟希 miswritten for Meng Bu 孟布. -HHS 120/30:3667.

Meng Xuan 孟璇 [Xiaoju 孝琚]; Jianwei/Dependent State? A fragmentary and undated stele found in the north of present-day Yunnan commemorated this man. He was a scholar of the Han interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry* and of the *Book of Filial Piety*, he changed his personal name to Xuan from Guang 廣, and he appears to have embarked on a marriage connection with He Yanzhen of Shu commandery. The text is too interrupted to be further interpreted reliably. -Nagata 94:266.

Meng Yao 孟曜. A member of the staff of Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, Meng Yao assisted Du Kui to compose music suitable for the court of Han, but then Du Kui objected that Liu Biao was not

entitled to have imperial music performed; it was not played. -SGZ 29:806.

Meng Yi 孟益/溢. In 188 Meng Yi was sent as a General of the Household to join Gongsun Zan in attacking the rebels Zhang Ju and Zhang Chun in Yuyang. -HHS 8:356.

Meng Yi 孟異 i.e. Meng Ji 孟冀 q.v.

Meng Ying 孟英 [Gongfang 公方]; Kuaiji. Meng Ying was Officer for Legal Matters 決曹 in the commandery when an edict ordered the provincial authorities to investigate the execution of the innocent man Wang Ping. Though the Administrator had given the order, Meng Ying claimed his master had been ill at the time and that he had acted on his behalf. He starved himself to death.

Meng Ying's son Zhang also sacrificed himself, and the family loyalty was later praised by Yu Fan. -SGZ Wu 12:1325 & JJ at 15a-b.

Meng Yu 孟軾/郁 [Jingda 敬達 or Shuda 叔達]; Henan. In 167 a stele was set up to commemorate the repair of the local temple to the sage Emperor Yao 堯 by the Administrator of Jiyin Meng Yu 郁, who came from Henan and whose style was Jingda. Expert in the *Classic of History*, he had served in six commanderies and in each post he had great influence on education. -LS 1:1a-5a; LS 22:16a-b also mentions prayers for rain at this temple.

According to HHS Annals, the Minister of Ceremonies Meng Yu 軾 was promoted to be Grand Commandant in 177, but left office in the following year. Commentary to that text says that he came from Henan and that his style was Shuda. These are presumably references to the same man: the characters of the personal name are interchangeable, and the variant style is a problem of transcription. -HHS 8:340; but see Hou Kang in HHSJJ 8:337-38 *jiaobu*.

XHS 1:6a, quoted in SGZ Shu 12:1024 PC, says that the eunuch Regular Attendant Meng Ben was elder brother to the Grand Commandant Meng Yu 郁. Meng Ben was active about 140, so if Sima Biao is correct Meng Yu was a good deal younger than Meng Ben and/or was very old when he received the highest office.

Meng [Yuanshu] 孟元叔; Beihai. A scholar of cosmology and divination, Meng Yuanshu was a teacher of Jing Luan. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Meng Yun 孟雲. Administrator of Wuwei in 84, Meng Yun was approached by emissaries of the Northern

Shanyu seeking permission to trade. He referred the matter to the court at Luoyang, and the agreement was confirmed by the visit of a senior minister of the northern court.

In the following winter Meng Yun reported that the Southern Shanyu, dependent ally of Han, was sending raiding parties to attack, plunder and kidnap the northern caravans. The Northern Shanyu had protested, and was threatening to resume raids along the borders. A majority at court believed the Southerners should be allowed to keep their booty, but the minister Yuan An argued that the agreement for peaceful trade should be honoured. After fierce debate the emperor decided that the government would purchase the prisoners from the southerners, restore them to their own people, and pay blood-money for any who had been killed.

The peace party was thus formally successful, but in the longer term the Southern Xiongnu gained the advantage, for the agreement to pay ransom meant that their aggression was rewarded. Over following years, as the Northern Xiongnu became weaker the attacks on their caravans continued. -HHS 89/79:2950, 45/35:1518, 40/30A:1334; deC 84:262-263.

Meng Zhang 孟章; Kuaiji. Meng Ying was Officer of Merit in the commandery when the local army was defeated by bandits. As Meng Zhang shielded the Administrator, he was shot by arrows and killed.

Meng Zhang's father Ying had also sacrificed himself, and the family loyalty was later praised by Yu Fan. -SGZ Wu 12:1325 & JJ at 15a-b.

Meng Zheng 孟政 [Zijie 子節]; Kuaiji. In 25 Meng Zheng was a junior officer in the commandery. He accompanied the acting Administrator Yu Qing against a group of bandits, but when they encountered them their men ran away. Meng Zheng died fighting, and so Yu Qing was able to escape. -XC 8:11a. [Strangely, though Wang Mang's regime had been destroyed in 23, this incident is dated in the sixth year of his reign period Dihuang 地皇.]

Mengnü 猛女, the Lady, see Deng Mengnü.

Mi 祕 [surname] see Bi 祕 *passim*.

Mi 麋, the Lady; Donghai. The Lady was a younger sister of Liu Bei's associate Mi Zhu, who gave her to him as a principal wife 夫人 after Liu Bei's wife [or wives] and children 妻子 had been captured by Lü Bu in 196. Some domestic complications must have followed, for we are told that Liu Bei made peace with Lü Bu soon afterwards and his family was returned to

him. The Lady Mi is not referred to again.

Liu Bei's family was captured once more by Lü Bu in 198, to be again returned later, and in 200 he was obliged to abandon his dependents to Cao Cao; that group never rejoined him. Had the Lady Mi been involved in those later incidents, one might expect that she would have been mentioned, so she probably died earlier, about 197. -SGZ Shu 8:969; C/C 99:48-49.

Mi Bao 麋豹. According to *HHSJJ* 84/74:3080, Mi Bao was Administrator of Wu in 154 and aided the construction of a memorial to the virtuous widow Lü Rong *q.v.*

Mi Chang 靡常, the Lady: see the Lady Chang Michang 常靡常. -HYGZ 10A:140, 12:216. The texts are confused whether her surname was Chang or Mi.

Mi Fang 麋芳 [Zifang 子方]; Donghai. Younger brother of Mi Zhu, Mi Fang was named Chancellor of Pengcheng by Cao Cao, but left to follow Liu Bei.

As Guan Yu attacked Cao Cao's forces north up the Han River in 219, Mi Fang held garrison command as Administrator of Nan commandery at Jiangling. There had been a fire in the arsenal, and Guan Yu blamed Mi Fang and threatened to punish him on his return. When Lü Meng brought an army of Sun Quan to attack Jing province, Mi Fang surrendered.

In 223, now in the service of Wu, Mi Fang went with He Qi to capture Qichun, north of the Yangzi in Jiangxia. -SGZ Shu 8:969-70, 6:941, SGZ Wu 15:1380. We may note that Mi Fang had the remarkable record of serving each of the rival Three Kingdoms.

Mi Heng 禰衡 see Ni Heng 禰衡.

Mi Qiang 弭彊 (d.25). An officer of the Gengshi Emperor, in 25 Mi Qiang was a General of the Household with authority in Hedong. In the summer, after Deng Yu had defeated the army of Wang Kuang, he took over the commandery, captured Mi Qiang and killed him. -HHS 16/6:601.

Mi Zhu 麋竺 [Zizhong 子仲]; Donghai. Of long-established and prosperous local family, with many retainers, Mi Zhu was a skilled archer and horseman. He became Attendant Officer to the Governor Tao Qian, and when Tao Qian died in 194 Mi Zhu followed his death-bed instructions and offered Xu province to Liu Bei. He joined his personal staff and became a close companion.

In 196, when Lü Bu defeated Liu Bei and captured his wife and children, Mi Zhu supplied him with two thousand of his own followers, quantities of treasure

to raise more troops, and gave him his sister to replace the missing wife. Cao Cao later named Mi Zhu as an Administrator for the Taishan region, but he left again to follow Liu Bei.

As Liu Bei sought refuge in Jing province in 201 he sent Mi Zhu and Sun Gan to Liu Biao to prepare the way. Mi Zhu became a senior member of staff, and when Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he gave him title as a general, outranking regular commanders.

In 219 Mi Zhu's brother Mi Fang surrendered in Jing province to Lü Meng, then joined Sun Quan. Liu Bei did not hold Mi Zhu to account, but Mi Zhu was ashamed. He was a leading signatory of the memorial urging Liu Bei to take the imperial title in 221, but became ill and died soon afterwards. -SGZ Shu 8:969-70*.

Mian Ang 免昂 became Administrator of Shang commandery. -FSTY 5f:129.

Miao Bu 繆卜 see Miao Xi 繆襲.

Miao Guang 苗光. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Miao Guang took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. After the event, the successful conspirators were given rewards and fiefs. Miao Guang explained that he had been searching for weapons at the time and had not been present at the emperor's accession; he was therefore unworthy of such generosity. His fief was confirmed but the pension was reduced.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Miao Guang and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. -HHS 78/68: 2516-18.

Miao[?] Hong 繆红 [Jiwei 季爲] (85-155); Pengcheng. An undecorated tomb and a funerary stele were discovered in southern Shandong, very close to the tomb of Miao Yu. The inscription does not give a surname, but it seems probable that the occupant was a member of the Miao family.

The inscription records his service as an Assistant Officer of Xu province and a brevet magistrate, and mentions that his father had been a secondary marquis. He was evidently a person of local importance.

In 165, ten years after this man's death, his wife died and was buried with her husband. Born in 95, she had also lived seventy-one years by Chinese reckoning.

They left four children. -*WW* 1994/8.

Miao Meng 苗萌. In 23 Miao Meng was magistrate of Fucheng county in Yingchuan. In the summer, after the Han rebels under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, had defeated Wang Mang's great army at Kunyang, Miao Meng and the local commandery official Feng Yi guarded the city for the Xin dynasty. Liu Xiu attacked, and Feng Yi was captured. Sent back into Fucheng, he persuaded the defenders to go over to Liu Xiu.

About this time the Gengshi Emperor had Liu Xiu's brother Liu Bosheng killed. As Liu Xiu returned to Nanyang, Feng Yi and Miao Meng refused entry to other officers sent by the Gengshi Emperor to take over the city. A few months later Liu Xiu was named Acting Director of Retainers and sent to restore order in Luoyang. He went past Fucheng, where he was welcomed by Feng Yi and Miao Meng and took both men onto his staff. Miao Meng is not mentioned again. -*HHS* 17/7:639.

Miao Pei 繆裴 [Wenya 文雅]; Donghai. Widely read in the classics, Miao Pei lived a private life at home. He was invited to join the offices at the capital, and was also offered appointment as an Academician at the University, but refused. When the government controlled by Dong Zhuo shifted to Chang'an in the early 190s, there was a special recommendation of leading Confucian scholars, and Miao Pei was invited to court as a Palace Attendant; he refused once more. -*SGZ* 21:620.

Miao Shang 繆尙. An officer under Zhang Yang the Administrator of Henei, when Zhang Yang was killed in 198 Miao Shang took his title, but Sui Gu held effective power in the region.

Sui Gu was an old enemy of Cao Cao, and in the following year he left Miao Shang and his colleague Xue Hong to hold Shequan city, while he went north to seek help from Yuan Shao. He was defeated and killed by Cao Cao, who then came to besiege Shequan. Before any assault was launched, Cao Cao's envoy Dong Zhao persuaded Miao Shang and Xue Hong to surrender. Both men were rewarded with enfeoffment. -*SGZ* 1:17, 14:438.

Miao Shi 繆十 see Miao Xi 繆襲.

Miao Si 苗祀 (d.195). Presumably a eunuch, in 195 Miao Si was Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of the residence of the Empress Fu of Emperor Xian. He accompanied the imperial party on its escape from Chang'an, but was killed during the fighting in

Hongnong. -*HHS* 9:378.

Miao Tong 繆彤 [Yugong 豫公]; Runan. Orphaned when he was young, Miao Tong lived with his three younger brothers. They held everything in common, but after they married their wives wanted to live separately and argued about the division of the property. Miao Tong slapped his own cheek, blaming himself as elder brother for not having influenced his siblings to behave properly. The quarrelling parties kowtowed and apologised, and the household became peaceful again.

Miao Tong later joined the senior staff of the county, but then the magistrate was arrested and charged with some wrongdoing and all the other officers were afraid they would be implicated. They denied any responsibility, but Miao Tong went to face torture and imprisonment, suffering so greatly that worms infested his body. In the course of four years he was held in five prisons, and was released only when the magistrate died.

The Administrator Liang Zhan appointed Miao Tong as his Officer for Legal Matters 決曹. When Liang Zhan died in office in 107 Miao Tong escorted his body back to his home in Longxi. As rebellion had broken out among the Qiang, Liang Zhan's wife and children fled to another commandery, but Miao Tong would not leave until he had seen to Liang Zhan's burial. For ten years he hid in a well during the day and carried earth for the tomb mound at night, and only when the rebels had been defeated was the tomb finished. When Liang Zhan's family returned, assuming Miao Tong must be dead, they were amazed at his work. As his fame spread throughout the region, he was offered carriages and clothing, but he refused everything and simply returned home.

Recommended by his province for Exceptional Quality, Miao Tong was appointed a magistrate in Henan. The county was close to Luoyang and had many powerful clans, but Miao Tong promptly executed a hundred bad officers and criminal clients of leading families, and his authority was instantly effective. He died in office about 120. -*HHS* 81/71:2685-86.*

Miao Xi 繆襲 [Xibo 熙伯] (186-245); Donghai. Son of Miao Pei, Miao Xi was a man of scholarly talent. Recruited into the offices at the capital, Xu city under the control of Cao Cao, he became a member of the Secretariat and a Household Counsellor of Wei.

Miao Xi composed a number of scholarly and

literary works, including songs for imperial ceremonies and a collection of eulogies of worthy women. He also took part in the compilation of *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings", an edition of all previous writings on the classics, which was commissioned by Cao Pi in 220. -SGZ 21:620; Mather 76:558 [as Mu Xi].

The Treatise of Bibliography of *Sui shu* 34:1009 lists the *Huang lan* in 120 *juan*. It is ascribed to Miao Shi 繆十, also written as Miao Bu 繆卜, and others; commentaries explain 十 and 卜 as corrupted writings for Miao Xi. The first convenor of the project, however, was Wang Xiang, and he was succeeded by Wei Dan.

Miao Xu 苗虛 (d.29); Pei. A leader of local rebels, he was destroyed by Guangwu's general Wang Chang. -HHS 15/5:581, DGHJ 24:4a.

Miao Yong 繆彤 see Miao Tong 繆彤. -Ch'ü 72:8.

Miao Yu 繆宇 [Shuyi 叔異] (d.150); Pengcheng. The substantial and decorated but long-plundered tomb of this man, northwest of Pi county in present-day Jiangsu, close to the border with Shandong, was explored in the early 1980s. A fragmentary inscription records that Miao Yu died in 150 and was buried in the following year, and gives a list of the offices he held: 故彭城相行長史事呂長. The tomb has therefore been described as that of a Chancellor of Pengcheng 东汉彭城相繆宇墓.

The title, however, is mistaken. The tomb was in the territory of Pengcheng of Later Han, and it was forbidden for any man to hold senior commissioned appointment in his homeland. The inscription is better understood as indicating that he acted 行...事 as Chief Clerk 長史 under an unnamed Chancellor. Though a Chief Clerk was normally appointed by the central government, there was provision for a local man to serve in the position. Similarly, since Lü 呂 county was in Pengcheng, Miao Yu should not have held substantive office as a magistrate there; but again it was possible for a local man to act.

So Miao Yu was a leading member of the local gentry of Pengcheng, and at one time or another he held brevet appointment as magistrate 長 in a neighbouring county and as chief assistant 長史 to the Chancellor of the kingdom. -WW 1984/8, Nagata 94:108.

Miao Zen 苗曾 (d.24). Governor of You province for the Gengshi Emperor in 24, Miao Zen established himself in Youbeiping and raised his own troops. He was unwilling to recognise the commissioner Liu Xiu,

future Emperor Guangwu, but Liu Xiu's officer Wu Han surprised him and killed him, then took over his army. -HHS 18/8:676.

Mijia 彌加; Xianbi. Commander of the eastern region under Tanshihuai in the 170s, Mijia was later independent beyond the frontier. His territory was not directly connected to China, but about 207 Yan Rou persuaded him to pay tribute to Cao Cao. He established trading relations and was enfeoffed as a king.

Mijia later came to terms with the rising power of Kebineng, but his title as king was re-confirmed by Cao Pi, and he evidently lived to a considerable age. -SGZ 30:838-40; Fang 52:62, 95-96.

Min 敏 [surname unknown]. In 181 he was Assistant to the Minister of Ceremonies Jiu Dan. -HHSJJ 92/2: 3418 Hui Dong.

Min Chun 閔純 [Bodian 伯典] (d.191). Attendant Officer to Han Fu, Min Chun urged him not to hand Ji province to Yuan Shao, and he joined Geng Wu in fighting other officers to prevent them deserting to the new ruler. Yuan Shao had both men killed. -HHS 74/64A:2378.

Min Gong 閔貢 [Zhongshu 仲叔]; Taiyuan. Known as a man of principle and admired for the simplicity of his life, Min Gong ate nothing but plain gruel and drank only water. His friend Zhou Dang offered some garlic to flavour his meal, but though he accepted it, he would not use it.

Min Gong was appointed to the offices of the Excellency Hou Ba about 30, but left in disgust when he found the minister had no real wish for his advice or service. He was later invited to become an Academician at the University, but would not go. He stayed some time in Hedong, very poor, but left when the magistrate had him given food. He travelled to Pei, and died there of old age.

Min Gong's abnegation of the world became a model for later generations. -HHS 53/43:1740, XC 7: 5a-b; Vervoorn 90:283.

Min Gong 閔貢; Henan. In 189 Min Gong was an officer of Henan commandery in charge of the Central Precinct 中部掾, a police position which covered the city of Luoyang. As fighting broke out at the capital, the eunuchs Zhang Rang and Duan Gui fled the massacre, taking the Little Emperor Liu Bian and his brother Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, with them. Lu Zhi went in pursuit, and the Intendant Wang Yun sent Min Gong with a posse to assist him. They caught the fugitives at

the Yellow River, killed the eunuchs and brought the two imperial youths back. Min Gong was enfeoffed and appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 69/59:2252, SGZ 6:173.

Min Kan 閔堪; Dai. A local leader, Min Kan took title as a general in the early years of civil war, but was forced out of Dai commandery by Emperor Guangwu. He re-established himself north of the Ordos in Wuyuan and Shuofang, and in 28, under the aegis of the Shanyu of the Xiongnu, he joined the alliance of leaders which supported the claim of Lu Fang to the imperial title of Han.

In 29 Min Kan accompanied Li Xing to escort Lu Fang from the court of the Shanyu to his new capital in Wuyuan. Returning to Dai after the conquest by Jia Lan in 30, in 33 he brought troops to aid him against the army of Guangwu under Wu Han. With additional support from Xiongnu cavalry and aided by a heavy rainstorm, they defeated the imperial forces.

When Lu Fang was driven to flight by the treachery of his officer Sui Gu in 36, Min Kan went with him, and he accompanied him on his return to Dai commandery in the winter of 39. Twelve months later, Lu Fang surrendered to Emperor Guangwu and was given title as King of Dai. Min Kan was named Chancellor, his younger brother Min Lin was Tutor, and both were granted rewards of silk.

Soon afterwards Lu Fang again rebelled, but this time Min Kan and Min Lin turned against him. After some months fighting the Shanyu sent cavalry to aid Lu Fang, and invited him back to the north. The Min brothers are not heard of again. -HHS 12/2:506-08; Bn 67:105-114.

Min Lin 閔林; Dai. Younger brother of Min Kan, he evidently followed him in support of Lu Fang. When Lu Fang surrendered to Emperor Guangwu in 40 and received title as King of Dai, Min Lin was named as his Tutor while Min Kan was Chancellor; both were granted rewards of silk.

When Lu Fang rebelled once more, the brothers turned against him, but the Shanyu sent cavalry to aid Lu Fang, and the Min brothers are not heard of again. -HHS 12/2:507; Bn 67:113-114.

Min Ye 閔業; Shanggu. In 24 Min Ye was a clerk on the staff of the Administrator Geng Kuang. When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in Handan, he sent an officer to seek support. Min Ye supported Kou Xun's advice that Geng Kuang should refuse, and Geng

Kuang made alliance with Peng Chong to support Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu.

Kou Xun several times mentioned Min Ye's loyalty to Guangwu; he was later granted a secondary marquissate and appointed Administrator of Liaoxi. -HHS 16/6:621, 627.

Min [Zhongshu] 閔仲叔 see Min Gong 閔貢 I.

Ming, Emperor 明帝 (reg. 57-75) see Liu Zhuang 劉莊.

Mitang 迷唐; Qiang. Son of Miyu, after his father's murder by the Protector Zhang Yu in 87, Mitang united his Shaoqiang people for revenge, and arranged marriages and subventions to make alliances with their former rivals the Shaohe, Dangjian and Dangdian tribes. Though his first raid on the Longxi frontier, probably in 88, was defeated, he gathered more men from Chinese territories and returned to the attack. Zhang Yu was unable to deal with the situation and was dismissed, but his successor Deng Xun bribed a number of Mitang's followers to defect, and recruited the Yuezhi people of western Jincheng, enemies of Mitang, into a Loyal Auxiliary 湟中義從胡. He then turned on Mitang's weakened forces and drove him back from the frontier.

Deng Xun died in 92, and his replacement Nie Shang attempted to break the cycle of warfare by a show of goodwill. Mitang returned towards the frontier and sent his grandmother and Bique to visit. Nie Shang appears to have treated the old lady with great courtesy, but when his envoys escorted her back to Mitang's camp, he murdered them and used their blood to swear an oath of enmity to Han. He then raided Jincheng, but in the following year a new Protector Guan You attacked his base in the Yu Valleys, on the upper Yellow River by present-day Guide in Qinghai. He occupied the territory and drove Mitang away.

Guan You died in 96, and his successor Shi Chong made another attack. This, however, was beaten off with loss by Mitang and his followers, and in the following year the Qiang raided deep into Longxi. Inspiring their kinsmen within Chinese borders to join them, they defeated the commandery forces, and the trouble was so serious that an army of thirty thousand was sent under Liu Shang and Zhou Tai, with troops from the professional Northern Army at the capital, from the base camps of Liyang in Wei commandery and the region of Chang'an, and a host of local militia and non-Chinese auxiliaries.

Mitang retreated beyond the frontier, and as the Chinese attacked he fought them to a standstill. Liu Shang was dismissed, but in 98 his replacements Wang Xin and Geng Tan bribed some of the insurgents to submit and Mitang himself came to surrender. He was sent to the court at Luoyang and his few remaining followers, now exhausted, settled in Jincheng.

Emperor He ordered that Mitang return to the upper Yellow River, but the territory had been under Chinese control since the expedition of Guan You, and Mitang asked to settle closer in. The Protector Wu Zhi granted him supplies and sent him across the frontier, but the haste in which this was done made the non-Chinese uneasy.

Two years later, in 100, Mitang again led a revolt, this time stirring up the non-Chinese of the Xining valley to plunder the region. Wang Xin, Geng Tan and Wu Zhi were all dismissed, but in the following year Mitang withdrew once more to the further reaches of the Yellow River. He made one more raid against Jincheng, but this time the new Protector Zhou Wei gathered the non-Chinese and joined the Administrator Hou Ba to oppose him. They pursued the raiders across the frontier and heavily defeated them; thousands surrendered and were brought in to be resettled in Hanyang, Anding and Longxi.

This proved to be Mitang's last great offensive. He had quarrelled with a number of his former allies who had submitted to Han, he had few remaining followers, and he became ill and died a few years later. One of his sons then came to surrender, with a total company no more than a few score.

The first great war-leader of the Qiang against China, Mitang never forgave the murder of his father Miyu, and he proved both resilient and energetic in gathering allies to cause trouble. The Mitang wars, however, were dwarfed by the disruption which accompanied the great rebellion of the Qiang in 107, just a few years after his death. -HHS 87/77:2882-85; deC 84:80-81.

Miu 繆 [surname] see Miao 繆 *passim*.

Miwu 迷吾 see Miyu 迷吾.

Miyu 迷吾 or Miwu (d.87); Qiang. Son of Dianyu and a younger brother of Dongyu, Miyu did not accept his father's submission to Han. With other brothers, he caused continual trouble in the frontier region.

In 77 Miyu and his followers sought to leave Chinese territory. He Zhong the Administrator of

Jincheng attempted to stop them, but was defeated and fled. Many tribes now joined Miyu, and with fifty thousand men he raided Longxi and as far east as Hanyang. Eventually he and his followers were defeated and forced to submission by the general Ma Fang.

Miyu led another revolt in 86, but the raids ceased when his brother Haoyu was captured and then released by the Chinese. Miyu retired to the north of the Yellow River, but then the Protector Fu Yu arranged to stir up trouble with the Qiang, and Miyu again became their leader.

In 87 Fu Yu received approval for a campaign with his own levies and commandery troops, but advanced before the contingents were in place; he was defeated and killed in an ambush. Miyu withdrew before the rest of the army, but then resumed raiding.

Later that year the new Protector Zhang Yu defeated Miyu in Jincheng. Miyu asked to surrender and Zhang Yu agreed, but at the welcome banquet he drugged the wine and then had his men slaughter the Qiang chieftains. As Miyu's head was presented at Fu Yu's tomb, Zhang Yu sent his troops to kill and capture his people.

Miyu's murder was a short-lived success, built upon bad faith, and his son Mitang fought many years for revenge. -HHS 87/77:2881-82; deC 84:80.

Mo 莫 (d.57); Xiongnu. Younger brother of the founding Southern Shanyu Bi, when the separatist state was established in 48/49 Mo was appointed Worthy King of the Left, the office of the heir to the throne. Sent on an expedition against the north in 49, he defeated the guard of the Northern Shanyu Punu, captured his younger brother and drove the northern court away across the Gobi. Mo and his men returned with over ten thousand people, seven thousand horses, and myriads of cattle and sheep.

At the death of the Shanyu Bi in 56, Mo succeeded him with the title Qiufuyou di 丘浮尤鞮 Shanyu. He died in the following year. -HHS 89/79:2943-48.

Mo 謨 [surname unknown]. As a member of the Imperial Secretariat in 171, he took part in the enthronement ceremony of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. -HHS 95/5:3121.

Mo Si 莫嗣. An Attendant Officer in Yi province about 200, Mo Si gave a disapproving prognostication on various outlandish fashions among men's and women's clothing. -HHS 103/13:3273; MBeck 90:151.

Mobie 摩螫 (d.167); Qiang. A leader of the Eastern Qiang, in the winter of 167 Mobie and his colleague Anwei gathered a number of groups together to raid the region about Chang'an. They were defeated and killed by Zhang Huan's officers Yin Duan and Dong Zhuo. -HHS 65/55:2140.

Mou 鄒 [personal name unknown]; Kuaiji. Formerly an officer of the commandery charged to deal with bandits, in the early 190s he was listed by Yu Fan among those who had risked their lives in battle to protect their Administrator. -SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Mou Chang 牟長 see Mou Zhang 牟張.

Mou Cun 牟存; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Mou Cun joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Mou Lin 牟麟; Beihai. Eldest son of Mou Rong, after his father's death Mou Lin was appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 26:16:916.

Mou Rong 牟融 [Ziyou 子優] (d.79); Beihai. Already learned as a young man, Mou Rong taught the New Text *History* according to the interpretation of the Elder Xiahou. Recognised as a leading exponent of that tradition, he had several hundred students and acquired a wide reputation.

Nominated Abundant Talent by the Excellency of Works, Mou Rong became a magistrate in Pei. In the three years he was there it was claimed that there were no legal disputes, and his county was rated the best in the province.

The Excellency Fan Qian urged that Mou Rong be given high office at court, and in 62 he was appointed Director of Retainers. His reports were strict and accurate, and all held him in respect. In 65 he was made Minister Herald, and in 68 he became Minister of Finance.

In debates at court, Mou Rong was noted for his clear thinking and effective arguments, and in 69 he was appointed Excellency of Works. He was again admired for his policies and proposals, and when Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 Mou Rong was promoted Grand Commandant; he shared control of the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat, and hence formal command of the government, with his predecessor Zhao Xi, now Grand Tutor.

Mou Rong died in office four years later. The emperor came in person to his funeral, granted him a burial site by the tomb of Emperor Ming, and showed great favour to his family. -HHS 26/16:915-16*.

Sui shu 34:998 and the two Tang bibliographies list a collection of Mou Rong's scholarly work as *Mouzi* 牟子; this must be distinguished from the Buddhist apologia of the same name, allegedly composed by a retired scholar-official of Cangwu at the end of the second century: Zürcher 59:13-14.

Mou Yu 牟紆; Le'an. Son of Mou Zhang, he taught privately with hundreds of students. Emperor Zhang wanted to appoint him as an Academician, but Mou Yu died on the road to the capital. -HHS 79/69A:2557.

Mou Zhang 牟張/長 [Jungao 君高]; Le'an. As a young man, Mou Zhang studied the *Classic of History* according to the New Text school of Ouyang. He refused office under Wang Mang, but in 26 he was nominated by Song Hong, Excellency in the service of Emperor Guangwu, and became an Academician. He was later Administrator of Henei, but was dismissed in 40 for having presented false registers of taxable land. See *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, and Bn 79:136-139.

Both as an Academician and in Henei Mou Zhang attracted thousands of students. He was later recalled to court as an Attendant Counsellor, but left after one year and died at home. -HHS 79/69A:2557*; Bn 79:187, 137.

HHS 79/69A says that Mou Zhang compiled a detailed commentary to the *Classic of History* 尚書章句 following the Ouyang interpretation. HHS 65/55:2138 says that the Mou Commentary 牟氏章句, also in the school of Ouyang, contained 450,000 characters, and about 150 the scholar Zhang Huan presented an abbreviated version of 90,000 characters to the throne of Emperor Huan. Commentary to that text ascribes the original work to Mou Qing 牟卿, an Academician of Former Han. Though there is no firm statement in the texts, it seems likely that Mou Zhang was a son or nephew of Mou Qing, and the Mou commentary was a family work, compiled by both Mou Qing and Mou Zhang with possible further additions from Mou Yu. See Tjan 49:148 and QHX:440.

Moyan 莫延; non-Chinese. King of the Dunrenyi people beyond the frontier of Yongchang commandery in the far southwest, present-day Burma/Myanmar, in 94 Moyan sent an embassy with tribute of a rhinoceros

and an elephant. -HHS 86/76:2851.

Mu 莽 [surname] see Ma 馬 *passim*. In 88 BC, under Emperor Wu of Former Han, the general Ma Tong 馬通 was executed for rebellion. During Later Han, after Ma Tong's descendant the Honoured Lady Ma became the consort of Emperor Ming in 60, his surname was posthumously changed in the records to 莽 [modern *mang*]. As 莽 was the personal name of the usurper Wang Mang, a touch of political correctness was added by the amendment. The commentary of Yan Shigu to HS 6:211; Dubs 44:118 says that in Han times 莽 was sounded as *mu*, and this is followed by QHX:441 *sub* Mu Tong. See also Bn 79:122 and 219 note 265, citing GSR:709a and 40a amended by Malmqvist 75:23.

Mu 繆 [surname] see Miao 繆 *passim*

Mu 牟 [surname] see Mou 牟 *passim*.

Mu Bing 沐并 [Dexing 德信]; Hejian. Orphaned and poor when he was young, Mu Bing first made a name as an official under Yuan Shao and his sons. About 208 Cao Cao appointed him to his staff.

A man of strong principles, Mu Bing was personally abstemious and very willing to face powerful opposition. In the time of Cao Pi he became a magistrate in Henan, and later held various administrative and advisory positions. He died about 250. -SGZ 23:661-62.

Mu Cheng 母成; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Mu Cheng joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Mu Chong 沐寵 became Administrator of Dongping. -FSTY 5f:124.

Mu Gen 牧根 see Mei Gen 枚根.

Mu Lang 牧粮 became Administrator of Yuexi. -FSTY 5f:127.

Mu Mao 沐茂. Chief of a market at Luoyang, in 159 Mu Mao petitioned Emperor Huan seeking mercy for the presumptuous magistrate Li Yun. -HHS 57/47:1853.

Mu Mou 沐茂 see Mu Mao 沐茂.

Mu Xu 穆徐 see Cheng Xu 程徐.

Muqiu 母丘 [surname] see Guanqiu 毋丘 *passim*.

Murong 慕容; Xianbi. A commander in the central region about Yuyang under Tanshihuai in the 170s, he was very likely an ancestor of the imperial Murong

clan of Former Yan in the fourth century. -SGZ 30:838, JS 108:2803; G/deC 77:42.

N

Nali 那離 (d.139); Qiang. A chieftain of the Shaodang tribe, in the winter of 138 Nali led three thousand horsemen on a raid into Jincheng. Defeated by the Protector Ma Xian, they turned west to ravage Chinese settlements and their allies. In the following year, Ma Xian attacked again, with over ten thousand allied cavalry. He killed Nali and 1,200 of his followers, and captured more than 100,000 herding animals. -HHS 87/77:2194-95.

Nammu [Korean] see Nanwu 男武 of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

Nanlou 難樓; Wuhuan. A chieftain in Shanggu in the late 160s, with command of nine thousand tribal groups, Nanlou styled himself as a king. In 195 he supported the rising against Gongsun Zan, and was given title as Shanyu by Yuan Shao.

He later accepted the hegemony of Louban and his general Tadun, but after their defeat at White Wolf Mountain, Nanlou [described as Nuolou 那樓 of (mistakenly) Shang commandery] surrendered to Cao Cao and was named an acting Shanyu. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 30:834-35, 1:30; deC 84:396-412.

Nanwu 男武 [Korean: Nammu]; Gaogouli [Koguryo]. According to *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記, a Korean chronicle of the twelfth century based upon older material, Nanwu was the eldest son and successor of King Bogu [Paekko]. He died in 197, leaving no sons, and was succeeded by his younger brother Yanyou [Korean: Yon-u].

Early Chinese texts, notably SGZ 30:845, have no mention of Nanwu, and some scholars doubt his existence. Gardiner 72A:98-100 argues the possibility that he ruled from about 195 to about 205, and may have been the father, rather than the elder brother, of two contending princes Baqi/Faqi [Palgi] and Yanyou [Yon-u], the latter being also known as Yiyimo. See further *sub* Yiyimo.

Nengchendi[zhì] 能臣抵之; Wuhuan. A chieftain in Dai, Nengchendi surrendered to Cao Cao after White Wolf Mountain in 207 and was named acting Shanyu. It is said that he had been among the defeated allies at White Wolf Mountain, but this is probably an error,

confusing him with Wuyan of Youbeiping.

In 216 Nengchendi and Pufulu caused trouble. They were settled by the Administrator Pei Qian, but when Pei Qian left in 218 they rebelled once more. They called on the Xianbi chief Kebineng for support, but they were then heavily defeated by Cao Zhang and Kebineng withdrew. -*SGZ* 23:672, 30:635-36; *deC* 96:358, 505-506.

Ni [Dingxing] 兒/倪定興; Pei. Sometime a gentleman cadet, when the magistrate Wang VII was transferred to Guanghan Dependent State, Ni Dingxing took a lead in setting up a stele to honour his good government. -*SJZ* 24:7b-8a.

Ni Heng 衡 [Zhengping 正平]; Pingyuan. A man of great but eccentric abilities, Ni Heng took refuge in the south in the 190s, then returned to join the imperial court under Cao Cao's control at Xu city. He despised most scholars and officials, and had no hesitation in saying so, while his erratic behaviour sometimes verged upon madness. Expert with the drum, on one occasion he was asked to play for a feast, but came in old and shabby clothes. When someone criticised him for this, he stripped off and performed naked.

Ni Heng was a close associate of Kong Rong and Yang Xiu, and Kong Rong recommended him several times to Cao Cao. It was clear that Ni Heng was intelligent, but he refused to show respect, and the connection later served as one ground for Kong Rong's execution on a charge of Impiety.

Ni Heng was invited by Liu Biao to return to Jing province. He achieved great success with his literary skills, but again made enemies of Liu Biao's attendants. They told Liu Biao that Ni Heng had described him as indecisive, a trait on which Liu Biao was sensitive, and Liu Biao then sent Ni Heng to his general Huang Zu.

Huang Zu's son Huang She admired Ni Heng greatly, and Huang Zu himself was initially impressed by Ni Heng's talents, but then Ni Heng abused Huang Zu before his officers during a banquet. Huang Zu ordered his execution, and his senior clerk, who had also suffered from Ni Heng, had the sentence carried out before anyone could change their mind. Huang She came too late to plead for him, and Huang Zu showed his regret with an elaborate funeral.

Ni Heng died about 199 at the age of 26. He composed a number of literary works, but few survived for long. Best known is *Yingwu fu* 鸚鵡賦, the Parrot Rhapsody, a strange work in which the composer

combines formal thanks to his patron Huang She with personal statements on his isolation and effective captivity. -*HHS* 80/70B:2652-58*, *SGZ* 10:311-12, *XC* 5:12a; Mather 76:558, Sailey 78:236-241, Graham 79.

Ni Hong 倪/兒宏 (d.24). An officer of Wang Lang, in 24 he was sent to help Wang Rao in Julu, but was destroyed by the army of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. -*HHS* 1A:14.

Ni Kuan 倪寬. As Administrator of Nanyang, Ni Kuan treated his subordinates so well that they had the utmost respect and affection for him, and never acted dishonestly. -*HQ* 2:6b.

Ni Meng 兒萌 [Ziming 子明]; Qi. During the troubles at the beginning of Later Han, Ni Meng's brother was captured by Red Eyebrows, who intended to eat him. Ni Meng went to offer himself as replacement, but the bandits had pity and let them go. -*HHS* 39/29:1300*. [*Cf.* also *sub* Zhao Xiao and Che Cheng.]

Ni Shi 兒式 (d.157). Administrator of Jiuzhen in 157, Ni Shi was killed in battle with rebels led by Zhu Da. In honour of his heroic death, an imperial edict awarded his family 600,000 cash, while two sons were appointed gentlemen cadets. -*HHS* 7:302, 86/76:2839.

Ni Shou 兒壽; Lu. *LS* 27:6a lists a stele dedicated to the worthy gentleman 尊士 Ni Shou.

Ni Xiaode 兒孝德. About 200 Ni Xiaode was acting as Administrator of Nanhai. A supporter of Cao Cao, he received the refugee Xu Jing. -*SGZ* Shu 8:964.

Ni Xun 兒尋 or 倪尋. Local commandery officers in the late second century, Ni Xun and his colleague Li Yan both suffered from headaches and fever. Though their symptoms were identical the doctor Hua Tuo gave Ni Xun medicine to reduce his temperature but gave Li Yan a draught to bring on perspiration. Questioned, he observed that Ni Xun's problem was external, while Li Yan's was internal and needed to be driven out. By the following day both men were cured. -*SGZ* 29:800.

Ni Yue 倪說. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang in 75 the head of the Imperial Censorate Ma Yan complained that many provincial officials lacked concern for their duties, and particularly accused Ni Yue, Inspector of Yang province, of recommending poor quality candidates for office. Ni Yue and two other inspectors were dismissed. [The accusations may not necessarily have been justified: see *sub* Zhu Fu.] -*HHS* 24/14:860.

Ni Zhi 兒直; Dongping. A local strongman of the 40s, expert with a cross-bow, Ni Zhi was generally opposed to the government, but when the county magistrate Zhongli Yi appointed him to his staff, both Ni Zhi and his similarly contumacious son became peaceful. -*HHSJJ* 41/31:1493 Hui Dong quoting the Secondary Biography of Zhongli Yi.

Nie 聶 [personal name unknown], Yanmen. Claiming descent from Nie Yi 聶壹 of Former Han, he was the father of Zhang Fan and Zhang Liao. The surname was changed by Zhang Liao to avoid a vendetta, and it appears that other members of the family followed suit. See *sub* Zhang Liao, and also the Lady Zhang 張 IV.

Nie Shang 聶尚. Administrator of Shu commandery in 92, Nie Shang was appointed Protector of the Qiang in succession to Deng Xun. The war-lord Mitang had been engaged in intermittent conflict across the frontier, and Nie Shang attempted to break the cycle by a show of goodwill. Mitang returned towards Chinese territory and sent his grandmother Bique to visit him. Though it appears that Nie Shang sought to show her every courtesy, when his envoys escorted Bique back to Mitang's camp he murdered them and used their blood to swear an oath of enmity to Han.

There is no explanation for the *volte-face*, but Nie Shang was dismissed in the following year. -*HHS* 87/77:2883.

Ning Ji 甯季; Henei. A bandit leader of Chaoge about 110, his forces dominated the county, killed local officials, and defied the forces of the commandery and the province. Yu Xu was then appointed as magistrate. He demoralised and confused Ning Ji and his men by infiltration, assassination and trickery, and the insurgency collapsed. -*HHS* 58/48:1867.

Ning Shu 甯叔 [Maotai 茂泰]; Guanghan. Ning Shu was a student at the Imperial University when his friend Zhang Chang was killed by the local bully Lü Tiao. Ning Shu avenged him, then presented himself at the prison. Admiring his conduct, Emperor Shun pardoned him. -*HYGZ* 10B:150.

Niu 牛 [personal name unknown] (d.175?); Xihe. The tomb of this man, in present-day Shenxi, was in the territory of Xihe commandery under Later Han. A brief inscription states that he held position as brevet magistrate of a county in Xihe, while one of the decorated doors has the date of 175. -*WW* 1996/4.

Niu Cheng 牛稱. Officers under the Inspector of

Liang province Qiao Xuan about 153, Niu Cheng and He Zhuan were sent to summon Aluoduo and Beijun, contenders for the throne of Further Jushi. -*HHSJJ* 88/78:3267 quoting a stele erected for Qiao Xuan, but *cf. sub* Yan Xiang.

Niu Chong 牛崇 or Niu Rong 榮; Longxi. In 35 Niu Chong was Registrar to the Administrator Ma Yuan. The Officer of Merit was Yang Xi, and people joked about the three animals which held power: the horse 馬, the ox 牛 and the sheep 羊. -*FSTY* 5f:120 and *HHSJJ* 24/14:883, also *XTS* 76A:3365.

Niu Dan 牛亶. In 201 Niu Dan was General of the Household at the Han court under the control of Cao Cao. When Zhao Wei rebelled against Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, Cao Cao sought to take advantage of the situation. Niu Dan was named Inspector of the province and Liu Zhang was called to the capital to become a minister in the puppet government. Predictably, Liu Zhang refused. -*SGZ* Shu 1:869.

Niu Fu 牛輔 (d.192); Longxi? Son-in-law of Dong Zhuo, in 189 Niu Fu was sent to defend Hedong against the Bobo 白波 bandits of Xihe.

As Dong Zhuo abandoned Luoyang in the following year Niu Fu was left to guard the north-eastern approaches to Chang'an, and in 192 he was stationed by the Yellow River in Hongnong, sending raiding parties to the east. When Dong Zhuo was assassinated Niu Fu repelled an attack from Wang Yun and Lü Bu, but was then killed by his own men.

It is said that Niu Fu was nervous and superstitious: when any of his followers came to him he insisted on having his physiognomy and trigrams checked, and he killed Dong Yue because a diviner told against him. When a disturbance broke out in his camp, although it was only a general scuffle, Niu Fu took fright and wanted to escape. He offered a reward to his body-guard Puhu Chi'er if he and his fellows would help him, but instead they killed Niu Fu, took all the treasure, and sent his head to Chang'an. -*HHS* 72/62:2327-32, *SGZ* 6:180-181.

Niu Gai 牛蓋 see Zhu Gai 朱蓋.

Niu Han 牛邯 [Ruqing 孺卿] (d.34); Longxi. Well known on the frontier for his bravery, Niu Han became an officer of the warlord Wei Ao.

In 31 his colleague and close friend Wang Zun went to join Emperor Guangwu of Han, and in the following year he accompanied the imperial army as it

moved against Wei Ao. Niu Han commanded a defence position on the Long Slope, but Wang Zun wrote to him, pointing out that they had both joined Wei Ao as a means to support Han, but Wei Ao had turned against the revived dynasty. After some hesitation, Niu Han made apologies to his followers and went over to Han. He was promptly appointed a Palace Counsellor and his example inspired more defections.

The censorial officer Du Lin and the Palace Counsellor Ma Yuan both recommended Niu Han, and at the same time the official and historian Ban Biao urged the appointment of a Protector of the Qiang to settle those frontier tribes. In 33 Niu Han was named Protector with the Staff of Authority, and as Wei Ao's position collapsed he was sent with Lai Xi to settle the territory of Longxi. Niu Han died soon afterwards, however, and the post was not immediately renewed. -HHS 13/3:528-31, 87/77:2878; Bn 67:135-136, deC 84:83.

Niu Jin 牛金. An officer of Cao Cao at the defence of Jiangling in 209, Niu Jin led a sortie against Zhou Yu's army. Heavily outnumbered, he was rescued by his commanding officer Cao Ren.

Niu Jin later became a chief general. -SGZ 9:275-76.

Niu Rong 牛榮 see Niu Chong 牛崇.

Niu Shu 牛述; Longxi. A county magistrate in Chenliu, Niu Shu was fond of gentleman scholars and a good judge of character. He invited Yuan Yan, Fan Dan and Puyang Qian to serve in his administration. -HHS 48/38:1618.

Niujue 牛角 [Oxhorn: bandit sobriquet] see Qing Niujue 青牛角 and Zhang Niujue 張牛角.

Nongqi 農奇 of Further Jushi. Nongqi was a younger brother of King Zhuodi, who rebelled against Han and was killed in 97. Nongqi was then placed upon the throne. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Northern Shanyu 南單于 see *sub* Shanyu 單于.

Nukou 奴寇 "Outlaw Slave" see Zang Ba 臧霸.

Nuolou 那樓 see Nanlou 難樓.

O

Old Man of Chenliu 陳留老父. In 167 Zhang Sheng of Chenliu, who had been brevet magistrate in a neighbouring county, was placed under proscription. As he returned home he met a friend and they mourned

the sad state of the nation, with so many worthy men being killed or removed from office.

An old man passed by and laughed at them. He remarked that dragons and phoenixes could not hide themselves, and if nets were set high enough they must be trapped. Such honourable officials as they were naturally doomed, and tears were useless. Zhang Sheng and his friend attempted to speak further with him, but he promptly disappeared and was not seen again. -HHS 82/72B:2775-76*.

Old Man of the Fu River 涪翁老父; Guanghan? The origins of this man were unknown, but in the first half of the first century he was a fisherman on the Fu River, the greater part of which flows through Guanghan. He would beg for food, but on occasion he cured a sick person by acupuncture, using a stone [flint?] needle 下針石. He compiled a treatise on that topic, *Ji jing* 針經, and a more general work, *Zhenmai fa* 診脈法. His disciple Cheng Gao passed on his teachings to Guo Yu. -HHS 82/72B:2735; Ngo 76:116-117, DeWoskin 83:74-75.

Old Man on the [Southern] Bank of the Han River 漢陰老父 or 漢濱老父; Jiangxia. In 164 Emperor Huan made a progress to the south, and viewed the Han River near its junction with the Yangzi at present-day Wuhan. All the local people came to see the imperial procession, except for the Old Man, who remained in his fields. Zhang Wen, a member of the Imperial Secretariat, was surprised at this and sent someone to ask why he did not go with the others to see the show. The Old Man smiled but made no reply.

Then Zhang Wen went himself. The Old Man asked whether the emperor was there to serve the empire, or the empire to serve the emperor? The sage rulers of the past, he observed, had brought blessings to the world but lived plainly and simply. The ruler of the present day, however, forced the people to toil for his own whims. He felt sorry for Zhang Wen that he was involved in such a regime; but how could he expect anyone to go and look at it? Ashamed, Zhang Wen asked the man's name, but he would give no reply. -HHS 83/73:2775*.

Old Men of Yewang 野王老者; Henei? Early in 25, soon after Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, had sent his general Deng Yu to attack the Gengshi Emperor in Chang'an, he went hunting in Yewang county in Henei. There he met two old men likewise engaged. When he asked where the quarry might be, they pointed to

the west, but warned him that the hunter could also be hunted, and he should be very careful in his proposed enterprise. Liu Xiu understood, but did not change his plans. He did seek to employ the men, but they made excuses and went away, no-one knew where. -HHS 83/73:2758*; Vervoor 90:145.

Ou Da 區達 see Oulian 區連.

Ou Jia 耦嘉 was a Palace Attendant. -FSTY 6f:144.

Ou Jing 區景. An officer in the far south in the early 200s, it is said that he mutinied and killed Zhang Jin the Governor of Jiao province. -SGZ Wu 4:1192.

Ou Lian 區連 see Oulian 區連.

Ou Lian 區憐 or Ou Lin see Oulin 區憐.

Ou Xing 區星 (d.187); Changsha. In 187 Ou Xing was the leader of a large group of local bandits. Sun Jian was sent as Administrator, and swiftly destroyed him. -SGZ Wu 1:1095; deC 90:103-104.

Ouda 區達 see Oulian 區連.

Oulian 區連 or Ouda 區達; Rinan. Presumably non-Chinese, and connected to Oulin below, Oulian became Officer of Merit in Xianglin county. During the period of civil war in the early 190s, he raised rebellion, killed the magistrate, and proclaimed himself king of Linyi.

The territory was thus removed from Chinese control, but in 226 the new state paid formal tribute to Wu. Its capital was in the neighbourhood of present-day Huê, and it was later known as Champa. -*Nan shi* 78:1948 [區連], *Liang shu* 54:784 [區達]; Stein 47, Schafer 67:72, deC 90:40.

Oulin 區憐; Rinan. A non-Chinese from outside the frontier, in 137 Oulin led several thousand men to attack Rinan, burning offices and killing officials. The Inspector Fan Yan led troops to the relief, but his men mutinied, and although that trouble was put down the insurgency spread.

The Imperial Clerk Jia Chang also attempted to gather official forces, but he was defeated and then besieged. After a year, as supplies were running short, the government of Emperor Shun proposed a major expedition, but the staff officer Li Gu argued that the complications and dangers of such long-distance enterprise were prohibitive. He recommended that Rinan be abandoned for the time being, that the experienced officials Zhu Liang and Zhang Qiao be sent to the region, and that bribery be used to induce the various groups of rebels to turn against one another. This was agreed, and Zhu Liang and Zhang Qiao indeed restored order and re-established peace on

the frontier. -HHS 86/76:2837-39.

Ouyang Can 歐陽參. As Inspector of Yang province, Ouyang Can impeached Chenggong Fu, Administrator of Kuaiji, for embezzlement, but Chenggong Fu was successfully defended by his officer Dai Jiu.

Ouyang Can then joined the Imperial Secretariat, and in 159 he was one of the non-eunuch supporters of Emperor Huan who were enfeoffed for their aid in the coup which destroyed Liang Ji.

In 165, as the emperor's former favourites Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan were disgraced, Ouyang Can and others rewarded in 159 were deprived of their fiefs. -HHS 57/47:1858, 81/71:2691.

Ouyang Fu 歐陽復; Qiansheng. Son of Ouyang Xi, he was granted the succession to his father's marquisate, but when he died without sons the fief was ended. -HHS 79/69A:2556.

Ouyang She 歐陽歙 see Ouyang Xi 歐陽歙.

Ouyang Shen 歐陽參 see Ouyang Can 歐陽參.

Ouyang Xi 歐陽歙 [Zhengsi 正思] (d.40); Qiansheng. A descendant of Ouyang Sheng 歐陽高, master of a school for the study of the *Classic of History* in Former Han, Ouyang Xi came from a long line of Academicians in the field, and his father Zheng 政 held scholarly appointment under Wang Mang.

Ouyang Xi maintained the tradition, and was known as a gentle and courteous man. He was a magistrate in Yingchuan under Wang Mang, then accepted the Gengshi Emperor and was transferred to a county in Henan. When the future Emperor Guangwu took over the territory, he was impressed by Ouyang Xi and made him Commandant and then acting Administrator of Henan. As Guangwu took the imperial throne in 25 he named Ouyang Xi his Intendant of Henan and enfeoffed him as a marquis.

Despite his reputation for goodwill, in 29 Ouyang Xi was dismissed for quarrelling in public with his colleague the Director of Retainers. In the following year, however, he was made Governor of Yang province. He attacked the rebel bandit Chunyu Lin, but had no success until his Attendant Officer Chen Zhong persuaded Chunyu Lin to surrender.

Ouyang Xi then became Administrator of Runan, where he remained for nine years. He attracted several hundred students and was noted for the quality of his government, though his Officer of Merit Zhi Yun objected to the favour he showed to the Investigator Yao Yan.

In 33 Ouyang Xi's fief was changed, and in 39 he was appointed Excellency over the Masses. At the end of that year he was accused of having accepted vast bribes during his time in Runan. He was arrested and sent to prison, but more than a thousand of his former students held vigil at the palace gates to ask mercy for him, some shaving their heads to show they wished to share his convict penalty. When news came that he was to be executed a young man named Li Zhen offered his own life in exchange. Reports were sent in of these appeals, but Ouyang Xi was already dead.

Emperor Guangwu agreed that Ouyang Xi could be buried with the insignia of an Excellency. He provided wood for his coffin and paid the funerary expenses, and he also permitted Ouyang Xi's son Fu to inherit his marquisate. -HHS 79/69A:2555-56*, XC 5:9a; Bn 79: 61-63.

Oxhorn 牛角 [bandit sobriquet] see Qing Niujue 青牛角 and Zhang Niujue 張牛角.

P

Pacify Han 平漢 see Ping-Han 平漢.

Paekko [Korean] see Bogu 伯固 of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

Palqi [Korean] *i.e.* Baqi 拔奇 of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. See *sub* Yiyimo.

Pan 潘, the Lady. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore him a son, Cao Rui 叡 [to be distinguished from Cao Pi's eldest son, Cao Rui 叡, who succeeded him as Emperor of Wei]. -SGZ 20:590.

Pan 盤 of Shule [Kashgar]. In 133 King Pan of Shule sent a mission to China with tribute of lions and zebu. -HHS 6:263, DGHJ 3:3a.

Pan Hong 潘鴻 (d.164); Guiyang. From the 150s to the mid-160s Pan Hong and his comrade Bu Yang maintained a bandit force in Guiyang, with their stronghold in the mountains, but by 164 they were the last of the insurgents who had dominated Jing province and the south. The Inspector Du Shang attacked their base-camp and settled them. -HHS 38/28:1285.

Pan Jian 潘蹇. Nominated Administrator of Huaiyang for Emperor Guangwu in 26, Pan Jian was killed by Su Mao. -HHS 1:29; Bn 59:134.

Pan Jun 潘濬 [Chengming 承明] (d.239); Wuling. A scholarly man, Pan Jun studied under the New Text expert Song Zhong and then became Officer of Merit in

his commandery. He was recommended by Wang Can to Liu Biao and became an Assistant Officer for the province, with responsibility for Jiangxia. He killed a corrupt magistrate there, and gained further reputation for his own fine administration of a county.

Pan Jun became a senior member of Liu Bei's staff about 208, and when Liu Bei went to Yi province in 211 he left him with Guan Yu in Jing province, responsible for civil matters.

When Wu conquered Jing province in 219, Pan Jun at first refused to serve, but he was persuaded by a personal approach from Sun Quan. He defeated the loyalist Fan Zhou and operated successfully against the non-Chinese people of his home commandery. He was made a general and enfeoffed, and when Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 he named Pan Jun as his Minister of Ceremonies. Pan Jun's younger son Mi 祕 was given Sun Quan's half-sister, the Lady Sun V, in marriage, and his daughter also married into the imperial clan. -SGZ Wu 16:1397-99*.

Pan Lin 潘臨 also as Pan Shu 叔. Magistrate of Xinye county in Nanyang, about 20 Pan Lin intervened to protect Deng Chen and Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, when they were arrested for failing to salute an official and then giving false names. He continued to protect Deng Chen and Liu Xiu when the latter took refuge in Xinye after the first troubles of Liu Bosheng in 22, but after the defeat of the Han rebels at Xiao-Chang'an Pan Lin was obliged to demonstrate his loyalty to Wang Mang by destroying the houses and tombs of the Deng clan.

Soon after the proclamation of the Gengshi Emperor in 23, a detachment of the Han forces attacked Xinye. Pan Lin agreed to surrender, but only if Liu Bosheng received his submission. Liu Bosheng duly arrived, and Pan Lin opened the gates of the city. -DGHJ 11:1a, HHS 15/5:583, 14/4:552; Bn 54:101-109, 117.

Pan Lin 潘臨; Kuaiji. A local leader of bandits, Pan Lin was destroyed by Lu Xun. -SGZ Wu 13:1343.

Pan Miao 潘苗; Jiuzhen. Pan Miao's brother Pan Xin was killed by the Administrator Dan Meng about 220. Pan Miao then attacked the commandery offices and killed Dan Meng. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Pan Qian 潘乾 [Yuanzhao 元卓]; Chen. Formerly the magistrate of a county in Danyang, in 181 Pan Qian was honoured with a stele. -LS 5:3a-5a, Nagata 94: 232-33.

Pan Shu 潘叔 see Pan Lin 潘臨, magistrate of Xinye.

Pan Xin 潘歆; Jiuzhen. Officer of Merit under the Administrator Dan Meng about 220, Pan Xin attended a banquet for Dan Ming's father-in-law Zhou Jing. Inspired by wine and music, he danced before Zhou Jing and offered him a toast. When Zhou Jing did not respond, Pan Xin attempted to force him, but Dan Meng was angry at the insult to his guest. He struck Pan Xin and killed him on the spot.

Pan Xin's brother Pan Miao then attacked the commandery offices. Dan Meng was killed and the rebels and mutineers took over the commandery. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Pan Xu 潘勖 [Yuanmao 元茂] (d.215); Henan. Expert in calligraphy and orthography, comparable to Sima Zhi, Pan Xu was a member of the Secretariat at the court of Emperor Xian under the control of Cao Cao. When Cao Cao was granted the Nine Distinctions and enfeoffed as Duke of Wei in 213, Pan Xu wrote the text for the presentation.

In 215 Pan Xu was named Chancellor of Donghai, but before he could leave for that post he was recalled to the Imperial Secretariat. He died a few months later, aged over fifty. -SGZ 21:612-13.

Pan Yin 潘業 (d.187); Henan. In 187 bandits from Yingchuan attacked Zhongmou county in Henan. They killed the magistrate Luo Hao and his Registrar Pan Yin. -HHS 8:354.

Pan Yin 潘隱. In 189 Pan Yin was a major under the command of the eunuch Jian Shi, chief colonel of the army of the Western Garden. When Emperor Ling died, Jian Shi planned to assassinate the General-in-Chief He Jin, uncle of the elder imperial son Liu Bian, and place the younger son Liu Xie on the throne. Pan Yin was an old friend of He Jin, and as he came into the palace he gave him a warning look. He Jin promptly withdrew, claimed to be ill and gathered his troops about him. With this threat from a distance, Liu Bian was duly established. -HHS 69/59:2247.

Pan Zhang 潘璋 [Wengui 文珪] (d.234); Dong. When Sun Quan was a county magistrate in Wu about 196, Pan Zhang went to join him. Generous and fond of drink, Pan Zhang was poor but assured his creditors he would repay them when he became rich and powerful. Sun Quan was fond of him, sent him out to raise troops, and gave him command of the hundred men that he recruited. After some success against the people of the hills he was promoted to be a senior major, and he became known for his success in dealing with robbers

and bandits in Wu.

In the early 200s Pan Zhang was sent as a magistrate to Yuzhang, on the border of Liu Biao's territory in Jing province. He put a stop to raiding by Huang Zu's forces, and was promoted to be a colonel with command over a neighbouring county which suffered from banditry. He put down the trouble and collected eight hundred men for service on the eastern front.

In 215 Pan Zhang took part in the attack on Liu Bei's holdings in the south of Jing province, and later that year he accompanied the main army against Hefei. As Song Qian's and Xu Sheng's divisions broke and fled, Pan Zhang was in the second line of defence. Killing two men who were running away, he forced others to turn back and fight. Sun Quan made him a lieutenant-general and gave him command of a defence post on the Yangzi in Lujiang.

In the attack on Jing province in 219, Pan Zhang and Zhu Ran struck west to cut off Guan Yu's retreat in Nan commandery, and it was Pan Zhang's officer Ma Zhong who captured Guan Yu, his son Guan Ping and other officers. Sun Quan promoted Pan Zhang to be a general, enfeoffed him as a marquis, and made him Administrator of Guling, a new commandery at the mouth of the Yangzi gorges, to defend against Liu Bei. He was enfeoffed as a marquis, and when Gan Ning died soon afterwards he took over his troops as well.

When Liu Bei attacked in 222, Pan Zhang joined in the successful counter-attack by Lu Xun, and he was then named Administrator of Xiangyang, territory then controlled by Wei. When Sun Quan took the imperial title he named Pan Zhang as General on the Right.

Pan Zhang is described as rough and fierce, extravagant and greedy. If one of his men appeared well off he might kill him and seize his property, and he regularly broke the law. Because of his fine military record, however, Sun Quan never took action against him. -SGZ Wu 10:1299-1300*.

Pan Zhi 潘芝: original personal name of Pan Xu 潘勖. -SGZ 21:613.

Panchen 潘辰 of Shule [Kashgar] (d.80). Commandant at Shule, Panchen led a mutiny and rebellion but was destroyed by Ban Chao. -HHS 47/37:1577.

Pang 逢/逢 [surname]. These two characters are sometimes confused in the texts, and it is difficult to tell which is correct in each case. Though 逢 is transcribed as *feng* in modern Mandarin, I render both

versions as Pang: the initials which are now expressed as *p* and *f* were very close during the Han period.

Pang 龐, the Lady; Henan. Daughter of Pang Xi, during the 190s she was married to Liu Xun the son of Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province -SGZ Shu 1:870.

Pang 滂 [surname unknown]. As a member of the Imperial Secretariat in 171, he took part in the enthronement ceremony of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. -HHS 95/5:3121.

Pang Ai 龐艾. Inspector of Yi province in the late 170s, Pang Ai was praised by the reformist Yang Zhi. -HHS 67/57:2209. This is probably the same man as Pang Zhi 龐芝 below.

Pang An 逢安 [Shaozi 少子] (d.27); Langye. [On the appearance of the surname as 逢, see Bielenstein 54:137 note 4.] A man of the same commandery as Fan Chong, about 15 AD Pang An was also leader of a group of bandits. He later joined Fan Chong and, with other chieftains, they formed the confederation known as the Red Eyebrows.

The general account of this bandit horde is given *sub* Fan Chong, and Pang An was a close associate. On several occasions the two men from Langye are described as operating together, notably in 24, when they held joint command of the column which passed Wan city in Nanyang on the way to the Wu Pass into Hongnong and the capital region. When the Red Eyebrows set up their nominal imperial regime in 25 Pang An took title as Commander in Chief on the Left.

In 26 Pang An led an army south against the *condottiere* Yan Cen, but after an initial success he was heavily defeated and driven back to the capital. Having exhausted the capital district, early in 27 the Red Eyebrows were compelled to surrender to Liu Xiu, now Emperor Guangwu. The leaders' lives were spared, but within a few months Fan Chong and Pang An were again planning to rebel. They may have hoped to return to banditry in the east, but their plans were discovered and in the summer they were executed. -HHS 11/1:478-86.

Pang Can 龐參 or Pang Shen [Zhongda 仲達]; Henan. As a young man Pang Can became a junior officer in his commandery. Though he showed no particular distinction, the Administrator Pang Fen thought highly of his potential and recommended him as Filial and Incorrupt. Pang Can became Prefect of the Enclosure

of the Left, in charge of convict labourers, but he later committed some fault and was sent to prison.

In 107, as the Xianlian Qiang rose in rebellion and the regent Dowager's brother Deng Zhi was sent to attack them, Pang Can had his son Jun forward a letter to the throne, urging that the people should be given relief from the burdens of taxation and labour service in order to ensure their goodwill before embarking on major military operations. At about the same time the head of the Imperial Censorate Fan Zhun also sent in a recommendation for Pang Can, praising his courage and ability in planning, and comparing him to Wei Shang 魏尚, a distinguished administrator of the northern frontier who had been pardoned by Emperor Wu of Former Han. He urged that Pang Can should receive an amnesty and be given a command. The Dowager agreed.

Pang Can was released and given appointment as Internuncio with authority over military operations in the region of Chang'an. After Ren Shang was defeated in Hanyang in 108, the Han armies were forced onto the defensive and Deng Zhi was recalled; as an imperial relative, his embarrassment was covered by promotion to General-in-Chief.

In 110, as Ren Shang sought to hold the line in Hanyang and the rebellion continued to devastate the northwest, Pang Can proposed that the whole of that territory should be abandoned. Based upon the distances and costs involved, he argued that it would be better for the empire to withdraw its citizens from the unstable frontier and settle them in the empty spaces which could now be found about the lower Wei: the attempt to hold the further west was over-stretching the resources of the heartland. "We claim we bring aid to Jincheng, but all we do is cause suffering to the people about Chang'an." Deng Zhi and the senior ministers agreed that the resources of the empire were no longer sufficient to maintain a forward position. They were prepared to accept Pang Can's policy, but a majority of the court, led by the junior gentleman Yu Xu, rejected the argument; the proposal was taken formally no further.

Pang Can was now appointed Administrator of Hanyang, where he gained the people's affections by generous government, controlling powerful families and assisting the weak. In 114 he succeeded Hou Ba as Protector of the Qiang. By this time the high point of the rebellion was passed, and the government had

recovered Jincheng commandery, but attacks continued and not all Chinese offensives were successful.

Pang Can is said to have sought to restore control by kindness and good faith, and in 115 he received the surrender of the chieftain Haoduo and seven thousand tribesmen. The headquarters of the protectorate had been shifted into Zhangye in 110, but Pang Can was now able to return it to Lianju city in Jincheng near Wuwei commandery, restoring the line of communications between China and the northwest.

Later in 115 Pang Can was ordered to lead a combined force of surrendered Qiang and members of the Loyal Auxiliary of Yuezhi to join the general Sima Jun in an attack on the rebels in Beidi. As he advanced, his column was defeated by the renegade Chinese Du Jigong, and so he was late for the rendezvous. He claimed to be ill and led his men back, but the subterfuge was discovered and he was dismissed and imprisoned. The clerical officer Ma Rong presented an eloquent memorial, praising Pang Can and his colleague Liang Qin, and asking that they be pardoned; this was approved.

Pang Can then transferred to the northeast. As Inspector of You province in 121 he brought armoured militia to aid the General on the Liao Geng Kui against Xianbi attacks on Shanggu, Yunzhong and Dai commanderies. He became Administrator of Liaodong, and in 126, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun, he was appointed General on the Liao. Probably at his recommendation, particularly to deal with increasing Xianbi raiding under the warleader Qizhijian, the camp at Liyang, hitherto in Wei commandery, was brought forward to Zhongshan, where it served not only as a recruiting and training base but also as a mobile reserve against incursions along the northern frontier. It appears that this arrangement ceased after the immediate problem was ended, probably in the early 130s; certainly the camp was later returned to Wei commandery.

In 129 Pang Can was brought to the capital as Minister Herald, and later that year he gained Excellency rank as Grand Commandant with control of the Imperial Secretariat and hence formal command of the government. It appears, however, that Pang Can was now caught in a factional struggle. He suffered various slanders and accusations, but just as trouble was reaching its head, and when Pang Can had sent apologies for his absence from a court assembly on

grounds of ill health, the Reporting Officer Duan Gong from Guanghan told the gathering how Pang Can was celebrated in his commandery for his honesty and fair dealing. Eunuchs were then sent to enquire about his illness, and the imperial physician was despatched with wine and meat.

Pang Can was involved in the reconstruction of the Imperial University during 131 and 132, but in the autumn of 133 he became the centre of a scandal when his new chief wife, threw the step-children borne to her predecessor into a well to drown. Zhu Liang, Prefect of Luoyang, was an enemy of Pang Can. As soon as he heard of the incident he led his men into the official residence of the Grand Commandant, investigated the matter, and reported that Pang Can was at fault. Pang Can was dismissed, though it was explained as being on account of some unfavourable portents. Zhu Liang was sent to prison because he had failed to obtain permission before he invaded the Excellency's offices, but a popular demonstration secured his release. [A very similar crime involving Zhu Liang is attributed to the titular wife of the eunuch Fan Feng: *XC* 7:13a.]

In the summer of the following year, 134, Pang Can returned as Grand Commandant, but he retired at the end of 135, this time because of a long-term illness. He died at home.

Pang Can's career, with active service on the frontier punctuated by periods of imprisonment, and culminating in the highest administrative rank of the empire, is an anomaly in the pattern of official service. He received no enfeoffment, and though there is reference to one son, Pang Jun, he appears to have left no successors: his second wife had evidently eliminated the other potential heirs. -*HHS* 51/41:1686-91*, 90/80:2987-88; *deC* 84:100-108, 301.

Pang De 龐惠/德 [Lingming 令明] (d.219); Hanyang. As a young man Pang De was a local officer in his commandery and then an Assistant Officer of Liang province. Early in the 190s he joined Ma Teng in Longxi, distinguished himself in a number of engagements against the non-Chinese Qiang and Di people, and was promoted to be a colonel.

In 202, as Cao Cao attacked Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang in Wei commandery, Yuan Tan sent Guo Yuan and Gao Gan to occupy Hedong. Cao Cao sent his officer Zhong Yao, who was an uncle of Guo Yuan, to assist with the defence, and Ma Teng sent his son Ma Chao to aid him. Pang De was with Ma Chao's

army in the victory at Pingyang, and he took the head of the enemy commander Guo Yuan. It is said that Guo Yuan was believed to be dead, but no-one could find his head until Pang De brought it out from his arrow-quiver where he had put it for safe-keeping. He apologised to Zhong Yao for having killed his relative, but Zhong Yao assured him that it was for the good of the state. Pang De was appointed a General of the Household and enfeoffed as a village marquis.

Pang De continued in Ma Teng's service, distinguishing himself further by his courage and leadership in the defeat of Zhang Cheng in Hongnong in 205. When Ma Teng went to the east in 208, Pang De transferred to serve Ma Chao.

After Cao Cao defeated the north-western warlords in 211, Ma Chao fled west, and in 213 he went to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. Pang De accompanied Ma Chao on these journeys, but when Cao Cao took Hanzhong in 215 he was among the troops who surrendered. Cao Cao had long known of his reputation; he appointed Pang De as a general and confirmed him with another village fief.

In 218 Pang De was sent under the general command of Cao Ren to attack the mutineers Hou Yin and Wei Kai in Wan city, capital of Nanyang. After the rebellion had been put down in the following year, Pang De was stationed at Fan city by present-day Xiangfan, on the southern front against Liu Bei's commander Guan Yu.

Pang De's cousin Pang Rou was an officer in the service of Liu Bei in Hanzhong, and some of Cao Cao's followers were doubtful of Pang De's ultimate loyalty. Pang De insisted on his enmity for Guan Yu, and he later engaged him in battle and hit him in the forehead with an arrow. At this time Pang De regularly rode on a white horse; the enemy were all afraid of the White Horse General.

As Guan Yu attacked up the Han River in 219, Cao Ren sent Pang De to an outpost some ten *li* north of Fan. In the autumn there were two weeks of heavy rain, followed by massive flooding along the Han, and the open plain about Fan city was covered fifty or sixty feet deep. Pang De and the other commanders took refuge on isolated patches of high ground, but Guan Yu and his men attacked them by ship. Yu Jin and the rest of the army were compelled to surrender, but Pang De fought ferociously, shooting arrows until his supply was exhausted, maintaining defence hand-to-

hand until all his men were killed or captured, and then seeking to escape by boat to rejoin Cao Ren behind the walls of Fan city. The vessel was overturned, and Pang De clung to the keel until he was pulled from the water.

He was taken before Guan Yu, who referred to his cousin Pang Rou and invited him to join him in the service of Liu Bei. Pang De, however, abused him as being no more than a slave, and boasted of the power and authority of Cao Cao. So Guan Yu killed him.

When Cao Cao heard the news he was saddened at the humiliation of his old friend Yu Jin and the manner in which he had been shown inferior to Pang De. He wept for Pang De and enfeoffed two of his sons as marquises. In the following year Cao Cao's son and successor Cao Pi awarded special honours to Pang De's tomb at Ye city and enfeoffed four other sons as secondary marquises. He also had a record of Guan Yu's attack and Pang De's heroic defiance painted on the walls of Cao Cao's tomb: see also *sub* Yu Jin. -SGZ 18:545-47*; de C 96:533-34, Fang 52:54.

Pang Degong 龐德公 [known also by courtesy as Pang Gong 龐公 "Lord Pang"]; Nan. Pang Degong lived as a hermit, first on an island of the Han River, then in the hills east of Xiangyang; he never entered a walled city. He took pleasure in playing the zither and in books, and he and his wife treated each other with courtesy and respect. Celebrated for his ability to judge men, he favoured and recommended Sima Hui, Zhuge Liang and his own nephew Pang Tong.

Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province in the 190s, several times asked Pang Degong to take service with him, but he would never accept. Liu Biao sought to persuade him that it was more worthy to save the empire than oneself, but Pang Degong laughed at the idea that the empire could be preserved. And when Liu Biao argued that he would leave nothing for his descendants, Pang Degong replied that others bequeathed danger to their children, while he was giving them safety. Pang Degong then withdrew further into the hills and did not return.

Pang Degong's son Shanmin/Shanren married a sister of Zhuge Liang and was later a clerical officer under Wei, while his nephew Pang Tong became a minister of Shu-Han. -HHS 83/73:2776-77*, SGZ Shu 7:953-54; Vervorm 90:168, deC 96:364-365.

Pang E 龐貺, the Lady, see the Lady Zhao E 趙嬪.

Pang Fen 龐奮. In 85 Pang Fen was Acting Emissary

at the court of the Southern Xiongnu. Southern raiders had plundered Northern Xiongnu caravans as they came to trade in Wuwei, and Emperor Zhang ordered that Pang Fen and the General on the Liao Deng Hong should ransom any who had been kidnapped by the southerners, arrange their return to the north, and pay blood-money for those who had been killed.

Pang Fen then became Administrator of Yanmen, and in 95 he replaced Zhu Hui as General on the Liao. In 96, when some twenty thousand followers of the renegade Xiongnu leader Fenghou came to surrender, Pang Fen received them and arranged their resettlement along the frontier region.

Later that year another Southern Xiongnu chieftain, Wujuzhan, led a few thousand followers out across the frontier, then returned to raid the Chinese-controlled territory of the Ordos. In the autumn Pang Fen and his colleague Feng Zhu led a major attack, killed Wujuzhan and forced his people to surrender. They gathered more non-Chinese and brought a total of twenty thousand back to settle in Anding and Beidi.

In 100 Pang Fen was transferred to be Intendant of Henan. He served there for some time, but was evidently later demoted, for in 122 he held a comparatively humble post as Commandant of Liaodong or of its Dependent State.

At that time a group of dissident local leaders forged an imperial edict ordering the punishment of the Inspector Feng Huan and the Administrator of Xuantu Yao Guang. Pang Fen accepted the document, arrested both men and killed Yao Guang. Feng Huan died in prison, but had managed to send a petition to the throne. So the forgery was discovered and Pang Fen was punished. -*HHS* 5:233, 89/79:2951, 2956-57, 38/28:1280-81; Gardiner 69B:177-178.

Pang Gong 龐公 "Lord Pang" see Pang Degong 龐德公.

Pang Gong 龐恭; Hanyang. In 213 Pang Gong was in Ji city, capital of Hanyang, which had been captured by Ma Chao. He joined the conspiracy led by Yang Fu, Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang: as those local leaders raised arms, Ma Chao left the city, and Pang Gong, Liang Kuan and Zhao Qu then barred the gates against him and killed his family. Pang Gong was enfeoffed. -*SGZ* 25:702.

Pang Hong 龐宏 [Jushi 巨師]; Nan. Son of Pang Tong, Pang Hong became a commandery administrator in the service of Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 7:956.

Pang Ji 龐季. In 190 Liu Biao the new Inspector of Jing province invited a number of troublesome local leaders to a banquet, then trapped and killed them. The bandits Zhang Hu and Chen Zuo escaped the massacre and prepared to defend themselves. Liu Biao sent Pang Ji and Kuai Yue to negotiate with them. Approaching alone, they persuaded the enemy to surrender. -*SGZ* 6:212, *HHS* 74/64B:2420.

Pang Ji 逢紀 also mistakenly as 龐紀 [Yuantu 元圖] (d.202); Nanyang? A follower of Yuan Shao, in 189 Pang Ji was recruited to office under the General-in-Chief He Jin and became his trusted associate. He evidently left the capital with Yuan Shao after Dong Zhuo took over, and in 191 he planned the take-over of Ji province from Han Fu and became a senior counsellor.

After the defeat at Guandu in 200, Pang Ji defended the loyalty of his former enemy Shen Pei, but claimed Tian Feng was glad his forecast of misfortune had come true. Yuan Shao killed Tian Feng.

Pang Ji and Shen Pei supported the claim of Yuan Shao's youngest son Shang to be his successor, in rivalry to Yuan Tan and his allies Xin Ping and Guo Tu, and when Yuan Shao died in 202 they forged a will in favour of Shang.

Yuan Tan then camped in the south and Pang Ji was sent with him, but when Tan asked for additional troops he was refused. He became angry and killed Pang Ji. -*SGZ* 6:191-204.

Pang Jian 龐儉 [Ayi 阿巖]; Wei. During the time of troubles at the beginning of Later Han, when Pang Jian was three, he and his infant brother Yuezi were separated from their parents, taken south and brought up by others. Later, as Pang Jian was digging a well, he found a million cash. He became vastly rich, with slaves and maid-servants. Later again, it was found that his father was one of his slaves and his mother was one of his servants. The family was happily reunited and their descendants held high office. -*FSTY* 3f:104.

Pang Jun 龐俊/俊; Henan. At the time of the Qiang rebellion in 107 the former official Pang Can was serving sentence as a convict labourer. He arranged for his son Pang Jun to present a letter to the throne, urging the importance of securing the prosperity and good will of the people before embarking on full military operations. Pang Can was later released and given appointment.

The name Pang Jun 龐俊 does not appear again in

the records, but during the second great Qiang rebellion in 141 the General of the Household Pang Jun 龐浚 was sent by the court to recruit volunteers. He camped in Youfufeng with 1,500 men, ostensibly as support for Liang province – though one must question how much actual use such a small troop can have been: it was probably intended as the core of a reserve in case the Qiang broke through towards Chang'an.

Though the characters of the personal names are different, it is likely the two men were the same. -HHS 51/41:1687 [俊], 87/77:2896 [浚].

Pang Lin 龐林; Nan. Younger brother of Pang Tong, Pang Lin became an officer of Liu Bei in Jing province, and in 222 he went with Huang Quan to guard the northern flank of the attack down the Yangzi against Wu. When the main force was defeated Huang Quan's force was isolated. He surrendered to Wei, and Pang Lin accompanied him into exile.

This apparent misfortune meant that after almost fifteen years Pang Lin was reunited with his wife the Lady Xi: they had been separated when Cao Cao took Jing province in 208. Cao Pi rewarded the couple for their fidelity; Pang Lin was enfeoffed as a marquis and later became Administrator of Julu. -SGZ Shu 7:956-57.

Pang Ling 龐凌; Henan. After the defeat of Ma Xian by rebel Qiang in 141, Pang Ling was named a General of the Household and was sent to raise 1,500 volunteers and camp in Hanyang to support the defence of Liang province. -HHS 87/77:2896.

Pang Meng 逢萌 [Zikang 子康]; Beihai. Though his family was poor, Pang Meng became a village headman and later went to study *Chunqiu* at Chang'an. In 3 AD, however, when Wang Mang killed his son Wang Yu for conspiring against him, Pang Meng quit the capital, returned to his home country, and then took his family across the sea to Liaodong. Expert in divination by *Yin* and *Yang*, he knew that the new dynasty would fall and retired into seclusion.

When the Han dynasty was restored, Pang Meng travelled to the mountains near present-day Qingdao, on the south of the Shandong peninsula, where he influenced people by his cultivation of virtue. The Administrator of Beihai under the new regime sent him courteous invitations, but when Pang Meng refused the Administrator became angry. He wanted to arrest him, and when the officer he ordered to go tried to dissuade him he sent him to prison. Another officer

was sent, but the local people defended Pang Meng, and the party was driven back with injuries.

Emperor Guangwu later sent several invitations, but Pang Meng still would not accept. He died of old age. -HHS 83/73:2759-61*.

Pang Meng 龐萌 (d.30); Shanyang. Evidently a man of family, about 20 Pang Meng became an outlaw. He was with the Troops from the Lower Yangzi which joined the Han rebels in Nanyang in 23. The Gengshi Emperor named him Inspector of Ji province, but in 24 he held a general's command under Xie Gong in support of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, against Wang Lang.

Pang Meng warned Xie Gong that he should not trust Liu Xiu, but Xie Gong did not believe him. When he was surprised and killed by Liu Xiu's officer Wu Han, Pang Meng went with his troops to surrender. Liu Xiu took away his command, and asked Pang Meng how long he had known of his plans against Xie Gong. Pang Meng replied that he had never trusted him.

Despite this awkward beginning, Pang Meng showed himself agreeable and obedient, and when Liu Xiu took the imperial title he named him a Palace Attendant. It is said that he had great confidence in him.

In 28 Pang Meng was given command as a general under He Yan against Dong Xian and the other warlords of the southeast, but in the third month of the following year he rebelled: he killed Sun Meng the Administrator of Chu, forced He Yan back across the Si River, then made alliance with Dong Xian. Pang Meng is said to have been jealous of He Yan and afraid he had been slandered by him at court, but Bielenstein suggests he may also have been influenced by feelings of local loyalty, after his home commandery had been plundered in the previous year. Certainly, despite protestations, it is unlikely Pang Meng had ever felt truly secure in Guangwu's service.

Though he suffered an initial setback from the general Ma Wu, Pang Meng crossed the Si River and took title as King of Dongping. By the sixth month Dong Xian had sent reinforcements under Su Mao and Jiao Qiang, and they laid siege to the city of Tao. Guangwu was at this time in Luoyang. He was angry at the defection, and perhaps concerned at the example set by Pang Meng, and as the situation remained unresolved he brought the full imperial army east and ordered his generals to rendezvous in Liang. When

he arrived there, however, and learned of the strong support Pang Meng had obtained, the matter became urgent.

Leaving his heavy baggage, Guangwu advanced by forced marches, but before he could relieve Tao city, he was obliged to wait for Wu Han and his army from Dong commandery. Despite the delay, and Pang Meng's fierce attacks, the defence held out, and the combined imperial forces then defeated Pang Meng and his allies.

As they retreated, all the warlords of the southeast came to join forces against the imperial troops, but their combined army was defeated in a three-day battle at Changlü in Donghai. Pang Meng fled with Dong Xian to his capital at Tan, and when that city fell to Guangwu's troops a few weeks later, he and Dong Xian escaped east to the coast, where they were besieged in Qu city by Wu Han.

In the spring of 30, Qu city was starved into submission. Abandoning their families, Pang Meng and Dong Xian escaped to the north. They took Ganyu in Langye by surprise, but were then driven out by the Administrator Chen Jun and fled into the marshes. Pang Meng attempted to return to the west, but he was killed by Qian Ling of his native commandery. -HHS 12/2:496-97*; Bn 59:144-150.

Pang Rou 龐柔; Hanyang. A cousin of Pang De, general of Wei, about 219 Pang Rou was an officer in the service of Liu Bei stationed in Hanzhong. The relationship made some of Cao Cao's officers uncertain of Pang De's loyalty, but Pang De removed all such doubts by his heroic defiance of Guan Yu at Fan city. -SGZ 18:546-47.

Pang [Shanmin] 龐山民 see Pang [Shanren] 龐山人.

Pang [Shanren] 龐山人 also Pang Shanmin 山民; Nan. Son of the hermit Pang Degong, who evidently gave him the style "Man of the Hills" with intent, Pang Shanmin married a sister of Zhuge Liang. He became a clerical officer under Wei, but died young. -HHS 83/73:2777, SGZ Shu 7:954.

Pang Shen 龐參 see Pang Can 龐參.

Pang Tong 龐統 [Shiyuan 士元] (179-214); Nan. Nephew of Pang Degong, as a young man Pang Tong appeared dull and unimpressive, but Pang Degong described him as a young phoenix, and when he was received and praised by the celebrated judge of character Sima Hui, he became well known.

Appointed Officer of Merit for the commandery,

Pang Tong emphasised the need to encourage personal morality in a time of difficulty for the nation. About 208 he entered the service of Liu Bei, and at the death of the allied general Zhou Yu in 210 he went on an embassy of condolence to Sun Quan and made friends among his officers.

On the other hand, when Liu Bei appointed Pang Tong a county magistrate in Guiyang, his administration was unsatisfactory and he was soon dismissed. Lu Su of Wu told Liu Bei that while Pang Tong was unsuited to be a local officer, he should take him onto his personal staff, where he could realise his full potential. Zhuge Liang made the same recommendation, and when Liu Bei interviewed Pang Tong he was indeed impressed and treated him thereafter almost as favourably as he did Zhuge Liang.

Pang Tong urged Liu Bei to seek to expand into Yi province rather than contend directly with Sun Quan, and when Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei to the west in 211 he left Zhuge Liang in Jing province and took Pang Tong as his senior adviser. Pang Tong proposed that Liu Bei should seize Liu Zhang at their very first meeting, but Liu Bei believed such a coup would be premature, for he needed time to establish himself and to gain popularity in the new region. After he had been a year in the west, however, Pang Tong presented three plans for him: a forced march directly against Chengdu; a pretended withdrawal to Jing province, followed by a sudden attack when Liu Zhang's officers did not expect it; or, the worst option, withdrawal to Jing province and a fighting return. Liu Bei adopted the second plan.

In 214 Pang Tong was killed by an arrow as he led an attack on Luo city, north of Chengdu. Liu Bei mourned him deeply. He appointed his father to an office at court and later granted Pang Tong posthumous enfeoffment. -SGZ Shu 7:953-56*; deC 96:432-444, Mather 76:559.

Pang Xi 龐羲; Henan. In 194 Pang Xi was a Consultant at the imperial court in Chang'an, then under the control of Li Jue and his associates. He was an old friend of Liu Yan, who became the warlord Governor of Yi province, and his daughter married Liu Xun, grandson of Liu Yan by his son Zhang. At this time Liu Yan's eldest sons Liu Fan and Liu Dan were killed in a failed conspiracy, but Pang Xi rescued their children and brought them to Yi province together with Liu Xun and Liu Chan, sons of Liu Zhang, who had left earlier

but had been obliged to leave his family behind.

When Liu Zhang succeeded his father later in 194, he named Pang Xi a Gentleman of the Household, and he later sent him as Administrator to the northern part of a divided Ba commandery, to face the threat from Zhang Lu in Hanzhong and his adherents in the region.

Pang Xi achieved only limited success, and by 200 his enemies at headquarters had caused Liu Zhang to doubt his loyalty. The general Zhao Wei, also an old supporter of Liu Zhang, spoke in his favour, but Liu Zhang paid no attention. Resenting the growing influence of outsiders, Zhao Wei led a rebellion, and though it was soon put down and Pang Xi had played no direct role, he was ill at ease. He thought of raising non-Chinese troops to protect himself, but was opposed by his officer Cheng Qi and compelled to make peace with Liu Zhang. Despite the awkward relationship Pang Xi continued as a senior officer of the province.

When Liu Bei took power from Liu Zhang in 215 Pang Xi was able to transfer to the new regime, but received only comparatively low rank. In 219, however, he was one of the officials who signed the formal memorial to the Han court which recommended Liu Bei's enfeoffment as King of Hanzhong. -SGZ Shu 1:867, 15:1089, 2:884; deC 96:142, 298-306.

Pang Xing 龐行, the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Pang Sheng, the Lady married Jiang Shi. He was celebrated for his filial piety and the Lady was likewise most obedient and dutiful.

Jiang Shi's mother was fond of water from the river which flowed two kilometres away, and the Lady went regularly to collect it for her. One day there was a storm which prevented her from returning in time. Because his mother had gone thirsty, Jiang Shi sent his wife away.

The Lady went to stay at a neighbour's house. Spinning day and night, she also cooked delicious food and asked the neighbour wife to take it to Jiang Shi's mother. Eventually the old lady asked where the dishes came from and the neighbour told her. Embarrassed, the mother-in-law called the Lady back, and she resumed her service with even more respect.

Some time later the Lady's son went to get water, but fell in the river and drowned. To spare her mother-in-law grief at the death of her grandson, the Lady told her he had gone away to study. She prepared clothing

for him each summer and winter, claiming that she was sending it for him to wear while he was away, but in fact throwing the garments into the river.

The biography of the Lady Pang appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. See also *sub* Jiang Shi. -HHS 84/74:2783*, HYGZ 10B:153, SJZ 33:12a; Ch'ü 72:285-286.

Pang Xiong 龐雄 [Xuanmeng 宣孟]; Ba. As an Imperial Clerk in 109, Pang Xiong was sent to command provincial and commandery forces against the pirate Zhang Bolu, operating along the Gulf of Zhili. Zhang Bolu surrendered and Pang Xiong returned to the capital, but the bandits caused trouble again in the following year.

A few weeks later, as the Southern Shanyu Tan rebelled in Xihe, the general He Xi was appointed to lead operations against him; Pang Xiong, now a General of the Household, was his second-in-command. As the army was being collected, he was sent to support the local officer Geng Kui in a preliminary attack, and they inflicted heavy defeat on a Xiongnu army.

Pang Xiong then accompanied He Xi in the reconquest of Wuyuan. As He Xi died of illness, Pang Xiong took over command, and he joined the General on the Liao Liang Qin and the Emissary Geng Chong in a final advance which compelled the Shanyu Tan to submit. Pang Xiong received Tan's formal surrender, then passed on an imperial pardon and arranged his reinstatement.

Recognised for his military skill and achievements, Pang Xiong returned to Luoyang and was appointed Minister Herald. -HHS 5:213, 47/37:1592-93, 89/79:2957-58, HYGZ 12:218.

Pang Xun 龐訓 (d.179). A eunuch, Pang Xun was an associate of Wang Fu and held office as an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. In 179 the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu impeached several members of the party; they were tortured and died in prison. -HHS 77/67:2499-2500.

Pang Yan 龐延; Youfufeng. A man of local distinction, Pang Yan was recommended by Cao Cao's officer Zhang Ji about 215 and had a successful official career under Wei. -SGZ 15:477.

Pang Yu 龐滄 [Ziyi 子異]; Jiuquan. When he was a boy in 179, Pang Yu told his mother how the killer of her father, Li Shou, was holding a feast to celebrate his success in a family vendetta. The Lady took appropriate revenge: see *sub* Zhao E.

In 206 Pang Yu was an Assistant Officer of his native Liang province in charge of a county in Jincheng. Zhang Meng, Administrator of Wuwei, killed the Inspector Handan Shang. He promised no mercy to anyone who sought to attend his corpse, but Pang Yu left his post, carried out the mourning rites, then went to Zhang Meng's residence in hope of killing him. Recognising his sense of loyalty, and with some remorse for his treatment of Handan Shang, Zhang Meng did not put Pang Yu to death.

Pang Yu was now known as a man of honour, and the Administrator of his home commandery of Jiuquan, Xu Yi, invited him to be his Registrar. Some time later, about 210, the local leader Huang Ang besieged the capital city of Jincheng. Leaving his wife and children, Pang Yu escaped the city by night to seek help from the rulers of the neighbouring commanderies Zhangye and Dunhuang. Though they were at first suspicious, Pang Yu threatened to kill himself if they failed to support him, so they raised troops for a relief force. By the time the army arrived, however, the city had fallen and Xu Yi was dead. Pang Yu escorted his body to his home commandery and carried out three years mourning for his late master.

Hearing of his loyalty through his local agent Zhang Ji, Cao Cao invited Pang Yu to clerical office, and when Cao Pi took the succession in 220 he appointed him Administrator of Xihai, on the Xining river in the western part of Jincheng commandery of Han; Pang Yu was also named Commandant of Attendant Cavalry and enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. He later came to court as an Attendant Counsellor. -SGZ 18:547-48*.

Pang Yue 龐樂. In 201 Pang Yue was an officer under Zhao Wei, who had rebelled against the warlord Governor of Yi province Liu Zhang. When the rebels were defeated and Liu Zhang's army approached, Pang Yue and his colleague Li Yi killed Zhao Wei. -SGZ Shu 1:869.

Pang [Yuezi] 龐越子 of Wei was the younger brother of Pang Jian *q.v.* -FSTY 3f:104.

Pang Zhi 龐芝. In 176 there was a rebellion among the non-Chinese of Yizhou commandery. Pang Zhi aided the new Administrator Li Yong to gather auxiliaries among the Banshun people to attack and defeat them.

In a memorial presented by Cai Yong in 177, Pang Zhi was praised as an honest and worthy official. -HHS 60/50B:1995, 86/76:2847. This is probably the same man as Pang Ai 龐艾 above.

Pao Li 廩禮 is mentioned by FSTY 6f:145.

Pao Si 廩祀 is mentioned by FSTY 6f:145.

Pao Xuan 廩宣 is mentioned by FSTY 6f:145.

Pei 裴 [personal name unknown]; Hedong. The tomb of this man, excavated in southern Shanxi, contains a few inscriptions which apparently relate to his career as Officer of Merit and brevet magistrate in his commandery, then as Reporting Officer, and later as a general and Administrator of Anding 安定太守裴將軍. -WW 1994/8.

Pei, Old Man 涪翁 see Old Man of the Fu River 涪翁; DeWoskin 83:75.

Pei Bi 裴畢 [Junxian 君先]; Hedong. Magistrate of Zheng county in Jingzhao, which lay west of Mount Hua, in 181 Pei Bi set up a stele at a temple to the spirit of the mountain 華岳廟. His enterprise was strongly supported by local officials and gentry. -SJZ 19:32b-33a, LS 2:14a-21a.

Pei Cen 裴岑; Yunzhong. Administrator of Dunhuang in 137, Pei Cen led a commandery army of 3,000 men to defeat the Xiongnu: Nagata 94:78; Chavannes 07:198 and 214. The modern commentator Shen Mingyi expresses surprise that this event was not recorded by HHS, and doubts Pei Cen was so successful: HHSJJ 88/78:3275 *jiaobu*, and compare *sub* Cao Quan. On the other hand, it does appear that the Han re-established a presence in the state of Further Jushi after a heavy defeat there two years before.

Pei Hui 裴徽 [Wenji 文季]; Hedong. Son of Pei Mao and youngest brother of Pei Qian, he was widely known as a man of talent, and he was friends with many leading men. He became Inspector of Ji province under Wei. -SGZ 23:674.

Pei Mao 裴茂 [Juguang 巨光]; Hedong. Son of Pei Ye, Pei Mao became a county magistrate in the 180s and was then Administrator of a commandery. He later joined the Imperial Secretariat at Luoyang and followed the court to Chang'an under Dong Zhuo.

In 193, after unseasonable rain and cold in summer, Emperor Xian ordered Pei Mao, as an officer of the Imperial Censorate, to undertake jail delivery. The warlord Li Jue accused him of treason, but the emperor rejected the charge.

In 198, as Supervisor of Internuncios, Pei Mao was sent by Cao Cao to gather support from the leaders about Chang'an to attack and kill Li Jue. He was enfeoffed.

When Cao Cao became Duke of Wei in 214, Pei

Mao was the messenger who brought him the gold seal of rank.

Pei Mao died about 230. -*HHS* 72/62:2334, 2342, *SGZ* 6:187, 23:672.

Pei Mou 裴茂 see Pei Mao 裴茂.

Pei Qian 裴潛 [Wenxing 文行] (d.244); Hedong. Son of Pei Mao, as a young man Pei Qian acted very casually, and his father disapproved. In 189 he took refuge in Jing province from the disorders of the capital. Liu Biao offered him appointment, but Pei Qian refused and went to Changsha. When Cao Cao took Jing province in 208, he joined his staff and then held junior clerical office at Xu city.

In 216 there was trouble with the Wuhuan in the north. Pei Qian was appointed Administrator of Dai commandery, and settled them by firm but fair treatment. In 218 he was brought back to a clerical post in the Department of Justice, but forecast that his successor would treat the non-Chinese too leniently and there would be renewed disturbance. This did occur, and an army had to be sent under Cao Zhang.

Pei Qian was sent out again as Chancellor of Pei, and in 219 he was Inspector of Yan province. As Sun Quan attacked the key city of Hefei, Pei Qian brought troops to assist the defence co-ordinated by his colleague Wen Hui. He was then called west to assist Cao Ren against Guan Yu on the Han River, but the crisis was over before he arrived.

Pei Qian had several provincial appointments under Cao Pi, with special concern for agriculture, and he received enfeoffment. Under Cao Rui, Emperor Ming, he was Minister of Finance and then Director of the Secretariat. He held high rank at court until his death, and was granted posthumous honours.

Despite the early behaviour which had earned his father's disapproval, Pei Qian was later respected for his elegance, honesty and frugal conduct. He did not allow his wife and children to accompany him on his postings, and members of his household were often hungry and poor. -*SGZ* 23:671-73*; *Mather* 76:560.

Pei Xuan 裴玄 [Yanhuang 彦黃]; Xiapi. A noted scholar, Pei Xuan held position at Sun Quan's court and worked with Yan Jun and Zhang Cheng on Confucianist and Legalist texts. He held territorial appointment in Jing province about 230. -*SGZ* Wu 8: 1248, 7:1238.

Pei Ye 裴曄; Hedong. A great-grandson of Pei Zun, during the mid-second century Pei Ye was Inspector

of Bing province and General on the Liao. -*XTS* 77A: 2237.

Pei You 裴優 (d.149); Youfufeng. A man from the region about Chang'an, Pei You could create a mist to spread across three *li*. In the reign of Emperor Huan he used this ability to carry out a series of robberies, then proclaimed himself emperor. He was taken and executed.

Before this, Pei You had sought instruction from the hermit scholar Zhang Kai, who was said to be able to extend a mist over five *li*. Zhang Kai would have nothing to do with him, but as Pei You was found to have used techniques similar to those of Zhang Kai, Zhang Kai was sent to prison. It was two years before his innocence was proven. -*HHS* 7:296, 36/26:1243; *Vervorn* 90:191.

Pei Yu 裴瑜 [Zhihuang 雉璜]; Hedong. Honest and intelligent, Pei Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Shi Bi. About 170 Shi Bi was falsely accused and taken to the capital in a cage cart. Pei Yu alone went to farewell him. He stood at the side of the road and shouted his praises, and Shi Bi was encouraged and grateful.

Pei Yu later became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. -*HHS* 64/54:2111-12.

Pei Zun 裴遵; Yunzhong. Having joined Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, Pei Zun served against Wei Ao and Gongsun Shu, and was appointed Administrator of Dunhuang.

In 41 Pei Zun protested to Guangwu about the proposal to name King Xian of Suoju as Protector-General of the Western Regions. Though Xian and his family were long-established friends of China, Pei Zun objected that it was wrong for a non-Chinese to hold such high office. The proposal had been put forward by Dou Rong, who knew the region, but Guangwu now reversed his decision and authorised Pei Zun to intercept Xian's envoy and change the seal for that of a chief general. When the envoy resisted, Pei Zun effected the exchange by force. King Xian was predictably offended. He took the title in any case, and began his own policy of expansion.

In 45 the rulers of sixteen states sent hostages to the court at Luoyang, asking for the appointment of a Chinese Protector-General. Guangwu did not wish to expand so far afield while the empire was still recovering from the civil war, so he refused the request and sent the hostages back with generous gifts. The

rulers then wrote to Pei Zun asking for the hostages to be kept at Dunhuang: this would give the impression that the Chinese were intending to send a Protector-General, and even the possibility might serve to restrain Suoju. Guangwu approved this device, but in the following year Xian called the bluff. The hostages eventually went home, and the central Asian states were left to their own devices. -HHS 88/78:2923-24; Bn 67:132-133.

Presumably in reward for his services, Pei Zun was permitted to move his family's formal place of residence from the Yunzhong frontier to the inner commandery of Hedong. -XTS 77A:2235.

Peng 彭, the Lady; Chen. Member of a powerful local family in the 130s, the Lady lived in a great house and was in the habit of climbing a tower and staring at the *yamen* of the Chancellor Huang Chang. Huang Chang took offence at this, and had the members of the family arrested and killed. -HHS 77/67:2497.

Peng Cai 彭材 (d.213); Yuzhang. A leader of bandits in the east of Poyang, Peng Cai was destroyed by He Qi in 213. -SGZ Wu 15:1379.

Peng Can 彭参. Assistant to Zhang Dao the Administrator of Julu in 149, Peng Can took part in his work of water control on the Zhang River. -SJZ 10:17a.

Peng Chong 彭寵 [Botong 伯通] (d.29); Nanyang. Peng Chong's father Hong 宏 [or Wei 偉] was Administrator of Yuyang in the time of Emperor Ai of Former Han. He had great personal authority in the border region, but was killed by Wang Mang on a charge of treason: QHX:446-447.

As a young man, Peng Chong held local office in his commandery, and about 20 he became a member of the staff of the Excellency of Works. He accompanied the army of Wang Yi as it advanced against the Han rebels in 23, but as they reached Luoyang Peng Chong learned that his twin brother had joined the enemy. Afraid he would be executed on account of this association, he fled north to Yuyang and took refuge with a gentleman who had served under his father and thus owed the family a personal loyalty.

After the Gengshi Emperor had taken the throne in 23, he sent Han Hong as his commissioner to the far north. Han Hong was a fellow-countryman and an old friend of Peng Chong, and he appointed him lieutenant-general and acting Administrator of Yuyang. Towards the end of that year Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came as commissioner to the northeast, but

before Peng Chong could call upon him, in the winter of 23/24 Wang Lang laid claim to the imperial title.

Many of the gentry wished to join him, but Peng Chong and his fellow-countryman Wu Han, who had also come to take refuge in the north, preferred the regime based upon their home country of Nanyang. In association with his neighbour, Geng Kuang the Administrator of Shanggu, Peng Chong sent troops under Wu Han to support Liu Xiu. He also provided supplies for the campaign, and he was rewarded with title as a chief general and nominal enfeoffment as marquis.

In the summer Wang Lang was destroyed, but the Gengshi Emperor sent new administrators to replace Peng Chong and Geng Kuang, probably because he distrusted their association with Liu Xiu. These new appointees were intercepted and killed by Geng Kuang's son Geng Yan, and the two men naturally confirmed their support for Liu Xiu. When Peng Chong at last met Liu Xiu, however, he did not receive the rewards he had expected: his former subordinates Wu Han and Wang Liang were given high appointments, but Peng Chong remained only Administrator of Yuyang, while Zhu Fu, a personal favourite of Liu Xiu, was made Governor of You province.

Zhu Fu and Peng Chong soon became enemies. Conceited and boastful, Zhu Fu was confident of support from Liu Xiu, now emperor. He made accusations against Peng Chong: that during the troubles just past he had shown a lack of filial piety by sending a party to rescue his wife rather than his mother; and that he had harmed supporters of the emperor. He also claimed that Peng Chong was laying up supplies and gathering troops.

Early in 26 Peng Chong was summoned to court, and when his request that Zhu Fu also be called up was rejected he became increasingly concerned. He sought assistance from others of Guangwu's followers, and when they refused him he gathered local gentry and attacked Zhu Fu. Geng Kuang in Shanggu rejected his offer of alliance, but in the autumn Peng Chong heavily defeated Zhu Fu and Guangwu's general Deng Long, and he besieged Zhu Fu in Ji city, at present-day Beijing.

By 27 Peng Chong had expanded his influence into the neighbouring commanderies of Youbeiping and Shanggu and had contact with Zhang Bu and various bandit groups to his south. He also made alliance with

the Xiongnu on the frontier, marrying his daughter to the Shanyu Yu and giving presents of silk. At the end of the year he was joined by the Administrator of Zhuo commandery, Zhang Feng. Early in 28 Ji city fell, Zhu Fu barely escaped with his life, and Peng Chong proclaimed himself King of Yan 燕王.

In the summer, however, Peng Chong's ally Zhang Feng was destroyed, and imperial armies under Zhai Cun and Liu Xi now advanced on Yuyang. Peng Chong moved against them, and sent his brother Peng Chun with Xiongnu auxiliaries in a separate column to the north. As Peng Chun was heavily defeated by a flank attack from Geng Kuang's son Geng Shu and the men from Shanggu, Geng Kuang and the imperialists followed up their success and gained further victories in Yuyang.

Early in 29, when it was obvious that his cause was lost, Peng Chong and his wife were murdered by their own slaves: see *sub* Zimi. There was a brief attempt to restore the state under Peng Chong's son Wu, but he was killed soon afterwards and the family was destroyed. -HHS 12/2:501-05*; Bn 59:71-72, 124-131.

Peng Chong 彭寵, wife of (d.29). The Lady was a strong-willed woman, her husband treated her with respect and she had great influence over him. In 26 she encouraged him to defy the orders of Emperor Guangwu and to enter into insurrection. She was later afflicted by bad dreams, foretelling danger within their household. Peng Chong accordingly sent his cousin Zihou Lanqing away, but husband and wife were then both killed by the slave Zimi and his fellows. -HHS 12/2:503-05, Bn 59:131.

Peng Chun 彭純; Nanyang. Younger brother of Peng Chong, in 28 he was sent with two thousand Xiongnu horsemen to attack Emperor Guangwu's generals Zhai Cun and Liu Xi in Zhuo commandery. They suffered a surprise attack from the army of Shanggu under Geng Shu, son of the Administrator Geng Kuang, and were heavily defeated. -HHS 19/9; Bn 59:130.

Peng Fei 彭非, the Lady; Guanghan. The Lady's husband Wang Fu died when she was still young. Her uncle attempted to have the Lady marry again, but she went before the Administrator Wu Fang and cut off her hair to show her determination to remain a virtuous widow. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Peng Feng 彭豐. Junior commanders under the eastern warlord Dong Xian, Peng Feng and Yu Xiu operated

in Lu commandery in 26 and 27. Though Guangwu's Administrator Bao Yong forced several other such groups to surrender, Peng Feng and Yu Xiu maintained their independence and took title as generals. They were eventually tricked into attending a ceremony and were arrested and killed. -HHS 29/19:1019.

Peng Hong 彭閔 [Zuoming 作明]. At the end of Former Han Peng Hong was a pupil of Zhu Pu 朱普 at Chang'an, studying the New Text of the *Classic of History* in the Ouyang tradition.

In 44 Peng Hong was a gentleman cadet at court. There was a vacancy for an Academician at the University, and Emperor Guangwu wanted to appoint Huan Rong. Huan Rong had been a fellow-student of Peng Hong and Gao Hong, and he recommended both of them as more accomplished scholars, but Guangwu gave Huan Rong the post and appointed Peng Hong and Gao Hong as Consultants. -HHS 37/27:1250.

Peng Hu 彭虎 [Tiger Peng]; Yuzhang. During the early 200s Peng Hu was leader of a band in the Poyang region numbering several thousand men. He and his people were defeated and scattered by Sun Quan's commanders Dong Xi, Ling Tong, Bu Zhi and Jiang Qin. -SGZ Wu.10:1291.

Peng Kai 彭愷. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Peng Kai took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquisate in Pingyuan.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Peng Kai and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. Peng Kai died a few years later. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Peng Liang 彭良 (d.162). A county magistrate in Zuopingyi, in 162 Peng Liang was found guilty of killing innocent people. He suffered public execution. -HHS 102/12:3256.

Peng Qiu 彭瓊; Beihai. A Confucian scholar, in the early 190s he was adviser to the Administrator Kong Rong, who made him Reporting Officer and nominated him for office. -SGZ 12:371.

Peng Shi 彭式; Wu. Member of a powerful local family in Qiantang county, about 220 Peng Shi was plundering the territory with a host of followers. Zhou Fang was appointed as magistrate, and he swiftly executed Peng Shi and his leading associates. -SGZ

Wu 15:1387.

Peng Tuo 彭脫 (d.184); Runan. A local leader of Yellow Turbans, Peng Tuo was destroyed by Huangfu Song and Zhu Jun. -HHS 71/61:2301; deC 89:180-184.

Peng Wang 彭汪 [Zhongbo 仲博]; Runan. He wrote a commentary to *Zuo zhuan*. -Yao Zhenzong:2358.

Peng Wu 彭午 (d.29); Nanyang. Son of Peng Chong, after his father's murder he was named King of Yan 燕王 by Han Li 韓立 and Zihou Lanqing, but was soon afterwards killed by the officer Han Li 韓利. -HHS 12/2:505.

Peng Xie 彭勰; Guanghan. A noted scholar, Peng Xie joined colleagues to compose a hymn at the death of the Lady Zhang Shuji, wife of Wang Zun. -HYGZ 10A:139.

Peng Xiu 彭脩 [Ziyang 子陽]; Kuaiji. At the age of fifteen Peng Xiu accompanied his father, a local commandery official, on home leave. They were taken by bandits, but Peng Xiu faced their leader with a sword in his hand to defend his father. Impressed by his loyalty, the bandit chief let them both go, and Peng Xiu was admired by his neighbours.

Later, as commandery Officer of Merit, Peng Xiu persuaded the acting Administrator Zai Chao to spare two other officers whom he had intended to execute.

When the pirate Ding Yi threatened Kuaiji, the people and officials were too frightened to resist, but the Administrator, whose surname was Bi, knew of Peng Xiu's courage and arranged that he act as brevet magistrate of Wu county. Peng Xiu went to face the raiders and warned them of the might of the empire that would be turned against them if they proceeded further. They disbanded and went away, and people sang a song in his honour.

Peng Xiu then became an Assistant Officer of the province, but when the bandit chieftain Zhang Zilin ravaged Kuaiji he went with the Administrator to attack him. The enemy shot a hail of arrows and Peng Xiu was hit and killed as he shielded his senior officer. The Administrator escaped unharmed, and when the bandits heard of Peng Xiu's gallantry they killed the man who had shot the fatal arrow and came to surrender. -XC 5:12a-13a, HHS 81/71:2673-74 [this latter text omits the story of how Peng Xiu discouraged Ding Yi].

Peng Yang 彭養 [Yongnian 永年] (178-214); Guanghan. Eight feet tall [185 cm] and well built,

Peng Yang was proud and arrogant. He became a junior clerk at the provincial office of the warlord Liu Zhang, but was slandered by his colleagues and sentenced to exile and convict service.

As Liu Bei came to the west, Peng Yang approached his officer Pang Tong, who was initially disinclined to receive him but was then impressed by his quality. He and Fa Zheng recommended Peng Yang to Liu Bei, who appointed him as his Headquarters Officer. As the sudden elevation went to Pang Yang's head, he showed contempt for others. Zhuge Liang disapproved, and on his advice Liu Bei sent Peng Yang away as Administrator of Jiangyang, established from the southern part of Jianwei.

Peng Yang was resentful. He told Ma Chao and suggested they plan a coup together. Ma Chao promptly reported the approach, and Peng Yang was arrested and executed. -SGZ Shu 10:994-96*.

Peng Yi 彭義 miswritten for Peng Yang 彭養. -HYGZ 3:37.

Peng Zhu 彭珠 "Pearl." In 29, as Peng Chong and his wife were taken by mutinous slaves led by Zimi, Peng Chong tried to persuade one of his captors to release him, and promised his daughter Pearl in marriage. -HHS 12/2:504-05; Bn 59:131.

Pi Chai 鄧柴; Anping. Son of Pi Yin, Pi Chai succeeded to the family marquisate. -HHS 21/11:759.

Pi Ji 鄧吉; Xindu/Anping. Father of Pi Tong, he had been Administrator of Liaoxi under Former Han.

In 24 he and other members of the family were in Xindu when the city was taken by troops of the pretender Wang Lang. At the instruction of their captors, they wrote letters in their own hands, asking Pi Tong to change sides; Pi Tong refused to change. The city was recaptured by troops of the Gengshi Emperor, and Pi Tong's family was released unharmed. -HHS 21/11:757-58.

Pi Tang 鄧湯 (d.43); Xindu/Anping. Son of Pi Tong, he was probably one of the hostages held briefly in Xindu by supporters of the pretender Wang Lang; see *sub* Pi Ji.

When his father died about 30, Pi Tang succeeded to his marquisate; in 33 the county fief was transferred from Changshan to Pingyuan. Pi Tang was succeeded by a son whose personal name is unknown; he died without an heir and the fief was ended; but see *sub* Pi Yin. -HHS 21/11:759.

Pi Tong 鄧彤 or Pi Yong 彤 [Weijun 偉君]; Xindu/

Anping. Pi Tong's father Ji had been Administrator of Liaoxi under Former Han, and in the time of Wang Mang Pi Tong served as Administrator of Herong 和戎 commandery, which had been divided from Julu.

In the winter of 23, when Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to the north as commissioner for the new regime of the Gengshi Emperor, Pi Tong offered submission and was confirmed in his post.

Soon afterwards the pretender Wang Lang took the imperial title at Handan, the greater part of the region accepted his claim, and Liu Xiu was held for some time in the north. In the spring of 24 he managed to escape south to join Ren Guang the Administrator of Xindu. Pi Tong sent two troops of cavalry, and then came himself with local levies. Despite this support, Liu Xiu was uncertain what to do, and he contemplated either turning bandit or retreating to Chang'an.

In an eloquent address, Pi Tong claimed that the people of the north had long been seeking the restoration of Han, and argued the importance of resistance to rally loyalist support. So Liu Xiu resolved on attack, and he named Pi Tong Chief General of the Rear while still keeping his office as Administrator.

Pi Tong and his men led the attack on Wang Lang's supporters in Julu, and he then took a detachment against a bandit force in Zhongshan. Wang Lang sent a detachment which seized Xindu city and captured Pi Tong's father Ji, his younger brother and his wife and children. They sent letters asking him to change sides, but Pi Tong, weeping, insisted that the imperial cause was more important. Soon afterwards the city was recaptured by Han forces, and Pi Tong's family was released unharmed.

In the summer Wang Lang was destroyed, and Pi Tong was awarded a titular marquisate. As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25, Pi Tong received a substantive county fief in Changshan and was named Acting Excellency of Works. When the court came to Luoyang at the end of the year, he was appointed Minister of Ceremonies and then Minister Steward, but he left the latter office to become a Palace Attendant and follow Guangwu on his campaigns. Retiring to his estates in 30, he died soon afterwards.

Recognising Pi Tong as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 21/11:757-59*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 76:26, Bn

79:84.

Pi Xiang 蕃嚮 [Jiajing 嘉景]; Lu. A gentleman cadet in the late 160s, Pi Xiang was praised by the reformists and students of the University at Luoyang and numbered in their lists of worthy men. -HHS 67/57:2187-90: pronunciation of the surname is given by TC.

Pi Xun 皮隰. Pi Xun was Court Physician to Emperor Ming. On one occasion, after attending an imperial hunt in the Shanglin Park near Luoyang, he returned to the capital after sundown and lodged for the night in a palace gatehouse. It became cold and he was taken by an intestinal cramp 疝病. The cadet gentleman Deng Xun, on guard duty at the time, heard him cry out and went to help. Pi Xun asked him to bring a fire to warm his back. Deng Xun could not find any fire, so he blew warm breath on Pi Xun's back and called his fellow guards to take turns. By morning Pi Xun had recovered. -HHS 16/6:608, DGHJ 8:2a; Bn 76:82. Cf., however, *sub* Shi Xun.

Pi Yin 邳音; Anping. Pi Yin was a grandson of Pi Tong. The county marquisate awarded to Pi Tong had become extinct with the death of his grandson in the senior lineage, but in 114 the regent Dowager Deng enfeoffed Pi Yin as a village marquis. -HHS 21/11: 759.

Pi Yong 邳彤 see Pi Tong 邳彤.

Pian 便 see Bian 便, King of Yetiao/Shetiao.

Pian Jing 便敬 see Bian Jing.

Pianhe 偏何; Xianbi. In 49, hoping to break the hostile alliance of the non-Chinese peoples along the northern frontier, Zhai Tong the Administrator of Liaodong sent messengers with gifts to the Xianbi. The chieftain and war leader 大都護 Pianhe sent a return party to bring tribute. Zhai Tong entered negotiations and gave substantial gifts, and Pianhe entered a long-term allegiance.

As earnest of good faith, Zhai Tong proposed that Pianhe and comrades turn against the Xiongnu and send him the heads of those whom they killed. The new allies responded with enthusiasm, and their first campaign produced two thousand such grisly trophies. Thereafter the Xianbi attacked the Xiongnu every year, and the Chinese paid a bounty for each head they received.

In 58 Zhai Tong likewise directed Pianhe and his associates against the Red Mountain Wuhuan, who had been troubling Shanggu and Yuyang. They killed

the Wuhuan leader Xinzhiben, his followers submitted, and the borders were peaceful. -HHS 20/10:745, 90/80:2985.

Pillar of Heaven, General, 柱天將軍 see General Who is Pillar of Heaven.

Pimihu 卑彌呼 [Japanese: Pimiko/Himiko]; Japanese. During the time of emperors Huan and Ling in the second century AD, the Japanese islands were divided among hundreds of petty tribal states, called Wa/Wo 倭 by the Chinese [on the possible origins of this name, see Tsunoda/Goodrich 51:4 note 2]. One of those in the west, Yamatai 邪馬壹 [Japanese: Yamato?], probably situated on Kyushu island, was ruled by an unmarried woman named Pimihu who controlled the people with sorcery, and whose authority extended over neighbouring states. Pimihu lived in seclusion, with a thousand female servants but just one man to serve her food and transmit her orders, while a younger brother assisted her in government. -HHS 85/75:2821; Tsunoda/Goodrich 51:2-3.

SGZ 30:854-58 also has a description of the Wo, and says that in the third century Yamatai, or the State of the Queen 女王國, had a number of tributaries. Embassies are recorded to and from the court of Wei, while SGZ 4:120 refers specifically to a mission from Queen Pimihu in the winter of 243. It appears that the queen maintained her authority by shamanism, and given the length of time since Huan and Ling it seems likely that Pimihu was a title rather than a name. Tsunoda/Goodrich 51:5 note 5 identify the name with the ancient Japanese title *Himeko* "Princess."

Pimiko [Japanese] see Pimihu 卑彌呼.

Pin Chang 頻暢 or Pin Yang 陽 became Administrator of Jiuquan. -FSTY 6f:146.

Pin Yang 頻陽: Yang is said to have been an alternative personal name of Pin Chang. -FSTY 6f:146.

Ping-Han 平漢. Three versions of this title are recorded among the Black Mountain bandits of the Taihang range in the 180s and 190s:

1. HHS 71/61:2310, refers to a chieftain in 185 who styled himself Ping-Han Daji 平漢大計 [Grand Design to Pacify Han].

2. *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, quoted by SGZ 8:261 PC, refers to a chieftain called Ping-Han Dahong 平漢大洪 [Mighty Pacification of Han]. [Both punctuated editions of HHS and SGZ indicate Ping-Han and Daji and Ping-Han and Dahong as separate men, but this seems less likely; I suspect it was one leader, with a

variant account of the first character of his assumed title.]

3. HHS 74/64A:2381 and SGZ 6:194 describe the Black Mountain chieftain Tao Sheng *q.v.*, who took the title General Who Pacifies Han 平漢將軍 and was active in 191.

About the same time, moreover, but quite separate to the Black Mountain groups, from 184 to 214 Song Jian of Longxi maintained a local state with the title King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han 河首平漢王.

Ping-Han Dahong 平漢大洪 see *sub* Ping-Han 平漢.

Ping-Han Daji 平漢大計 see *sub* Ping-Han 平漢.

Ping Shou 瓶守 became Junior Tutor to the Heir 太子小傅. -FSTY 6f:138.

Ping Shu 平叔 was a noted Confucian scholar; during the time of Emperor Guangwu Ping Shu became a Consultant. -DGHJ 16:8a.

Ping Yi 平軼. Son of Ping Shu, Ping Yi was also known as a Confucian scholar, and he too became a Consultant. -DGHJ 16:8a.

Ping Zhi 平直; Ba. A local officer in 154, Ping Zhi joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Pingshi, Lady of 平氏君 see the Lady Zhao Yao 趙堯.

Po Qin 繁欽 [Xiubo 休伯] (d.218); Yingchuan. During the 190s Po Qin took refuge in Jing province. He was shown great favour by Liu Biao, but his friend and colleague Du Xi warned him against accepting such a limited master; Po Qin later returned to the north.

Celebrated for his ability in poetry, letters and composition, Po Qin became Registrar to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor, and he was a close correspondent of Cao Pi. -SGZ 21:602-03*.

Poison Yu 于毒 see Yu Du 于毒.

Pu 蒲 [surname] see also Man 滿 *passim* and *sub* Pu Zun below.

Pu Zun 蒲遵 is mentioned by FSTY 6f:143. Though the entry is intended to demonstrate the use of Pu as a surname, another citation refers to Pu Chang 昌, who is more commonly known by the surname Man 滿: QHX:432. It is possible that this man's surname should

also be read as Man.

Pufulu 普富廬; Wuhuan. Chieftain in Dai in 207, he surrendered to Cao Cao after the battle of White Wolf Mountain and was named acting Shanyu.

In 216 Pufulu and other leaders caused trouble but were settled by the Administrator Pei Qian. When Pei Qian left the territory in 218, however, Pufulu and his fellows again rebelled; this time they were defeated and pacified by Cao Zhang. -SGZ 1:30, 23:672.

Puhu 朴胡 see Fuhu 朴胡.

Puhu Chi'er 支胡赤兒 see Chi'er 赤兒.

Pulu 普廬 see Pufulu 普富廬.

Punu 蒲奴; Xiongnu. Son of the Shanyu Yu (*reg.* 18-46) and younger brother of Wudadihou, when Wudadihou succeeded their father as Shanyu in 46 he named Punu as Worthy King of the Left, recognised as heir-apparent, and when Wudadihou died later that year Punu became Shanyu.

There was, however, another claimant to the title. Since the time of the first Huhanxie Shanyu 呼韓邪單于 (*reg.* 59/58-31 BC), it had been regarded as customary that the title of Shanyu should be passed from elder to younger brother, and only when each generation had been exhausted should it be transferred to the next. The son Bi of the Shanyu Nangzhiyasi 囊知牙斯 or Zhi 知 (*reg.* 8 BC-AD 13), elder brother of the Shanyu Yu, claimed that the inheritance should pass to him rather than to his cousins Wudadihou and Punu. On his claim and subsequent disaffection see *sub* Bi.

At the time Punu came to the throne the Xiongnu court was already unsettled by two swift successions, but the territory was also affected by drought and a plague of insects, while the hitherto subservient Wuhuan made attacks from the east and seized considerable territory. Punu therefore sent messengers to China, seeking to restore peace, and the imperial court sent an embassy in return. It seems likely, however, that their agents had earlier made contact with Bi, and he had shown willingness to submit to Han.

In the following year Bi offered to act as an agent of Han within the Xiongnu court. Officers of the Shanyu Punu reported his actions and recommended that he be arrested and executed at the time of the great summer sacrifice. When Bi received warning of this, he gathered some forty or fifty thousand men to attack the Shanyu's officers, and though Punu sent ten thousand

men against his cousin, they were outnumbered and forced to withdraw.

The response of the Shanyu had obviously been inadequate, while the Chinese were so confident of their diplomatic success that orders had already been given for a reduction of defences in the north. It seems clear that the Xiongnu court was in difficulty, and the central power of Punu's state was far weaker than under his father Yu. On the other hand, Bi's rival government could claim the allegiance of only a fraction of the Xiongnu tribes. Shifting his base into the Ordos region, he sought alliance from Han, and only when this was agreed, in the winter of 48/49, did he take title as Shanyu.

In 49 Bi sent his younger brother Mo with an army against the northerners. They defeated Punu's guard, captured his younger brother, and returned with more than ten thousand people, seven thousand horses, and myriads of cattle and sheep. Punu was forced to withdraw north across the Gobi. Two of his chiefs went to join the Southern court, and in the summer of 50 his unnamed younger brother, captured in the previous year, escaped from his nominal imprisonment and sought to establish himself as a third Shanyu.

Punu, however, was now able to mount a counter-offensive, and within a few months he had defeated his brother, forced him to suicide and killed his leading allies. The sons of those late allies attempted to withdraw with their people to the south, but the Northern army captured the renegades, and in a head-on clash they routed a Southern relief force. The incident was minor in itself, but the face-to-face encounter restored local supremacy to Punu and his Northern state.

Soon afterwards Bi's puppet state was established under Chinese control in Xihe commandery within the Ordos loop of the Yellow River, and the frontier was largely stabilised by the division of the Xiongnu between north and south. The Han government, however, was not able to arrange for an effective civilian re-settlement of the region, and the land was left largely open to the non-Chinese.

In 51 Punu in turn sent envoys to Wuwei commandery seeking terms with China, but when the matter was debated at the imperial court Liu Zhuang the future Emperor Ming argued that the approach should be rejected; so the Northern envoys were sent back. In 52 Punu offered to negotiate his authority in

central Asia, and this embassy reached the capital, but a circumlocutory answer claimed only that Han had resisted pressure from the Southern state to destroy the North, and that the court placed small value on the offerings and goodwill of the Northern court. Some presents were given, but nothing more, and a similar approach in 55 received no more interest.

On the other hand, though still exposed to attack from the Xianbi and Wuhuan in the east, during the late 40s and 50s the Xiongnu expanded westwards into the Tarim basin, where Shanshan, Qiuzi [Kuqa] and the small states of Turfan offered submission and the state of Yutian [Khotan] was obliged to send tribute and accept a Xiongnu Resident. During the 60s, moreover, even as Punu continued to seek a treaty and the opening of frontier markets, the Northerners resumed raiding along the frontier of China Proper. Despite various attempts, the hostility of the Southern Xiongnu and the Chinese concern for their alliance ensured that no settlement was reached.

There is no record of the date of death of the Northern Shanyu Punu, nor of his lineage and succession. The first of his descendants to be identified is the Youliu 優留 Shanyu. -HHS 89/79:2942-49; Bn 67:116-134, deC 84:229-264.

Puyang Kai 濮陽闕; Chenliu. A private scholar about 180, Puyang Kai taught the *Poetry, Ritual* and *Zuo zhuan*. One of his students was Zhang Hong. -SGZ Wu 8:1243.

Puyang Qian 濮陽潛; Chenliu. A gentleman scholar, Puyang Qian was Registrar to the county magistrate Niu Shu and later became Administrator of Shangdang. -HHS 48/38:1618.

Puyang Yi 濮陽逸; Chenliu. A refugee scholar, Puyang Yi crossed the Yangzi and joined the entourage of Lu Mao, who treated him well. Puyang Yi later became Administrator of Changsha for the state of Wu. -SGZ Wu 12:1336-37, 19:1451.

Q

Qi 郤 [surname] see Chi 郤/郗 *passim*.

Qi 錡 [surname] see Yi 錡 *passim*.

Qi Cheng 齊盛 see Qi Sheng 齊盛.

Qi Chou 箕稠 see Gongqi Chou 公綦稠. -HHS 73/63:2353.

Qi Gu 畦固 see Sui Gu 畦固.

Qi Ji 戚寄. A commander under Yuan Shu, about 198 he was persuaded by Liu Fu to change allegiance to Cao Cao. -SGZ 15:463.

Qi Mucan 綦母參 see Qimu Can 綦母參.

Qi Mukai 綦母闕 see Qimu Kai 綦母闕.

Qi Mushen 綦母參 see Qimu Can 綦母參.

Qi Sheng 齊盛 (d.179). A eunuch, Qi Sheng was an associate of Wang Fu and held office as an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. In 179 he and others of their party were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu. They were tortured and died in prison. -HHS 77/67:2499-2500.

Qi Wucan 綦母參 see Qimu Can 綦母參.

Qi Wukai 綦母闕 see Qimu Kai 綦母闕.

Qi Zhou 齊周; Yuyang. A former Assistant Officer under Liu Yu the Governor of You province, in 195 Qi Zhou joined the rebellion of Xianyu Fu against Gongsun Zan. -SGZ 8:243.

Qian Bo 錢博; Nanhai. Early in the 200s Qian Bo was an officer under Zhang Jin the Governor of Jiao. After 211 he may have had an association with Bu Zhi the Inspector for Sun Quan, but by 220 he was a leader of rebels west of the Pearl River estuary. When Lü Dai replaced Bu Zhi, Qian Bo surrendered and was made Commandant in the new commandery of Gaoliang. -SGZ Wu 8:1252, 15:1384.

Qian Chang 芊昌 see Yang Chang 羊昌.

Qian Guo 虔國. As Administrator of Rinan, Qian Guo was constantly accompanied by a wild goose, and after he died in office the bird roosted for two years on a tree by his tomb. -XC 7:1a.

Qian Hao 牽顯; Anping. In 160 Qian Hao was Inspector of Yan province with some responsibility for operations against the rebel Shusun Wuji. -HHS 65/55: 2132.

Qian Hong 騫宏 [Hongbo 弘伯]. XTS 74A:3145 says that in the mid-140s Qian Hong migrated to Jincheng, where he became an Attendant Officer of Liang province.

Qian Ling 黔陵; Shanyang. In 30 Qian Ling killed the former rebel Pang Meng and sent his head to the capital. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 2/12:497.

Qian Tong 錢銅 (d.199); Wu. A local leader, Qian Tong opposed Sun Ce in 196 but was defeated and killed. -SGZ Wu 1:1105.

Qian Xian 千獻 became Commandant of Shu commandery. -FSTY 5f:118.

Qian Xin 錢訢 [Ligong 禮公]; Nanyang. Sometime a county magistrate, in 156 Qian Xin was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b

Qian Zhao 牽招 [Zijing 子經]; Anping. When still in his early teens, Qian Zhao went to study under his fellow-countryman Yue Yin, then followed him to Luoyang. After Yue Yin was killed in 189, Qian Zhao and his fellow-students escorted the body home. They were attacked by robbers but Qian Zhao stayed with the cortège as his colleagues ran away. The bandits were going to break up the coffin for its nails, but Qian Zhao pleaded with them and they left.

Qian Zhao later commanded Wuhuan cavalry for Yuan Shao, and after his death he served his son Yuan Shang. When Cao Cao attacked Ye in 204 Qian Zhao was sent to Shangdang for supplies. As Yuan Shang abandoned the city, Qian Zhao urged Gao Gan to send aid from Bing province; instead Gao Gan attempted to kill Qian Zhao.

Unable to rejoin Yuan Shang, Qian Zhao went to Cao Cao, who sent him on an embassy to the Wuhuan. He persuaded the chieftain Supuyan to reject alliance with Gongsun Du in Liaodong and not to support Yuan Tan.

In 207, after Cao Cao's victory at White Wolf Mountain, Qian Zhao was appointed Protector of the Wuhuan. Soon afterwards he returned to Ye city, and when Yuan Shang's head was displayed there he paid it mourning honours; Cao Cao respected his loyalty.

In 215 Qian Zhao took part in the conquest of Hanzhong, returning later to Ye, and was then sent as a colonel to Xu and Qing provinces, where he captured Donglai on the Shandong peninsula.

In 221 Cao Pi sent Qian Zhao to Shanggu as Protector of the Xianbi. Working in co-operation with the Protector of the Wuhuan Tian Yu, he maintained a measure of security along the frontier for more than ten years. -SGZ 26:730-33*.

Qiang Hua 彊華; Yingchuan. About 20 Qiang Hua was a fellow-student of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at Chang'an, and he remained in that region. In 25, as Liu Xiu was being encouraged by his followers to take the imperial title, Qiang Hua came to him with a favourable prophetic text, and Liu Xiu quoted from it as he announced his claim to the throne. -HHS 1A:21; Bn 59:240-241.

Qiang Shizhi 彊釋之 is mentioned by *FSTY* 6f:145.

Qiangduan 强端; Di. A chieftain in Wudu, in 218 Qiangduan led his people to destroy the army of Liu Bei's general Wu Lan and sent his head to Cao Cao. -SGZ 1:51.

Qiangqu 羌渠 (d.141); Wuhuan. In 140 the chieftain Qiangqu joined his colleague Ajian in a rising to support the rebel Xiongnu leaders Wusi and Che'niu. In the following year they were defeated and killed by the Emissary Zhang Dan. -HHS 90/80:2983.

Qiangqu 羌渠 or Qiangshen 羌深 (d.188); Xiongnu. In 179 Qiangqu was Worthy King of the Right of the Southern Xiongnu when the Emissary Zhang Xiu quarrelled with the Shanyu Huzheng and killed him. Though the Worthy King of the Right was not the natural heir, Zhang Xiu established Qiangqu as Shanyu.

In 187 the former official Zhang Chun rebelled and brought Xianbi to attack the frontier commanderies. Emperor Ling ordered Qiangqu to raise troops to assist the Han authorities against the rebels, and Qiangqu sent a contingent under the Worthy King of the Left. The Xiongnu people, however, had no interest in supporting Han, and were concerned that this was just the first of many conscriptions. There was a rebellion led by the Xiuchuge clan, and in the following year they killed Qiangqu and the Administrator of Xihe. -HHS 8:354-55, 89/79:2964-65; deC 84:345-347, deC 89:206.

Qiangshen 羌深 see Qiangqu 羌渠; Xiongnu.

Qianman 竊曼; Xianbi. Son of Helian and grandson of the great war-leader Tanshihuai, Qianman was young when his father died in the mid-180s, so his adult cousin Kuitou took the leadership. When Qianman came of age in the 190s he sought to regain his inheritance but was unsuccessful and soon disappeared. The conflict ended the unity achieved by Tanshihuai. -SGZ 30:838, HHS 90/80:2994; deC 84:343.

Qianwan 千萬; Di. King of the Zixiang Di 自項氏, in 213 Qianwan joined his colleague Agui in alliance with Ma Chao, but in the following year Xiahou Yuan destroyed their camp in Wudu. As Qianwan fled, his people surrendered; they were resettled in Youfufeng. -SGZ 1:42, 9:271, 30:838; deC 96:453-463.

Qiao 焦 [surname] see Jiao 焦 *passim*.

Qiao 喬 [surname] see also Qiao 橋; the two characters were originally the same, and are often transposed.

Qiao 橋, the Lady I; Lujiang. The Lady and her younger sister were celebrated beauties of the empire.

In 199 Sun Ce conquered Lujiang and took the Lady for his wife. She was presumably the mother of Sun Shao, who was born in the following year, though Sun Ce also had two daughters: see *sub* the Ladies Sun VII and VIII. -SGZ Wu 9:1260.

Qiao 橋, the Lady II; Lujiang. The Lady and her elder sister were celebrated beauties of the empire. In 199 Sun Ce conquered Lujiang and took the elder for his wife, while his friend Zhou Yu married the younger. Zhou Yu had two sons: Xun 循, who married a daughter of Sun Quan, and Yin 胤, who received enfeoffment, while there was also a daughter who married Sun Deng the Heir of Wu. Since all three achieved high rank, it is likely that they were born to the Lady rather than to concubines. -SGZ Wu 9:1260.

Qiao, King 峭王 of the Wuhuan, see Supuyan 蘇僕延.

Qiao Dai 橋載 [Yuanbin 元賓]; Liang. About 170 Qiao Dai was a member of the staff of the Grand Tutor, probably Hu Guang but possibly Chen Fan. He died a few years later, and in 176 his neighbours set up a stele to his memory. -SJZ 23:13b.

Qiao Hu 橋扈; Yunzhong. A local warlord, Qiao Hu held title as Administrator under the pretender Lu Fang, but in 31 Lu Fang executed Qiao Hu's colleague Li Xing the Administrator of Wuyuan. Qiao Hu defected to Emperor Guangwu and was confirmed in his office. -HHS 1B:53, 12/2:507; Bn 67:107.

Qiao Ji 橋基; Liang. Qiao Ji was descended from a noted scholarly and official family, and the *HHS* biography of his grandson Qiao Xuan says that he became Administrator of Guangling 廣陵. According to two inscriptions compiled for Qiao Xuan by Cai Yong, neither of which give his personal name, Qiao Ji was Chancellor to Liu Changbao, king of Guangchuan 廣川 from 107 to 108, and also became a Palace Attendant. -Cai 1:1 & 1:6, *HHS* 51/41:1695 & *JJ* at 1831.

Cai Yong's texts describe Qiao Xuan's grandfather as a 侍郎 Gentleman in Attendance, but this was a lowly cadet position. The more likely reading is 侍中 Palace Attendant, a high-ranking supernumerary appointment: *HHSJJ* 51/41:1831 Hui Dong. It is also possible there is some confusion between the kingdom of Guangchuan and the commandery of Guangling, and that Qiao Ji held office in only one of the two.

Qiao Jiu 喬就; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Qiao Jiu joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator

Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Qiao Mao 橋瑁 [Yuanwei 元偉] (d.190); Liang. A kinsman of Qiao Xuan, Qiao Mao was a man of personal authority and kindness. He became Inspector of Yan province and then Administrator of Dong commandery.

In 189 He Jin ordered Qiao Mao to bring an army to Chenggao in Henan, by the junction of the Luo with the Yellow River, to intimidate the palace eunuchs and the Dowager. Later, after Dong Zhuo seized power, Qiao Mao forged a letter from the senior officials at the capital seeking aid against the usurper, and on this basis the rebel alliance was formed in the east. Qiao Mao was a leader of the group, but he was killed by his enemy Liu Dai. -HHS 69/59:2250, SGZ 1:6-8.

Qiao Min 譙敏 [Handa 漢達] (129-185). A eunuch who rose to be an Attendant at the Yellow Gates, Qiao Min was honoured with a stele after his death. The inscription describes him as a scholar of the classics. -LS 11:6b-8b.

Qiao Qing 譙慶; Ba. Younger brother of Qiao Xuan, who died in 35, after the destruction of Gongsun Shu in 36 Qiao Qing presented a report of Xuan's loyalty and fine scholarly conduct to the court of Han. Emperor Guangwu issued an edict that official sacrifices should be held in his honour and a grant of cash made to his family. -HHS 81/71A:2668.

Qiao Qing 譙𡵚 (the orthography of the personal name is uncertain) [Rongshi 榮始]; Ba. At the end of the second century Qiao Qing was known for his wide learning in the classics and apocrypha and his expertise on the *Classic of History* in the New Text tradition. He refused invitations from both the commandery and provincial authorities, but he held honorary status as a teacher. He died comparatively young. -SGZ Shu 12:1027, HYGZ 12:224.

Qiao Rui 橋蕤 (d.197). A general of Yuan Shu, in 197 Qiao Rui was sent with Zhang Xun to attack Lü Bu at Xiapi. As their allies Han Xian and Yang Feng changed sides, they were defeated with heavy losses.

Later that year Qiao Rui was sent to hold Hu city in Chen against Cao Cao. Cao Cao stormed the city and slaughtered its defenders. -SGZ 1:15, 7:225, *HHS* 75/65:2442; deC 96:223-224.

Qiao Shu 橋術 [Bodao 伯道]; Nanyang. A former Administrator of Jiaozhi, in 156 Qiao Shu was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16a.

Qiao Su 橋肅; Liang. Son of Qiao Ji, Qiao Su served as Administrator of Donglai. -HHS 51/41:1695.

Qiao Xian 譙先 [Xiaoran 孝然]; Hedong. Evidently unaffected by hunger or cold, Qiao Xian was a mysterious hermit of the late Han and Wei period, regarded by many as an immortal 仙人. -SGZ 11:363-65.

Qiao Xuan 譙玄 [Junhuang 君黃] (d.35); Ba. A noted scholar of the *Book of Changes* and *Chunqiu*, Qiao Xuan was consulted on the occasion of an eclipse in 15 BC and then held a series of advisory posts at the imperial court. He advised Emperor Cheng against his irresponsible conduct, with predictable lack of success, and in 4 AD he was appointed to a commission sent throughout the empire to report on customs and instigate moral reform.

When Wang Mang took power in 6 AD, Qiao Xuan left his post, changed his name and went home to live in seclusion. After the fall of Wang Mang, when Gongsun Shu claimed the imperial title in the west, he sent several invitations to Qiao Xuan, but was repeatedly refused. Eventually he became angry, and gave Qiao Xuan the choice of accepting office or killing himself. The commandery Administrator entrusted with this ultimatum showed sympathy, and when Qiao Xuan's son Ying kowtowed and offered a ransom of a million cash he recommended clemency. Qiao Xuan was pardoned, and the people celebrated him in song.

Qiao Xuan went into hiding in the countryside, but he continued to receive students and maintained the tradition of classical learning even in time of disorder. He died before the fall of Gongsun Shu, but at the end of 36 his younger brother Qing reported Qiao Xuan's conduct to the Han court. Emperor Guangwu issued an edict that official sacrifices should be made in his honour and a grant of cash awarded to his family. -HHS 81/71:2666-68*, HYGZ 1:4; Mather 76:508, Vervorn 90:142-143, QHX:454. [XHS 5:16a gives the personal name as Yuan 元, no doubt avoiding a taboo.]

Qiao Xuan 橋玄 [Gongzu 公祖] (110-184); Liang. Son of Qiao Su, and scion of a noted family of scholar-officials, Qiao Xuan studied *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*.

As a young man Qiao Xuan became Officer

of Merit in his commandery. When Zhou Jing the Inspector of Yu province came on tour Qiao Xuan begged that he would make him Assistant Officer for the state of Chen, so he might investigate the wrongful conduct of the Chancellor Yang Chang. When Zhou Jing approved, Qiao Xuan promptly arrested Yang Chang's clients and began to interrogate them. The General-in-Chief Liang Ji intervened, and Zhou Jing now tried to halt the case, but Qiao Xuan persisted and Yang Chang was dismissed.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Qiao Xuan became an assistant head of police under the Prefect of Luoyang. He left that office because he was ashamed to serve under the Intendant of Henan Liang Buyi; after a period at home he joined the office of the Excellency over the Masses. Graded First Class, he entered the Censorate, and in the early 150s he was Inspector of Liang; there he sorted out the dispute between Aluoduo and Beijun, rival claimants to the throne of Further Jushi [but cf. *sub* Yan Xiang].

Qiao Xuan later became Chancellor of Qi. There was a case in which a son avenged his father in a vendetta. Qiao Xuan had intended to pardon him for his filial piety, but then the county magistrate Lu Zhi killed him. Qiao Xuan killed Lu Zhi in turn, as apology to the dead man's spirit. Qiao Xuan was sent to convict service, but when his sentence was ended he became Administrator of Shanggu and then of Hanyang. In the latter posting he found that the magistrate Huangfu Zhen had acted wrongly: he had him flogged to death in the market-place of the capital; everyone was impressed.

Leaving office on grounds of health, Qiao Xuan later received a special summons to become Chief Clerk under the Excellency Chong Gao. In 165 he was appointed Administrator of Julu, to supervise Emperor Huan's brother Liu Kui, who had been charged with treason and demoted to a county fief there. Liu Kui later complained about him, and Qiao Xuan was recalled to the capital, initially as Court Architect, but then only as a Consultant. Indignant, he resigned his office.

In 167, as the north was troubled by raiding from the Xianbi, the Southern Xiongnu and Gaogouli [Koguryo], Qiao Xuan was appointed General on the Liao, with high insignia and wide authority. We are told he first ensured his troops were rested and fed, then attacked the enemy and drove them away. It appears

he operated under the command of Zhang Huan, who held plenipotentiary powers across the whole of the north, but was chiefly concerned with the Xiongnu and the Qiang in the west: *cf. sub voce*.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, Qiao Xuan was recalled to the capital as Intendant of Henan, then became Minister Steward and Minister Herald. In 170 he was appointed Excellency of Works, and for a few months in 171 he was Excellency over the Masses. Though he had earlier quarrelled with Chen Qiu, he now recommended his appointment as Minister of Justice. Discouraged by the weakness of the state and the problems of government, however, Qiao Xuan resigned on grounds of ill health and unfavourable omens.

A year or so later, Qiao Xuan became Director of the Secretariat. He urged the dismissal of the emperor's favourite He Sheng, who had embezzled vast sums when he was Administrator of Nanyang, but Emperor Ling promoted He Sheng from Palace Counsellor to Palace Attendant. Claiming illness once more, Qiao Xuan resigned his position and transferred to be a Household Counsellor. He served as Grand Commandant for a few months in 178-179, but again resigned for ill health and became a Palace Counsellor.

When Qiao Xuan's young son was kidnapped, he refused to pay a ransom, and as the criminals were captured the boy was killed. Qiao Xuan acknowledged his fault, but argued that paying only encouraged the criminals. There had been several such incidents at Luoyang, but Qiao Xuan's firm stand put a halt to them.

In 175, when Cao Cao was twenty and still unknown, Qiao Xuan recognised his potential, and told him that that when the empire fell into disorder he would be the man to restore peace. He also urged him to call upon Xu Shao, celebrated for his judgement of character, and Xu Shao produced the celebrated prophecy that he would be "a good servant in time of peace, a dangerous chieftain in time of trouble." So Cao Cao became well known, and he later paid respects to Qiao Xuan's tomb.

In 176, moreover, when a yellow dragon appeared at Qiao county in Pei, Qiao Xuan asked Dan Yang, a member of the Imperial Secretariat who was skilled in the interpretation of omens, for his opinion. Dan Yang replied that the territory was producing a ruler, and the

dragon would appear again within fifty years. Cao Cao came from Qiao: forty-five years later, as Cao Cao's son Cao Pi succeeded him as King of Wei in 220, a yellow dragon was again reported from Pei, and later that year Cao Pi took the imperial title.

Despite his distinguished career, when Qiao Xuan died his household was poor and none of his sons had reached high office; he was admired for this. Cai Yong had written to praise him in 178, and composed six inscriptions in his honour, including one for his tablet in the family temple and one for a stele. -HHS 51/41: 1695-97*, 82/72B:2733, SGZ 1:2-3, 2:58, XC 2:15b, Cai 1:1 to 1:6; Ngo 76:14, DeWoskin 83:72-73, deC 89:119-121, 148, 151-154, 181, Bn 81:574 [on Cai Yong's inscriptions].

There is some confusion on the exact dates of Qiao Xuan's life and death. HHS 51/41 says that Qiao Xuan died in 183. Cai Yong says he died on 5 June 184, and this appears more circumstantial. Both agree that he was seventy-five *sui*.

In FSTY 9:75; Nylan 83:550-552, Ying Shao tells how in 165 Qiao Xuan was haunted by a strange light which appeared in his bedroom. Ying Shao advised him to consult the diviner Dong Yanxing, who told him that the sign was not harmful, and he would rise to high office; the prophecy came true.

Qiao Ya 橋雅; Jianwei. Member of a powerful local family, about 65 Qiao Ya received appointment from the Inspector of Yi province. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Qiao Ying 譙瑛/英; Ba. About 26 the pretender Gongsun Shu ordered that the well-known scholar Qiao Xuan either accept office in his regime or kill himself. The commandery Administrator entrusted with this ultimatum, however, showed sympathy, and Qiao Xuan's son Ying took the opportunity to kowtow and offered a ransom of a million cash. So the Administrator recommended clemency and Gongsun Shu pardoned Qiao Xuan.

Qiao Ying maintained his father's scholarship on the *Book of Changes*, and was an instructor to Emperor Ming. He later commanded a troop of palace guards and became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. -HHS 81/71:2668, HYGZ 12:217.

Qiao Yu 橋羽; Liang. Son of Qiao Xuan, Qiao Yu became Chancellor of Rencheng. -HHS 51/4A:1697.

Qiao Yuan 譙元 see Qiao Xuan 譙玄.

Qiao Yuan 橋元 see Qiao Xuan 橋玄.

Qiao Zai 橋載 [Yuanbin 元賓]; Liang. Son of Qiao

Xuan, Qiao Zai was a clerk under the Grand Tutor Chen Fan in 168, and was no doubt proscribed from office after Chen Fan was destroyed. After his death a stele was set up in his honour in 176. -*SJZ* 23:13b.

Qiao Zhi 橋稚; Jianwei. Member of a powerful local family, about 65 Qiao Zhi received appointment from the Inspector of Yi province. -*HYGZ* 10A:136.

Qiao Zhou 譙周 [Yunnan 允南] (199-270); Ba. Son of the scholar Qiao Qing, who died when he was young, Qiao Zhou lived in poverty with his mother and brothers, but became a devoted student of the classics and other texts, celebrated for his writing and his knowledge of astronomy. About 220 he became an Assistant Officer for Education 典學從事 in Yi province under Liu Bei, and after the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han he joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title.

Highly respected as a scholar, Qiao Zhou held office in the suite of Liu Shan, Second Sovereign of Shu-Han and was awarded ministerial rank as a Household Counsellor. In 263 he advised Liu Shan to surrender to the forces of Wei, and was granted office and enfeoffment by the Sima family of Jin. He left a quantity of work on history, law and the classics, including studies on ancient times, on the history of the region of Shu and part of a history of Later Han; his – sometimes misleading – interpretations formed the basis for a number of Treatises in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao. -*SGZ* Shu 12:1027-33*, *XS*:1b-2a; Fang 65:409, 436, MBeck 90:16-18, 27-32 *et saepe*.

Qiaosaiti 橋塞提 of Jumi [present-day Yutian]. King of Jumi about 50, Qiaosaiti was subordinate to the hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yutian]. When Xian forced the surrender of King Yanliu of Dayuan [Ferghana] he appointed Qiaosaiti to rule that state.

The western state of Kangju [Sogdiana], however, made repeated attacks, and after a year Qiaosaiti abandoned his position. Xian restored him to Jumi and sent Yanliu back to his kingdom. -*HHS* 88/78:2925.

Qie 郗 [surname] see *sub* Que Jian 卻儉.

Qieyun 且運 see Juyun 且運.

Qili 齊黎 of Yutian [Khotan]. Qili was a younger brother of King Guangde of Yutian. In 86 Guangde attacked Suoju, where the ruler Bujuzheng had been protected by the now waning power of the Northern Xiongnu. He killed Bujuzheng and placed Qili on the throne in his stead.

In the following year Suoju was attacked and defeated by the Chinese agent Ban Chao, and then became subject to Han. -*HHS* 88/78:2926.

Qimu, Lord 綦母君; Langye. During the reign of Emperor Ling a certain "Lord Qimu" of Langye was a private scholar, expert in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*. He is probably the same man as Qimu Kai 綦母闔 below. -*SGZ* 8:249, *XC* 5:1a.

Qimu Ban 綦母班 see Humu Ban 胡母班. -*HHS* 60/50B:2003 commentary.

Qimu Can 綦母參. Minister of Justice in 119, Qimu Can was among those who argued against a forward policy in central Asia. -*HHS* 47/37:1588.

Qimu [Guangming] 綦母廣明; Yingchuan. In *FSTY* 3:22, Ying Shao claims that Qimu Guangming was among those who approved the extended mourning popular during the latter part of the second century, involving men who were often most marginally connected to the deceased.

Qimu Jun 綦母俊; Kuaiji. A scholar of *Zuo zhuan*, Qimu Jun was nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 110 and became Inspector of Jiaozhi. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1325 & *JJ* at 15a.

Qimu Kai 綦母闔; Langye? About 200 Qimu Kai and Song Zhong were leaders among the group of scholars at the court of Liu Biao who produced a series of detailed commentaries on the five classics, *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*. Their work was known as the "Later Edition" 後定. -*SGZ* 6:212, *HHS* 74/64B:2421. [Qimu Kai is probably the same man as Lord Qimu above.]

Qimu Shen 綦母參 see Qimu Can 綦母參.

Qin 秦, the Lady I; Nan. Daughter of Qin Feng, she was married to his ally Tian Rong. She died about 27. -*HHS* 13/3:537; Bn 59:28:156.

Qin 秦, the Lady II; Nan. Daughter of Qin Feng, she was married to Yan Cen. -*HHS* 13/3:537; Bn 59:155.

Qin 秦, the Lady III; Youfufeng. Descended from a distinguished official family, she entered the harem of Emperor Ming, received his favours and was appointed an Honoured Lady in 64. Her elder twin brother Qin Peng was admitted to the Palace School for Noble Families and then became captain of a gate at the capital. -*HHS* 76/66:2467.

Qin 秦, the Lady IV. A senior concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Xuan and Cao Jun 峻. -*SGZ* 20:579.

Qin 秦 [personal name unknown] (d.105); Guangyang.

In 105 a funerary column was set up for this man, who had been a clerk in the offices of You province. -Nagata 94:40.

Qin 秦 [personal name unknown]; Nan. A funerary stele was set up for this man about 175. He had been Administrator of Nanyang. -LS 27:8a.

LS 27:8a mentions a second stele in Nanyang itself. It may have been erected to honour this man's tenure of office.

Qin Asu 秦阿蘇 see Qin Lang 秦朗.

Qin Bao 秦褒; Youfufeng. Younger brother of Qin Peng and the Honoured Lady Qin, concubine of Emperor Ming, Qin Dun and his elder brother Bao both became colonels in the Northern Army. -HHS 76/66:2468.

Qin Dun 秦惇; Youfufeng. Younger brothers of Qin Peng and of the Honoured Lady Qin, concubine of Emperor Ming, Qin Dun and his brother Bao both became colonels in the Northern Army. -HHS 76/66:2468.

Qin Erjian 覃兒健 see Qinnijian 覃兒健.

Qin Feng 秦豐 (d.29); Nan. Having studied law at Chang'an, Qin Feng became a local officer in his home county, in the north of the commandery by present-day Xiangfan. As rebellion broke out against Wang Mang in 23, Qin Feng raised troops and occupied territory on either side of the Han River in Nan and in the southwest of Nanyang. Taking some counties formerly held by the Han forces of the Gengshi Emperor, he proclaimed himself King of Chuli 楚黎: the title was evidently based upon the name of the ancient state combined with that of Qin Feng's home district of Liqui 黎丘. The warlord Tian Rong, who held territory in the south of Nan commandery along the Yangzi, made alliance with Qin Feng and married one of his daughters.

Some years passed without incident, but in 26 Emperor Guangwu's general Wu Han began the reconquest of Nanyang. He seized three counties held by Qin Feng, and when Qin Feng attempted a counter-attack he was defeated in Xinye. Soon afterwards Wu Han's subordinate Deng Feng rebelled and Wu Han himself was withdrawn, so Qin Feng obtained a breathing space, but in 27 Guangwu himself came to Nanyang and the greater part of the commandery was occupied by the imperial forces.

That summer, the *condottiere* Yan Cen, who had been driven from the territory about Chang'an, returned to his home territory of Nanyang. Defeated by

the imperial general Geng Yan, he joined Qin Feng's officer Zhang Cheng, but their combined forces were then destroyed by Guangwu's general Zhu You. Zhang Cheng was killed, while Yan Cen fled to Qin Feng and married another of his daughters.

As the imperial forces began a full offensive against Qin Feng, he was swiftly driven from his territory in Nanyang. He held the line of the Han River, but after a few months Cen Peng lured him west by a trick, then crossed the river directly. Defeating Qin Feng's minimal force under Zhang Yang, he moved against his base at Liqui. Qin Feng hurried back with his main army and attempted a surprise attack by night, but Cen Peng was ready for him and Qin Feng was heavily defeated.

Qin Feng took refuge in Liqui and held out for eighteen months, even defying a call to surrender from Guangwu himself. By 29, however, after heavy casualties, he had barely a thousand men and their supplies were exhausted. In the summer, bringing his mother, wife and seven children with him, Qin Feng surrendered to Guangwu's general Zhu You. He was sent to Luoyang in a cage cart and then executed. -DGHJ 23:5a, HHS 17/7:656; Bn 59:26-28, 153-157.

Qin Gong 秦宮 (d.159). A senior slave, Qin Gong became the homosexual lover of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, who appointed him head of the Great Granary at Luoyang. As Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou also took him to her bed, Qin Gong acquired inordinate influence at court and in the government.

In 159, Liang Ji was concerned that the Consultant Bing Zun and the Lady Xuan, brother-in-law and mother of the Honoured Lady Deng, might interfere with his plans. He sent Qin Gong and a group of retainers, who killed Bing Zun and tried unsuccessfully to attack the Lady Xuan. We may assume Qin Gong died at the same time as Liang Ji, in the coup arranged soon afterwards by Emperor Huan. -HHS 34/24:1180-81, 102/12:3256.

Qin Hu 秦護. Though a man of humble family, Qin Hu would not accept gifts, and even in winter he wore only unlined clothing. His neighbours laughed at him for this. -XC 8:1a.

Qin Jia 秦嘉 [Shihui 士會]; Longxi. In the time of Emperor Huan, Qin Jia held office in his commandery and was sent as Reporting Officer to the capital. He was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, but took ill and died in that office. He left a collection of

writings, including several letters to his wife the Lady Xu Shu. -Yao Zhenzong:2425.

Qin Jian 禽堅 [Mengyou 孟由]; Shu. Qin Jian's father Xin was captured by non-Chinese tribespeople in Yuexi, then passed from one group to another until all trace of him was lost. At the time of his kidnapping, his mother was six months pregnant with Qin Jian, and after he was born she gave up hope for her former husband and married again.

When Qin Jian grew up and learned how his father had disappeared he resolved to find him. Hiring himself out as a labourer, he saved until he had acquired jade and pearls for a ransom. Then he searched the south-western frontier for over six years, defying illness and wild beasts, until he found his father. Qin Xin was overwhelmed, and his non-Chinese owners took pity upon the pair and let him go. Qin Jian escorted his father back to China, but he continued to care for his mother with proper courtesy.

Impressed by such a display of filial piety, the local authorities reported the matter to the capital, and the provincial government offered him appointment.

Qin Jian's conduct became a model: about 200 the Administrator Wang Sheng paid honours to his tomb and gave him posthumous nomination as Filial and Incorrupt; during Western Jin the county magistrate Li Bi 李苾 established a stele to Qin Jian, with ceremonies which were maintained for many years. -SGZ Shu 8:967, *HYGZ* 10A:136-37.

Qin Jie 秦頴 or Qin Xie [Chuqi 初起] (d.186); Nan. Having served as Commandant of Jiangxia, in 184 Qin Jie was appointed to replace Chu Gong, the Administrator of Nanyang who had been killed by Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Mancheng. Qin Jie defeated and killed Zhang Mancheng, but the rebels then occupied Wan city, capital of the commandery. The imperial general Zhu Jun now led Qin Jie and other local troops to besiege the city, and as the rebel leader Han Zhong attempted to flee he was captured and Qin Jie killed him.

After the rebels were destroyed Qin Jie remained in Nanyang, but in 186 he was killed in a mutiny led by Zhao Ci. A stele was erected at his tomb. -*HHS* 71/6A: 2309, 31/21A:1110, *LS* 17:6b-8a, *SJZ* 28:17a.

Qin Lang 秦狼; Kuaiji. About 205 Qin Lang and Lü He were leaders of a rebellion on the southeast coast. The trouble was put down by Sun Quan's general Jiang Qin, and both men were captured. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1286.

Qin Lang 秦朗 [Yuanming 元明; childhood name Asu 阿穌]; Yunzhong. Son of Qin Yilu, an officer of Lü Bu, Qin Lang and his mother the Lady Du were captured at the fall of Xiapi in 198. As Cao Cao took the Lady Du into his harem, Qin Lang went with her, and Cao Cao treated him as his own son.

Qin Lang became a general and a leading political figure under Cao Rui during the 230s. -*SGZ* 3:100, 9: 292.

Qin Mi 秦宓/密 [Zichi 子勅] (d.226); Guanghan. As a young man, Qin Mi was known for his scholarship. Disapproving of *Zhanguo ce* for its emphasis on selfishness and trickery rather than the honourable Confucian virtues, Qin Mi maintained himself as a recluse; he received invitations from both the commandery and provincial offices, but always pleaded illness and did not go. On the other hand, when Liu Yan became Governor in 189 Qin Mi presented an eloquent report in praise of his colleague Ren An. Liu Yan recommended Ren An for high office, but he too refused the invitation.

When the local official Wang Shang, a fellow-countryman of Qin Mi, established a stele in honour of the Former Han worthies Li Hong 李弘 and Zhuang Zun 莊遵, Qin Mi encouraged him to erect a similar memorial to Wen Weng 文翁, the Administrator of Shu who had sponsored scholarship in the west, and to the great composer Sima Xiangru 司馬相如.

In the time of Liu Yan's son and successor Liu Zhang, Wang Shang urged Qin Mi to accept some position and not to hide his light under a bushel, but Qin Mi replied with an eloquent letter to justify his withdrawal from the world of politics, even as he maintained a public position. He claimed that literary or scholarly ability was a fact of nature, quite consistent with high moral purpose, and did not necessarily indicate any desire for fame or glory.

As Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214, Xiahou Zuan the Administrator of Guanghan asked Qin Mi to join his staff as a scholarly adviser. Qin Mi claimed to be ill and took to his bed, so Xiahou Zuan brought other officers to call upon him and held a banquet by his bedside. When Xiahou Zuan expressed doubts about the quality of the men of Yi province, however, Qin Mi responded so firmly with praise of the region that Xiahou Zuan was embarrassed and asked him nothing more.

Qin Mi eventually accepted a position on Liu Bei's

personal staff. As Liu Bei was planning his great attack down the Yangzi against Sun Quan in 221, Qin Mi argued that the times were unpropitious and that the campaign would not be successful. He was imprisoned for such defeatism, but was later released, no doubt when his prophecy proved correct.

In 224, in his capacity as Governor of Yi province Zhuge Liang brought Qin Mi onto his staff. When Zhang Wen came on embassy from Wu, Qin Mi challenged him in public debate for the honour of Shu-Han, and he composed an essay on the "legitimate succession" 正統 of Han. He was named a General of the Household, a colonel in the Northern Army, and later became Minister of Finance in the nominal imperial regime. -SGZ 8:971-76*, HYGZ 10B:151; Vervorn 90:226-227.

Qin Mu 秦牧 see Qinmu 秦牧.

Qin Nijian 覃兒健 see Qinnijian 覃兒健.

Qin Peng 秦彭 [Boping 伯平/Guoping 國平] (d.88); Youfufeng. Six generations of Qin Peng's ancestors had been senior officials, and they were known locally as the "Two-thousand *shi* family" 萬石秦氏. Qin Peng's twin sister entered the harem of Emperor Ming, received his favours and was appointed an Honoured Lady in 64. Through this relationship Qin Peng was admitted to the Palace School for Noble Families and became captain of a gate at the capital.

In 65 there was concern that the Northern and Southern Xiongnu might establish relations across the frontier. Wu Tang was therefore sent as General on the Liao to guard the line of the Yellow River at Wuyuan, while Qin Peng was appointed Commandant of Cavalry, to establish a camp at Meiji in Xihe, capital of the Southern Shanyu Chang, and keep watch on his activities.

In 72 Qin Peng was named assistant to Geng Bing for the campaign against the Northern Xiongnu which took place in the following year. Their column advanced some two hundred kilometres across desolate country, but the enemy retreated and they could not force a battle. Geng Bing planned a swift raid with light horsemen in an attempt to bring them to bay, but Qin Peng dissuaded him and they returned without making contact.

During that expedition, as Qin Peng was in charge of troops on detachment he killed a man for some offence. The commander-in-chief Dou Gu wanted to execute him for usurping authority, and a majority at

court was in favour of punishment, but the clerical officer Guo Gong argued successfully that at the time of his alleged offence Qin Peng held a separate position and so was not subject to the rule that decisions of life and death lay with the supreme commander.

In 75 Qin Peng was named Administrator of Shanyang, and this inner commandery of the empire provided scope for his civil talents. Treating people with courtesy and unwilling to punish them, he sponsored Confucian virtues and education and maintained the ceremonies of sacrifice and archery each spring and autumn. Paying great attention to courtesies and procedures, he proclaimed rules to govern the conduct of fathers towards their sons, elder and younger brothers, and husbands with wives. He arranged that those who showed respect for good conduct and learning were appointed Thrice Venerable of their districts, and in the eighth month of each year he had wine and meat set out to Serve the Aged. If one of his officials committed a fault, he would dismiss him but apply no further penalty.

The people of the commandery loved him, and none offended the law. Encouraging the cultivation of rice, Qin Peng inspected each acre at critical times of the farming year, grading them in three categories by yield and maintaining records in each district so that corrupt officials had no opportunity to falsify the returns. He presented a memorial recommending the system, and an imperial letter urged its application to all parts of the empire.

After six years in Shanyang, in 82 Qin Peng was transferred to the great commandery of Yingchuan, where a variety of favourable omens were reported to celebrate his regime: phoenixes 鳳皇, a unicorn 麒麟, auspicious grain 嘉禾 and sweet dew 甘露. Emperor Zhang twice visited the commandery, giving rewards of cash and kind and showing grace and favour. Qin Peng remained in that post until his death in 88. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66:2467-68*, 19/9:722-23.

Qin Qing 禽慶 [Zixia 子夏]; Beihai. A Confucian scholar, Qin Qing refused to serve Wang Mang. At the beginning of Later Han he joined his friend Xiang Chang on a pilgrimage to the five sacred mountains. They were not seen again. -HHS 83/73:2758-59.

Qin Run 秦閭. Assistant Officer of Yan province about 150, Qin Run and colleagues erected a stele in honour of the former Inspector Ban Mengjian. -SJZ 8:22a.

Qin Shao 秦召/邵 [Bonan 伯南]; Pei. A kinsman of Cao Cao, Qin Shao raised troops to join him in 190, and later gave his life to defend him. Cao Cao adopted his son Zhen 真 into the Cao lineage. -SGZ 9:281.

Qin Shang 秦尚 [Kongdu 孔都]; Youfufeng. A senior officer of his native county, in 185 Qin Shang contributed a thousand cash to a stele to honour the magistrate Cao Quan. -JSCB 18:3b-5a; Ebrey 80:342-344.

Qin Song 秦松 [Wenbiao 文表]; Guangling. During the late 190s Qin Song and his fellow-countrymen Zhang Hong and Chen Duan were advisers to Sun Ce. Evidently a man of conservative bent, Qin Song initially doubted whether Sun Quan would be able to maintain an independent state after the death of Sun Ce, but he nonetheless continued to serve.

As Cao Cao was advancing through Jing province in 208, Qin Song was among those who recommended Sun Quan to submit. He died soon after the victory at the Red Cliffs. -SGZ Wu 1:1104, 8:1247, 9:1261.

Qin Xie 秦頡 see Qin Jie 秦頡.

Qin Xin 禽信; Shu. A county magistrate in Yuexi, Qin Xin was kidnapped by non-Chinese people, then sold on from one tribe to another until all trace of him was lost. After many years his son Qin Jian, who had not been born at the time of his father's disappearance, traced him and brought him back. -HYGZ 10A:136-37.

Qin Yi 秦誼. In 192, under orders from Lü Bu at Chang'an, Qin Yi and a dozen others dressed as guards to ambush and kill Dong Zhuo. -HHS 72/62:2332. [Allowing for variant writing of the characters, this may be the same man as Qin Yi and Qin Yilu below.]

Qin Yi 秦翊. A commander under Yuan Shu, about 197 Qin Yi was persuaded by Liu Fu that he should transfer allegiance to Cao Cao. Qin Yi's decision surely reflects Yuan Shu's assumption of the imperial title, and Cao Cao at that time controlled the formal imperial government of Han. -SGZ 15:463. [Allowing for variant writing of the characters, this may be the same man as Qin Yi above and Qin Yilu below.]

Qin Yilu 秦宜祿 (d.199); Yunzhong. When Lü Bu was besieged in Xiapi by Cao Cao and Liu Bei in 198, he sent his officer Qin Yilu to seek aid from Zhang Yang and Yuan Shu. While he was on that embassy Xiapi fell, and Cao Cao took Qin Yilu's wife, the Lady Du, as his concubine; see also *sub* Qin Lang. Yuan Shu then arranged for Qin Yilu to marry a woman of the

imperial Liu clan.

Despite the loss of his wife in such fashion, after the death of Yuan Shu in 199 Qin Yilu gave his allegiance to Cao Cao. He was appointed a county magistrate in Pei, but was killed by Zhang Fei soon afterwards. -SGZ 3:100, Shu 6:939. [Allowing for variant writing of the characters, this may be the same man as Qin Yi 秦誼 or Qin Yi 秦翊 above.]

Qin Yilu 秦宜祿, wives of: see above.

Qin Zhou 秦周 [Pingwang 平王]; Chenliu. Chancellor of Beihai, Qin Zhou was praised by the reformists and students of the University at Luoyang in the late 160s and numbered in their lists of worthy men. -HHS 67/57:2187-90.

Qing 慶 [surname] see also *sub* He 賀: the surname of the Qing family of Kuaiji was changed in 106 to avoid taboo on the personal name of the father of the new Emperor An.

Qing Chun 慶純 see He Chun 賀純.

Qing Fu 慶輔 see He Fu 賀輔.

Qing Hong 慶鴻; Henan. A local officer in his home city of Luoyang, Qing Hong was a close friend of Lian Fan, and people compared them to Guan Zhong 管仲 and Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙, celebrated comrades of the past. Qing Hong was later Administrator of Langye and of Kuaiji commanderies. -HHS 31/2A:1104.

Qing Niujue 青牛角 [Green Oxhorn]. When Yuan Shao destroyed the bandit groups of the Black Mountains in 193, one of his victims is mentioned with this sobriquet. A similar style had been held earlier by the chieftain Zhang Niujue [Oxhorn Zhang], who died in 185, so the reference to Green Oxhorn in 193 may be an anachronism. -HHS 71/6A:2310, SGZ 6:194, HHS 74/64A:2311.

Qingniu, Master 青牛先生 "Master Green Ox" [Zhengfang 正方]. A man from the east, Master Qingniu came to the region of Chang'an at the end of Han. Expert in astrology and divination by the wind, he left at the time of Cao Cao's invasion in 211, travelling to Hanzhong and then south into Yi province. -SGZ 11:365.

Qing Wu 慶吾 or Qing Yu. An officer of Liu Yong in 28, as Suiyang fell to the forces of Guangwu Qing Wu killed Liu Yong and surrendered. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 12/2:495.

Qing [Zhongliao] 卿仲遼 (d.100). In 100 the governments of Dongping and Qinghe, either side of the Yellow River, reported that a certain Qing Zhongliao

had criticised the court and had as many as a thousand followers. Thanks to Huang Xiang, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, the matter was dealt with leniently and the potential rebels were disbanded; one may assume that Qing Zhongliao himself was executed. -*HHS* 80/70A:2615.

Qingwuzi 青烏子 [Master Qingwu] was an excellent mathematician. -*FSTY* 5f:128.

Qingyang Jing 青陽精 became Commandant of the Capital for the kingdom of Donghai. -*FSTY* 5f:128.

Qingyang Yin 青陽愔 became Administrator of Donghai. -*FSTY* 5f:128.

Qinmu 秦牧 of Jumi [present-day Yutian]. A senior clerical officer of King Chengguo, in 151 Qinmu travelled to the rival state of Yutian [Khotan] and assassinated King Jian in the presence of the Chinese Chief Clerk Wang Jing. -*HHS* 88/78:2916

Qinnijian 覃兒健 (d.80); non-Chinese. A tribesman of the hill county west of Wuling, in winter 78 Qinnijian rebelled, attacking and destroying three counties.

Early in the following year a force of five thousand men was raised from the commanderies of Jing province, together with released convicts from Yingchuan and Runan and four thousand auxiliaries from loyal local tribes. They attacked the rebels, and in the spring of 80 Qinnijian asked to surrender. This was refused, the campaign continued, and the rebels' submission was accepted only after Qinnijian had been killed in battle. -*HHS* 86/76:2832.

Qinzhiben 欽志賁 see Xinzhiben 歆志賁 -*SGZ* 30: 833, 837.

Qiu 仇, the Lady. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore his son Cao Lin 霖. -*SGZ* 20:590.

Qiu 仇 [personal name unknown]; Shang. Having served as a magistrate in two counties, in 162 he was appointed Administrator of Shuofang. He was later honoured with a stele by his local officers. -*LS* 21:12b-13b.

Qiu [Jizhi] 丘季智 [surname also as 邱 or 仇] see Qiu Lingju 丘靈舉.

Qiu Lan 仇覽 also as Qiu Xiang 香 [Jizhi 季智]; Chenliu. When Qiu Lan was young he studied at home and none of his neighbours knew about it. At the age of forty, however, the county appointed him to local office and he became a village headman. He encouraged the people in agriculture, so that there was a splendid supply of fruits and vegetables, chickens and pigs, and when the harvest was in he had the young people

attend school. He also obliged vagabonds to work in the fields and maintained strict punishments according to the law, while he personally assisted with funeral rites and distributed alms to the poor. His reputation and influence spread widely, and he was particularly admired for the manner in which he reformed a certain Chen Yuan after his mother complained about his lack of filial conduct.

Impressed by his resolution of Chen Yuan's case without recourse to punishment, the magistrate Wang Huan appointed Qiu Lan to his senior staff and then arranged for him to attend the Imperial University at Luoyang, where he was taken up by his fellow-countryman Fu Rong and honoured by the great judge of character Guo Tai.

Returning to his home country, Qiu Lan refused offers of appointment from both the commandery and the provincial authorities on grounds of illness, and he continued to be noted for his strong sense of propriety and his personal self-control, even in private. If his wife or his children did something wrong, he took off his cap in self-reproach, and his family would wait outside until he put it back on as a sign that their show of contrition was accepted. All his three sons became talented scholars and historians.

Qiu Lan was later recommended as Sincere and Upright, but he became ill and died. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -*HHS* 76/66: 2479-81*, *XC* 5:4b-5a; Ch'ü 72:308-309 [transcribed as Chou Lan].

Qiu Lingju 丘靈舉 [Jizhi 季智]; Yunzhong. A student at the Imperial University, Qiu Lingju was sponsored by Guo Tai, and became well-known and respected. -*HHS* 68/58:2231, *XC* 4:9b [which has the surname as 仇] and 10b [which writes it as 邱].

Qiu Shen 仇審 [Kongxin 孔信]; Wudu. A local officer of the commandery, about 170 Qiu Shen was involved in the road construction projects of the Administrator Li Yu; in 172 he joined in sponsoring a stele to commemorate the work. -*LS* 4:9b & 12b.

Qiu Sheng 丘騰 (d.144). In 144 Qiu Sheng was Administrator of Jiujiang when a major rebellion led by Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng broke out. Qiu Sheng was found to have governed badly, was sent to prison and died there. -*HHS* 6:275.

Qiu Xi 鄒熙 see Chu Xi.

Qiu Xuan 仇玄; Chenliu. Son of Qiu Lan, Qiu Xuan was a talented scholar and historian and became well

known. -HHS 76/66:2481.

Qiu Zhen 丘禎. About 170 Qiu Zhen was a county magistrate in Yingchuan when the scholar Xu Jing, member of a leading local family, died. Qiu Zhen granted him posthumous title as Master of Profound Conduct 玄行先生 [cf. also *sub* Wang Huai]. -HHS 62/52:2050 citing the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi.

Qiu [Zifang] 求欠方; Shu. About 160 Qiu Zifang was one of a group of local scholars associated with Liu Zong. When Liu Zong held senior office in his commandery and the province, he arranged for Qiu Zifang and three of his colleagues to receive appointment in the imperial bureaucracy. Nothing is known of Qiu Zifang's further career. -HYGZ 10A:134-35.

Qiu Zong 糗宗 was a county magistrate in Jiaozhi. -FSTY 6f:145.

Qiuliju 丘力居; Wuhuan. A chieftain in Liaoxi in the late 160s, with command of five thousand tribal groups, Qiuliju took title as a king.

In 187 Qiuliju joined the rebellion of Zhang Chun. They raised all the Wuhuan on the frontier and sent raiding parties across the frontier region and the northern plain. In the following year they were defeated by Gongsun Zan, and Zhang Chun was assassinated, but Qiuliju regrouped his forces and besieged Gongsun Zan, causing him heavy losses. He continued to be recognised as the senior chieftain of the Wuhuan, and he maintained raiding across the north.

In 190 Qiuliju was persuaded to surrender by the Governor Liu Yu. He died soon afterwards. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 30:834; deC 84:396-401.

Qiulun 丘倫; Xianbi. In 109 Qiulun brought warriors to join the Wuhuan chieftain Wuhe in an attack on Wuyuan. They defeated the commandery forces, but in the following year they were defeated in turn by a major Chinese army under He Xi. Wuhe surrendered and Qiulun withdrew across the frontier. -HHS 90/80:2983; deC 84:390.

Qiwu 綦母 [surname] see Qimu 綦母 *passim*.

Qizhijian 其至鞬; Xianbi. In 120 Qizhijian came with his colleague Wulun and offered their submission to Deng Zun the General on the Liao. Both were granted gifts, Wulun was named a king, and Qizhijian received title as a marquis. Within a few months, however, Deng Zun had been dismissed by Emperor An, and Qizhijian embarked on a series of raids which made him the first great war-leader of his people.

In the autumn of 121 Qizhijian attacked Juyong in Guangyang, by the present-day pass of Bada Ling on the Great Wall north of Beijing. Cheng Yan the Administrator of Yunzhong led commandery troops against him, but was defeated and killed, and the Xianbi then besieged Xu Chang the Protector of the Qiang in Dai commandery. Geng Kui the General on the Liao and Pang Can the Inspector of You province came to the relief. The siege was broken, but the Xianbi thereafter made increasingly successful raids, killed numbers of Chinese officials, and began to assemble war parties with tens of thousands of mounted archers.

In the winter of 122 a raid into Yanmen and Dingxiang struck as far south as Taiyuan, and one year later Qizhijian defeated the Southern Xiongnu in Wuyuan, killing a king and over a thousand men. A further attack into Dai commandery in the autumn of 124 again defeated the Xiongnu and killed another of their kings.

In the autumn of 126 Qizhijian attacked Dai commandery and another Administrator died in battle. The Han now strengthened its border defence forces, bringing the training camp at Liyang forward from Wei commandery into Zhongshan to serve as a mobile reserve [it evidently later reverted to Wei commandery], and increasing the militia and guard posts in You province while arranging specialist training for cross-bowmen. In 127 the Chinese began a series of punitive expeditions, sending Southern Xiongnu and Wuhuan troops out from the frontier. The raids continued, but they were now answered with force and some success, and the Protector Geng Kui played a leading role.

After more than twelve years of this border warfare, Qizhijian died about 133, and a measure of peace was restored. Soon afterwards there were problems with the Qiang and the Xiongnu, but the next major attacks by from the Xianbi came under the leadership of Tanshihuai in the late 150s. -HHS 90/80:2987; deC 84:299-305.

Qizhongliu 齊鍾留; non-Chinese. During the early 30s the Di people of the northwest had been loosely allied to Wei Ao and Gongsun Shu, but after the death of Wei Ao in 33 they transferred allegiance to Han and were awarded seals and insignia.

About 34 Wei Ao's kinsman Wei Mao raised a rebellion in Wudu and killed the Han Administrator. Qizhongliu, a senior chieftain of the Di, influenced his fellows to remain true to the Han, and they joined the

Commandery Assistant Kong Fan to attack and destroy Wei Mao. -HHS 86/76:2859-60; Bn 59:180.

Qu 區 [surname] see Ou 區 *passim*.

Qu [Boyan] 屈伯彥; Henan. A noted scholar of the *Chunqiu*, about 150 he was the teacher of Guo Tai. -HHS 68/58:2225.

Qu Chong 屈充 also as Fang Chong 房充. In 29 Qu Chong was a lieutenant-general under the imperial commander of the south, Cen Peng. Having driven Tian Rong the warlord of Nan commandery away to refuge with Gongsun Shu, Cen Peng established himself on the middle Yangzi and sent letters to the administrators of the southern commanderies of Jing province. He also sent Qu Chong with a formal call to arms. The administrators duly swore allegiance and sent tribute to Han. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:157.

Qu Gong 瞿恭 (d.200); Runan. A local bandit, he and his group were destroyed by Li Tong, who sent his head to Cao Cao. -SGZ 18:535.

Qu Lan 巨覽 see Ju Lan 巨覽.

Qu Mao 瞿茂. *FSTY* 16f:147 says that Qu Mao became Administrator of Han'an commandery. That territory was established in 189, but lasted only for a short period.

Qu Mou 瞿茂 see Qu Mao 瞿茂.

Qu Mu 渠穆 (d.189). A eunuch, in 189 Qu Mu was an officer of the palace workshops 尚方. On 22 September he joined the group which waylaid the General-in-Chief He Jin. It was Qu Mu who cut off He Jin's head, and he was surely killed in the massacre which followed. -HHS 69/59:2251.

Qu Sheng 麴勝; Jincheng. At the time of the Liang province rebellion in the 180s, Qu Sheng killed the magistrate Liu Jun in Wuwei. In revenge, the county officer Zhang Xiu killed Qu Sheng. -SGZ 8:262.

Qu Shengqing 麴聖卿; Henan. A magician, Qu Shengqing had the ability to prepare spells written in cinnabar 丹 which gave power over the spirits. -HHS 82/72B:2759; Ngo 76:140, DeWoskin 83:87.

Qu Yan 麴演; Xiping/Jincheng. A local leader in the Xining valley, the western part of Jincheng, in 215 Qu Yan, Jiang Shi and others sent Han Sui's head to Cao Cao as a sign of submission. It is not certain whether they killed him, or simply took advantage of his death from old age. See also *sub* Han Sui, where other accounts are cited.

While paying nominal allegiance, Qu Yan maintained an effective independence until 220, when Zou

Qi was sent as Inspector of the newly restored Liang province. Qu Yan and the other leaders refused to receive him, but the general Su Ze attacked, captured Qu Yan and executed him. -SGZ 1:45, 16:491-92.

Qu Yi 麴義. An officer under Han Fu in 191, Qu Yi rebelled and helped Yuan Shao take over Ji province. Later that year he defeated the Xiongnu Yufuluo south of Ye city and drove him away.

In 192 Qu Yi commanded a small advance guard which faced and defeated Gongsun Zan at Jie Bridge, and in 195 he led a force to destroy Gongsun Zan's power in the northeast.

Relying upon these achievements, Qu Yi became insubordinate and Yuan Shao then killed him and took over his troops. -HHS 74/64A:2377-82, SGZ 8:243; deC 96:89.

Qu Yu 屈豫; Kuaiji. An Assistant Officer of Yang province in 195, Qu Yu received the refugee scholar Huan Ye/Yan, who foretold dangers when oranges fell from a tree in his courtyard. -HHS 37/27:1260, XC 2:2a.

Qu Yu 曲庾; Ba. Registrar of the commandery, Qu Yu was celebrated for his loyalty. -HYGZ 12:220.

Qu Zheng 蘧政 (d.139?). In 139 Qu Zheng was a eunuch Regular Attendant. Concerned at the growing power of the Liang family, he joined Zhang Kui and others in claiming that the father of the empress Liang Shang, together with their rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben, planned to bring princes of the imperial house to the capital and choose a replacement for the emperor. Though Emperor Shun doubted the story, Qu Zheng and his associates issued unauthorised instructions that Cao Teng and Meng Ben should be arrested and held within the palace.

The emperor was furious. He ordered the eunuch Li Xi to release the prisoners and arrest the conspirators. They all died in prison. -HHS 6:268, 43/24:1176, 101/1A:3245 [which last, however, says that some of the accused committed suicide, while others were able to escape].

Quan Cheng 圈稱 see Juan Cheng 圈稱.

Quan Cong 全琮 see Quan Zong 全琮.

Quan Rou 全柔; Wu. A man of local family, during the 180s Quan Rou was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and held a junior post in the Imperial Secretariat. As Dong Zhuo took power Quan Rou returned home, where he held appointment at provincial headquarters and was then Commandant of the east of Kuaiji. During

a time of famine he did some trading in grain.

When Sun Ce arrived in 197, Quan Rou joined him and was made Commandant of Danyang. He was later Chief Clerk to Sun Quan and then Administrator of Guiyang. -SGZ Wu 15:1381.

Quan Zong 全宗 [Ziheng 子璜] (d.247); Wu. Son of Quan Rou, as a young man Quan Zong became known for his patronage of refugees from the north, providing them with food and shelter and gathering their support. Appointed a colonel by Sun Quan to attack the people of the hills, he recruited a considerable force and was promoted lieutenant-general.

In 219, as Guan Yu was striking against the Wei north up the Han towards Xiangyang, Quan Zong urged Sun Quan to take him from behind. Such a plan had in fact already been made, and it was carried out by Lü Meng. Quan Zong therefore received no immediate reply to his proposal, but at the victory feast afterwards Sun Quan acknowledged his advice and rewarded him with enfeoffment.

Taking a leading part in the defence of the lower Yangzi against Cao Pi in 222, Quan Zong was made a full general, and in 225 he was named Administrator of Jiujiang. In 228 he was appointed to the temporary commandery of Dong'an, and colonised the hills people about the Zhe River and Huang Shan.

As Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 Quan Zong was named General of the Guards and Governor of Xu province, and was given the emperor's eldest daughter, the Lady Sun Luban 魯班, as his wife. He held high military command with varying success, while his influence and that of his family at court was not always beneficial. -SGZ Wu 15:1381-83*; Mather 76:518.

Qubei 去卑 see Qubi 去卑.

Qubi 去卑; Xiongnu. In 195, when Huchuan, younger son of the late Southern Shanyu Qiangqu, took the nominal title after the death of his brother Yufuluo, Qubi was Worthy King of the Right and held a dominant role in the exile regime. At the end of the year, as Emperor Xian came east on his flight from Chang'an, Qubi led a force of Xiongnu to assist him. With Han Xian and other leaders of the Bobo bandit group they assisted the imperial troops to defeat Liu Jue and Guo Si in Hongnong, and though they were badly beaten in a subsequent encounter the emperor was able to escape over the Yellow River into Hedong. As Cao Cao took Emperor Xian under his control in Xu

city, Qubi returned to the shadow court at Pingyang, on the Fen River in northern Hedong.

In 216 Huchuan went to Cao Cao's city of Ye, where he was held as an honoured prisoner; when he died no Shanyu was named to succeed him. At the same time Cao Cao divided the remnant Xiongnu state into five regions under the overall supervision of Qubi, based at Pingyang. His territory, however, was now restricted largely to the valley of the Fen, with a nominal Northern Region 北部 extending over the old Bing province of Han, now effectively abandoned. -HHS 89/79:2965, 72/62:2340, SGZ 1:47; deC 84:349-354.

XTS 75B:3437 says that Qubi was descended from a captured Chinese general, but the story is doubtful: see *sub* Liu Jinbo.

Que Jian 卻儉 (d.188); Henan. A favourite of Emperor Ling, in 178 Que Jian was cited in a memorial by the Confucianist Yang Ci as a man who had received favour well above his true quality.

In 188 Que Jian was Inspector of Yi Province, where his excessive demands for taxes and service caused unrest. When news of this reached the court, Emperor Ling sent the minister Liu Yan to take over as Governor of the province and ordered Que Jian back to the capital for punishment. Before Liu Yan arrived, an army of rebels led by Ma Xiang and Zhao Zhi captured the provincial headquarters at Luo city in Guanghan and killed Que Jian. -HHS 54/44:1780:75/65:2431-32, SGZ Shu 1:865-66, HYGZ 5:70, 10A:170; deC 89:146, 205-206.

The form of the surname of this man appears variously also in the texts as 卻 Xi, 郗 Qie, or 郗 Xi/Chi, but the biography of his grandson Que Zheng in SGZ Shu 12:1033 confirms the reading 卻 Que. There is some confusion also with the third-century magician known as Xi Jian 郗儉, probably the same man as Hao Mengjie 郝孟節 *q.v.*

Que Yi 卻揖 [on other forms of the surname see *sub* Que Jian above]; Henan. Son of Que Jian, he accompanied his father into Yi province, and stayed there even after his death, as it appeared safer than the rest of the empire.

As camp commandant to Meng Da, general of Liu Bei, Que Yi accompanied him when he surrendered to Cao Pi in 220. He was appointed to senior clerical office, but died soon afterwards.

Que Yi's son Zuan 纂 remained in Shu-Han,

changing his personal name to Zheng 正 on his father's death. He became a high-ranking scholar-official. - *SGZ* Shu 12:1034.

Que Xu 闕栩 became Inspector of Jing province. - *FSTY* 6f:147.

Que Xuan 闕宣 (d.193); Xiapi. In the early 190s Que Xuan commanded a local army in Xu province, probably with the tolerance of Governor Tao Qian, who permitted him to raid neighbouring Yan. In 193, however, under the inspiration of a prophecy, Que Xuan took the imperial title. Tao Qian then killed him and took over his troops. -*HHS* 9:374, 73/63:2367 [where the surname appears as Yan 閻], *SGZ* 1:10, 8:248; deC 96:117.

Queji 闕機; Xianbi. A commander in the eastern region under Tanshihuai in the 170s, Queji was later independent beyond the frontier. In 205 Yan Rou persuaded him to turn to Cao Cao; he established tribute and trading relations and was enfeoffed as a king. -*SGZ* 30:838-40.

Queju 闕居; Xianbi. Possibly a kinsman of Queji above, Queju was a commander in the central region under Tanshihuai in the 170s. -*SGZ* 30:838.

Quhou Yu 屈侯豫 was a gentleman cadet, possibly under Former Han. -*FSTY* 5f:126.

Quyan 去延; Wuhuan. In 132 the Protector Geng Ye sent Quyan under the command of Rongzhuhui on a raiding party against the Xianbi. They were successful, returning with many heads; Quyan and others were granted titles by the Han court. -*SGZ* 30:833; deC 84:391.

R

Ran Wen 然溫; Ba. Ran Wen served as General on the Liao and as Administrator of Guiyang. -*HYGZ* 12:219.

Rao Bin 饒斌 became Administrator of Yuyang. - *FSTY* 6f:149.

Rao Zhu 饒助; Wu. About 212 a no-man's land was developing along the Yangzi between armies of Cao Cao and the southern warlord Sun Quan. Sun Yu the Administrator of Danyang sent his officers Rao Zhu and Yan Lian to act as magistrates of counties in Lujiang, just north of the Yangzi, and they attracted many people from the territory that Cao Cao controlled. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1206.

Raolong Zong 擾龍宗. A member of the Imperial Censorate in the early 190s, Raolong Zong went to make a report to the warlord Chancellor Dong Zhuo, but failed to take off his sword. Dong Zhuo killed him. -*SGZ* 7:175.

Ren ren, the Lady I; Beidi. The wife of Feng Yan 馮衍, she was impatient and excitable, treated the women of the household badly and obliged her son and daughter to do the work. Eventually Feng Yan sent her away.

Angered by this, the Lady attempted to kill their son Feng Bao. He escaped, however, and made no accusation against her, claiming only that she was ill. He was surely correct. -*HHS* 28/18B:1002-04.

Ren ren, the Lady II; Pei. A woman of good family, the Lady was known for her beauty. She became a concubine of Cao Pi when he was young, but after he had taken the Lady Zhen in 204, he found her aggressive and irritating. Though the Lady Zhen pleaded for her, he sent the Lady Ren away. -*SGZ* 5:160; C/C 99.98.

Ren ren 仁 of Yutian [Khotan]. Younger brother of the new King Guangde, in 60 Ren was named a marquis and sent with an army against the former hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand]. Xian claimed kinship with him, and obtained a short-lived truce. -*HHS* 88/78:2925.

Ren An 任安 [Dingzu 定祖] (148-219); Guanghan. As a young man Ren An attended the University at Luoyang, where he and his fellow-countryman Dong Fu acquired a considerable reputation. They studied divination and the apocrypha under Yan Hou/Xu, and Ren An specialised in the Meng interpretation of the *Book of Changes*.

After they returned home the two men maintained private academies which attracted students from near and far. Ren An was invited to join the staff of his commandery and of the province, he was nominated as a candidate by both offices, and the Governor Liu Yan sent a memorial describing him as worthy of the highest rank. A carriage was sent to bring Ren An to the capital, but he would not accept. He died without holding office, and his students erected a stele in his honour.

Later, Zhuge Liang asked Qin Mi of Guanghan to compare Ren An and Dong Fu. Qin Mi replied that while Dong Fu would praise anything good but criticise the smallest fault, Ren An considered men's best qualities and ignored their faults. -*HHS* 79/69A:2551*, *HYGZ* 10B:147, *SGZ* Shu 8:972.

Ren An 任安, mother of: see the Lady Yao 姚.

Ren [Boyang] 任伯陽; Nanyang. A former Administrator of Shangdang, in 156 Ren Boyang was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16a.

Ren Chong 任崇. As a General of the Household in 172, Ren Chong was sent with authority to award posthumous honours as Grand Tutor and insignia as a marquis to the late official Hu Guang. -*Cai* 4:1.

Ren Chuo 任遼 or Ren Zhuo. In 115 there was a rebellion amongst the non-Chinese tribes of Cangwu, and in the following year the insurgents induced several thousand non-Chinese and Han people from the neighbouring commanderies of Yulin and Hepu to join them. The regent Dowager Deng sent the Imperial Clerk Ren Chuo to attack them, but also provided him with an edict of amnesty. The rebels agreed to submit. -*HHS* 5:225, 86/76:2837.

Ren Fan 任藩. A senior member of Cao Cao's personal staff, in 213 Ren Fan was one of the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -*SGZ* 1:40.

Ren Fang 任方. When Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, was appointed as Heir in 120, members of his suite wore caps with two bridges 梁 [loops from front to back], which had traditionally been the privilege of senior officials. As an Imperial Clerk, officer of the Censorate, Ren Fang objected to this breach of protocol and urged that the new style should be used only in the presence of the emperor. Chen Zhong of the Secretariat, however, spoke against such a restriction, and Emperor An accepted the change. -*HHS* 120/30:2670; MBeck 90:259. [It is most unlikely that this is the attempted assassin described below.]

Ren Fang 任防; Henan. A local officer responsible for water control, in 135 Ren Fang was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -*SJZ* 16:14b. [It is unlikely this is the same man as in the entry above, but possible that he is the official described as Wang Fang 王防 *q.v.*]

Ren Fang 任防 [Wenshi 文始] see Wang Fang 王防, but also Ren Fang of Henan above.

Ren Fang 任方. In 160 Shan Kuang the Administrator of Jiyin was under investigation from Wei Yu the Assistant Officer of Yan province. He sent Ren Fang to kill Wei Yu. Wei Yi arrested Ren Fang and sent him to the capital, but he was able to dig a tunnel and make

his escape. -*HHS* 41/31A:1404, 54/44:1771. [It is most unlikely this is the Imperial Clerk described above.]

Ren Fang 任昉/方 [Wenshi 文始]; Shu. Son of Ren Xun, Ren Fang became a magistrate in Nanyang. He brought many criminals to order there, and was promoted to be Chancellor of Liang. During the 150s Ren Fang was Director of the Secretariat, but the General-in-Chief Liang Ji was concerned that he was too honest. He had Ren Fang sent out to Wei commandery and then to Pingyuan; in each place his government was prosperous.

After the fall of the Liang in 159 Ren Fang returned as Director of the Secretariat, and he was later Director of Retainers and Minister of Finance. He died in that last office. -*HYGZ* 10A:134. *HYGZ* 11:136 refers to a Minister of Finance in Later Han named Ren Fang 方; surely the same man.

Ren Fu 任福. A colonel in the Northern Army with enfeoffment as a secondary marquis, in 220 Ren Fu was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. In 225 he was sent to put down a mutiny in Xu province. -*SGZ* 2:85, *LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:197, Fang 52:185.

Ren Gu 任覈 or Ren Jia [Chaoguang 昭光]; Le'an. A favoured student of Zheng Xuan, Ren Gu became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates at the court of Wei. -*HHS* 35/25:1212.

Ren Guang 任光 [Boqing 伯卿] (d.29); Nanyang. An enthusiast for the doctrines of Huang-Lao, as a young man Ren Guang became known for his loyalty and generosity. He was admired by the local people, became head of the district and then a junior officer in Wan, chief county of the commandery. As the rebel armies of Han captured Wan city in 23, one of the soldiers saw Ren Guang's fine costume. He forced him to strip and was going to kill him and take his clothing, but at that moment Liu Ci, Minister of the Household to the Gengshi Emperor, came upon the scene. Admiring Ren Guang's courageous bearing, he saved his life.

Ren Guang then brought his followers to Liu Ci and became his client. First appointed as an adjutant responsible for discipline, then a lieutenant-general, he served under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. [It is said that he took part in the defeat of Wang Xun and Wang Yi, but since that battle took place at Kunyang in Yingchuan just three days after the fall of Wan, that does not seem possible.] When the Gengshi Emperor

established his government at Luoyang Ren Guang was named Administrator of Xindu.

In the winter at the end of 23, as the pretender Wang Lang took the imperial title at Handan, the greater part of the region accepted his claim but Ren Guang refused to do so. He persuaded his officers and the people to hold the city of Xindu for Han, and when an officer of Wang Lang came with a summons, Ren Guang had him executed in the market-place.

Liu Xiu, at that time commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor, had been trapped in the north by Wang Lang's initial success, but in the spring of 24 he made his way south with a few companions and was welcomed by Ren Guang and his officers. They collected a force of some four thousand trained men, reinforced by two contingents of cavalry brought by Pi Tong, but Liu Xiu was uncertain whether he should face Wang Lang, retire to Chang'an, or even join the bandit leaders Yuan Zeng and Li Zidu.

Pi Tong argued the importance of holding the north for Han, however, while Ren Guang suggested that further troops could be raised from neighbouring cities, particularly if they were threatened with sack. So Liu Xiu resolved to take the offensive. He appointed Ren Guang Chief General on the Left, enfeoffed him as a marquis of title and sent him to raise troops.

Claiming support from Yuan Zeng and Li Zidu, Ren Guang acquired a substantial number of men in Julu, and joined the attack on the capital of that commandery, held by Wang Lang's troops. In riposte, Wang Lang sent a detachment which captured Xindu by treachery, and as Ren Guang was sent back to retrieve the situation, his troops deserted and went over to the enemy. He returned empty-handed, but reinforcements from Chang'an, led by the Gengshi Emperor's general Xie Gong, attacked and recaptured Xindu city.

By summer Wang Lang's capital had fallen, Wang Lang was dead, and Ren Guang returned as Administrator to Xindu. His loyal support had been of critical importance to Liu Xiu, and the victory against Wang Lang prepared the ground for his claim to the restored empire of Han. Later in 24 Ren Guang received a substantive marquisate, with a county fief in Zhuo commandery and revenue from 10,000 households. In 29 he was called to the capital and granted the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. He died in the winter of that year.

Recognising Ren Guang as one of the great

assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 21/11:751-52*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:83.

Ren Guang 任光; Kuaiji. Formerly Registrar of the commandery, in the early 190s Ren Guang was listed by Yu Fan among those who had risked their lives in battle to protect their Administrator. -*SGZ* Wu 12: 1325.

Ren Gui 任貴 (d.43); Yuexi. A non-Chinese chieftain, Ren Gui was appointed as a local military officer by Mei Gen, Administrator of Yuexi for Wang Mang. In 24, after the fall of Wang Mang in the previous year, Ren Gui led his people to kill Mei Gen and take over the commandery. He styled himself King of Qionggou 邛穀, with his capital at Qionggou 邛都, present-day Xichang in Sichuan.

In 25 Ren Gui recognised the authority of Gongsun Shu, who had taken a royal title in Shu. In 35, as the Han army commanded by Cen Peng moved up the Yangzi and the Min River towards Chengdu, Ren Gui offered his submission. The local alliance, and security on the southern flank of the attack, was valuable and, although it formally broke the principle of Emperor Gao, that only members of the Liu clan should be made kings, Guangwu confirmed Ren Gui in his royal title.

In 38 Ren Gui was persuaded to send in a three-year report like a regular official, received insignia as Administrator of Yuexi and ceased to be recognised as a king. Formally, while he still governed the territory, he could now be dismissed or transferred like any Chinese.

In 43 the imperial general Liu Shang came south from Chengdu on his way to settle a rebellion in Yizhou commandery. It is said Ren Gui was afraid his position would be affected by this real expansion of imperial power, so he conspired with other local chieftains to offer poisoned wine to the Han troops, then attack the survivors. This may be no more than an accusation to justify what followed, for Liu Shang made a surprise attack on Ren Gui at Qionggou city, executed him and sent his family and household to Chengdu. -*HS* 95: 3846, *HHS* 86/76:2853, 13/3:536, *HYGZ* 3,42; Bn 59: 60, 107, 193, Bn 67:61-67.

HHS 86/76 refers to this man as Zhang or Chang Gui 長貴, the former pronunciation indicating a chief

or headman.

HS 96:3846 says that Ren Gui was executed after the fall of Wang Mang, but this seems unduly summary. *HYGZ* 3:42 refers to Ren Gui as Administrator of Tianshui under Wang Mang, but this appears most unlikely. -*QHX*:459.

Ren Hui 任恢; Ba. Younger brother of Ren Man, about 30 Ren Hui was Grand Commandant in the claimant imperial government of Gongsun Shu. -*HYGZ* 5:68.

Ren Jia 任嘉; Shu. When Ren Jia was a child his father Ren Sheng travelled to study in Hanzhong. There were troubled times, however, and bandits blocked the roads, so he was unable to return. He migrated instead to Changsha, where he became a commandery officer.

For his part, Ren Jia received commissioned office and was made Administrator of Changsha. His mother went with him, and when she saw Ren Sheng she recognised him and arranged the reunion of father and son. -*FSTY* 3f:104.

Ren Jia 任嘉; Shu. Appointed as Administrator of Changsha, Ren Jia found that his long-lost father Ren Teng was a local officer of the commandery. -*FSTY* 3f:104.

Ren Jia 任嘉. During the time of Emperor Shun, Ren Jia was a county magistrate in Runan. Though corrupt and extortionate, he was favourably recommended by several senior officials and became Administrator of Wuwei. When he was later impeached and sent to prison, the Palace Attendant Yang Lun attempted to have the men who had supported him in the past held responsible for their bad judgement. -*HHS* 79/69A: 2564.

Ren Jia 任赧 see Ren Gu 任赧.

Ren Jun 任峻 [Shugao 叔高]; Bohai. About 140 Ren Jun was transferred from a county magistracy in Beihai to be Prefect of Luoyang. Using the best qualities of his local officers, he governed so effectively that wrong-doers abandoned the territory and in a whole year there were only a few dozen executions – one may contemplate the numbers involved in normal times and in other jurisdictions. Though not so cultured, his administration was compared to that of his great predecessor Wang Huan.

Ren Jun later became Administrator of Taishan. -*HHS* 76/66:2470.

Ren Jun 任顗 (d.142). In 142 Ren Jun was a county magistrate in Zuopingyi when rebel Qiang raided the region about Chang'an. Ren Jun attacked them, but

was killed. -*HHS* 87/77:2896.

Ren Jun 任峻 [Boda 伯達] (d.204); Henan. In 190, as armies gathered from the east of the empire to attack Dong Zhuo in Luoyang, Ren Jun's home county of Zhongmou, in the east of Henan, was on the main line of their natural advance. Frightened at the prospect, the magistrate Yang Yuan planned to abandon his office and flee, but Ren Jun persuaded him to take control of the neighbouring countries and raise troops. Yang Yuan therefore appointed Ren Jun as his Registrar and Ren Jun proclaimed Yang Yuan as Acting Intendant of Henan.

Soon afterwards, as Cao Cao came on a sortie from the east, there was uncertainty as to how he should be received, but Ren Jun and his associate Zhang Fen arranged for the territory to accede to him, and Ren Jun brought several hundred of his own kinsmen and followers to join him. Cao Cao was then defeated at Rongyang, further to the west, and was obliged to retreat. He was nonetheless grateful for Ren Jun's support, appointed him as a Commandant of Cavalry, and had him take one of his cousins to wife. Yang Yuan and Zhang Fen are not heard of again.

When Cao Cao went on campaign Ren Jun would remain at base to organise the supply of the army. As there was constant shortage of food, about 196 the General of the Household Zao Zhi proposed the establishment of agricultural colonies in the region of Cao Cao's capital at Xu city, and this was done. Zao Zhi was appointed Commandant of the Colonies and Ren Jun became Commissioner for Agriculture, evidently with broader, supervisory authority. The experiment was successful, so that Cao Cao was able to rely upon regular supplies and stock-piles of grain. The program was later extended in several areas under Cao Cao's control, and notably on the frontier against Sun Quan along the Huai after 200 [see *sub* Liu Fu].

During the fighting against Yuan Shao about Guandu in 199 and 200, Ren Jun was responsible for the transport of supplies. The enemy sent raids against the approach roads, but Ren Jun established a system of convoys over several different routes, each guarded by camps and pickets. The raiding parties could not get close, and the provision of supplies was a decisive factor in Cao Cao's victory.

Ren Jun was rewarded with enfeoffment and was appointed Colonel of the Chang River Regiment, formerly a position in the Northern Army but now

effectively an honorary post. Generous to poor people, he was valued for his honest advice, and when he died in 204 Cao Cao mourned him deeply. The marquise was ended after the death of his eldest son Xian, but Cao Pi later recognised Ren Jun's contribution once more by the grant of another, albeit lesser, fief to his second son Lan. -SGZ 16:489-90*, JS 26:783-84; Yang 63:163, Hsü 80:319, deC 96:204-205.

Ren Kai 任愷; Nanyang. Son of Ren Yan, Ren Kai became Minister of Ceremonies. -HHS 76/66:2463.

Ren Kai 任愷 [Wenti 文悌]; Shu. Younger son of Ren Xun, Ren Kai was an effective Inspector of Xu province. -HYGZ 10A:134, 12:212.

Ren Kui 任夔 (d.218). An officer of Liu Bei, Ren Kui went with the army commanded by Wu Lan and Lei Tong into Wudu in 218, but was killed on that campaign. -SGZ 1:51.

Ren Kui 任隗 see Ren Wei 任隗.

Ren Lan 任覽; Henan. Second son of Ren Jun, he was a friend of Wei Feng, but was warned against him by Zheng Mao. In 219 Wei Feng raised a conspiracy and was executed.

Ren Lan's father Ren Jun had been enfeoffed by Cao Cao about 200, but the marquise was ended after the death of his eldest son and successor Ren Xian. When Cao Pi succeeded to the throne in 220, however, he recalled Ren Jun's achievements and recognised them again by the grant of a secondary fief to Ren Lan. -JS 44:1249, SGZ 16:490.

Ren Leng 任陵 see Ren Ling 任陵.

Ren Liang 任良; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Ren Liang became warlord of his home county. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu.

In the summer of 27, as Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi came into the territory, Ren Liang joined the *condottiere* Yan Cen to attack him. Their army was defeated, and Ren Liang surrendered to Han. -HHS 17/7:647.

Ren Ling 任陵. Prefect of Luoyang in the early 90s, he sold a bamboo plantation to his fellow-countryman Wang Tiao the Intendant of Henan. -HHS 43/33:1479.

Ren Man 任滿 (d.35); Ba. A general of Gongsun Shu, in the middle 20s Ren Man was based at Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, the rear defence of the Yangzi

Gorges. He was later named Excellency over the Masses in Gongsun Shu's imperial government, and in 30 he raided Nan commandery.

In 33 Ren Man accompanied the force led by Tian Rong which attacked down the Yangzi. They occupied part of Nan, but made no further move to expand their holdings, and the position was that of an advanced defence line rather than a salient which might become the basis of a further offensive.

In the summer of 35, the Han general Cen Peng attacked Tian Rong's river defences. As his ships broke through, Gongsun Shu's forces were destroyed, and Ren Man's officer Wang Zheng took his head and went to surrender to Han. -HHS 13/3:534, 542, HYGZ 5:68; Bn 59:188-189.

Ren Min 任敏. An Academician in the time of Emperor Ming, Ren Min persuaded a court conference that the official Wang Shuhan did not deserve punishment for having taken leave when he mistakenly believed his father had died. -FSTY 3f:106.

Ren Mo 任末 [Shuben 叔本]; Shu. Initially a private scholar, while he was still a young man Ren Mo travelled to the University at Luoyang to study the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Qi. After he had been there ten years, his friend and fellow-student Dong Fengde died, and Ren Mo took his body in a hand-cart back to his home country for burial.

Ren Mo became known for this good deed, and he was invited to become Officer of Merit in his commandery. He declined on grounds of ill health, but taught a number of private students, including Jing Luan.

Ren Mo later went to attend the funeral of his former teacher, but he was himself taken ill and died on the road. He said to his nephew Ren Zao, "Take my body to my master's house. If the dead have consciousness then our spirits will be content; if they are not conscious there will be no harm done." -HHS 79/69B:2572*, HYGZ 10A:137.

Ren Pu 任浦. When Ren Pu was Administrator of Wudu, the commandery was so well governed that items left on the road were not picked up. -HQ 2:6a.

Ren Qi 任岐 (d.191); Shu. In 191 Ren Qi was Administrator of Jianwei. As Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province made himself independent of the court of Han, Ren Qi took title as a general and led troops against him. He attacked Liu Yan's capital of Luo in

Guanghan and burned the lower city, but was then driven back, defeated and killed.

The texts disagree whether Ren Qi acted in close alliance with the loyalist Jia Long, who also made an attack on Liu Yan about this time. -*HHS* 75/65:2432, *SGZ* Shu 1:867, *HYGZ* 5:70.

Ren Qian 任僉. In 123 Ren Qian was a senior officer under the Minister Herald. During a general debate at the court of Emperor An on a proposal to change the calendar, he joined the Academician Huang Guang in arguing for a return to a system of calculating lunar eclipses based upon the course of the moon, which had been used in the past. Zhou Xing and Zhang Heng, however, argued that the current system was the most accurate, others supported them, and no change was made. -*HHS* 92/2:3034 and see *sub* Zhou Xing.

Ren Ren 任仁 (d.110); Beidi? In the spring of 109 the imperial government sent Ren Ren as Commandant of Cavalry, with commandery militia and garrison troops, to assist the local commander Ren Shang against the rebel Xianlian Qiang in the Wei valley. He gained no success, he was consistently defeated, and in the following year his troops mutinied. Though the trouble was swiftly put down, Ren Ren was arrested and sent in a cage cart to Luoyang, where he died in prison. It is possible Ren Ren was a kinsman of his colleague Ren Shang. -*HHS* 5:212, 216, 87/77:2887; *deC* 84:97-100.

Ren Shang 任尚 (d.118); Beidi? There is no record of Ren Shang's place of origin, but it is probable that he was a member of the Ren clan of Beidi: see *sub* Ren Yu.

In the spring of 89 Ren Shang was Chief Clerk to the Protector of the Qiang Deng Xun, who had been appointed to deal with the rebel leader Mitang and had driven him and his followers from their homelands on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. As Mitang and his people tried to return Deng Xun sent Ren Shang with six thousand non-Chinese auxiliaries. Crossing the Yellow River in boats of hide sewn over a framework of bamboo, Ren Shang and his men attacked the Qiang settlements. They killed great numbers of the rebels, and drove them north into the hills of the upper Xining valley and the Koko Nor. Mitang attempted a counter-attack, but was again defeated with heavy losses in men killed and captured, and over three thousand animals taken. Exhausted, he abandoned the field and retired with the remnants of his followers far to the west.

As a major under the colonel Geng Kui in 91, Ren

Shang took part in the final assault sent by Dou Xian against the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu. In 92 the new claimant Shanyu Yuchujian, based at Yiwu near present-day Hami in Xinjiang, surrendered, and Ren Shang went with the Emissary Geng Kui to supervise him at his capital. When Emperor He destroyed Dou Xian later that year, Geng Kui was dismissed and Ren Shang took his place as Emissary.

In the autumn of 93 the Shanyu sought to escape to the north. Ren Shang chased him and persuaded him to return, but on the way back Yuchujian died, very possibly by force. There was no further attempt to establish a puppet state for the remnant Northern Xiongnu, and Ren Shang became Protector of the Wuhuan. In the winter of 94 he led Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries to join the army of Deng Hong against the renegade Fenghou. With a combined force of eight thousand horsemen, he ambushed Fenghou and heavily defeated him, but the main body of the enemy escaped across the frontier and the imperial army abandoned the pursuit.

Ren Shang later served as Wu and Ji Colonel in the Western Regions under the Protector-General Ban Chao, and when Ban Chao retired in 102 he had Ren Shang succeed him. Ban Chao's biography claims that he advised Ren Shang to deal cautiously and tolerantly with the people of central Asia, but Ren Shang ignored his advice. The Chinese position in these distant territories was in any event tenuous, and in the autumn of 106, following the death of Emperor He, there was a general rising. Besieged at Shule [Kashgar], Ren Shang asked for help. Liang Qin, newly appointed as Senior Colonel, was sent with five thousand horsemen raised from Qiang and other non-Chinese peoples of the Gansu corridor, but the siege was broken before they arrived.

Ren Shang was replaced by his Commandant of Cavalry Duan Xi, but the troubles continued and worsened, and in the summer of 107 the government of the regent Dowager Deng gave orders to abandon the imperial position in the Western Regions. Such a retreat still required a major military presence, and when the Commandant of Cavalry Wang Hong called up more men from the Qiang, there was a major uprising throughout Liang province. By the winter of 107 the chieftain Dianlian of the Xianlian tribe had gathered a force which cut the Long Road leading to the west, and the Dowager's brother Deng Zhi was sent

with a great army to deal with him.

Ren Shang accompanied Deng Zhi with rank as a colonel. The army was numerous and nominally powerful, but most of the men came from inner commanderies of the empire and were unskilled in war, while even the elite regiments of the Northern Army were at that time of poor standard. Deng Zhi's troops had serious problems of competence and morale.

Early in 108 the Qiang drove in the imperial advance posts in Hanyang and several months of inactivity followed. In the winter Deng Zhi sent Ren Shang to attack Dianlian with a force of commandery militia, but he was heavily defeated and lost eight thousand men. Deng Zhi was promptly recalled to the capital, while Ren Shang was left to hold the line in the Wei valley as best he could; he was granted a junior fief with revenue from three hundred families.

The situation continued to deteriorate, for the raids of the Qiang extended northeast to the edge of the North China plain, and rebellion broke out among the Xiongnu. In 110 Ren Shang was ordered to withdraw to defend Chang'an, the conscripts from inner China were sent back to their homes and two camps, the Tiger Tooth and the Camp at Yong, were established to train new troops. In the following spring Ren Shang was dismissed for lack of success, though it appears that the problem was due rather to the poor quality of his men than to his failings as a commander.

Later in 111 Ren Shang was again sent out, this time as an Imperial Clerk, and he defeated a raiding party of the Qiang as they came south through the mountains from Shangdang. The enemy lost only two hundred men, so it was not a major victory, but the situation was now regarded as secure enough to disband the garrison camp at the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River, which had been set up to protect the capital from the north.

In 112 Ren Shang was again dismissed, but three years later he was recalled to face the Qiang, this time with title as a General of the Household and Intendant of Jingzhao, commanding troops from the Northern Army which had been gathered about Chang'an. A recent offensive had captured the rebel base in Beidi, but the Chinese leaders then quarrelled and were heavily defeated. Rather than continue such direct strategy, Ren Shang, advised by the official Yu Xu, obtained imperial permission to dismiss his conscript infantry and use their scutage to equip a force of light-

armed cavalry. Towards the end of the year he led a raiding party of these new troops against the renegade Du Jigong, killing four hundred of the enemy and capturing several thousand head of cattle, horses and sheep.

As the Chinese position in present-day Shanxi was now largely restored, Ren Shang constructed a line of fortifications north of Zuopingyi, to guard his flank as he sent further raids into Beidi. In the summer the General on the Liao Deng Zun brought Xiongnu allies south against the Qiang leader Lianchang, and in the winter Ren Shang sent another expedition which destroyed Lianchang's headquarters, killed seven hundred men, seized his insignia, captured his wife and children and took twenty thousand herding animals.

In 117 Ren Shang sent turncoat Qiang to assassinate Du Jigong and Lianchang, and that winter, in a final assault, he led commandery militia to join the Protector Ma Xian and defeat the last major leader, Langmo, at Fuping in Beidi, on the Yellow River by present-day Qingyang in eastern Gansu. Five thousand enemy were killed, a hundred thousand head of stock were taken, while a thousand slaves, presumably Chinese, were rescued and released.

With this victory, the great rebellion was effectively ended, and after Deng Zun had arranged the assassination of Langmo, little else remained but to mop up. At the end of the following year, however, Ren Shang was accused of having exaggerated his success while acquiring a fortune of ten million cash through embezzlement, bribery and extortion. He was arrested and brought back to the capital in a cage cart. Deng Zhi and others of his clan sought to protect him, supported by the Excellencies Ma Ying and Li He, but their colleague Liu Kai pressed the charges. Ren Shang suffered public execution, while his lands, his chattels and all his slaves were confiscated by the government.

The treatment of Ren Shang is remarkable. He had held commands on the northern frontier and in central Asia for thirty years, with involvement in some of the greatest successes and most dangerous set-backs of the Chinese armies. He concluded his career with three years in high command, culminating in a decisive victory, yet he was promptly disgraced and killed. Some accusations may have been true, and though Deng Zhi supported him we are also told that Ren Shang had contended with Deng Zun, cousin of

the Dowager, in seeking credit for the final success: this mistaken, albeit justified, self-promotion may have encouraged the regent to make an example of a corrupt officer at a time of financial difficulty for the government.

The histories contain no formal biography of Ren Shang. -*HHS* 4:177, 179, 5:205-11, 224-29, 23/13:819, 47/37:1586, 1591, 87/77:2886-91, 89/79:2954-56; *deC* 84:90-115, 273-280.

Ren She 任涉. In 168 Hede of Shule [Kashgar] killed his nephew the king during a hunt, then took the throne for himself. In 170 Meng Tuo the Inspector of Liang province sent his officer Ren She and a large allied army to attack Shule and restore order. They gained no success, and Shule was effectively independent. -*HHS* 88/78:2927.

Ren Sheng 任勝 or Ren Teng 騰; Nanyang. Son of Ren Tun, he inherited the family fief. -*HHS* 21/11:754.

Ren Sun 任巽; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Ren Sun was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -*LS* 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Ren Shi 任世; Nanyang. Son of Ren Sheng, he succeeded to his fief; it was later transferred to a county in Qi. -*HHS* 21/11:754.

Ren Tang 任棠 [Jiqing 季卿]; Hanyang. Ren Tang was a hermit and teacher of local reputation, and when Pang Can became Administrator about 110 he made a point of calling upon him. Ren Tang refused to speak, but set a large root of shallots and a bowl of water before his door-screen, and took his grandson to hide inside. One of Pang Can's staff officers protested that this showed a lack of respect, but Pang Can, after some thought, explained that it was intended to guide him: "The water is because he wishes me to be honest, the big torn-up root shows that he wants me to be firm with the great clans, and holding his son by the door indicates that he hopes I shall open my gates and show pity to those who are orphaned." With a sigh of admiration he returned to his office and governed in that fashion.

In 127 the official Huang Qiong urged Emperor Shun to invite Ren Tang and other worthy elders in retirement to come to office; Ren Tang did not accept. After his death, the people set up a portrait to honour Ren the Master Called to Office 任徵君. -*HHS* 51/41:1689, 61/51:2033; Vervoorn 90:290.

Ren Teng 任騰; Jianwei. Having travelled to study in Hanzhong, Ren Teng found that he was unable to return to his family because of the troubled times and because the roads were blocked by bandits. He went instead to Changsha, where he became a commandery officer.

Ren Teng's son Ren Jia later achieved commissioned rank and was appointed Administrator of Changsha. As she accompanied her son, Ren Teng's wife recognised her husband and arranged their reunion. -*FSTY* 3f:104.

Ren Teng 任騰 see Ren Sheng 任勝. -*DGHJ* 24:4a.

Ren Tun 任屯; Nanyang. Son of Ren Wei, Ren Tun succeeded to his father's marquisate in 92. In recognition of his father's loyal advice against Dou Xian and the family of the Dowager, Emperor He also appointed him a colonel in the Northern Army. His fief was later transferred from Zhuo to a county in Jiangxia. -*HHS* 21/1A:754.

Ren Wang 任望 see Dan Wang 但望.

Ren Wei 任隗 [Zhonghe 仲和] (d.92); Nanyang. Son of Ren Guang, he succeeded to his fief in 29. Like Ren Guang, as a young man he was a devotee of Huang-Lao. He lived simply and showed great generosity to his kinsmen, caring for those who were orphaned. Emperor Ming heard of his philanthropy and invited him to Luoyang with the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. He was appointed to command one of the troops of the Feathered Forest, then became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, in charge of the parallel corps, and was later a colonel in the Northern Army.

As Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 he continued to treat Ren Wei with affection and respect, appointing him first as Court Architect and then, in 80, as Minister Coachman. He replaced Dou Gu as Minister of the Household in 83, and after achieving distinction in every post and being celebrated for his honesty and humility, he became Excellency of Works in 87.

During the early years of the reign of Emperor He, as the family of the Dowager Dou dominated the court, Ren Wei was one of the few officials to maintain his independence. As Dou Xian embarked on his great campaigns against the Xiongnu in the early 90s, Ren Wei and his colleague Yuan An sent repeated memorials, urging that the extravagant enterprise be abandoned, and opposing Dou Xian's plan to set up a

new Shanyu in the north as a puppet to rival the long-term ally of the south.

Ren Wei died in office in 92, a few weeks after the destruction of Dou Xian and his family by Emperor He. In recognition of his loyalty the ruler made his son Ren Tun a colonel in the Northern Army. -*HHS* 21/11: 753-54*; deC 84:268-274.

Ren Wengong 任文公; Ba. The son or younger brother of Ren Wensun 任文孫 [*QHX*:460], Ren Wengong was similarly skilled in divination by the stars and by the wind. At the end of Former Han he correctly foretold the future on several occasions, whether danger came from floods or from attacks by men. He became a local officer in the province and held clerical appointment at the capital, but left on grounds of ill health.

Foreseeing the fall of Wang Mang and the disorder that would follow, Ren Wengong trained the members of his household so they could gather their goods and run away quickly when bandits appeared. He then led them to take refuge in the mountains.

Under the regime of Gongsun Shu about 30, Ren Wengong forecast his own death, and his prophecy was again fulfilled. He was celebrated in the west as a man of incomparable wisdom. -*HHS* 82/72A:2707-08*, *HYGZ* 12:217; Ngo 76:80-81, DeWoskin 83:46-48, *QHX*:460.

Ren Wuda 任武達; Beidi. When Feng Yan 馮衍 sent his wife the Lady Ren away because of her erratic conduct, he wrote to his brother-in-law Ren Wuda to explain his problems. -*HHS* 28/18B:1002-04.

Ren Xian 任先; Henan. Eldest son of Ren Jun, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in 209. Ren Xian died a few years later, and the fief was ended, but Cao Pi later honoured Ren Jun's memory by reviving the fief, in lesser form, for Ren Xian's younger brother Lan. -*SGZ* 18:490.

Ren Xing 任興. Administrator of Shanggu in 78, he organised a punitive expedition against a group of the Wuhuan. As widespread trouble broke out, the Internuncio Deng Xun was ordered to bring troops from the base at Liyang in Wei commandery to support him. -*HHS* 16/6:608.

Ren Xun 任循 [Bodu 伯度]; Shu. In the first half of the second century Ren Xun was Administrator of Changsha. -*HYGZ* 10A:134.

Ren Yan 任延 [Changsun 長孫] (5-68); Nanyang. As a student at the University in Chang'an when he was only twelve, Ren Yan was known as the "Young Sage"

聖童 on account of his mastery of the classics. As the rebellion against Wang Mang broke out in the early 20s, Ren Yan took refuge in the northwest, though he refused to take service with the warlord Wei Ao.

In 23 Ren Yan went to the Gengshi Emperor at Chang'an, and he was appointed a Commandant in Kuaiji. The region was disturbed, but although he was only nineteen Ren Yan established his authority through non-action 無爲, through worshipping at a local shrine, and by sharing his salary with his subordinates. As a result of his courteous attentions the local hermit Longqiu Zhang came to join his staff, and all the leading men then sought appointment, while Ren Yan persuaded local chieftains to disarm their followers and take up farming.

Ren Yan then submitted to Emperor Guangwu; as he returned to Luoyang the people wept and sought to hold back his carriage. He met with the new ruler and was appointed Administrator of Jiuzhen in the far south, while his wife and children stayed at the capital.

In Jiuzhen, Ren Yan and his colleague Xi Guang the Administrator of Jiaozhi commandery were energetic sponsors of Confucian values among the native peoples, paying particular attention to farming and to the formalities of marriage. In first instance, it is said that ploughing with oxen was unknown and Ren Yan introduced metal tools and techniques for cultivation.

In the latter case it is said that hitherto men and women had coupled indiscriminately, but Ren Yan had his officers give up part of their salaries to provide wedding gifts: for the first time people could recognise their children and their lineage, and many gave the name of Ren to their off-spring as sign of gratitude. The moral and practical factors of his reforms produced splendid harvests.

After four years Ren Yan was recalled to the capital. He delayed on account of illness, and was demoted to be a magistrate in Liang, but the people of Jiuzhen set up a shrine in his honour.

Ren Yan was then appointed Administrator of Wuwei, where he destroyed the power of the local leader Tian Gan and established his own authority. As the territory was threatened on the north by the Xiongnu and on the south by the Qiang, many farmers had abandoned their fields, but Ren Yan organised a local militia, with a horse auxiliary from loyal tribes of non-Chinese, and maintained watch-positions on the

passes: the raiders suffered several losses, and then left the land in peace.

Ren Yan organised a system of dams and canals to extend agriculture in the dry country, and he also set up schools and had his officers send their sons and grandsons to them, so the men of Wuwei became noted for their scholarship.

All these activities were in the pattern adopted by energetic "Confucianising" officials, who sought to transform the barbarians by introducing techniques of settled agriculture and social customs which would make them suitable subjects of Han. Ren Yan was classified by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏, though he was demoted once again when he killed a number of non-Chinese Qiang people without first referring the matter to the throne.

After serving as a magistrate in Runan, in 57 Ren Yan was appointed Administrator of Yingchuan by the new Emperor Ming. In 59 he took part in the assembly at the Hall of the Circular Moat and then became Administrator of Henei, a post which he held until his death nine years later. -HHS 76/66:2460-63*, 86/76 2836, SGZ Wu 8:1251; QHX:461, Vervorm 90:132-133, Bn 67:79-81, Miyakawa 60:31-34.

Ren Yang 任養; Hanyang/Tianshui. In 213, as Ma Chao attacked Hanyang from the west, Ren Yang led a rising in Shanggui city and let him in. -SGZ 18:550.

Ren Yin 任胤 [Bosi 伯嗣] (d.165); Nan. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, after probation as a gentleman cadet Ren Yin became Assistant of Shu commandery and a county magistrate in Ba. He left office on account of mourning, but returned to be a magistrate in Nanyang, and in 162 he was transferred to Chenggao in Henan. He was noted in each place for his fine administration.

In 165 Ren Yin was sent south to be Administrator of Guiyang. That troubled territory had lately been settled by Du Shang, but as Ren Yin arrived he was attacked by rebels under Hu Lan and Zhu Gai; he abandoned his post and fled. Du Shang returned to put down the rebellion, while Ren Yin was taken to the capital and executed.

A stele was nonetheless set up in honour of Ren Yin, titled to refer to his tenure in Chenggao, and glossing over the unfortunate affair in Guiyang. -HHS 7:315, 102/12:3257, LS 20a-b, LX 15:3a.

Ren Yong 任永 [Junye 君業]; Jianwei. An expert in ancient learning, and particularly in calculations of

the calendar, when Wang Mang came to power Ren Yong and his fellow-countryman Feng Xin pretended blindness in order to avoid any involvement in public affairs. Ren Yong's wife committed adultery in his presence, but he showed no emotion and said nothing, and when he saw a child fall into a well he made no move to save it [cf. Mencius 2A:6:3]. He likewise paid no attention when his servants coupled in front of him.

After Gongsun Shu was destroyed by Han in 36, the two men ended their pretence, and those who had acted so wrongly before them now killed themselves. Emperor Guangwu heard the story and invited them to court, but Ren Yong became ill and died, while Feng Xin was too old to travel. -HHS 81/71:2670, HYGZ 10B:156; Vervorm 90:143.

Ren Yu 任禹; Beidi. As Wei Ao and Guangwu came to open conflict in 30, Ma Yuan induced a number of Wei Ao's officers to defect. Ren Yu was one of those who changed sides. -HHS 24/14:832.

We are not told directly of Ren Yu's place of origin, but XHS 2:14b, cited by HHS 24/14:828 TC, and HHS 28/18B:1002 both refer to a notable clan of that name in Beidi.

Ren Yue 任約 see Yuan Yue 袁約. -ZZTJ 67:2142; deC 96:495-498.

Ren Yun 任頤 (d.141). After defeating Ma Xian in 141, the rebel Qiang attacked the region of Chang'an. Ren Yun was magistrate of Heyang, on the Yellow River in the east of Zuopingyi. He sought to oppose the raiders, but was killed in battle. -HHS 87/77:2896.

Ren Zao 任造; Shu. Nephew of Ren Mo, he accompanied him to the funeral of Ren Mo's former teacher. Ren Mo died on the road, but in accordance with his instructions Ren Zao took his body on to the house of his late master so that, if there was indeed consciousness after death, they might communicate. -HHS 79/69B:2572.

Ren Zhi 任芝. A Palace Attendant and favourite of Emperor Ling, Ren Zhi was criticised in 178 by the senior official Yang Ci as a man of poor quality. In 180 Ren Zhi and his colleague Yue Song persuaded the emperor that he was entitled to construct the Jade Sceptre and Spiritual Jade parks, on the specious grounds that he would be "sharing them with the people" in the same fashion as the legendary King Wen of Zhou 周文王 [e.g. Legge CC II:153-154]. -HHS 54/44:1780, 1783; deC 89:165.

Ren Zhong 任仲. In 25 Ren Zhong was Administrator of Zhangye under the Gengshi regime. When that government was destroyed the commander Dou Rong was recognised as chief of the northwest. Ren Zhong did not accept this and was obliged to leave. -HHS 23/13:797.

Ren Zhuo 任遼 see Ren Chuo 任遼.

Renliang 忍良; Qiang. In the early 120s Renliang and Luhū were chieftains of the Dangjian tribe. They were undecided whether to follow the example of their colleague Jiwu, who raided Chinese territory in 120, but after the Protector Ma Xian had defeated Jiwu's incursion early in 121 he came to Dangjian territory, summoned Luhū, and cut off his head.

Ma Xian was rewarded for his success, but Renliang now held no faith in the Chinese. Fleeing beyond the borders, he gathered a coalition of tribes to attack Jincheng, and joined Manu, claimant leader of the Shaodang tribe. Ma Xian came with Xianlian allies, but was initially defeated, while Manu defeated the commandery militia of Zhangye and Wuwei.

Ma Xian recovered from his set-back and drove Manu to surrender; Renliang is not heard of again. -HHS 87/77:2892.

Rilü 日律; Xianbi. During the 170s Rilü was a commander in the west under Tanshihuai. -SGZ 30:838.

Rilütuiyan 日律推演 see Rilü 日律 and/or Tuiyan 推演.

Rong 戎 of Yutian [Khotan]. Son of King Weishi of Yutian, after his father was killed by the regional hegemon King Xian of Yarkand, Rong fled to China, where he was granted title as a marquis. -HHS 88/78:2925.

Rong Bao 榮保; Shanyang. It is said that during the mid-150s Rong Bao and Cao Yi were master craftsmen building a funerary temple for Xiang Tuo and his wife. -Nagata 94:118 [this text, however, is of doubtful provenance].

Rong He 榮郃 or Rong Ge or Rong Tai 郃; Jingzhao. Minister Herald in 195, he was among the senior officials taken hostage by Guo Si during his conflict with Li Jue in Chang'an. -HHJ 28:334.

HHS 9:381, the Annals for 199, describes how Cao Cao re-arranged the Imperial Secretariat to have two Deputy Directors. In JJ at 354-55, Hui Dong cites the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, which says that Rong He, at that time Bearer of the Mace, was transferred to one of

those positions.

Hui Dong also cites FSTY 6f:142, which refers to Rong He 榮郃 as Intendant of Jingzhao, and describes the family as descended from Rong Bo 榮伯, also known as Ying Bo 營伯, a minister of the legendary King Cheng of Zhou 周成王. Hui Dong, however, has the surname as Ying 營, while to add to the confusion the sound of the character 營 is given as 金+傾 > jing; this probably reflects an early pronunciation: GSR 843f.

Rong Liang 戎良 [Zigong 子恭]; Ji Yin. At the age of eighteen Rong Liang became the confidential clerk of the Administrator Zhuge Li. He was a good-looking young man, and after Zhuge Li had sent him into his private apartments to prepare some papers someone accused him of having intercourse with one of the maid-servants. Rong Liang promptly cut open his own breast to show Zhuge Li his loyal heart; we are not told whether he survived the gesture. -XC 8:12a.

Rongmohui 戎末魔 see Rongzhuhui 戎朱魔. -HHS 101/11:3244, XHS 5:22b, SGZ 30:833; deC 84:527.

Rongmomo 戎末魔 see Rongzhuhui 戎朱魔. -ZZTJ 51:1657; deC 84:527.

Rongwang 戎亡 see Rong 戎. -Chavannes 07:201.

Rongyang, Lady of 榮陽君 see the Lady Yan Zong 閭宗.

Rongzhuhui 戎朱魔 or Rongmohui 戎末魔 or Rongmomo 戎末魔; Wuhuan. During the reign of Emperor Shun Rongzhuhui was celebrated as a leader of Wuhuan people willing to support Han. Allied to the Protector Geng Ye, Rongzhuhui and his colleague Fushuguan distinguished themselves in several campaigns against the Xianbi led by Qizhijian, and in the early 130s Rongzhuhui was given title as Chief Commandant Friend of Han 親漢都尉. -HHS 90/80:2983, SGZ 30:833; deC 84:303, 391.

Ru Chen 汝臣; Youfufeng. In 23 Ru Chen was chieftain of a strong local clan. In the autumn the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties towards Chang'an. Ru Chen and other local leaders took title as generals in the name of Han and came to attack the capital. While the main Han army was halted at Huayin, these irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang. -Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130. See also Ru Zhang below.

Ru Dun 汝敦; Jianwei. Ru Dun lived with his brothers and their wives. His parents had been prosperous, and

his elder brother's wife wanted their goods for herself, so Ru Dun gave up everything and left.

Ru Dun later found a golden dish as he was ploughing. He and his wife agreed that they would hand this over too, but when they went to the family house his sister-in-law was at first angry to see them back. She changed her attitude as soon as she saw the dish, and Ru Dun's brother now realised how greedy she was; he sent her away. None of the brothers was willing to take the gold, each yielding to the other. They became known for their fine family feeling, and Ru Dun was later nominated Filial and Incorrupt. - *HYGZ* 10B:154.

Ru Kun 汝錕; Guanghan. When Ru Kun was killed by Zhang Ming, his friend Yang Kuan captured and bound the murderer, then sent him to Ru Kun's household to confess. - *HYGZ* 10B:150.

Ru Yu 汝郁 [Shuyi 叔異 or Youyi 幼異]; Chen. When Ru Yu was five his mother was taken ill and could not eat. Deeply distressed, Ru Yu also refused to eat, and when his mother saw this, she forced herself to take something. Their kinsmen all admired him, and Ru Yu had the character *yì* 異 "remarkable" incorporated into his style.

Ru Yu later became a hermit in the wilderness, until Jia Kui recommended him to Emperor Zhang. He accepted a most courteous invitation and was appointed Chancellor of Lu. His virtue affected all the people, and ten thousand families came to Lu to benefit from his rule. - *HHS* 26:1240; Vervoor 90:286.

Ru Zhang 汝章; Youfufeng. During the troubles of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Ru Zhang became warlord in his home county of Huaili, capital of the commandery. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. - *HHS* 17/7:647.

This man was surely a kinsman of, and perhaps the same person as, Ru Chen above.

Ruan Kuang 阮況; Xindu/Anping. As Wang Lang took the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, the greater part of the north accepted his claim, but Ren Guang the Administrator of Xindu refused to acknowledge him, and his Officer of Merit Ruan Kuang was among those who supported his loyalty to Han. They raised troops to oppose the pretender and welcomed Liu Xiu, future

Emperor Guangwu, at that time a commissioner of the Gengshi Emperor.

Ruan Kuang became known for his ability, and Emperor Guangwu appointed him Administrator of the important commandery of Nanyang. He died in that office about 60. - *HHS* 21/11A:751-53, 43/33:1457-58. This is presumably not the same man as in the anecdote immediately below.

Ruan Kuang 阮況. As Inspector of Ji province, Ruan Kuang reported that Li Tong the Chancellor of Zhao was incompetent. Li Tong duly resigned, but he was then consulted by Emperor Zhang on a number of difficult law cases. Impressed with his answers, the emperor dismissed Ruan Kuang and appointed Li Tong to high office. - *FSTY* 5:40.

Though the names are the same, the dates and the careers indicate that these two men are different.

Ruan Yu 阮瑀 [Yuanyu 元瑜] (d.212); Chenliu. As a young man Ruan Yu studied with Cai Yong. An excellent calligrapher, he became a secretary to Cao Hong, but disagreed with him and transferred to Cao Cao's staff, where he and Chen Lin prepared his letters and orders.

Ruan Yu was a member of the literary circle about the young Cao Pi and Cao Zhi. In his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" Cao Pi named him as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. - *SGZ* 2:599-602*.

Ruan [Xuqing] 阮胥卿; Chenliu. *JS* 52:1444 mentions Ruan Xuqing as a Palace Attendant of Han.

Rui Liang 芮良 [Wenluan 文鸞]; Danyang. Elder son of Rui Zhi, Rui Liang served under Sun Ce in the first campaigns on the lower Yangzi, and was appointed Commandant of the eastern region of Kuaiji. He probably died in the late 190s. - *SGZ* Wu 16:1398.

Rui Xuan 芮玄 [Wenbiao 文表]; Danyang. Son of Rui Zhi, after the death of his elder brother Liang, probably in the late 190s, Rui Xuan took over his troops. He became a General of the Household under Sun Quan and was enfeoffed as a marquis. He died in the 220s.

As Sun Quan was seeking suitable women for his son and Heir Sun Deng, his advisers commended the fine service of the Rui family. One of Rui Xuan's daughters was accordingly taken as a concubine 妃 for Sun Deng; she was probably not so high in status as the daughter of Zhou Yu, who is described as a consort 配. - *SGZ* Wu 16:1397-98.

Rui Zhi 芮祉 [Xuansi 宣嗣]; Danyang. An early

and successful follower of Sun Jian, Rui Zhi was recommended as Administrator of Jiujiang, and presumably held that office under the auspices of Yuan Shu. He was later transferred to Wu, and was well regarded for his administration in both commanderies. It appears that he died in the early 190s, leaving two sons, Liang and Xuan. -SGZ Wu 16:1398.

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Sai Wei 塞威 see Jian Wei 蹇威. -HYGZ 1:6.

Sha Die 沙疊; Youfufeng. A county officer under the magistrate Wang Fu 王阜 about 70, Sha Die was ordered to play suitable dancing music for a flock of magical *luan* 鸞 birds. -DGHJ 18:5a.

Sanwu Qun 三烏羣 was a Reporting Officer for his commandery. -FSTY 5f:117.

Shama 沙麻, the Lady, of Further Jushi. Mother of Junjiu the King of Further Jushi, in 120 she encouraged him to turn against Han. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Shamohan 沙末汗; Xianbi. Son of Queji, after the death of his father about 215 he was confirmed as a king by the Han court under Cao Cao. -SGZ 30:840.

Shan 山, the Lady; Henei. Wife of Zhang Wang, she was the mother of the Lady Zhang Chunhua, who married Sima Yi. -JS 1:948.

Shan An 單超; Henan. A younger brother of the eunuch Shan Chao, Shan An became Administrator of Hedong. He governed badly. -HHS 78/68:2521.

Shan Bing 山冰 (d.168). A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates, Shan Bing was an ally of the Dou clan. In the autumn of 168, as Dou Wu and Chen Fan prepared to destroy Cao Jie and other palace eunuchs, they had Shan Bing replace Wei Biao as Prefect of the Yellow Gates. He impeached several eunuchs, and had Zheng Li sent to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates. As Shan Bing, the Director of the Secretariat Yin Xun and the censorial officer Zhu Jin interrogated him, Zheng Li duly implicated Cao Jie and Wang Fu in his alleged wrongdoing.

Shan Bing and his associates reported the confession and called for the arrest of Cao Jie and Wang Fu, but the letter was intercepted by the eunuch Zhu Yu, and Cao Jie and Wang Fu struck first. Taking the young Emperor with them, they forced the Secretariat to draw up a warrant for the arrest of Shan Ping and Yin Xun. Shan Bing fought back and was killed. -HHS 69/59:

2243, 102/12:3258; Bn 76:96-98.

Shan Chao 單超 (d.160); Henan. A eunuch, in 159 Shan Chao was a Regular Attendant. When Emperor Huan asked Tang Heng who might help him get rid of Liang Ji, Shan Chao was one of four whom he recommended, for Liang Ji's brother Liang Buyi had at some time arrested his brother and Shan Chao had had to plead to get him released. The young emperor accordingly called Shan Chao, Xu Huang, Ju Yuan and Zuo Guan to join him and Tang Heng; he bit Shan Chao on the arm so that the blood flowed as they swore a solemn oath.

On 9 December the coup was carried out and the Liang clan was destroyed [see *sub* Ju Yuan]. Though Shan Chao's role in the action is not mentioned specifically, he was evidently the leader of the group, for while each of the five received a county marquise and a cash donation, his reward was the largest.

Soon afterwards Shan Chao became ill, and in the following year he died. Emperor Huan sent messengers to his death-bed to grant him insignia as General of Chariots and Cavalry, the Court Architect was ordered to construct his tomb, and his funeral was carried out with every display of honour. -HHS 78/68:2520-21*; Ch'ü 72:476-480, Bn 76:94-95, deC 89:12-14.

Shan Fu 單甫. A Palace Attendant at the court of Han in the 180s, Shan Fu was the teacher of the diviner Zhao Da. -SGZ Wu 18:1424.

Shan Jing 單經. In 191 Shan Jing was named Inspector of Yan province by Gongsun Zan. In the following year he was sent to aid Tao Qian against Cao Cao, but was defeated in Pingyuan. -SGZ 8:242, 1:10.

Shan Kuang 單匡; Henan. A nephew, or possibly a brother, of the eunuch Shan Chao, in 160 Shan Kuang was Administrator of Jiying. He ruled corruptly and greedily, and Wei Yu, officer of Diwu Zhong the Inspector of Yan, arrested his followers and family and seized quantities of extorted property. Shan Kuang sent Ren Fang to kill Wei Yu, but Ren Fang was arrested and sent to the capital. Shan Kuang, however, was able to arrange his escape from prison, and the affair was covered up. -HHS 78/68:2521, 41/31:1404, 54/44:1771, 66/56:2171.

Shan Qian 單遷; Henan. A younger brother of the eunuch Shan Chao, Shan Qian became Administrator of Shanyang. In 165 he was arrested for various crimes, and the Minister of Justice Feng Gun sentenced him to death. Shan Chao had died some years earlier, but his

colleagues got together to aid Shan Qian. They sent in accusations against Feng Gun, and he was sent to convict labour. -HHS 38/28:1284.

Shan Yang 單陽 [Wuxuan 武宣]; Shanyang. Though orphaned and poor, Shan Yang became skilled in mathematics, astronomy and portents. When a yellow dragon appeared at Qiao county in Pei about 172, he foretold the fall of Han. [Qiao was the home county of the Cao family, and when Cao Pi, son of Cao Cao, took the imperial title, he did so under the auspices of the colour yellow, in cosmic succession to the red of Han.]

Shan Yang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became Court Astronomer. In 175 he joined Cai Yong and others to recommend the editing and engraving of the Stone Classics at Luoyang, a project in which he probably shared, and in 178 he was among the group of scholars, including Cai Yong, which was consulted by Emperor Ling after a series of unfavourable portents.

Shan Yang became Administrator of Hanzhong, but was dismissed. He later returned to the capital as a member of the Imperial Secretariat, and died in that office. -HHS 60/50B:1990, 1998, 82/72B:2733*.

Shan Yu 山昱. In 159 a rising among the non-Chinese people of Shu commandery extended into the north of the Dependent State and also affected Jianwei. In 161 Shan Yu the Inspector of Yi province defeated the rebels and scattered them. -HHS 86/76:2857.

Shan Zhong 山仲. Shan Zhong was senior mason for the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang in 135; see *sub* Ma Xian. -SJZ 16: 15a.

Shan [Zidao] 山子道 of Youfufeng was known at the end of Han as an expert player of "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese Go]. -SGZ 1:54.

Shang, Emperor 殤帝 [the "Young" Emperor] (*reg.* 106) see Liu Long 劉隆.

Shang 尚 [surname] is frequently confused with Xiang 向.

Shang Chang 尚長 see Xiang Chang 向長.

Shang Chenggong 上成公 see Shangcheng Gong 上成公.

Shang Dan 尚但, the Lady. During the 180s Shang Dan was a senior member of the imperial harem 中大人. Zhang Rang, Zhao Zhong and other place eunuchs had built themselves great mansions and were concerned the emperor might see them. They had Shang Dan advise him that it would bring ill fortune to the nation if the sovereign climbed too high. Emperor

Ling believed this, and the eunuchs were able to conceal their extravagance. -HHS 78/68:2536.

Shang Sheng 商升 (d.196). Magistrate of Houguan in Kuaiji, by present-day Fuzhou, Shang Sheng raised troops to support the Administrator Wang Lang against Sun Ce. He repelled an attack by Han Yan, but when He Qi arrived he prepared to surrender. Before he could do so, however, he was killed by his associates Zhang Ya and Zhan Qiang. -SGZ Wu 15:1377.

Shang Xu 尚栩 see Xiang Xu 向栩.

Shang Yao 商曜 (d.211); Taiyuan. A leader of bandits, Shang Yao was killed by Xiahou Yuan. -SGZ 9:270.

Shang [Zizheng] 商子徵 see Yin Zizheng 殷子徵. -XC 5:13b.

Shangcheng Gong 上成公 [Lord Shangcheng]; Henan. About 150 Shangcheng Gong returned to his home after a long absence and told his family that he had achieved immortality and had come to say goodbye. He then walked away from them, rising into the air as he did so, and disappeared into the clouds. The gentlemen Han Shao and Chen Shi were said to have witnessed this remarkable event. -HHS 82/72B: 2748*; Ngo 76:140, DeWoskin 83:86.

Shangguan Hong 上官鴻. In 100 Cao Feng was sent as Commandant of the western region of Jincheng to set up military colonies in former territory of the Qiang on the Yellow River outside the frontier. Shangguan Hong, Chief Clerk of Jincheng, later recommended that additional colonies should be established. This was done, but the settlements were abandoned after the great rebellion of the Qiang in 107. -HHS 87/77:2885.

Shangguan Zi 上官資. A gentleman cadet in 159, Shangguan Zi petitioned Emperor Huan to have mercy on the presumptuous magistrate Li Yun. -HHS 57/47: 1852.

Shanghuai Kuang 上淮況 [Kuang of Shanghuai]. Evidently from the region of the upper Huai River in the hill country of the Dabie Shan, he became a leader of the Bronze Horse bandits in the North China plain. Since the other named leader of the Bronze Horses is Huang Tu of Dongshan, who presumably came from the region of present-day Shandong, it appears the group was formed from a combination of at least two bands which had arisen independently.

In the autumn of 24 the Bronze Horse group and others were defeated in Julu by the forces of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who then pursued them into Wei commandery, where they surrendered.

Shanghuai Kuang and other chieftains were enfeoffed as marquises, while their troops were incorporated into Liu Xiu's army. -HHS 1A:16-17; Bn 59:79-83.

Shanyang, Lady of 山陽君 see the Lady Song E 宋娥.

Shanyu 單于: title of the ruler of Xiongnu and, on occasion, of other non-Chinese peoples. The chieftains are listed below by their dynastic or regnal titles. Those whose personal name is known are discussed under that heading, and some are known only by their personal names, with no record of dynastic title.

Huvershidaogao 呼都而尸道皋 see Yu 輿;

Huhanxie I 呼韓邪 see *sub* Yu 輿;

Huhanxie II [Southern] 呼韓邪 see Bi 比;

Huhanye 呼韓邪 see Huhanxie above;

Shanyu, Northern 北單于 see Punu 蒲奴,

Yuchujian 於除鞬, and Youliu 優留 Shanyu;

Shanyu, Northern [name and title unknown]

(*reg.* 87-91) see *sub* Youliu 優留 Shanyu, *sub*

Yuchujian 於除鞬 and *sub* Tuntuhe 屯屠何;

Shanyu, Southern 南單于 see Bi 比, Anguo 安國,

Huchuquan 呼廚泉 and below:

Hulanruo shizhujia 呼蘭若尸逐就

see Toulouchu 兜樓儲 (*reg.* 143-147);

Huxie shizhuhou di 胡邪尸逐侯鞬

see Chang 長 (*reg.* 63-85);

Qiuchujulin di 丘除車林鞬 see Su 蘇 (*reg.* 63);

Qiufuyou di 丘浮尤鞬 see Mo 莫 (*reg.* 56-57);

Qute ruoshijiu 去牝若尸就 see Xiuli 休利;

Tingdu shizhuhou di 亭獨尸逐侯鞬

see Shizi 師子 (*reg.* 94-98);

Tuteruo shizhujia 屠特若尸逐就 see *sub voce*;

Wanshi shizhu di 萬氏尸逐鞬

see Tan 檀 (*reg.* 98-124);

Xiluo shizhu di 隴落尸逐鞬

see Bi 比 (*reg.* 48-56);

Xitong shizhuhou di 隴僮尸逐侯鞬

see Shi 適 (*reg.* 59-63);

Xiulan shizhuhou di 休蘭尸逐侯鞬

see Tuntuhe 屯屠何 (*reg.* 88-93);

Yifayulü di 伊伐於于慮鞬

see Han 汗 (*reg.* 59-59);

Yiling shizhujia 伊陵尸逐就

see Juche'er 居車兒 (*reg.* 147-172);

Yituyulü di 伊屠於閭鞬

see Xuan 宣 (*reg.* 85-88);

Zhizhi shizhuhou 持至尸逐侯

see Yufuluo 於夫羅 (*reg.* 188-195?).

The characters 若 *ruo* and 鞬 *di* appear separately or in combination in the titles of most Southern Shanyu. HHS 89/79:2939 TC explains *ruodi* as equivalent to the Chinese 孝 *xiao* "Filial", which was part of the dynastic title of all Han emperors after the two founders Gao and Guangwu. The same custom was followed by Xiongnu rulers after the first Huhanxie 呼韓邪 Shanyu (*reg.* 59/58-31 BC).

Shao 紹 [surname unknown] [Wensu 文肅]; Kuaiji. As magistrate of a county in Dong commandery he would not use the official residence, but slept at his hall of audience. -XC 7:10b.

Shao [Gongzi] 召公子. Formerly a man of low-caste occupation, either a butcher or a wine-seller, Shao Gongzi was nonetheless taken up by Guo Tai and became well known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Shao Kui 邵夔 or 召夔; Henan. A former officer of Zhou Ju, Shao Kui later became a General of the Household. He was a man of poor conduct, and though he offered friendship to Zhou Ju's son Zhou Xie, Zhou Xie rebuffed his advances.

About 150 Shao Kui was appointed Administrator of Runan, home of the Zhou family; Zhou Xie, in disgust, withdrew from public life. Shao Kui later killed Chen Bojing for assisting his son-in-law to escape arrest. -HHS 46/36:1546, 61/5A:3031.

Shao Qiangsheng 邵強生; Shanyang. It is said that during the mid-150s Shao Qiangsheng and Dai Sheng were master painters for the funerary temple of Xiang Tuo and his wife. -Nagata 94:118 [this text, however, is of doubtful provenance].

Shao Wu 召吳; Yingchuan. In 33 Shao Wu was the leader of a group of hills bandits. The Administrator Guo Ji persuaded him and his associate Zhao Hong to surrender. They and their followers came with bound hands, but Guo Ji freed them and had them return to farming. He granted pardons without reference to the throne, but Emperor Guangwu gave retrospective approval.

Then Shao Wu and Zhao Hong spread news of Guo Ji to their former colleagues south of the Yangzi and north across the plain. Great numbers surrendered on such generous terms. -HHS 31/2A:1092.

Shao Xiu 召休; Jiujiang. Grandson of Shao Xun, he became Inspector of Qing province. -HHS 79/69B: 2574.

Shao Xun 召馴 personal name sometimes miswritten as 訓 [Bochun 伯春]; Jiujiang. Shao Xun's great-

grandfather Shao Xincheng 召信臣 had been a commandery administrator and then a minister in the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han, and Shao Xun's father was a county magistrate under Emperor Guangwu. Shao Xun was a scholar of the *Classic of Poetry* according to the New Text school of Han, and had a broad knowledge of all the classics and histories. He had great local reputation, held office in his commandery and province, and was then appointed to the office of the Excellency of Works at the capital.

In 76, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, Shao Xun was named a Commandant of Cavalry, and he took part in philosophical discussions on the Old Texts led by Jia Kui. Appointed a General of the Household, he lectured to the young kings of the imperial house in the palace at Luoyang. Emperor Zhang admired his moral teachings, and treated him with particular favour.

Shao Xun was then sent out to be Administrator of Chenliu, and his service was rewarded with swords, cash and other gifts. Though Tjan discounts the idea, Shao Xun may have returned to the capital in 79 to take part in the Discussions at the White Tiger Hall, the scholarly conference convened by Emperor Zhang which confirmed the position of New Text Confucianism. He did continue in his provincial office until 85, when he was appointed Intendant of Henan, based upon Luoyang.

In 89 Shao Xun became Minister of the Household. He died soon afterwards and was buried with special honours. -HHS 79/69B:2573-74*; Tjan 49:161-163.

She 射 [surname] see also Xie 謝: for debate on the origin of this surname see HSBZ 21A:26a; QHX:468.

She 庫 [surname] also appears as Ku 庫: e.g. FSTY 5f:132.

She Gao 射高 see Xie Gao 謝高.

She Jian 射堅 [Wengu 文固]; Youfufeng. A man of good repute, during the 180s She Jian was appointed to the offices of the Excellencies and then became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. In the early 190s he and his brother Yuan left the troubled region of Chang'an and went south into Yi province, where She Jian became Chief Clerk to the warlord Governor Liu Zhang.

After Liu Bei took power in 214 She Jian served him as Administrator of Guanghan and then of Shu. He probably died before 220. -SGZ Shu 2:885-86.

She Jun 庫鈞 or Ku Jun 庫鈞. When Dou Rong

was appointed to the northwest of Liang province in 23, he established a good relationship with She Jun the Commandant of Jincheng. As the Gengshi regime collapsed at Chang'an in 25, She Jun and his colleagues accepted Dou Rong's leadership and She Jun was named Administrator of his commandery. We are told, however, that the Qiang leader Fenghe had lately killed the former Administrator and taken over much of the territory, and it was not until 30 that Dou Rong took an army to drive Fenghe away.

In 32, when Dou Rong brought his army to assist Emperor Guangwu's attack on Wei Ao, She Jun and his fellows received titles as marquises. -HHS 23/13:796-97, 806.

She Yuan 射援 [Wenxiong 文雄]; Youfufeng. [For debate on the origin of the surname see HSBZ 21A:26a; QHX:486.] Younger brother of She Jian, She Yuan also had a fine reputation. The Grand Commandant Huangfu Song admired his ability and gave him his daughter in marriage.

During the early 190s She Yuan accompanied She Jian into Yi province, and became a senior adviser to Liu Bei. In 219 he was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor when Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong. He later served Zhuge Liang, and probably died in the 220s. -SGZ Shu 2:885-86.

Shen 申, the Lady; Yingchuan. A woman of good official family, she entered the harem of Emperor Zhang at the age of thirteen and became an Honoured Lady. She had two sons, Liu Shou the King of Jibei and Liu Kai, who became King of Hejian and was ancestor of Emperor Huan. -HHS 55/45:1797, 1806.

Shen, Lord 申君 [personal name unknown]; Donghai. A scholar and teacher, he served as a county magistrate in Kuaiji. When he died, his student Dai Feng escorted his body home. -HHS 81/71:2683.

Shen 沈 [personal names unknown]; Ba. The stele of a Spirit Road 神道 in Qu 渠 county in Sichuan preserved inscriptions to two members of the Shen family. One had been an Internuncio and then held minor military rank. The other was a county magistrate in Jingzhao and then Commandant of Jiaozhi commandery. -LS 13:2a-b, Nagata 94:318.

Shen 神 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Shen 慎 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Shen 沈 of Weili 尉黎/犁: see Fan 汎 of Weili.

Shen Baoxu 申包胥. In the early 190s Shen Baoxu was an adviser to Tao Qian, ruler of Xu province. -SGZ Wu 1:1109.

Shen Cheng 沈成 (d.200); Runan. Local bandits, Shen Cheng and his group were destroyed by Li Tong, who sent Shen Cheng's head to Cao Cao. -SGZ 18:535.

Shen Dan 申耽 [Yiju 義舉]; Hanzhong. A local leader, about 200 Shen Dan established himself independently in the hill country about the Han River between Hanzhong and Nanyang. In the west he had contact with Zhang Lu and in the east with Cao Cao, who named him Commandant of Shangyong commandery in his home territory and gave him title as a general.

After his victory in Hanzhong in 219 Liu Bei sent his officers Meng Da and Li Yan, and his adopted son Liu Feng, to attack Shen Dan. Shen Dan surrendered and sent his wife and children to Liu Bei's court. He was again given title as a general, enfeoffed as a marquis, and re-appointed to his former territory under the authority of Liu Feng.

In the following year, however, Meng Da went over to Cao Pi. He was likewise given title to his former territory, but with the requirement that he capture it from Liu Feng. Aided by an army of Wei and assisted by the rebellion of Shen Dan's brother Shen Yi, he forced Liu Fang to withdraw. Shen Dan changed sides once more and surrendered to Wei. He was again named a general, but was now stationed in Nanyang, while Shen Yi took over his local power. There is no record of the fate of Shen Dan's family in Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 10:991-94.

Shen Dang 申瑒; Zuopingyi. Shen Dang was chieftain of a strong local clan when, in the autumn of 23, the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent a detachment under Wang Xian to operate north of the Wei River. Taking title as a general in the name of Han, Shen Dang went to join Wang Xian, who led his new allies south across the Wei. He gained further troops from other clans and then, as the main Han army was halted at Huayin, his irregular forces seized Chang'an, ravaged the city, and killed Wang Mang. -Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:129-130.

Shen Feng 沈豐 or Zhen Feng 甄豐 [Shengda 聖

達]; Wu/Kuaiji. About 51 Shen Feng was Registrar to Diwu Lun the Administrator of Kuaiji. Diwu Lun's old mother had been unable to travel to the commandery with him, and he missed her very much, so Shen Feng went to Chang'an to escort her. When they came to the Yangzi, the old lady was afraid to cross, but Shen Feng held sacrifice and a banquet and had her toasted repeatedly until she became drunk. He was then able to get her across the river.

Shen Feng later became Administrator of Lingling, where his gentle rule brought favourable signs of sweet dew 甘露 and yellow dragons. -DGHJ 21:8a, XC 5:5a-b, HHSJJ 41/31:1481 & 76/66:2719 Hui Dong.

Shen Fu 申輔; Yingchuan. Brother of the former Honoured Lady Shen of Emperor Zhang, in 107 Shen Fu was granted a small fief by the government of the Empress Deng, regent for Emperor An. -HHS 55/45:1806.

Shen Fu 沈輔 [Boqin 伯禽]; Kuaiji. When Shen Fu was young he was very economical: when his father died he carried out the funerary ceremonies himself, but then distributed all the property he had inherited to his needy kinsmen. -XC 7:12a.

Shen Gu 審固; Henei. A common soldier in Cao Cao's service, about 210 Shen Gu was promoted and recommended by his commander Yang Jun. He later held office as Administrator in several commanderies. -SGZ 23:664.

Shen Huang 審晃 [Yuanrang 元讓]; Wei. Administrator of Jiyin in 172, Shen Huang took a leading role in arranging the restoration of the Spiritual Terrace associated with the temple to the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母. -LS 1:9b, 21:22b.

Shen Jing 沈景; Wu. Having served in the Imperial Censorate, about 131 Shen Jing was sent as Chancellor to Liu Zheng the King of Hejian, who was known for his cruelty and lack of restraint. When he arrived the king received him in informal dress, sitting with his legs apart. The courtiers bowed, but Shen Jing stood upright and asked the guards, "Where is the king?" Told this was the man, he asked how could he be, for the fellow was badly dressed and carried himself poorly. Embarrassed, the king changed his costume, and only then did Shen Jing make obeisance.

Then Shen Jing went to the gate of the city, summoned the king's Tutor and rebuked him for failing in his duty. As he reported the situation to the imperial court, an edict reprimanded the king and his tutor, and

Shen Jing purged the local government, executing twenty of the worst offenders, and releasing a hundred people who had been wrongly imprisoned. Liu Zheng now regretted his previous faults and changed his behaviour.

Despite his high position, Shen Jing lived very simply, and did not permit his family to use the official residence. -*HHS* 55/45:1808, *XC* 6:12b.

Shen Liang 沈涼 (d.67). An associate of Liu Jing, King of Guangling, Shen Liang was evidently involved in the king's mistaken attempts at sorcery to gain the imperial throne, and he may have been one of the shamans consulted by Liu Jing. When Liu Jing was disgraced in 67, Shen Liang was executed. -*HHS* 101/11:3230; *MBeck* 90:128.

Shen Mi 沈彌. A military officer of Yi province under the Governor Liu Yan, after Liu Yan's death in 194 Shen Mi joined a rebellion against Liu Yan's son Liu Zhang to aid Hu Mao, the new Inspector who had been nominated by the government at Chang'an and who was supported by Liu Biao from Jing province. The insurgents were defeated and Shen Mi and his fellows took refuge in Jing province. -*SGZ* Shu 1:868.

Shen Min 沈暕. A friend of Gao Dai, about 193 Shen Min assisted him to escape with his mother from Xu Gong the Administrator of Wu commandery. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1109.

Shen Pei 審配 [Zhengnan 正南] (d.204); Wei. Member of a powerful clan, Shen Pei became Headquarters Officer to Yuan Shao when he took Ji province from Han Fu in 191.

In 199 Shen Pei encouraged the plan to attack Cao Cao, and as Yuan Shao moved south he was left in charge at Ye city. When he arrested a kinsman of Xu You, however, Xu You became angry and went over to Cao Cao at a critical stage of the Guandu campaign in 200. As Yuan Shao's army fled, two of Shen Pei's sons were taken by Cao Cao: Shen Pei's loyalty was questioned but he was defended by his former enemy Pang Ji.

Shen Pei and Pang Ji supported the succession of Yuan Shao's youngest son Shang, as opposed to Shang's elder brother Yuan Tan and his allies Xin Ping and Guo Tu. When Yuan Shao died in 202 they forged a will in favour of Shang and so procured his inheritance.

Shen Pei remained at Ye when Yuan Shang went to aid Yuan Tan in 202, and again as he attacked Yuan Tan in 203. When Cao Cao attacked in 204 he urged

Yuan Tan to join against the common enemy, but Yuan Tan refused.

Shen Pei then defended Ye city against Cao Cao for three months. As the city was starved and then stormed Shen Pei was taken alive, but he maintained his loyalty to the Yuan and was executed. -*SGZ* 6:195-206.

Shen Rong 沈戎 [Weiqing 威卿]; Jiujiang>Kuaiji. *XTS* 74A:3146 says that Shen Rong was a son of Shen Jing 靖, who had left office and refused to serve Wang Mang.

As an Assistant Officer of Yang province early in Later Han, Shen Rong captured the bandit Yin Liang; he was offered enfeoffment, but declined. He later became Minister of the Household, and moved the family residence south into Kuaiji.

XTS also mentions Shen Rong's brothers Xun 勳 and Tai 臺, but gives no further details.

Shen Rong 審榮; Wei. A nephew of Shen Pei, in 204 Shen Rong was in charge of a gate of Ye city under siege by Cao Cao. One night he opened the gate and let the enemy in. -*SGZ* 6:202.

Shen Tai 沈臺 see Shen Rong 沈戎.

Shen Xiang 申翔; Liang. A member of the staff of the Court Architect, in 135 Shen Xiang was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -*SJZ* 16:14b.

Shen Xun 沈勳 see Shen Rong 沈戎.

Shen Yao 神曜 was a Commandant of Cavalry. -*FSTY* 5f:133.

Shen Yi 申儀; Hanzhong. Younger brother of Shen Dan, when Shen Dan surrendered to Liu Bei's forces in 219 Shen Yi went with him, and he also received appointment under Liu Feng. In the following year, however, Liu Feng's colleague Meng Da went over to Cao Pi and returned with an army of the Wei. Shen Yi then rebelled against Liu Feng, who was driven away.

Shen Yi was enfeoffed as a marquis and appointed Administrator of Weixing, in his home territory on the frontier against Liu Bei. He remained there several years, quite independent, and prepared himself an imperial seal with which he made a number of local appointments.

Shen Yi, however, was on bad terms with Meng Da, Administrator of neighbouring Shangyong, and in 227 he accused him of planning to change sides once more. Meng Da was indeed trapped and killed, but the imperial general Sima Yi also arrested Shen Yi for usurping authority. Sent to Luoyang, he was kept at

the court with nominal title as a general. -SGZ Shu 10: 991-94, JS 1:5; Fang 52:29-31, 246, 262-263.

Shen You 沈友 [Zizheng 子正] (175-204); Wu. Known for his talent when he was young, Shen You became a noted scholar. He compiled a commentary to the *Art of War* ascribed to Sun Wu, and was said to have been equally skilled in military arts, in literature and in debate.

Shen You joined Sun Quan about 200 and advised him on strategy, but others spoke against him and Sun Quan lost trust. In 204 he confronted him in open court and Shen You defied him in the name of the emperor of Han. Sun Quan killed him. -SGZ Wu 2:1117.

Shen Zhi 沈稚 of Ba was an Administrator of Yongchang under Later Han. -HYGZ 4:60.

Shen Zhong 審忠; Liang. In 179 Shen Zhong presented a memorial to Emperor Ling, criticising his reliance upon the eunuchs. Predictably, the emperor paid no attention.

Shen Zhong is described by the history as a gentleman cadet 郎中, but he refers to having been in his post for fifteen years. Since a cadet held only probationary office for up to three years, it is more likely that he was a member of the Imperial Secretariat 尚書郎. -HHS 78/68:2526; deC 89:157-159.

Shen Zhuan 申轉; Yingchuan. Brother of the Lady Shen and uncle of Liu Shou, King of Jibei, in 107 the regent Dowager Deng enfeoffed him as marquis of a village. -HHS 55/45:1806.

Shen [Ziju] 沈子琚/子璩; Yingchuan. Appointed Administrator of Guanghan in 174, Shen Ziju had water control works carried out at Mianzhu, and in 176 a stele was set up to commemorate their completion. -LS 15:7b-9b.

Shen [Ziqu] 沈子璩 see Shen Ziju 沈子琚. -LS 27:10a.

Shendu 身毒 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. About 50 King Xian of Suoju captured Qiuzi, on the north of the Tarim basin. He divided the state into two, appointing his son Ziluo and his officer Sijian as rulers. Some years later the people killed the foreigners, and invited the Xiongnu to appoint a new king from among their own leaders. Shendu was chosen as king of the re-united state, which now allied itself to the Xiongnu. -HHS 88/78:2924.

Sheng 盛 [personal name unknown]; Runan. A neighbour of the Dong family about 30, he killed two brothers in a vendetta. Dong Zizhang wanted to

avenge the death of his father and uncle, but became mortally ill. His old friend Zhi Yun came to visit him on his death-bed, and though Dong Zizhang could not speak, he signalled with his eyes and Zhi Yun guessed the source of his distress. Taking a troop of retainers, he attacked the Sheng family, killed the murderer, and presented Dong Zizhang with his head. Dong Zizhang died happy. -HHS 29/19:1027, DGHJ 15:3b.

Sheng 盛 [surname unknown] (d.142); Guanghan. Sheng killed Yang Wen, but the murder was avenged by his daughter the Lady Yang Jingyang. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Sheng 生 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Goodman suggests that he was Wen Sheng, son of Wen Hui *q.v.*, but this seems unlikely, for Wen Sheng did not receive his father's secondary marquissate until some years later. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Sheng 乘 [surname unknown] see Cheng 乘.

Sheng Bao 盛包 (d.115). Administrator of Beidi in 115, Sheng Bao was sent as a subordinate commander under Sima Jun to attack the Qiang rebels and the renegade Du Jigong. They occupied the fortress at Dingxi in northern Beidi, but when Sima Jun sent Sheng Bao and other officers out to collect grain they ignored his orders and allowed their troops to scatter. They were cut off by the rebels and their Qiang allies but Sima Jun, angry at their disobedience, stayed in the city and refused to send help. The Chinese lost over three thousand men, and Sheng Bao died in battle. -HHS 87/77:2889; deC 84:107-108.

Sheng Dao 盛道; Jianwei. In 200 Sheng Dao raised a private troop to join the rebellion of Zhao Wei against the warlord Governor Liu Zhang. The enterprise was unsuccessful, and Sheng Dao was captured. He was due to be executed, but his wife Zhao Yuanjiang took his place. Sheng Dao was able to escape with his five-year-old son Sheng Xiang, but the Lady Zhao was killed. Sheng Dao was later amnestied, and in honour of his wife's sacrifice he never remarried. -HHS 84/74:2799, HYGZ 10B:161.

Sheng Dao 盛道, wife of: see the Lady Zhao Yuanjiang 趙媛姜.

Sheng Ji 盛吉 [Junda 君達]; Kuaiji. As a clerical officer at the capital, Sheng Ji was sent to inspect the imperial prison, and he arranged the release of the

wrongly-accused Deng Rong.

Sheng Ji later became a conscientious and sympathetic Minister of Justice. Each winter, when it was time for executions to be carried out, his wife would hold a candle in the evening as Sheng Ji confirmed the sentences with a vermilion brush. Both wept as they worked. -*XC* 8:4b-5a.

Sheng Jing 盛精. Recommended by Yang Huai/Zhun about 150, Sheng Jing became a member of the Imperial Secretariat. -*HYGZ* 10B:155.

Sheng [Kongshu] 盛孔叔; Runan. Though invited to office at the imperial capital, when their patron the Administrator Li Chang died, Sheng Kongshu and other nominees stayed to carry out his mourning: see *sub* Li Chang 假.

Sheng Kuang 盛匡; Kuaiji. Son of Sheng Xian, after his father's death he fled to the north and held a junior military office under Cao Cao. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1215.

Sheng Liang 盛亮. Administrator of Le'an during the 140s, he was not impressed by Zhou Qiu/Jiu's plea for mercy for his murderous nephew, so the young man died in prison. -*FSTY* 5:37; Nylan 83:459-460.

Sheng Xian 盛憲 [Xiaozhang 孝章]; Kuaiji. An elegant, imposing man, Sheng Xian was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, joined the Imperial Secretariat, and was a close friend of Kong Rong. He became Administrator of Wu, but left office about 193, and his former officer Gao Dai arranged for him to take refuge from the troubled times with the local leader Xu Zhao. One account says that Sheng Xian was taken ill; another suggests that his successor Xu Gong took over by force, and Gao Dai persuaded the warlord Tao Qian of Xu province to give him a show of support so that Xu Gong would not press him further.

As Sun Ce took over the lower Yangzi, he saw Sheng Xian's high reputation as a threat to his own authority, and though Sheng Xian was not killed at that time he was always under threat. Kong Rong persuaded Cao Cao to offer him an imperial office which might serve as some protection, but about 202, before the commission had arrived in the south, Sheng Xian was killed by Sun Quan [see later *sub* Dai Yuan and Gui Lan]. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1214-15, 1:1105, 1109.

Sheng Xian 盛暹; Wu. About 216 Sheng Xian was recommended to Sun Quan as potentially superior in ability to his commander Ling Tong. Sun Quan remarked that he would be happy if he were as good as Ling Tong. For his part, when Sheng Xian came to

headquarters Ling Tong made a point of welcoming him.

Sheng Xian is not heard of again. -*SGZ* 10:1297.

Sheng Xiang 盛翔; Jianwei. Son of Sheng Dao, when Sheng Xiang was five years old his father was guilty of some offence. His mother the Lady Zhao Yuanjiang persuaded Sheng Dao to escape with him in order to maintain the family line; she herself accepted execution. Father and son later returned home after an amnesty, but Sheng Xiang never accepted office. -*HHS* 84/74:2799, *HYGZ* 10B:161.

Sheng Xiu 盛修. In 162, as Shang Xiu was Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, a rebellion broke in Changsha and Lingling, extended into Guiyang and then south into Cangwu, Nanhai, and Jiaozhi commandery. The Inspector of Jiaozhi and the Administrator of Cangwu abandoned their positions, and their territory was overrun.

Sheng Xiu was sent to raise troops and deal with the insurgency. He gained no success, while a group of conscripts from Yuzhang, who had not been paid, mutinied and plundered Changsha. -*HHS* 7:310, 38/28:1285.

Sheng Yuan 盛元 see Sheng Yun 盛允. -*XHS* 4:12b.

Sheng Yun 盛允 [Boshi 伯世]; Liang. After the destruction of Liang Ji in 159, Sheng Yun was promoted from Minister Herald to Excellency of Works. In 160 he was made Excellency over the Masses, but a few months later he left office, probably on account of pestilence and a series of fires in the palace.

Sheng Yun died during the 160s. His tomb was marked by a shrine and a stele. -*HHS* 7:306-08, *SJZ* 23:16b.

FSTY 5:36; Nylan 83:494 says that Sheng Yun admired the quality of Fan Pang and wanted to gain his good will. He offered to get some appointment for his father Fan Xian, but Fan Pang rejected his overtures. [The text describes Shen Yun as a Consultant at the time, but it is more probable that he was an Excellency, for it was unusual that a Consultant could make significant recommendations for office.]

HHS 7:306 TC says that Sheng Yun's style was Bodai 伯代, but the text was probably changed from Boshi to avoid taboo on the personal name of Li Shimin 李世民, second Emperor of Tang. *FSTY* has the style as Zipian 子翩, but this seems to be an error.

Sheng [Zhongming] 盛仲明; Chenliu. Presumably during the 160s, Guo Tai wrote to Sheng Zhongming

observing that he and his fellows were the "beams and rafters" 棟梁 of the age. -YSS:18b.

Shentu Chen 申屠臣; Nanyang. Half-brother to Li Tong by the same mother, Shentu Chen was a doctor, but he was killed by Liu Bosheng about 21. In 22, when Li Tong and Li Yi wanted to form an alliance with Liu Bosheng for a rebellion against Wang Mang, Shentu Chen's death represented an unresolved cause for vendetta. Both sides, however, agreed to ignore it. -DGHJ 1:2a [where the surname appears as Gongsun 公孫], DGHJ 10:5a, XHS 2:4b.

Shentu Gang 申屠剛 [Juqing 巨卿]; Youfufeng. A descendant of Shentu Jia 申屠嘉, Imperial Chancellor to Emperor Wen in the second century BC, Shentu Gang was a man of strong Confucian principles. He became Officer of Merit in his commandery, and in the time of Emperor Ping he was nominated as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright; he took the occasion to present a long memorial criticising the dominance of the government by Wang Mang and his exclusion of other distaff kinsmen of the young emperor. Predictably, Wang Mang's aunt the regent Dowager declared his arguments false, and Shentu Gang was sent back home.

When Wang Mang took the imperial title in 9 AD Shentu Gang left for the west. At first he was in Ba and Shu commanderies, but in the mid-20s he took service with the warlord regime of Wei Ao. Loyal to Han, he argued without success against Wei Ao's temporising with Gongsun Shu. In 30, evidently at the suggestion of his fellow-countryman Du Lin, who had already left Wei Ao and taken service with Han, Shentu Gang received an invitation from Emperor Guangwu. As he left he wrote urging Wei Ao, again unsuccessfully, to make terms with the restored empire.

Arriving in Luoyang, Shentu Gang was made an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate, and then Director of the Secretariat. He maintained his rigid attitudes: on one occasion, as Guangwu was planning an excursion for pleasure, he objected because the west of the empire was still not settled; the emperor rejected his advice, but Shentu Gang then lay down in front of the carriage until Guangwu gave up the idea.

More generally, he protested many times at the emperor's influence in the selection of officials, based upon personal preference; and he sought a greater degree of independence for the Heir, Liu Qiang, in the choice of his courtiers and officials. These unpopular

arguments reduced Shentu Gang's favour, and he was sent away to become a magistrate in Henan. He returned to court as a Palace Counsellor, but then left on account of illness and died at home. -HHS 29/19: 1011-16*; Bn 79:60, 69.

Shentu Jian 申屠建 (d.25); Nanyang. Of gentry family, Shentu Jian spent time at Chang'an as a student of the *Classic of History* under Cui Fa 崔發. When Liu Xuan took title as Gengshi Emperor in 23, Shentu Jian was appointed a special commissioner, and he urged the new ruler to kill Liu Bosheng, former leader of the rebellion.

Later that year Shentu Jian was named a chief general and given joint command with Li Song over the army which advanced through the Wu Pass to join Deng Ye and Yu Kuang in attacking Chang'an. After victory over the Nine Tiger army of Wang Mang at the mouth of the Wei, the army halted at the Capital Granary, and by the time they reached the capital the city had fallen and Wang Mang had been killed by irregulars under Wang Xian.

Shentu Jian had the leaders of the fallen regime executed, including his former tutor Cui Fa, who had been an Excellency. He also killed Wang Xian for lese-majesty, and he destroyed the local strongman Yuan She. In these circumstances, when he refused to grant any honours to the local chieftains who had stormed Chang'an, arguing that they had betrayed Wang Mang, the leaders of the region became anxious and gathered troops to defend themselves.

Shentu Jian now urged the Gengshi Emperor to shift his capital to Chang'an as a means to settle the people, and early in 24 the emperor did indeed move from Luoyang to the western capital. Shentu Jian was enfeoffed as king of a county in Nanyang.

In the summer of 25, as the Red Eyebrows were advancing from the east and Liu Xiu's general Deng Yu threatened from the north, Shentu Jian joined Wei Ao and others in urging the Gengshi Emperor to abdicate in favour of Liu Liang, uncle of Liu Xiu. When the emperor refused, Shentu Jian and Wei Ao conspired against him with the chieftains Zhang Ang and Liao Zhan. The plot was discovered, and the emperor called in the leaders, intending to kill them. Wei Ao refused to attend, and others became suspicious and left the gathering, but Shentu Jian stayed. He was taken and executed. -HHS 11/A:469-74; Bn 54:120-128, Bn 59: 20, 97-99.

Shentu Pan 申屠蟠 or 申徒蟠 [Zilong 子龍 or Ziling 子陵]; Chenliu. Shentu Pan came of poor family and his father died when he was nine. Shentu Pan distinguished himself by an excess of grief and mourning: he took no wine or meat for more than ten years, and on the anniversary of the death he would not eat at all for three days. It was said his father's tomb produced sweet dew 甘露 and a white pheasant in honour of his filial virtue.

At the age of fifteen Shentu Pan went to the county magistrate Liang Pei and persuaded him to obtain a pardon for the Lady Gou Yu, who had killed a man in vendetta. He later worked as an artisan in lacquer while attending the University at Luoyang. When his fellow-student Wang Ziju died he entrusted his remains to Shentu Pan, who took the corpse back to Wang's home country in Jiyan. As he was leaving he met an officer of the capital province who was impressed by Shentu Pan's piety and gave him an official tally to provide assistance. Shentu Pan threw it away and carried out the journey privately, then returned to his studies.

Shentu Pan became widely learned in the Confucian classics, apocrypha and the charts of divination. He was admired by Guo Tai and Cai Yong and was offered appointment by his commandery and province and in the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, but he refused all invitations and lived in seclusion.

In 165 the former Grand Commandant Huang Qiong died, and though Shentu Pan had not been willing to take appointment under him, he nonetheless attended his funeral in Jiangxia; he continued to refuse invitations to office. He was later nominated as Knowing the Way and was given a special escort to the capital, but he made his escape and fled.

Shentu Pan likewise disapproved of the reform party of moral Confucianists and their student supporters led by such men as Fan Pang, foretelling trouble when scholars out of office sought to take part in political affairs; the last time that had led to the persecution and burning of the books in the time of Qin. He retired to the wilderness, lived in a hut amongst the trees, and dealt only with local working people. As the Proscription crisis developed in 167 and 169, Shentu Pan was unaffected.

In the late 180s the General-in-Chief He Jin had his fellow-countryman Huang Zhong write to Shentu Pan with arguments why he should accept office. He made no reply, and even when there was a special call-up in

188 he still would not go. As Dong Zhuo seized power in 189 he summoned Shentu Pan and several others, indicating that he was prepared to use force to make them come. Shentu Pan laughed, ignored the summons and died at home.

As Vervorn observes, Shentu Pan was "an unusual mixture of stern Confucian scholar and ... social hermit." -HHS 53/43:1750-54*, XC 3:4a-b & 10a; Vervorn 90:178, 187.

Shentu Xiong 申屠熊; Yingchuan. Evidently the successor to Xian Fang, in 181 and 183 Shentu Xiong was Chief Clerk to Feng Xun, Chancellor of Changshan. He was associated in the setting up of two stele to a ridge of the Taihang Ranges known as Three Excellencies Mountain 三公山. -LS 3:21b-22a.

Shentu Xiong 申屠熊; Chenliu. A client of Cai Yong, Shentu Xiong commended to him the young but filial Cheng Wei. -Cai 8:2.

Shentu Zhi 申屠志. A follower of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, he was enfeoffed as a king but, believing that only those who held the imperial Liu surname should be granted royal rank, he returned his insignia and received a marquise instead. -DGHJ 23: 2b.

Commentary to this text observes that the name of Shentu Zhi does not appear in HHS, while Zhu Wei is the only person recorded as having rejected a royal fief on such grounds. The citation may represent a confusion of Zhu Wei and Shentu Jian qq.v.

Sheqiu Bing 蛇丘炳 is cited by FSTY 6f:137.

Sheqiu Huo 蛇丘惑 became Administrator of Henei. FSTY 6f:137.

Shi 郗 [surname] see Chi 郗 *passim*.

Shi 郝 [surname] see Hao 郝 *passim*

Shi 適 (d.63); Xiongnu. Son of the founding Southern Shanyu Bi, Shi succeeded his uncle Han in 59, taking the title Xitong shizuhou di 醯潼尸逐侯鞬 Shanyu. In the winter of 62, with the support of local Chinese forces from Xihe, Shi led his troops to repel a force of several thousand Northern Xiongnu who had come to plunder Wuyuan and Yunzhong. -HHS 89/79:2948.

Shi, Lord 史侯 see Liu Bian the Little Emperor, and *sub* Shi Zimiao. -HHS 10B:449.

Shi, Marquis of 式侯: see Liu Gong 劉恭.

Shi Bao 史苞 [Shuwen 叔文]; Youfufeng. When Dou Rong was appointed to the northwest of Liang province in 23, he established a good relationship with Shi Bao the Commandant of Zhangye. As the Gengshi

regime collapsed at Chang'an in 25, Shi Bao and his colleagues accepted Dou Rong's leadership. The Administrator Ren Zhong left the region and Shi Bao took his place.

As Dou Rong brought his army east to assist Emperor Guangwu's attack on Wei Ao in 32, Shi Bao and his fellows were given titles as marquises. -HHS 23/13:796-97, 806.

Shi Bi 史弼 [Gongqian 公謙]; Chenliu. Son of Shi Chang, as a young man Shi Bi was known for his scholarship and attracted several hundred students. At the age of twenty he became Officer of Merit in his commandery, and was admired for purging more than a hundred bad officials who had been appointed by the previous Administrator Song Xin.

Shi Bi held local office in the province, and was later recruited into the offices at the capital. He became Adjutant of the Northern Army, then a member of the Imperial Secretariat. Sent out as Administrator of Shanyang, he married the Lady Xue of that commandery. In accordance with the *San-hu* 三互 regulations, men were not permitted to hold office in a province to which they were connected by marriage. Shi Bi duly sent in a report asking for transfer, and was appointed Chancellor of Pingyuan. He treated powerful families firmly but was lenient to common people who fell foul of the law. The King of Pingyuan, Liu Shi, a brother of Emperor Huan, was frequently drunk and unable to carry out his duties, so his father's widow the Lady Ma generally had charge of his affairs.

About 165, however, Shi Bi sent in a sealed memorial to complain of the conduct of Liu Kui, also a brother of the emperor, who was ruler of the neighbouring state of Bohai. Shi Bi alleged that Liu Kui disobeyed the law, that he held orgies of music and wine, and his companions were irresponsible and dissolute. He claimed that the Tutor, the Chancellor and provincial authorities were unwilling or unable to take corrective action, and he pressed for an outside investigation and punitive reform. The emperor would not agree, but soon afterwards Liu Kui was accused of planning rebellion.

In making this complaint Shi Bi acted outside his jurisdiction, while Liu Kui's later misfortunes were largely due to Emperor Huan's eunuch favourites. It is doubtful whether Shi Bi intended to assist Liu Kui's enemies, but as the memorial evidently came to general knowledge at the court, his well-meant interference

helped to justify later attacks on a possible heir to the throne, and did a good deal to damage the dynasty.

At the time of the First Faction Incident of 166-167, when heads of commandery units were ordered to send in reports on those involved, Shi Bi was the only one who gave no information. The authorities of Qing province sent an officer to make enquiries, but Shi Bi claimed that even if all other territories in the province had problems, his state did not, and he would not make false accusations. The officer arrested some junior officers of the commandery and reported Shi Bi, but soon afterwards the tension eased and Shi Bi was able to pay his way out of trouble. He had saved more than a thousand people.

Shi Bi later became Administrator of Hedong. The palace eunuch Hou Lan sent a number of his clients with a letter asking that they be nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and also seeking a share in the official salt revenue. At first they were unable to gain audience, but they then claimed to be concerned with some other matter and so presented the letter. Angry at the deception and the attempt to interfere with his government, Shi Bi had the men arrested and flogged. His assistant and local officers protested, but Shi Bi sent the men to prison and had them questioned by torture until they died.

Hou Lan, furious, made false accusations to the Director of Retainers, head of the province, and Shi Bi was brought to court in a cage cart. He was condemned to death, but Wei Shao, one of his former nominees, and other men from Pingyuan sold the commandery residence at Luoyang to pay a bribe to Hou Lan [but see *sub* Wei Shao]. Shi Bi's death sentence was commuted by one degree.

Having served as a convict labourer, Shi Bi was released and returned to his home. Closing his gates, he claimed to be ill, but after several invitations from Excellencies and other senior officials he returned to court as a Consultant, much to the anger of Hou Lan and his fellows.

About 180 Shi Bi was made Chancellor of Pengcheng, where he restrained powerful local families. He died in that office. -HHS 64/54:2108-12*, XC 4:1b; deC 89:55-56, 85-86, 345-346.

Shi Cen 史岑 [Xiaoshan 孝山]. Probably a member of the history office, about 118 Shi Cen composed a hymn to the virtues of the Dowager Deng. -Yao Zhenzong: 2416.

Shi Chang 史敞; Chenliu. Known for his skill in rhetoric, in the time of Emperor Shun Shi Chang was a member of the Imperial Secretariat and associated with a conservative group led by the Deputy Director Hu Guang. In 132, when the emperor was to choose an empress, there were four Honoured Ladies who had received his favour. It was suggested the decision should be made by lot, in order that spiritual powers might be involved, but Shi Chang joined Hu Guang and Guo Qian in protest, arguing that there was no precedent for such a method of selection, and the decision should be based upon quality of lineage. So the Lady Liang Na was chosen, and the Liang family began its rise to domination of the court and the government.

Later that year the Director of the Secretariat, Zuo Xiong, proposed tightening the processes of selection for office. Shi Chang, Hu Guang and Guo Qian argued that the current system worked well and was supported by a majority of officials, but the emperor approved the reforms.

Later, Shi Chang unsuccessfully recommended Hu Guang as Administrator of Chenliu, and was himself appointed Intendant of Jingzhao. His government, based upon moral teachings, was widely admired. - *HHS* 44/34:1505, 64/54:2108.

Shi Chen 史晨 [Boshi 伯時]; Henan. Having served as a colonel in the Northern Army, Shi Chen became Chancellor of Lu in 168. In the following year he sought permission to make offerings at the Temple of Confucius, and carried out the ceremony a few weeks later. An inscription commemorated the event. - *LS* 1: 25a-29a, 21:23a-b, Nagata 94:178-80.

Shi Chong 史充. In 96 Shi Chong was transferred from Administrator of Hanyang to be Protector of the Qiang. He led troops of the Loyal Auxiliary out of the frontier to attack the Qiang warlord Mitang, but they were heavily defeated. Next year Shi Chong was dismissed. - *HHS* 87/77:2883.

Shi Chong 世寵 was Commandant of Jiujiang. - *FSTY* 5f:120.

Shi Ci 士賜; Cangwu. Shi Ci's family claimed to have come to the far south from Lu during the civil war at the beginning of Later Han. About 160 Shi Ci became Administrator of Rinan. - *SGZ* Wu 4:1191.

Shi [Delin] 石德林 see Han Pin 寒貧.

Shi Fan 士汎. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Shi Fan took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng

which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county fief in Nan commandery.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Shi Fan and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Shi Fan was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were again sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. - *HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Shi Fu 士輔 *i.e.* Shi Kuang 士匡. - *ZZTJ* 70:2231. Sima Guang used the synonym *fu* 輔 to avoid taboo on the personal name of the founder of his own Song 宋 dynasty, Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤; Fang 52:221.

Shi Guang 石光 (d.139?). A eunuch, in 139 Shi Guang was Prefect of Valets 內者令 to Emperor Shun. He joined the Regular Attendant Zhang Kui and others in claiming that the father of the empress Liang Shang, together with their rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben were planning to depose the emperor. Emperor Shun doubted the story, and when the conspirators had Cao Teng and Meng Ben arrested he became furious and had them killed. - *HHS* 6:268, 43/24:1176, 101/1A: 3245 [the last says that some committed suicide and others escaped].

Shi Huan 史渙 [Gongliu 公劉] (d.209); Pei. Bravo leader of a troop, Shi Huan was an early follower of Cao Cao. In 199 he defeated and killed Sui Gu in Henei, taking over his soldiers. In 200 he joined Xu Huang to destroy a convoy of Yuan Shao's supplies. He was given a trusted police office in the army and was enfeoffed. - *SGZ* 9:269-70.

Shi Huang 史璜. Administrator of Cangwu and an associate of Shi Xie and his brothers, he died about 204. - *SGZ* Wu 4:1192.

Shi Hui 士黈; Cangwu. Younger brother of Shi Xie and Shi Yi, he became a magistrate in Hepu. In the 190s he was named Administrator of Jiuzhen as part of the family control in the far south, but he evidently retired from that position about 220: see Dan Meng. When the sons of Shi Xie were destroyed by Lü Dai in 226, Shi Hui had his property confiscated and was reduced to commoner status. A few years later he was executed for some crime. - *SGZ* Wu 4:1191-93.

Shi Hui 士徽 (d.226); Cangwu. Son of Shi Xie, after his father's death in 226 he attempted to set himself and his brothers up in the region of present-day Vietnam independently of Sun Quan and his local ruler Lü Dai. Lü Dai, however, brought a powerful army against them.

Lü Dai was a friend of Shi Hui's cousin Shi Kuang and had appointed him to his personal staff. He sent him as an envoy to persuade Shi Hui and his brothers to surrender, assuring them of good treatment. They came to Lü Dai's camp, but he killed them next morning. -SGZ Wu 4:1193; Fang 52:205-206, 220-221.

Shi Ji 史時. A Palace Attendant in 195, Shi Ji accompanied Emperor Xian in his escape from Chang'an. As the imperial party reached, Hedong Shi Ji and the Minister Coachman Han Rong were sent back to Li Jue and Guo Si in Hongnong; they negotiated the release of officials and palace people who had been held prisoner. -HHSJJ 9:352 and 72/62:2565 Hui Dong quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

Shi [Jianyuan] 史堅元; Chenliu. During the troubles of the early 190s Shi Jianyuan went to Xu province. The Inspector Tao Qian initially treated the refugees well, but later turned on them and had Shi Jianyuan and his colleague Xiang Zhonghua arrested. -HHJ 27:329.

Shi Jing 史靜; Pei. Son of Shi Huan, he succeeded to his fief in 209. -SGZ 9:270.

Shi Jingping 石敬平. A student at Luoyang, Shi Jingping died of spring fever after a winter chill 溫病. His fellow-student Dai Feng brought his coffin and all his possessions to Shi Jingping's home. -HHS 81/71:2683.

Shi Jun 史軍, the Lady; Yingchuan. When her son Shi Yu was found guilty of murder about 120, the Lady went to the prison and asked to take his place. She was duly strangled. See also *sub* Shu Yu. -HHS 48/38:1610.

Shi Kou 石口 was a successful and influential Administrator of Yanmen. -XC 7:10a.

Shi Kuang 士匡; Cangwu. Son of Shi Yi, he was named General of the Household by Sun Quan and became a friend of Lü Dai, Inspector of Jiao province.

In 226 Shi Kuang went as emissary for Lü Dai to persuade Shi Hui 徽 and other cousins, sons of Shi Xie, to surrender to mercy. Lü Dai, however, promptly killed them, while Shi Kuang was deprived of his property and reduced to commoner status. -SGZ Wu

4:1193; Fang 52:205-206.

Shi Liang 師亮; Anding. A man of wealthy family, about 195 he acted as patron to Su Ze, a refugee from Youfufeng. He did not, however, treat Su Ze well, and Su Ze foretold that he would return as Administrator and would take revenge.

Some years later Su Ze was indeed appointed as Administrator, and Shi Liang and his associates prepared to flee. Su Ze, however, sent messengers to reassure them, and he treated them with courtesy. -SGZ 16:491.

Shi Lu 史路. A student of Yue Yin, when his teacher was killed in Luoyang in 189 he joined Qian Zhao to escort the body home. As they were attacked by bandits, Shi Lu and his fellows ran away, but Qian Zhao stayed his ground and persuaded the robbers to leave his master's coffin intact. -SGZ 26:730.

Shi Miao 時苗 [Dezhou 德胄]; Julu. When he was young, Shi Miao was known for his good conduct, though many people disliked him for it. About 208 Cao Cao appointed him to his Imperial Chancellor's offices and he later became county magistrate of Shouchun, capital of Jiujiang, where his influence spread widely.

At that time Shouchun was close to the frontier against Sun Quan and served as the headquarters of the administration of Yang province. Shi Miao went to pay a courtesy call upon Jiang Ji, who was Attendant Officer to the Investigator, but Jiang Ji was too drunk to receive him. Angry at the slight, Shi Miao set up a carved wooden figure in his courtyard, labelled it "the Drunkard Jiang Ji" "酒徒蔣濟" and shot arrows at it morning and evening. The provincial and commandery offices recognised that such conduct was out of order, but since Shi Miao carried out his other duties more effectively than anyone else they took no action.

When Shi Miao first took up his office he rode in a screened carriage drawn by a yellow female ox. After some years she gave birth to a calf, and as Shi Miao was called back to the capital he left the calf behind, telling his Registrar that he could no longer keep it, for it belonged in its home country. Everyone said that the calf had no comprehension of where it was meant to be, and should follow its mother, but Shi Miao insisted; he became known for his eccentricity.

After a period of appointment as Court Provisioner, Shi Miao went to his home commandery as Impartial and Just 中正, a new position established by Cao Cao to identify future officials. He particularly sought

out men of generous spirit, and would emphasise the faults and disqualify those who did not show such sensitivity.

Shi Miao's old enemy Jiang Ji later became Grand Commandant of the empire of Wei, but Jiang Ji never held his insults against him, and Shi Miao did not alter his attitude now that Jiang Ji had risen so high. After several years in the provinces, Shi Miao became Commissioner for Agriculture, with responsibility for agricultural colonies. He died in the 240s, aged over seventy. -SGZ 23:662-63.

Shi Pin 石貧 see Han Pin 寒貧.

Shi Qi 史祈. Administrator of Yingchuan, he and his dead ancestors had an embarrassing encounter with the magician Liu Gen. -HHS 82/72B:2746; Ngo 76:137-138, DeWoskin 83:83. [*Shenxian zhuan*, however, ascribes Liu Gen to the Former Han period, and says that the Administrator who dealt with him had the surname Zhang 張.]

Shi Qian 師遷 (d.173). In 173 Shi Qian was Acting Chancellor to Liu Chong, King of Chen. He reported that the king and his former Chancellor Wei Yin had held ceremonies asking the deities for inappropriate good fortune; this was Impiety.

Shi Qian and Wei Yin were brought to the capital by cage-cart and were examined by the eunuch Wang Fu, together with the Director of the Imperial Secretariat and the censors. They found that the ceremonies had not been correct, but there was no question of Impiety; Shi Qian had laid false information against his king.

Both Shi Qian and Wei Yin were executed, but an edict ordered there should be no further investigation of Liu Chong. -HHS 8:334-35, 50/40:1669.

Shi Qian 石謙; Jianwei. In 203 Shi Qian and his fellow-countryman Cheng Zheng persuaded the Governor Liu Zhang to divide Jianwei and set up the new commandery of Jiangyang. -HYGZ 3:40, HYGZJBTZ:180.

Shi Ran 施然 see Zhu Ran 朱然.

Shi Ren 士仁 [Junyi 君義]; Guangyang. As Guan Yu attacked Cao Cao's positions north up the Han in 219, the general Shi Ren held command of the garrison at Gong'an in Nan commandery. There was some confusion about supplies, and Guan Yu promised to punish Shi Ren and his colleague Mi Fang at Jiangling when he returned. As a result, when Lü Meng of Wu came up the Yangzi in a surprise attack both men were willing to surrender. -SGZ Shu 6:941, 15:1090, SGZ

Wu 2:1120, 9:1278.

SGZ Shu 6 has the surname of this man as Fushi 傅士, but the other texts refer to him as Shi Ren. It is likely that the character *fu* is a mistaken addition.

Shi [Shubin] 史叔賓; Chenliu. About 160 Shi Shubin was generally regarded as a young man of talent, but Guo Tai thought him insubstantial. He later lost his reputation, for having composed false encomiums to flatter those in power. -HHS 68/58:2230.

Shi Shuo 世碩 wrote books. -FSTY 5f:120.

Shi Su 詩索; Jiaozhi. Shi Su was the husband of Zheng Ce [Tr'ung Trac], the daughter of a non-Chinese chieftain who rebelled in the region of present-day Vietnam in 40. Shi Su is not identified as a tribesman, so he may have been Han Chinese; he does not appear to have played a leading role in the uprising, so he may have died by the time of the enterprise. -HHS 86/76:2836.

Shi Tao 石韜 [Guangyuan 廣元]; Yingchuan. A fellow student and close friend of Xu Shu, he went with him during the 190s to take refuge in Jing province, where they studied under Sima Hui. Among their colleagues were Pang Tong and Zhuge Liang, and Shi Tao was among those who recognised Zhuge Liang's particular abilities.

As Cao Cao came to Jing province in 208 Shi Tao went with Xu Shu to join him. He served as head of a number of commanderies, and was later a Colonel in Charge of Agriculture 典農校尉 with responsibility for agricultural colonies 屯田. Zhuge Liang always recalled him with admiration. -SGZ Shu 5:911-12, 914.

Shi Tong 史佟. A member of the Imperial Secretariat during the 160s, Shi Tong was an associate of the palace eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang. -HHS 103/13:3283

Shi Wei 石鮪; Dai. A local leader, he took title as a general in the early years of civil war, but was forced out of Dai commandery by the forces of Emperor Guangwu. He and Min Kan then re-established themselves in the area of Wuyuan and Shuofang, north of the Ordos, and in 28, under the aegis of the Shanyu of the Xiongnu, they were brought into the alliance of leaders which supported Lu Fang's claim to the throne of Han. Shi Wei is not heard of again. -HHS 12/2:506.

Shi Wei 士黈 see Shi Hui 士黈.

Shi [Weize] 石威則. Some time after the time of the defeat of Yuan Shao at Guandu in late 200, Xiahou Dun wrote to Shi Weize referring to Zhang Jin holding

office in Lingling and Guiyang commanderies. Nothing more is known of Shi Weize. -SGZ Wu 1:1110 PC quoting *Zhi lin*; deC 90:206.

Shi Wu 士武; Cangwu. Youngest brother of Shi Xie, in the 190s Shi Wu was named Administrator of Nanhai as part of the family control in the far south. When he died soon afterwards, the family lost its authority over the Pearl River region. -SGZ Wu 4:1191-92.

Shi Xiajun 史夏君. Inspector of Yang province in the 30s, Shi Xiajun appointed Zhongli Yi as his Assistant Officer resident in Jiujiang and later recommended him to the court. -HHSJJ 41/3A:1493 Hui Dong quoting the Secondary Biography of Zhongli Yi.

Shi Xian 是憲; Henan. Officer of Merit at Luoyang in the time of Emperor Zhang, Shi Xian had a man killed; his crime was found out by the Prefect Fang Chu. -XC 7:1b.

Shi Xie 士燮 [Weiyan 威彦] (137-226); Cangwu. Son of Shi Ci, he attended the University at Luoyang, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and joined the Imperial Secretariat.

Returning home at his father's death, he received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent, served as a magistrate in Nan commandery and then, in the 180s, became Administrator of Jiaozhi. Like his father, Shi Xie was head of a commandery in his native province: this was formally not permitted, but evidently reflects the local importance of the family and the distance from the central government.

When the Inspector Zhu Fu was killed early in the 190s, Shi Xie was able to name his brothers Yi, Wei and Wu as Administrators of Hepu, Jiuzhen and Nanhai respectively. Civil war had broken out in the north, and the court was in no position to object. With his family connections in Cangwu, and no doubt influence in Rinan from his father's former posting there, Shi Xie dominated the far south. His capital at Longbian, near present-day Hanoi, was an important trading centre, the prosperity, scholarship and splendour of his court were celebrated, and his territory became a refuge for emigrants from the troubles of the north. There was prosperous tribute/trade in goods from the south seas, and also contact into Yi province, which apparently sent horses overland from western China. [Some scholars identify Longbian with the Cattigara/Kattigara of Ptolemy, but other suggestions range from Hangzhou to Singapore.]

The death of Shi Wu about 200 reduced the

dominance of the family in the Pearl River basin, and various northern leaders attempted to establish a position of their own there. Shi Xie, contenting himself with the western part of the region, made contact with the court under Cao Cao, receiving enfeoffment and title as a general.

When Sun Quan's nominee as Inspector of Jiao province, Bu Zhi, came to Nanhai in 211, Shi Xie offered him formal recognition, and in 217 he sent his son Xin as hostage to Sun Quan. Shi Xie, now elderly, was evidently concerned only with a minimal maintenance of his local authority. He offered little resistance to the encroachment of Sun Quan's officials in the east, and after the death of his officer Dan Meng in Jiuzhen he lost control of that territory too.

With his power restricted to Jiaozhi commandery in the Red River basin about present-day Hanoi, Shi Xie died in 226 at the age of ninety. His family was soon afterwards destroyed by Lü Dai, but Shi Xie is remembered by the Vietnamese, under the name of Si Nhiếp/King Si, as an early hero of their people. -SGZ Wu 4:1191-93*; deC 90, Taylor 83, Holmgren 80, Schafer 67:99.

Shi Xin 史歆 (d.42); Shu. Some time an officer under Cen Peng, Shi Xin later held military office at Chengdu, capital of Shu commandery, on behalf of Han. He resented the brutality with which Wu Han had treated his native commandery during the campaign of conquest against Gongsun Shu in 36, and in the spring of 42 he led a mutiny. Driving away the Administrator Zhang Mu, Shi Xin took title as Grand Marshal and sent out summons of recruitment. Yang Wei and Xu Rong raised several thousand men in Ba commandery to support him.

Concerned at the spread of the rebellion and at the fact that Shi Xin was an experienced soldier, Emperor Guangwu sent Wu Han with Liu Shang, Zang Gong and ten thousand men to deal with him. Approaching through Wudu, Wu Han called up troops from Guanghan, Ba and Shu, and laid siege to Chengdu. After three months, the city fell in the autumn and Shi Xin was executed. Wu Han then sailed downriver to destroy Yang Wei and Xu Rong. The victory was celebrated by a special imperial amnesty for Yi province. -HHS 18/8:683, 1B:69-70, HYGZ 5:70.

Shi Xin 士歆; Cangwu. Son of Shi Xie, about 220 he was sent as hostage to Sun Quan and was named Administrator of the new capital commandery at

Wuchang, present-day Echeng/Ezhou in Hubei.

After the death of his father in 226 and the destruction of the family power in the south by Lü Dai, Shi Xin was reduced to commoner status. He died soon afterwards, leaving no children, but his impoverished wife received a grant from the state. -*SGZ* Wu 4:1191-92.

Shi Xing 史興 (d.36). Son-in-law of Gongsun Shu, at the beginning of 36 he was sent with five thousand men to relieve Wuyang city, south of Chengdu, which was besieged by the Han forces under Wu Han. His troops were defeated and Shi Xing was killed. -*HHS* 18/8:681; Bn 59:194.

Shi Xiu 石修. In 75 Shi Xiu was a major under the Wu Colonel Geng Gong in Further Jushi, north of the Bogda range and east of present-day Urumqi. Their small force was attacked by a great army of the Xiongnu, and Geng Gong and his troops defended themselves with utmost courage for fully a year. Early in 76 the remnant garrison was relieved, though only thirteen men returned alive to Dunhuang. In a campaign during which hundreds of lower ranks perished, one may note that the commander and two of his majors, the next senior officers, survived.

The gallant and ferocious defence was widely admired, but the heroes were not treated generously. Shi Xiu became Assistant Magistrate of the Markets 市丞 at Luoyang. -*HHS* 19/9:723.

Shi Xu 石勣 [Zicai 子才]; Ganling. A distaff kinsman of Bi Feng of Wu, about 180 Shi Xu composed an inscription in his honour. -*LS* 9:20b-23a, 25:12b.

Shi Xun 史循, As Court Physician, Shi Xun was permitted to stay in the inner part of the palace. One cold night he was taken by an intestinal cramp. He wanted fire but could not get any. Some attendants blew on his back to keep him warm, and by morning he had recovered. -*XC* 8:4a. [This story is almost word-for-word the same as for the Physician Pi Xun in the time of Emperor Ming, recorded by *DGHJ*. One of the incidents must be dittography.]

Shi Yan 施延 [Junzi 君子 or Junping 君平]; Pei. A young man of humble family, Shi Yan was an earnest student of the Confucian classics and also of divination by the stars and by the wind. He travelled with his elderly mother to Lujiang and then to Kuaiji, where he supported her by working as a farm labourer. The Investigator Feng Fu appreciated his quality, and in 121 Shi Yan was nominated as Knowing the Way. Graded

First Class, he was appointed a Palace Attendant.

In 123 the Internuncio Dan Song proposed that the official *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar should be changed to use a *jiayin* 甲寅 year [cycle number 51] as base (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") rather than a *guisi* 庚巳 year [cycle number 30]; this would accord with the apocrypha. Shi Yan's arguments in favour of the idea were supported by a majority, but Zhang Heng and other rationalists claimed the amendments would only add errors and that the apocrypha were unworthy of serious attention. Many others, including the Director of the Secretariat Chen Zhong, also opposed change, so the existing calendar was retained.

In 124 Shi Yan joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital to protest the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators achieved no success, but their support was appreciated, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne at the end of 125, Shi Yan and several of his colleagues were rewarded with high office and granted the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen.

In 133 Shi Yan was promoted from Minister Herald to be Grand Commandant, but he was dismissed two years later on the grounds that he had recommended unworthy men for office. He died at the age of seventy-six. -*HHS* 6:263-265, 15/5:591-93, 46/36:1557-58, 92/2:3034, *XC* 7:10a-b.

Shi Yi 士異, the Lady, see Wang Yi 王異.

Shi Yi 士壹; Cangwu. Younger brother of Shi Xie, he served as an Investigator in his home commandery. In 188 was invited to Luoyang to become a clerk under Ding Gong, former Inspector of Jiaozhi and now Excellency over the Masses, but when he arrived the next year Ding Gong had left office.

Shi Yi was well treated by Ding Gong's successor Huang Wan, but as Huang Wan opposed Dong Zhuo, Shi Yi came under threat as one of his supporters. As the capital was shifted to Chang'an in 192 Shi Yi was able to make his escape and return to the south. Soon afterwards he was named Administrator of Hepu by Shi Xie, as part of the family pattern of control over the far south, and he remained there over thirty years.

Shi Yi followed Shi Xie's policy of accepting the authority of Sun Quan's officer Bu Zhi, appointed Inspector in 210. Having sent his son Kuang as hostage to Wu, he was enfeoffed and named a lieutenant-general.

As a result of Shi Yi's complaisance, Hepu fell increasingly under the control of Sun Quan's regime. When Shi Hui and the other sons of Shi Xie were destroyed by Bu Zhi's successor Lü Dai in 226, Shi Yi was reduced to commoner status and his property was confiscated. A few years later he was executed for some crime. -SGZ Wu 4:1191-93.

Shi Yi 士黈 see Shi Hui 士黈.

Shi Yi 是儀 [Ziyu 子羽]; Beihai. Shi Yi's original surname was 氏. When he was a young man he held local office in his county and in the early 190s he joined the headquarters staff of the Chancellor of Beihai, Kong Rong. Kong Rong made fun of him, saying that the character 氏 was too close to *min* 民, indicating the common people, and persuaded him to change it to 是. [Some moralists would criticise Shi Yi for abandoning his ancestral name, and Kong Rong for encouraging him to do so.]

Presumably after Kong Rong was driven from Beihai in 193, Shi Yi went to join Liu Yao the Inspector of Yang province south of the Yangzi. When Liu Yao was defeated by Sun Ce and driven west to Yuzhang, Shi Yi went east to Kuaiji, but that territory was taken over by Sun Ce in 196. As Sun Quan began to establish his government, he was anxious to attract men of learning, and when Shi Yi went to join him he was well received and given positions of increasing trust. From about 211 he was one of Sun Quan's confidential clerks, with Xu Xiang and Shi Yi, and held appointment as a Commandant of Cavalry.

Consulted on Lü Meng's plan to attack Guan Yu in Jing province in 219, Shi Yi strongly supported the venture and, despite his protests that he lacked experience, was given commission as a colonel. After the victory he was promoted major-general, enfeoffed, and granted status as a Palace Attendant. In 228 he took part in a successful operation in Lujiang and was made a lieutenant-general, then returned to the Secretariat at the capital. He was later assistant to the Heir, Sun Deng, in Jing province, went on embassy to confirm alliance with Shu-Han after the death of Zhuge Liang in 234, and continued to serve and advise until his death in the 240s at the age of eighty-one. -SGZ Wu 17:1411-13*; Fang 52:603, 654.

Shi Yiguan 師宜官; Nanyang. In the time of Emperor Ling, who was a great patron of the art, Shi Yiguan was regarded as the finest exponent of the *li shu* 隸書 "Clerical Style" of calligraphy, with a special form

known as the "Eight-part" 八分, and the capacity to write characters both large and microscopic. It is said that he was extremely jealous of his ability, and would destroy his writing-blocks after he finished with them. On at least one occasion, however, his student Liang Gu got Shi Yiguan drunk and stole one of his tablets, possibly to pass it off as his own.

Shi Yiguan served as an officer under Yuan Shu in the early 190s, and wrote stele on his behalf. -SGZ 1: 31, JS 36:1064, and *Shuduan*.

Shi Yu 史玉; Yingchuan. About 120 Shi Yu was found guilty of murder. His mother Shi Jun went to the prison and asked to take his place. She was duly strangled, and the legal authority Chen Zhong agreed that Shi Yu should be spared the death penalty. Many years later, this decision was criticised by the commentator Ying Shao. -HHS 48/38:1610.

Shi Zhao 史昭; Chenliu. Appointed district head by the Administrator Niu Shu, Shi Zhao exerted great local influence for good, so much that the people paid attention only to him, and not to any county or commandery officials. -HHS 48/38:1618

Shi Zimiao 史子眇. After several imperial children had died within the palace, Liu Bian, the son of Emperor Ling by his Empress He, was entrusted to the care of the Taoist master 道士 Shi Zimiao. Liu Bian became known as Lord Shi 史侯. -HHS 10B:449.

Shi Zizhu 史子助 see Shi Zimiao 史子眇. -HHSJ 10B:430.

Shihui 師會 of Yetiao/Shetiao 葉調. An officer of the state, which lay beyond the frontier of Rinan, in 131 he was sent by his king Bian on embassy to the imperial court. Emperor Shun awarded Bian the golden seal and purple ribbon of royalty, and granted Shihui title and insignia as Lord of the Cities of Yetiao which are Loyal to Han 漢歸義葉調邑君. -DGHJ 3:3a, HHS 6: 258, 86/76:2837.

Shili 師利; Xiongnu. -XTS 75B:3437 says that Shili was a son of the captured general Liu Jinbo and that he became a king in the Xiongnu state. The story of Liu Jinbo, however, is doubtful.

Shisheng 師升 [Japanese: Suishō]; Japanese. A king of the Wa 倭 [dwarf?] people of Japan, in 107 Shisheng sent a tribute mission with 160 slaves to the court of Emperor An controlled by the regent Dowager Deng. -HHS 85/75:2821.

Shisun Fen 士孫奮 [Jingqing 景卿]; Youfufeng. A man of most prosperous family, Shisun Fen served for

a time as a senior local officer in his commandery, and his great wealth was celebrated even in the imperial capital.

About 150 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji presented Shisun Fen with a team of four horses and asked for a loan of fifty million cash. When Shisun Fen gave only thirty million, Liang Ji was furious. He told the authorities in Youfufeng that Shisun Fen's mother had been a slave in his store-house, and she had run away with ten *hu* 斛 [200 litres] of white pearls and a thousand *jin* 斤 [250 kilograms] of the valued alloy known as purple-sheen gold 紫金 [Needham 74:257-266]. Shisun Fen and his brothers were arrested and died under torture, while the wealth of the family, 170 million cash, was confiscated. -HHS 34/24:1181, XHS 3:8a; Ch'ü 72:472.

Shisun Meng 士孫萌 [Wenshi 文始]; Youfufeng. Son of Shisun Rui, during the short-lived government of Wang Yun which followed the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192, Shisun Meng was ordered by his father to lead the family to refuge with Liu Biao in Jing province. Shisun Rui himself remained at Chang'an and was killed.

Shisun Meng was later enfeoffed by Emperor Xian in recognition of his father's loyal service. He was a close friend of Wang Can, who dedicated a poem to him. -HHS 72/62:2332, HHSJJ 66/56:2390 Hou Kang, SGZ 6:186.

Shisun Rui 士孫瑞 [Junce 君策 or Junrong 君榮] (d.195); Youfufeng. As the Liang province rebels under Wang Guo approached Chang'an in 188, He Xun the Intendant of Jingzhao persuaded Emperor Ling to commission private troops. Shisun Rui was one of five leaders of local gentry who received title as commandants, to raise their own regiments and join the imperial forces under He Xun's command.

In 191 Shisun Rui joined Wang Yun at Chang'an in plotting to destroy Dong Zhuo. The first scheme, while Dong Zhuo was still at Luoyang, had Shisun Rui made Administrator of Nanyang, to travel east with an army under the general Yang Zan, then turn against Dong Zhuo. As Dong Zhuo became suspicious, the plan was abandoned.

Shisun Rui then became Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat, and in 192, when Dong Zhuo had come to Chang'an, the conspirators met again. Quoting signs from the elements and constellations, Shisun Rui urged Wang Yun to action, and when Wang

Yun brought in Lü Bu, Shisun Rui wrote the imperial orders for the assassination.

Despite his involvement in the coup, Shisun Rui refused any reward and allowed all the credit to Wang Yun and Lü Bu. A few weeks later Dong Zhuo's former officers, Li Jue and his associates, stormed Chang'an, killed Wang Yun and drove Lü Bu away; Shisun Rui's low profile meant that he came to no harm.

In 195 Shisun Rui was Minister of the Guards in the ramshackle imperial government. He was taken hostage by Guo Si in his quarrel with Li Jue, and later that year, during the emperor's flight to the east, he was killed by Li Jue. A fine scholar, his loyalty was recognised by the enfeoffment of his son Ming. -HHS 58/48:1883, 66/56:2174-75, 2178, SGZ 6:186.

[Shiyuan (style)] 士元 [surname, personal name and origin unknown]. Early in the third century this man was a leading follower of Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 15:1085. **Shizi** 師子 (d.98); Xiongnu. Son of the Southern Shanyu Shi, Shizi showed remarkable energy as an ally of the Chinese in their attacks on the Northern Xiongnu, and was already involved in skirmishes along the frontier in the early 80s. With title as a king, he commanded a contingent of horsemen in Dou Xian's great campaign of 89, and his cavalry accompanied the column led by Yan Pan, Geng Kui and Geng Tan which defeated the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain and drove him away to the west.

In the following spring the Shanyu Tuntuhe sent him to join the Emissary Geng Tan in a further attack on the Northern Shanyu. Both Tuntuhe and his predecessor Xuan admired him, and Emperor He himself is said to have been impressed by his prowess. On the other hand, even after the disappearance of the Northern Shanyu in 91 and the surrender of his successor Yuchujian in 92, Shizi maintained his hostility to the northern group. He and his followers pillaged the defeated people who came to submit, and their aggressive conduct made it impossible for the southern court to take peaceful control over the former subjects of the north.

In 93 the Shanyu Tuntuhe died, and he was succeeded by the prince Anguo, Worthy King of the Left and son of the former Shanyu Xuan. Anguo, however, was not popular among his people; though he had taken part in the campaigns of Dou Xian, he had shown no distinction and had always been overshadowed by Shizi. With no strong group of supporters,

he was jealous of his cousin's success and recognition, and he sought support from the newly-surrendered northerners by showing hostility to their persecutor. Concerned for his own safety, Shizi left the court and went to camp in Wuyuan.

Anguo also quarrelled with the Emissary Du Chong, and in 94 Du Chong and the General on the Liao Zhu Hui reported that they doubted his loyalty and believed he intended to assassinate Shizi and other pro-Chinese chieftains. An investigation was ordered, and Anguo was kept under special guard. Then Du Chong and Zhu Hui led armed men to his camp one night; Anguo took flight, gathered his own supporters and a group of former Northern Xiongnu, and went to attack Shizi. Shizi took refuge at the headquarters of the General on the Liao, Anguo attacked him without success, and when Chinese troops arrived he was killed by his own followers.

Shizi succeeded to the position of Shanyu, taking the title Tingdu shizuhou di 亭獨尸逐侯鞬 Shanyu. His well-attested hostility, however, and the manner in which he had come to the throne, brought rebellion amongst the surrendered northerners. A large group attacked Shizi and Du Chong, who took refuge in a herding office and managed to hold off the enemy with the aid of the Shanyu's Chinese body-guard.

The rebels now proclaimed the southern prince Fenghou as their Shanyu and, killing Chinese officials and burning guard-houses, they made their way towards the frontier. The court sent a large army, but despite heavy defeats Fenghou and many of his people managed to escape and establish a state of their own in the steppe. In the aftermath of this crisis, Du Chong and Zhu Hui were found guilty of a major failure of policy. They were arrested and died in prison in 95.

Shizi later planned to arrest and question the subordinate king Wujuzhan, a friend of the late Shanyu Anguo whom he suspected of having planned to kill him. Wujuzhan fled into the hill country across the Yellow River and maintained a series of raids into imperial territory in the Ordos, but he was attacked and killed by Chinese armies in 96. Shizi himself died in 98.

Shizi's career and his brief reign as Shanyu marked the real failure of the forward policy on the frontier inspired by Dou Xian. Having made his name as an enemy of the northern tribes, Shizi was incapable of moderating his attitude after their defeat. On the

contrary, he kept his approval amongst the southerners by harassing those northerners who came to surrender and, aided by arrogant Chinese officials such as Du Chong and Zhu Hui, he and his partisans removed all possibility of peace and re-unification. Any such program would have been difficult, but Shizi's conduct guaranteed weakness and turmoil along the frontier and across the steppe, and brought the eventual ruin of the Xiongnu state. -HHS 89/79:2955-57, 23/13:814; deC 84:277-283.

Shizi Miao 史子眇 see Shi Zimiao 史子眇.

Shizi Zhu 史子助 see Shi Zimiao 史子眇.

Shou Guanghou 壽光侯 see Shouguang Hou 壽光侯.

Shouguang Hou 壽光侯 [Marquis Shouguang]. A magician of the late first century, he could control the spirits. He demonstrated his ability by exorcising a sick woman: a giant snake appeared and then died, and the woman was cured. In similar fashion, there was a tree which killed people who went underneath it and any birds which flew into it. When Shouguang Hou cast a spell against it the tree lost all its leaves and another large dead snake appeared.

Emperor Zhang summoned Shouguang Hou to court and told him that a group of spirits were haunting a hall of the palace each night. Shouguang Hou undertook to destroy them. In fact, there had been no such apparitions, but the emperor ordered three of his attendants to play the role. Shouguang Hou cast his spell, and the three men fell to the ground and ceased to breathe. The emperor, very frightened, explained that it had only been a test, and Shouguang Hou restored the victims to life. -HHS 82/72B:2749*; Ngo 76:14A, DeWoskin 83:87.

[**Shouju** (style)] 守矩 [surname and personal name unknown]; Nanyang. Described as a major under the General of Chariots and Cavalry, in 156 this man was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Shu 舒 [probably a personal name, surname unknown]. Court Astronomer in 102, Shu took part in the work of Huo Rong on the clepsydra. -HHS 92/2:3032-33.

Shu [Boying] 舒伯膺; Chenliu. After a close friend was murdered, Shu Boying and his younger brother Shu Shao [Zhongying] took vengeance on the killer. Their conduct was widely admired. -SGZ Wu 6:1210-11.

Shu Dan 疏耽; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s

twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Shu Dan was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription of Emperor Ling. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Shu Shao 舒邵 [Zhongying 仲膺]; Chenliu. When a close friend was murdered, Shu Shao and his elder brother Boying took vengeance on the killer. Their conduct was widely admired.

During the early 190s Sun Shao was a county magistrate for Yuan Shu in Jiujiang. -SGZ Wu 6:1210-11.

Shu Shou 叔壽 (d.25); Yingchuan. Recommended by his fellow-countryman Feng Yi, in 23 Shu Shou joined the staff of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. He became a chief general, and in 25 he went with Du Mao to attack the Wuxiao bandits in Guangping. The enemy were defeated, but Shu Shou died in battle. -HHS 1A:25, 17/7:639.

Shu Wei 舒隤; Shu. A local officer under Administrator He in 57, Shu Wei supervised the construction of a gallery or trestle road 閣道 through the mountains. -LS 3:1a-b.

Shu [Zhongying] 舒仲膺 see Shu Shao 舒邵.

Shuaihui 帥會 see Shihui 師會.

Shuaisheng 帥升 see Shisheng 師升.

Shuang Fu 雙福; Bohai. Assistant Intendant of Henan, in 135 Shuang Fu was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -SJZ 16:14b.

Shuang Sheng 雙勝. A magistrate in Guanghan in 142, Shuang Sheng ordered the pursuit of the Lady Yang Jingyang and her husband Guo Meng after the Lady had killed her father's murderer Sheng. When he heard it was a vengeance killing, he called off the chase. -HYGZ 10C:177-178.

Shubo 輸婁 of Yutian [Khotan] (d.152). In 152 the Chinese Chief Clerk for the Western Regions Wang Jing summoned King Jian of Yutian to answer a charge of having poisoned his predecessor Zhao Xu. Before any proper enquiry could be made, Jian was stabbed and killed by an enemy agent.

Shubo, a local leader in Khotan, now gathered

troops, burnt the *yamen*, killed Wang Jing and displayed his head in the market-place. He wanted to take the vacant throne, but was promptly killed himself.

Some time later Song Liang the Administrator of Dunhuang sent orders that Yutian should have Shubo executed. As Shubo had been dead for more than a month, the people sent in the head of another man who had died more recently. Song Liang found out later, but could take no action. -HHS 88/78:2916.

Shuiqiu Cen 水丘岑; Beihai. About 30, Shuiqiu Cen was personal clerk to the Chancellor Dong Xuan. When the local leader Gongsun Dan and his son were executed for murder, a group of their kinsmen and followers raised a riot. Dong Xuan had them arrested too, and he ordered Shuiqiu Cen to kill them as rebels and bandit sympathisers.

Dong Xuan was impeached by the authorities of Qing province and sent to Luoyang to answer for this brutality, while Shuiqiu Cen was examined under torture. Dong Xuan took full responsibility, however, and the Inspector was told to take no further action against Shuiqiu Cen.

Shuiqiu Cen later became Director of Retainers. -HHS 77/67:2489.

Shun, Emperor 順帝 (*reg.* 125-144) see Liu Bao 劉保.

Shun 舜 of Yanqi [Karashar]. King of Karashar, he was an enemy of China and a supporter of the Xiongnu. In 75, either under Shun or under his son Guang, the people of Karashar attacked and killed the Protector-General Chen Mu. -HHS 47/37:1582.

Shunyu 淳于 [surname] see Chunyu 淳于 *passim*.

Shusun Guang 叔孫光. Early the reign of Emperor An, Shusun Guang, Chancellor of Qinghe, was found guilty of bribery; both he and his sons were proscribed from office.

This precedent was raised some fifteen years later in the case of Fan Bin, convicted on a similar charge about 121, but the Excellency Liu Kai urged that punishment for ill-doing should be applied to the individual, not to his descendants; the emperor accepted his argument. -HHS 39/29:1308.

Shusun Wuji 叔孫無忌 (d.160); Taishan. Leader of bandits, Shusun Wuji ravaged a wide area about Mount Tai. He was persuaded to a short-lived surrender by Wei Yu of Yan province, but in 160 he rebelled once more and killed the Commandant of Taishan Hou Zhang. He was then defeated and killed by Zong Zi.

-HHS 7:307, 41/31:1404.

Shusun Xuan 叔孫宣. A Confucian scholar, Shusun Xuan compiled a commentary to the laws. -JS 30: 923.

Shuxian 叔先 [surname] see Xian 先 *passim*.

Shuxian Xiong 叔先雄, the Lady: see Xian Luo 先絡. -HHS 84/74:2799-2800.

Shuyuan Mao 叔元茂 (d.108). In 107/108 Shuyuan Mao was involved in the coup planned by the Excellency Zhou Zhang against the regent Dowager Deng and the new Emperor An. The plot was discovered and it seems likely Shuyuan Mao died at this time. -HHS 101/11:3238.

Shuyuan Mou 叔元茂 see Shuyuan Mao 叔元茂.

Si Cong 斯從; Kuaiji. A local leader on the eastern coast of Kuaiji, with following among the non-Chinese hill people, Si Cong was killed as a trouble-maker by the magistrate He Qi. -SGZ Wu 15:1377.

Si Du 肆都. A retainer of the Ma family of Youfufeng, Si Du taught Ma Yan the arts of sword-play, archery and horsemanship. -HHS 24/14:859, DGHJ 12:5a.

Si Gong 汜宮 see Fan Gong 汜宮.

Si Min 肆敏 became Administrator of Yuyang. -FSTY 6f:141.

Si Xian 駟賢. A county magistrate in Pei, Si Xian was executed for corruption about 120. -HHS 79/69A: 2564.

Si Xie 駟協. About 77 Si Xie was a magistrate in Nanyang while Liu Yu was a magistrate in Chenliu. Both men were admired for their firm administration, but the Excellency of Works Diwu Lun criticised their cruelty, and argued that those who had approved and promoted them should be reprimanded. -HHS 41/3A: 1400; Loewe 86C:292.

Si Xun 駟勳; Kuaiji. In 70 Si Xun was Officer of Merit in the commandery when the Administrator Yin Xing was suspected of involvement in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu. Si Xun and five hundred other officers were taken to prison at Luoyang. Most succumbed to torture, but Si Xun continued to plead his innocence. Then the filial piety of his colleague Lu Xu was reported to Emperor Ming and all the survivors received a pardon. Though they were proscribed from office for life, they were able to return home.

Si Xun was later praised as a local worthy by Yu Fan. -HHS 81/71:2682-83, SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Sijian 駟健 of Guisai. In the late 40s, King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] had established a general dominance

in his region, and he sent messengers to the king of Guisai, no doubt asking for tribute. Guisai 媯塞, "Frontier of the Gui," was presumably on the headwaters of the Gui River, identified as the Oxus/Amuda'ya [e.g. Hulsewé 79 note 271], and thus in the Pamir mountains, in the southeast of present-day Tajikistan, some 250 kilometres from Suoju. Believing he was too far away and too well protected to be affected by Xian's pretensions, the king killed the envoys. Despite the distance, however, Xian took an army to capture Guisai and appointed Sijian, a local nobleman, as its ruler.

Later, Xian captured Qiuzi [Kuqa], on the north of the Tarim basin, and he named his son Ziluo as king there. Because Ziluo was young, however, Xian divided the state into two and brought Sijian back to govern the parallel kingdom of Wulei. Another nobleman was made king of Guisai.

Some years later the people of Qiuzi and Wulei joined to kill their alien rulers, then invited the Xiongnu to appoint a new king from their own nobility. -HHS 88/78:2924.

Silaibi 私來比. In 73 Silaibi was chief minister of King Guangde of Yutian [Khotan]. The Chinese agent Ban Chao came to court, but Yutian was committed to the Xiongnu and King Guangde did not treat him courteously. On the advice of his court shaman he sent Silaibi to demand that Ban Chao hand over his horse for a sacrifice. Ban Chao pretended to agree, but asked that the shaman come to receive the animal; when he did so he took him and Silaibi prisoner. He then killed the shaman, flogged Silaibi, and sent him back with the shaman's head. Guangde was suitably impressed and changed his allegiance. -HHJ 10:126-127.

Sili Yuancheng 司隸緣城 [Director of Retainers Who Scales the City Wall] was the sobriquet of a chieftain of the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, probably the same as Sili Yuanzai below. -SGZ 8:261.

Sili Yuanzai 司隸掾哉 was the sobriquet of a chieftain of the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. This is probably a miswriting for Sili Yuancheng above. -HHS 71/61:2310.

Sima Bao 司馬苞 [Zhongcheng 仲成] (d.115); Shan-yang. In 114 Sima Bao was promoted from Minister of Finance to be Grand Commandant in the regency government of the Dowager Deng. Noted for frugality, he wore plain clothes and ate only coarse grains, while

his wives and children were not allowed even to visit his official residence.

Sima Bao died in office in 115. Xie Cheng says that he and the Excellency Yang Zhen had been slandered by the eunuch Fan Feng; Sima Bao was asked to retire as a consequence, but died before he could do so. Yang Zhen, however, did not become an Excellency until 120, and Fan Feng's influence was rather with Emperor An than with the Dowager Deng, so the story appears anachronistic: *cf. sub voce*. -HHS 5:221-23, XC 7:7a-b.

Sima Da 司馬達 see Ma Da 馬達.

Sima Deng 司馬登 [Bozhi 伯志]; Shanyang. About 135 Sima Deng was appointed Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River, taking over from Wang Hui in charge of a major project to dredge and reconstruct the channel of the Yellow River and its tributaries near Rongyang. When the work was completed Sima Deng had a commemorative stele set up. -SJZ 7:8a-9a.

Sima Fang 司馬防. In 87 Sima Fang was an officer under the Protector over the Qiang Zhang Yu. As the chieftain Miyu led a raiding force of some seven thousand men against Jincheng, Sima Fang was sent with a thousand horsemen and a body of commandery troops to deal with him. He defeated the enemy and put them to flight, and Mitang offered to surrender. -HHS 87/77:2882.

Sima Fang 司馬防 [Jiangong 建公] (149-219); Henei. Son of Sima Jun 儁, Sima Fang was strictly honest, and although he spent some time as a hermit he had a strong sense of public duty. He was extremely fond of the accounts of worthy men from the Former Han period, and could recite vast quantities of *Han shu* from memory.

Sima Fang later held office in the commandery and provincial governments, and about 175 he became Prefect of Luoyang and then Intendant of Jingzhao. A member of the Imperial Censorate in 190, he was compelled to go with Dong Zhuo to Chang'an, but ordered his eldest son Lang to take the household back to their home country. Sima Lang then took service with Cao Cao, and Sima Fang was later able to join him. On account of his age he retired to become a Commandant of Cavalry.

As Prefect of Luoyang in the 170s Sima Fang had held authority over Cao Cao, who was then a county commandant. When Cao Cao was enfeoffed as King of Wei in 216 he joked with him about it.

Sima Fang had eight sons, Lang, Yi, Fu, Kui, Xun, Jin, Tong and Min. Each had the character 達 "distinction" in his style, and they were known as the Eight Men of Distinction. He trained them strictly, so that they would go to him only when summoned, sit in his presence only when told to do so, and speak only when spoken to. The second son, Sima Yi, became chief officer of the state of Wei and founded the fortunes of the dynasty of Jin 晉. -SGZ 15:466, 1:49.

Sima Fu 司馬孚 [Shuda 叔達] (180-272); Henei. Third son of Sima Fang and younger brother of Sima Lang and Sima Yi, he was appointed as a scholar to the suite of Cao Zhi, whom he criticised for his sometimes extravagant behaviour. He later became an adviser to the Heir Cao Pi.

When Cao Cao died in 220 Sima Fu encouraged Cao Pi and other members of his staff to cease their weeping and concentrate upon the succession. He and He Xia took a leading role in ensuring the Heir was properly guarded and in arranging his accession to power. When the new ruler proposed to establish a number of Cavalier Attendants, members of his staff when he was Heir urged that appointments should be restricted to their own number, but Sima Fu argued successfully that this was the time to look further afield and obtain the best men.

Sima Fu served Cao Pi as an agricultural officer and commandery administrator and was enfeoffed. He joined the Secretariat under Cao Rui and later became its head. In 249 he joined Sima Yi in the destruction of Cao Shuang, and then became an Excellency under the regime now controlled by his brother. When his great-nephew Sima Yan 司馬炎 took the imperial throne in 265/266 Sima Fu was enfeoffed as a king. -JS 37:1081-85*.

Sima Hui 司馬徽 [Decao 德操] (d.208). A hermit scholar of the Old Text at the end of the second century, Sima Hui was celebrated for his ability to judge character. He is described both as a man from Yingchuan and of Xiangyang in Nan commandery; he probably migrated south to avoid the civil war.

Admiring the recluse Pang Degong, some ten years older than himself, Sima Hui behaved to him as to an elder brother, and gave him the sobriquet "Lord Pang" 龐公. Pang Degong in turn described Sima Hui as a Mirror of Water 水鏡, for he was sensitive and clear in his assessment of men.

Sima Hui nominated Zhuge Liang and Pang Tong to

the service of Liu Bei, he foretold the scholarly future of Liu Yi, and his students included Xiang Lang, Xu Shu, Yin Mo and Li Ren, the latter two travelling from Yi province to attend him.

When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he wanted to appoint Sima Hui to a senior office, but Sima Hui died about that time. -*SGZ* Shu 7:953-540, *HHS* 83/73:2777; Mather 76:566, Vervorn 90:296, deC 96:362-365.

Sima [Jide] 司馬季德; Shanyang. Formerly an acting county commandant in his home commandery, Sima Jide was commemorated with a stele. -*LX* 1:6a-9a.

Sima Jin 司馬進 [Huida 惠達]; Henei. Sixth son of Sima Fang and younger brother of Sima Yi, he held minor court office under Wei. When his great-nephew Sima Yan 司馬炎 took the imperial throne of Jin in 265/266, Sima Jin's son Ti 悌 was enfeoffed as a king. -*JS* 37:1103.

Sima Jingsi 司馬敬司 also as Ma Jingsi 馬敬司, the Lady; Shu. Second wife of Zhang Ba, she bore him a son, Guangchao, but gave equal care to his three sons and one daughter by his first marriage.

When Zhang Ba died at Luoyang in the early 100s, his testament asked that he should be buried in Henan, not in his native commandery of Shu. The Lady carried out his wishes, but then returned with the family to Shu, and when she died she asked for separate burial there, taking example from the concubines of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜, and noting that each person must make their own decision.

The Lady's step-son Zhang Kai was inspired by her teachings. -*HYGZ* 10A:139 [surname as Ma], 12:216 [surname as Sima]; *HYGZJBTZ*:551 prefers Sima.

Sima Ju 司馬俱 (d.206); Le'an. Leader of a group of Yellow Turbans in Qing province, Sima Ju and his associate Xu He attacked a number of cities and killed senior officials in his home commandery and neighbouring Ji'nan. Towards the end of 206 Cao Cao sent Xiahou Yuan against them with a large force of local troops from Taishan, Qi and Pingyuan, supported by Zang Ba and Lü Qian. After several engagements, with fierce fighting and heavy casualties, the rebels were defeated. Xu He was killed and Sima Ju presumably shared his fate. -*SGZ* 9:270, 18:540, 537.

Sima Jun 司馬均 [Xiaobin 小賓]; Donglai. A hermit recluse, Sima Jun lived in poverty but main-tained a private academy. Though he refused all offers of appointment, his conduct influenced the whole

community and people would bring disputes to him for adjudication: if anyone was doubtful of his cause, he would withdraw rather than face Sima Jun's disapproval.

Recommended to Emperor Zhang by Jia Kui, Sima Jun was treated with the greatest courtesy and appointed a Palace Attendant. He later left office on grounds of old age and ill health and retired to his homeland, but he received a life-time stipend as a Counsellor. -*HHS* 36/26:1240, *XC* 8:12a; Vervorn 90:286.

Sima Jun 司馬鈞 [Shuping 叔平] (d.115). An officer under the General of Chariots and Cavalry Deng Zhi, in 108 Sima Jun commanded militia troops under Ren Shang; they were defeated by the Qiang leader Dianlian in Hanyang. He later became Administrator of Zuopingyi.

In 115 Sima Jun was given acting rank as a general and sent with eight thousand local levies from the Wei valley to attack the Qiang leader Lianchang and the renegade Du Jigong. A second column, commanded by the Protector Pang Can, failed to join up with him, but Sima Jun captured the enemy fortress at Dingxi in northern Beidi. He sent his subordinate commanders out to collect grain, but they disobeyed orders, allowed their troops to scatter across the countryside, and were then cut off by the rebels and their Qiang allies. Angry at their disobedience, Sima Jun stayed in the city and refused to send help. The Chinese lost several of their officers and over three thousand men.

Sima Jun withdrew with the remnants of his forces, but was arrested and committed suicide. -*HHS* 87/77: 2889, *JS* 1:1; deC 84:107-108.

Sima Jun 司馬儁 [Yuanyi 元異]; Henei. Son of Sima Liang, Sima Jun was a big man, eight feet three inches tall [192 cm] and broad about the waist. A leader among his kinsmen and the young men of the region, he was also a man of considerable learning. He became Administrator of Yingchuan. -*SGZ* 15:466.

Sima Kui 司馬廋 [Jida 季達]; Henei. Fourth son of Sima Fang and younger brother of Sima Yi, he became a Chancellor of Lu under Wei and was awarded a marquise. When Sima Yan 司馬炎 took the imperial throne of Jin in 265/266, Sima Kui's son Quan 權 was enfeoffed as a king. -*JS* 37:1092.

Sima Lang 司馬朗 [Boda 伯達] (171-217); Henei. Descendant of an established official family, Sima Lang was the eldest son of Sima Fang. When he was aged nine a man came to call upon his father, but

referred to him by his style 字. Sima Lang observed that it was inappropriate for anyone to refer to a father by his style to his son, and the visitor apologised. [A similar anecdote is told of Chang Lin at the age of seven.]

In 182, at the age of twelve, Sima Lang passed an examination in the classics and was appointed a Junior Gentleman, giving early entrance to probation for a commissioned post in the civil service. Seeing that he was tall and well built, the examiner questioned his age, but Sima Lang replied that the people of his family had always been large [e.g. Sima Jun his grandfather], and he would be ashamed to seek advantage through deception. The official was suitably impressed.

In 190, as Dong Zhuo transferred the capital to Chang'an, Sima Lang's father Fang was obliged to go with the court, but he foresaw the turmoil ahead and ordered Sima Lang to take the family and household back to their home commandery. Sima Lang was arrested as a potential deserter, but managed to bribe his way free. Once in his homeland, he warned his elders that Henei would soon be a centre of conflict, and urged that they should take refuge in Wei commandery, where his kinsman Zhao Weisun commanded troops at the military base in Liyang. Most of the people preferred to remain in their homes, but Sima Lang led his own following away, and many of those who stayed behind were indeed killed or plundered.

In 194, as the eastern alliance broke up and civil war began in the east, Sima Lang brought his people back to their homeland. There was famine and starvation, but he cared for his dependents and encouraged them to support themselves.

Cao Cao later appointed Sima Lang to a clerical position in his offices, and he then became a county magistrate in Henan. He resigned on grounds of illness, but was again appointed to counties in Anping and in Wei. His administration was humane and the people were extremely fond of him.

Returning to Cao Cao's offices, he argued for the restoration of the pre-Qin feudal system, with five ranks, shared allocation of labour between work on public and private fields on the lines of the alleged well-field system, and local responsibility for self-defence. The last of these was largely put into practice, while the revival of the old ranks allowed Cao Cao to become Duke of Wei in 214.

Sima Lang was then appointed Inspector of Yan

province. Despite his rank, he dressed in simple clothing and ate poor food, while his administration again won popular approval. Concerned at the importance of morality in politics, he was a keen judge of men. When Wang Can and Zhong Yao argued that good government could be achieved only by a sage, Sima Lang argued that enough men of high quality, even if they were not sages, could yet achieve success. His essay was admired by Cao Pi, and when he became Emperor of Wei he had a copy placed in the Imperial library.

In the spring of 217 Sima Lang accompanied the army to attack Wu, but he was taken ill and died on that campaign. -SGZ 15:465-69*.

Sima Liang 司馬量 [Gongdu 公度]; Henei. Son of Sima Jun 鈞, Sima Liang became Administrator of Yuzhang. -JS 1:1.

Sima [Mengtai] 司馬孟壹. LS 13:8a records a fragment of a stele from the Spirit Road 神道 of this man's tomb. He had been a magistrate in Hanzhong.

Sima Min 司馬敏 [Youda 幼達]; Henei. Eighth son of Sima Fang and youngest brother of Sima Yi, he died young and left no sons. -JS 37:1081.

Sima Tong 司馬通 [Yada 雅達]; Henei. Seventh son of Sima Fang and younger brother of Sima Yi, he served on the staff of the Director of Retainers under Wei and was enfeoffed. When his great-nephew Sima Yan 司馬炎 took the imperial throne of Jin in 265/266, Sima Tong's son Ling 陵 was enfeoffed as a king. -JS 37:1113.

Sima [Wenyu] 司馬文預 see Wen Yu 文預.

Sima Xun 司馬恂 [Xianda 顯達]; Henei. Fifth son of Sima Fang and younger brother of Sima Yi, he held middle-ranking civil office under Wei. When his great-nephew Sima Yan 司馬炎 took the imperial throne of Jin in 265/266, Sima Xun's son Sui 遂 was enfeoffed as a king. -JS 37:1101.

Sima Ya 司馬雅; Guanghan. Sima Yi was betrothed to the Lady Jiang Pin q.v. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Sima Yi 司馬懿 [Zhongda 仲達] (179-251); Henei. Descendant of an established official family, second son of Sima Fang, Sima Yi was regarded as superior to his elder brother Lang by Cui Yan and Yang Jun, both men known for their good judgement. In 202 he was sent to court as Reporting Officer for the commandery and was invited to join Cao Cao's staff. It is said that he was reluctant to enter Cao Cao's service, claimed that he was paralysed by rheumatism, and did not move

from his bed even when Cao Cao sent a man as if to kill him [see, however, *sub* the Lady Zhang Chunhua]. In 208 Cao Cao repeated the invitation, threatening to have him arrested if he refused, and Sima Yi then accepted the summons.

As Registrar to the Imperial Chancellor, he accompanied Cao Cao on the campaign against Zhang Lu in 215, and after Hanzhong was captured he joined Liu Ye in urging a swift advance against Liu Bei in Yi province. Cao Cao, however, was unwilling to commit himself so far.

In 217 Sima Yi was appointed to the suite of Cao Pi as Heir to the kingdom of Wei, and he became a personal friend. Returning to Cao Cao's staff, he advised him on operations in Jing province in 219, and when Cao Cao died in the following year Sima Yi escorted the funeral cortège back to Ye city. Under the government of Cao Pi, Sima Yi received steadily higher appointments, and in 224 and 225 he was left in charge of domestic affairs while the emperor took the field against Wu.

When Cao Pi died in 226, his son and successor Cao Rui was formally an adult, but four regent advisers were appointed for him. Sima Yi was among that group, and within a few years he was the senior minister and chief military commander of the empire. Though his previous experience had been largely civilian, he proved to be an energetic and competent general, holding command in the south against Wu and in the west against Shu-Han, and in 238 he destroyed the Gongsun warlords in Manchuria.

When Cao Rui died in 239, his adopted successor was the seven-year-old Cao Fang 芳, and the government was placed under the joint regency of Cao Shuang 曹爽 and Sima Yi. Chief power at court was initially held by Cao Shuang, while Sima Yi concentrated upon military matters. He held wide support in the army and among men of good family outside the court, and he presented himself as representative for those who sought Confucian reform, morality and restraint in politics and society. In 249 Sima Yi seized the emperor and killed Cao Shuang and his associates; from this time on, the state of Wei was in the hands of the Sima family.

Sima Yi died in 251, but his dominant position was maintained by his eldest son Sima Shi 師 (208-255), followed by Shi's younger brother Sima Zhao 昭 (211-265) and by Zhao's son Sima Yan 炎 (236-290).

When Sima Yan took the imperial title in the winter of 265/266, he gave Sima Yi posthumous title as Emperor Xuan 宣 of the new Jin 晉 dynasty. -JS 1*; Mather 76: 566-567.

Sima Yi 司馬懿, wife of: see the Lady Zhang Chunhua 張春華.

Sima Zhi 司馬直 [Shuyi 叔異]; Henei. A handsome man, with a fine reputation, about 185 Sima Zhi was named Administrator of Julu. At this time it was required that all senior officials should pay a fine on appointment, as contribution to rebuilding the palaces at Luoyang. Sima Zhi was known to be poor and honest, so his levy was assessed at only three million cash, as opposed to the twenty or thirty million which might be asked, depending on the size of the commandery.

Sima Zhi, however, objected strongly to the idea that he and his colleagues should recoup their expenses by exploiting the people they ruled. He tried to refuse appointment on grounds of ill health, but his excuse was rejected and he was obliged to leave for his post. As he came to the Yellow River, he sent in a memorial bitterly objecting to the extortionate scheme, and then killed himself.

As a result of this incident, the system of fines was suspended. -HHS 78/68:2536; deC 89:192.

Sima Zhi 司馬芝 [Zihua 子華]; Henei. A distant kinsman of Sima Lang and Sima Yi, Sima Zhi was a student when he was young. In the early 190s he went to Jing province to take refuge from the civil war with Liu Biao. On the way his party encountered bandits, and his companions all ran away, leaving the old and the weak behind. Unlike the others, Sima Zhi stayed by his elderly mother, and begged the bandits to care for her. They were so impressed with his filial sentiments that they let the pair go unharmed, and even gave him a rickshaw carriage to pull her on.

Sima Zhi stayed in the south for several years, tending his own fields and holding no official position, but when Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he appointed Sima Zhi as a magistrate in Ji'nan.

At that time the local area was strongly influenced by the commandery Registrar Liu Jie. A man of family, Liu Jie had a large body of retainers, and under his official protection these men avoided their corvée duties and acted like bandits. Soon after he arrived, Sima Zhi called up a group of these men, headed by a certain Wang Tong, and conscripted them as soldiers. His staff warned him that Liu Jie and his men had never

undertaken forced labour, and that Liu Jie would cause trouble, but Sima Zhi wrote to Liu Jie, noting the bad conduct of his men and pointing out their obligations.

Liu Jie put his men into hiding, and sent an Investigator to develop charges against Sima Zhi. Members of Sima Zhi's staff were frightened, but he reported the whole matter to the Administrator, Hao Guang, with a catalogue of Liu Jie's offences. Hao Guang already knew of Sima Zhi's qualities, so he decided in his favour and compelled Liu Jie to take Wang Tong's place as a conscript. The whole province admired the manner in which Sima Zhi had forced a senior local officer to become a common soldier.

Sima Zhi was later transferred to a county in Julu, where some associates and retainers of the general Liu Xun, a friend of Cao Cao, regularly caused trouble. Liu Xun wrote on their behalf, but Sima Zhi made no reply and treated them according to law. As Liu Xun was later disgraced, Sima Zhi escaped punishment and was admired for his firm stand.

Sima Zhi came to the capital as a senior judicial officer of the kingdom of Wei, and was then Administrator of Ganling, Pei and Yangping [formerly part of Dong commandery]. In each territory he was noted for dealing firmly with powerful families and refusing private requests.

Sima Zhi continued to serve Cao Pi, distinguishing himself as Intendant of Henan. He was enfeoffed and appointed Minister of Finance by Cao Rui. He argued successfully that the *wushu* 五銖 coinage of Han, whose circulation had been ended by Cao Pi, should be restored as an official currency, and that those in charge of agricultural colonies should be ordered to concentrate upon farming for the good of the state, and forbidden to engage in trade. -*SGZ* 12:386-89*; Yang 63:191-192, Hsü 80:320.

Sima [Ziwei] 司馬子威. A common soldier, Sima Ziwei was taken up by Guo Tai and became well-known and respected. -*HHS* 68/58:2231.

Song 宋 [surname] see also Zong 宗. There are a number of occasions where these two characters are confused in the texts. In particular, the commentary of Hu Sanxing to *ZZTJ* 44:1413, quoted by *HHSJJ* 41/3A:1499, notes that the name of the Zong family of Anzhong 安衆 county in Nanyang is frequently written as Song; he adduces a quantity of evidence, including the texts of stele inscriptions, to show that the correct reading is Zong; Bn 67:69.

Song 宋, Empress of Emperor Ling: see the Lady Song IV.

Song 宋, the Lady I (d.82); Youfufeng. Elder daughter of Song Yang, the Lady was a cousin in the female line to the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming. Hearing of the beauty and abilities of the Lady and her sister, the empress brought them into the harem of the Heir, Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, where they both attracted his favour. When Liu Da came to the throne in 75 the two sisters were appointed Honoured Ladies, and in 78 the elder gave birth to Liu Qing, who became Heir in 79 [*XHS* A:12a says that Liu Qing was born to the younger sister.] Recognising their duty, the sisters paid regular respects and offered gifts at the Dowager's apartments, and the Lady Ma appreciated their good conduct.

Despite her influence, the Dowager Ma was not able to arrange that the Lady became empress, and the position fell to a concubine of the Dou family. The Song sisters had been in the harem of Liu Da some five years longer than their rivals, and it seems likely that the Lady Dou attracted the attention of the twenty-year-old emperor because she was new and younger – and perhaps also because the relevant Lady Song was unavailable by reason of her pregnancy. Political considerations would in any case have encouraged the ruler not to commit himself too firmly to one distaff faction.

In the summer of 79 the Dowager Ma died, and without her patronage the sisters were exposed to the rivalry of the Empress Dou and her family. In 82 the intrigues of the Dou group were successful: Liu Qing was dismissed as Heir and appointed King of Qinghe, while the Ladies Song were accused of witchcraft, sent to the harem jail and forced to suicide.

Emperor Zhang nonetheless still mourned his late concubines, and he had them entombed near Luoyang. Through the efforts of her son Liu Qing the Lady Song received posthumous recognition from Emperor He, and in 121 her grandson Emperor An awarded her title as empress. -*HHS* 10A:415, 55/45:1799-1804.

Song 宋, the Lady II (d.82); Youfufeng. Younger daughter of Song Yang, she accompanied her elder sister into the harem of Liu Da, Emperor Zhang. According to *XHS* 1:12a, this Lady Song was the mother of the Heir Liu Qing, but it was probably her elder sister; it is not recorded otherwise that she bore any children.

The two sisters were disgraced and died in 82, but in 121 her great-nephew Emperor An posthumously restored the Lady Song's rank as a senior concubine. -HHS 55/45:1799-1805.

Song 宋, the Lady III (d.172); Youfufeng. A concubine of Liu Kui the King of Bohai, when her husband was charged with Impiety and killed himself in 172, the Lady was sent to prison and died. -HHS 10B:448.

Song 宋, the Lady IV (d.178); Youfufeng: Empress of Emperor Ling. A distant kinsman of the Honoured Ladies Song of Emperor Zhang, she entered the harem of Emperor Ling by selection in 170, was herself appointed an Honoured Lady, and after the young ruler had formally come of age in the following year she became his empress. Her father Song Feng was named Bearer of the Mace and he and his sons received small marquisates.

We may assume that the empress had originally been attractive to the young ruler, but she later lost favour and other concubines, envious of her high position, slandered her. Furthermore, her aunt was a concubine of Liu Kui the King of Bohai, and when he was destroyed through the agency of the eunuch Wang Fu in 172, that Lady Song died in prison.

Concerned that the empress might seek to avenge her aunt, Wang Fu and his ally the courtier Cheng A accused her of engaging in magical practices. It may be that the Lady Song was seeking to regain her consort's affections by such means, but such activities were considered treasonous and in the winter of 178, after eight years in her high position, the empress was dismissed. Soon afterwards she "died of grief" 以憂死 in the harem prison; she may have been assisted. Her father and brothers were killed.

Despite her lack of favour and the enmity of Wang Fu, it evidently took a considerable time before the empress was finally dismissed, and it is said that there was general sympathy among other eunuchs for her and her kinsmen, who were seen as innocent of the charges laid; many contributed to their funerary expenses.

We are told that about 180 Emperor Huan appeared in a dream to Emperor Ling and reproached him with the fate of his brother Liu Kui and of the Lady Song. -HHS 10B:448-49*; Goodrich 64-65 & 66.

Song 宋, the Lady V. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Hui. -SGZ 20:579.

Song 宋, the Lady VI. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore

him a son, Cao Yan 儼. -SGZ 20:590.

Song Bo 宋伯; Nanyang: see Zong Bo 宗伯.

Song [Bowang] 宋伯望; Langye. A fragmented inscription on a four-sided column discovered in 1893 describes a land dispute about 140, evidently accompanied by killing, which involved Song Bowang and two brothers, one of whom had the personal name He 何. -Nagata 94:92.

Song Bu 宋布; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Song Bu was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed that the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Song Chong 宋冲 [Zijun 子浚 or Zimei 子沒 or Zijun 子雋?] (d.171); Taiyuan. About 148 Song Chong and his fellow-countryman Guo Tai studied the *Chunqiu* under Qu Boyan in Henan. A fine scholar himself, Song Chong greatly admired Guo Tai, believing him to be the best man of Han. He urged him to take office, but Guo Tai preferred to remain in private life.

Song Chong was nominated as Knowing the Way and invited to appointment in the offices of the Excellencies, but he excused himself on grounds of ill health. Stele were set up for him and for Guo Tai outside their county town. -HHJ 23:274, 276-77, 12a-b, HHSJJ 68/58:2437-38 Hui Dong quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi and the Secondary Biography of Guo Tai, SJZ 6:7a-b.

Song Deng 宋登. In 29 Song Deng was sent with a general's command to join Ma Cheng and others in attacking the pretender Li Xian south of the Huai. -HHS 22/12:778.

Song Deng 宋登 [Shuyang 叔陽]; Jingzhao. Son of Song You and brother of Song Han, Song Deng taught the New Text of the *Classic of History* according to the Ouyang tradition, and gathered thousands of students. As magistrate of Ruyin in Runan, his wise and capable rule earned him the title "Spiritual Father" 神父. He became Chancellor of Zhao, then went to the capital as Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat.

Song Deng was granted the Staff of Authority by Emperor Shun to review the Imperial University, and he also made recommendations on legislative

reform. As Palace Attendant, he presented a number of comments, but after he had shown his opposition to powerful political figures he was sent out as Administrator of Yingchuan. There he presided over an ideal government, so "there were no two prices in the markets, and items dropped on the roads were not taken." He retired on account of illness and died at home. The people of Ruyin set up a temple in his memory. -HHS 79/69A:2557*.

Song Di 宋弟 see Zhu Di 朱弟.

Song Dian 宋典 (d.189). A eunuch, Song Dian served as a Regular Attendant during the 180s and was enfeoffed as a marquis. From 185 he was involved in the extravagant project for reconstruction of the palaces at Luoyang.

In 189 Jian Shi consulted Song Dian on his plan to assassinate the General-in-Chief He Jin. Song Dian almost certainly died in that year, either with Jian Shi or in the general massacre a few months later. -HHS 78/68:2534-37, HHJ 25:305; Bn 76:26, deC 96:4.

Song Diao 宋佻; Nanyang; see Zong Tiao 宗佻.

Song Ding 宋定. An officer of Sun Quan, about 210 Song Ding was stationed on the frontier of Jing and Yang provinces. He died about this time, and Sun Quan proposed to transfer his troops to Lü Meng, who held a position close by. Lü Meng protested that Song Ding had given good service to the state, and his troop should pass to his male heir, even though he was young. Sun Quan eventually accepted the argument, and Lü Meng sent an officer to guide the young successor in the management of this human inheritance. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Song Du 宋度 [Shuping 叔平]; Yuzhang. As a magistrate in Yingchuan, Song Du was respected for the simplicity of his food and clothing; he was able to persuade the virtuous scholar Du An to be his Officer of Merit.

Song Du later became an Internuncio. He took an imperial edict of pardon to surrendered non-Chinese people, and he also memorialised that the Minister Herald should be dismissed for failing in his duty. -XC 7:6a.

Song Du 宋都, the Lady. Daughter of Song Hong, Song Du became an Honoured Lady in the harem of Emperor Xian. She was with the emperor when he was held captive by Li Jue in 195, and she was one of the few palace women who managed to escape with him from Chang'an to the east; most of the others were

taken by Li Jue's troops. -HHS 72/62:2337-41.

Song E 宋娥, the Lady. Song E was a wet-nurse to Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. [Note that there was also another wet-nurse, the Lady Wang Nan.] In 125 the Lady Song was marginally involved in the coup led by Sun Cheng which placed Liu Bao upon the throne, but she took no active role. In 126, when the eunuch Zhang Fang was accused of conspiracy, Song E pleaded for him; Sun Cheng, however, over-rode her intervention and Zhang Fang was banished.

The Lady Song remained a favourite of the Emperor, and in 133 he proposed to grant her a fief. This was ostensibly as a reward for her assistance in his accession, though Sun Cheng and other members of the coup had been enfeoffed six years earlier. The plan was opposed by Zuo Xiong, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, who took the occasion of an earthquake to draw comparison with the grant to the Lady Wang Sheng, wet-nurse to Emperor An. Emperor Shun vacillated. He initially ordered Song E to withdraw to her residence – which she was glad to do, for she was concerned at the attacks which were being made on her – but eventually the ruler's affection held sway, and Song E was named Lady of Shanyang, a county in Henei. She and her allies then slandered the reformer Li Gu, who had also opposed her enfeoffment, and had him sent to a petty post in the provinces.

In 137 the Lady Song and a group of eunuchs were found guilty of corruption and making false accusations. Song E lost her fief and was sent back to her residence. -HHS 61/51:2021-22, 58/48:1871, 78/68:2518.

Song Feng 宋豐/豐 [Boyu 伯遇] (d.178); Youfufeng. Song Feng was the father of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. When his daughter was appointed in 170 Song Feng and his sons were enfeoffed, but when she was disgraced in 178 they were executed. -HHS 10B:448; Goodrich 66:190.

Song Gai 宋蓋; Youfufeng. Son of Song Yang and a brother of the imperial concubines Song, after the disgrace of 82 he returned with his father to Youfufeng.

About 100, however, through the influence of Song Gai's royal nephew Liu Qing, the family was rehabilitated. Song Gai and his brothers Yan, Jun and Xian were brought to the capital as gentlemen cadets, and when Liu Qing was sent to his state of Qinghe in 106, they accompanied his train.

In 121 Song Gai and his brothers were enfeoffed as county marquises. -HHS 55/45:1801-05.

Song Guang 宋廣 see Zong Guang 宗廣.

Song Guang 宋光; Wei? A man of family, about 140 he was accused of forging an imperial edict. The General-in-Chief Liang Shang had him arrested and questioned under torture, but his nephew Huo Xu presented an eloquent memorial pleading his innocence, and Song Guang was released. -HHS 48/38:1615-17.

Song Guo 宋果 [Zhongwen 仲文 or Zhongyi 仲乙]; Youfufeng. Hasty, aggressive and quarrelsome, Song Guo was unpopular with his neighbours. Then he met Guo Tai, who urged him to behave properly lest he bring misfortune upon himself. Accepting the rebuke, Song Guo kowtowed to Guo Tai and quite changed his conduct.

Song Guo later held clerical office at the capital, joined the Imperial Censorate and became Inspector of Bing province. In each appointment he showed energy and spirit, and reformed people's conduct. -HHS 68/58:2229.

Song Guo 宋果 see Song Ye 宋曄.

Song Han 宋漢 [Zhonghe 仲和]; Jingzhao. Son of Song You, Song Han was celebrated for scholarship in the classics, and was nominated as Abundant Talent. Inspector of Liang province in 122, he received the surrender of numbers of Qiang who had hitherto supported the chieftain Manu but were now in flight from the Protector Ma Xian.

Song Han became Administrator of Xihe, was Chancellor of Dongping in 126, and was then appointed General on the Liao. He had a reputation for honesty, firmness and sensible generosity.

Appointed Minister Coachman, he resigned on account of illness and was made Palace Counsellor. When he died in office he received an imperial encomium, special funerary honours, and a cash grant for his family. -HHS 26/16:905*, 87/77:2892 [surname as Zong 宗].

Song Hao 宋豪; Lujiang. About 210 Song Hao was a junior officer under Cao Cao's commander Xie Qi in the region of Qichun, north of the Yangzi opposite the position held for Sun Quan by Lü Meng. When Lü Meng made a surprise attack, Xie Qi was driven away, while Song Hao and some of his colleagues changed sides. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Song He 宋何; Langye: see *sub* Song Bowang. -Nagata 94:92.

Song Hong 宋弘/宏 [Zhongzi 仲子]; Jingzhao. Song Hong's father Shang 尚 had been a minister under Emperor Cheng of Former Han, but was punished for his opposition to Emperor Ai's favourite Dong Xian 董賢. Song Hong himself, a mild and agreeable man, became a Palace Attendant under Emperors Ai and Ping and a minister under Wang Mang.

When Chang'an fell in 23, the Red Eyebrows wanted him to join them, but Song Hong preferred to commit suicide by throwing himself into the Wei. Members of his household saved him, then claimed he was dead so that he could escape.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 26, Song Hong was appointed a Palace Counsellor, and soon afterwards was made Excellency of Works and enfeoffed. Devoting all his income to his extended clan, he kept no property for himself. He was admired for his virtue, for promoting excellent scholars, and for his admonitions of the emperor: on one occasion he reprimanded Guangwu for looking too often during a court assembly at a screen which was decorated with the images of virtuous women. Guangwu's sister, the energetic Princess Huang, wanted to marry him, but when the emperor raised the matter Song Hong refused to abandon his wife.

As Song Hong accompanied Guangwu on campaign to the east in 29 he was sent to offer sacrifice to Confucius, but in 30/31 he was dismissed for making an unsubstantiated accusation against a commandery Administrator. He died a few years later, leaving no sons, and the marquise was ended. -HHS 26/16:903-05*, XC 1:5b; Ch'ü 72:294-296, Bn 79:33, 66.

Song Hong 宋泓. Probably in the 180s, Song Hong was Administrator of Changshan. His daughter Song Du became an Honoured Lady in the harem of Emperor Xian. -HHS 72/62:2341.

Song Ji 宋奇 see Song Qi 宋奇.

Song Jian 宋建 (d.214); Longxi. A man of Fuhun county, on a tributary of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou, Song Jian led one of the first insurrections to disturb Liang province in 184. He may have joined the main body of rebels and mutineers which seized Jincheng commandery in that year, and perhaps took part in the attack towards Chang'an in 185.

Soon afterwards Song Jian returned to Fuhun, where proclaimed himself King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han 河首平漢王, established

an independent state and held power for thirty years, imitating the imperial rituals with reign-titles and officials. In the winter of 214 Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan attacked Fuhan, captured the city and took the heads of Song Jian and his officers.

Xiandi chunqiu names Song Jian as one of the first leaders of the rebellion and a former member of the Loyal Auxiliary. It is possible he was non-Chinese or, as suggested for Li Wenhui, a junior officer of Chinese origin. *Dian lue* refers to a Song Yang 揚 as one of the early leaders in Liang province, but this is surely a miswriting of Song Jian's personal name. - *HHS* 72/62:2321, 2343, *SGZ* 1:44-45, 9:271; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:161, 496.

Song Jie 宋階. An early friend of Cui Yan, he died young. Cui Yan cared for his children. - *SGZ* 12:370.

Song Jin 宋因 see *sub* Song Nie 宋臬.

Song Jing 宋景; Qinghe. Some time in the 90s Song Jing prophesied a great flood. Many people believed him, abandoned their homes and took refuge in the mountains. Nothing came of the forecast, and Zhang Heng later used this incident as an example in his attack on the apocrypha. - *HHS* 59/49:1912.

Song Ju 宋俱; Nanyang: see Zong Ju 宗俱.

Song Jun 宋均; Nanyang: i.e. Zong Jun 宗均. - *HHSJJ* 41/3A:1499 quoting the commentary of Hu Sanxing to *ZZTJ* 44:1413; Bn 67:69.

Song Jun 宋俊; Youfufeng. Son of Song Yang and a brother of the imperial concubines Song, after the disgrace of 82 he returned with his father to Youfufeng. About 100, through the influence of Song Jun's royal nephew Liu Qing, the family was rehabilitated. Song Jun and his brothers Yan, Gai and Xian were brought to the capital as gentlemen cadets, and when Liu Qing was sent to his state of Qinghe in 106, they accompanied his train. In 121 Song Jun and his three brothers were granted marquisates. - *HHS* 55/45:1801-05, *SJZ* 8:4b.

Song Liang 宋亮. Following the death of King Jian of Yutian [Khotan] in 152, rioting led by the local chieftain Shubo brought the death of the Wang Jing, Chief Clerk for the Western Regions. As Ma Da the Administrator of Dunhuang was recalled, Song Liang took his place and sent orders that Yutian should have Shubo executed. Shubo, however, had been dead for over a month, so the people sent the head of a man who had died more recently. Song Liang found out later, but could take no action.

In 153, when King Aluoduo of Further Jushi turned against Han and then fled to the Xiongnu in the north, Song Liang recommended the former hostage prince Beijun be placed upon the throne. This was done, but Aluoduo was later reinstated and Beijun returned to Dunhuang. - *HHS* 88/78:2916, 2931.

Song Nie 宋臬 but see also below; Youfufeng. He was possibly a kinsman of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling.

When rebellion broke out in Liang province in 184, Song Nie was appointed Inspector to replace Zuo Chang. Believing that the cause of the trouble was a lack of education and moral cultivation among the people of the frontier, he was confident the rebels could be pacified by teaching them the *Book of Filial Piety* [cf. *sub* Xiang Xu, who had even more extreme ideas about the efficacy of this work]. The local officer He Xun sought to dissuade him from his idealistic strategy, but Song Nie insisted on putting his plan forward in a memorial to the court. He was promptly recalled. - *HHS* 58/48:1880, *XHS* 4:9b; deC 84:149.

HHS has the personal name of this man as Xiao 巢, while *XHS* has it as Quan 泉, but modern commentators suggest these are miswritten for Nie 臬; *HHSJJ* 58/48:2037 & 2054.

Song Qi 宋奇 (d.178); Youfufeng. Son of Song Feng, Song Qi was a brother of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. When his sister became empress in 170 her male relatives were enfeoffed, but when she was disgraced in 178 they were all executed.

Song Qi had married a cousin of Cao Cao, and the palace eunuchs involved him also and had him dismissed from office. - *HHS* 10B:448, *SGZ* 1:3.

Song Qian 宋遷; Ba. When Song Qian and his mother the Lady Qing were visiting a slave's house for a drinking party, the host complained about the Lady's conduct. Song Qian abused him in return, and the slave then hit him with a piece of wood so that he died. - *FSTY* 3f:108.

Song Qian 宋謙 also as Zong Qian 宗謙 (d.162). Commandant of the Tiger Tooth Camp at Chang'an, in 162 Song Qian was found guilty of taking bribes. He died in prison. - *HHS* 7:311, 102/12:3256.

Song Qian 宋謙. An early follower of Sun Ce, Song Qian was one of his attendants at the time of the skirmish with Taishi Ci in 198.

In 215 Song Qian commanded a division in the attack on Hefei, but his troops were heavily defeated

and fled.

When Liu Bei attacked in 222, Song Qian was one of the commanders under Lu Xun, and he led a flank attack to break the enemy line along the Yangzi. -SGZ Wu 4:1188, 2:1124, 13:1346-48.

Song Qing 宋靜, the Lady; Ba. She was the mother of Song Qian *q.v.*

Song Quan 宋泉 see Song Nie 宋臬.

Song Run 宋閏, the Lady. About 95 Song Run was a musician at the court of Liu Kang, King of Ji'nan. The Heir Liu Cuo approached her, but she refused him. -HHS 42/32:1432.

Song Shou 宋壽. An expert at the interpretation of dreams, Song Shou was an ornament to the court of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 18:1425-26.

Song Song 宋嵩; Jingzhao. Younger brother of Song Hong, noted for his strict morality and filial piety, he was an imperial messenger in 29 and later became Intendant of Henan. -DGHJ 9:3b, HHS 26/16:905.

Song Tiao 宋佻; Nanyang: see Zong Tiao 宗佻.

Song Tiao 宋條; Nanyang: see Zong Tiao 宗條.

Song Xian 宋暹; Youfufeng. Son of Song Yang and a brother of the imperial concubines Song, after the disgrace of 82 he returned with his father to Youfufeng.

About 100, through the influence of Song Xian's royal nephew Liu Qing, the family was rehabilitated. Song Xian and his brothers Yan, Jun and Gai were brought to the capital as gentlemen cadets, and when Liu Qing was sent to his state of Qinghe in 106, they accompanied his train.

In 121 Song Xian and his brothers were enfeoffed as county marquises. -HHS 55/45:1801-05.

Song Xian 宋憲. In 198, as Lü Bu was under siege by Cao Cao in the city of Xiapi, he accused his officers Song Xian, Hou Cheng and others of treachery. Frightened and resentful, they went over to the enemy. -SGZ 1:16, 7:227-28.

Song Xiao 宋臬 see *sub* Song Nie 宋臬.

Song [Xiaojie] 宋孝節; Nanyang. When Li Gu was appointed Inspector of Jing province about 140, he consulted local worthies, including Song Xiaojie, on the quality of local officials. With their advice he reported against several Administrators. -HYGZ 10C: 165.

Song Xin 宋訢. Administrator of Chenliu, he left a legacy of corruption. The dishonest officials whom he had appointed were later investigated by the Officer of

Merit Shi Bi and were dismissed. -HHS 64/54:2108.

Song Yan 宋衍; Youfufeng. Son of Song Yang, he was a brother (probably the eldest) of the imperial concubines Song. After the family was disgraced in 82 he returned with his father to Youfufeng.

About 100, through the influence of Song Yan's royal nephew Liu Qing, the family was rehabilitated. Song Yan and his brothers Jun, Gai and Xian were brought to the capital as gentlemen cadets, and when Liu Qing was sent to his state of Qinghe in 106, they accompanied his train and Song Yan became his confidant.

When his great-nephew Liu You, Emperor An, was brought to the throne in 107, Song Yan was granted a small marquisate, and in 121 he and his brothers received county fiefs. -HHS 55/45:1801-04.

Song Yang 宋楊/揚; Youfufeng. Descendant of a long lineage, Song Yang was admired by local people for his fine and filial conduct, but he refused all invitations to local office.

Song Yang was related in the female line to the Empress, later Dowager, Ma of Emperor Ming, and in the early 70s the Dowager brought Song Yang's two daughters, her cousins, into the harem of the Heir Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang. When Liu Qing, son of the elder Lady Song, was named Heir in 79, Song Yang came to the capital and received generous gifts. In accordance with the principles of the Dowager Ma, he was appointed only as a Consultant, and obtained no significant post.

When the Empress Dou secured the dismissal of Liu Qing and the death of the Ladies Song in 82, Song Yang was sent back to Youfufeng, where he was put under arrest by the authorities. Some friends exerted influence and obtained his release, but Song Yang, sad and frustrated, died soon afterwards. In 121 his great-grandson Emperor An awarded him posthumous enfeoffment. -HHS 55/45:1799-1805.

Song Yang 宋楊/揚, wife of: see the Lady Wang.

Song Yang 宋揚 see *sub* Song Jian 宋建.

Song Yao 宋繇 see Song You 宋由. -HHSJJ 3:149.

Song Ye 宋曄 or Song Guo 果. An officer of Yang Feng, who held command under Li Jue at Chang'an, in 195 Song Ye and his colleague Yang Ang became active agents in a plot to assassinate him and free Emperor Xian from captivity. Before they could take action, Li Jue killed Yang Ang for some unrelated reason, but Yang Feng then made himself independent

and Li Jue lost much of his power. -HHS 54/44:1768 [as Song Ye], SGZ 6:185 [as Song Guo].

Song Yi 宋翼 (d.192); Taiyuan. Song Yi was a noted calligrapher, a pupil of the distinguished Zhong Yao.

In 192 Song Yi was appointed Administrator of Youfufeng under the regime of his fellow-countryman Wang Yun at Chang'an. Soon afterwards Li Jue and other officers of Dong Zhuo seized the capital and captured Wang Yun. Song Yi's colleague Wang Hong, Administrator of Zuopingyi, was a brother of Wang Yun, and the new rulers were concerned that the two could pose a threat. They accordingly called them to the capital. Wang Hong planned to refuse and combine the forces of the two commanderies in resistance, but Song Yi was reluctant to take such drastic action, so both men accepted the summons. Li Jue killed them, together with Wang Yun and his family. As Wang Hong went to execution he cursed Song Yi for a useless bookworm. -HHS 66/56:2177.

Song Yi 宋意; Nanyang; see Zong Yi 宗意.

Song Yin 宋因 see *sub* Song Nie 宋臬.

Song You 宋由 [Shulu 叔路] (d.92); Jingzhao. Son of Song Song, in 86 Song You was promoted from Minister of Finance to Grand Commandant. In 88, as the regent Dowager Dou was considering an attack on the Northern Xiongnu, Song You and his colleagues, led by Yuan An, protested strongly. The campaign, went ahead nonetheless, and Song You, intimidated by the power of the regency and also, perhaps, with some interest in the extension of Han power to the north, abandoned his objections. In debates at court thereafter he tended to side with Dou Xian.

Four years later, as the power of the Dou family was destroyed by the young Emperor He, Song You was accused of collaboration and lack of loyalty. He was dismissed and committed suicide. -HHS 4:174; deC 84:267-269.

Song Yuan 宋瑗; Taiyuan? An uncle of Jia Shu, Song Yuan was killed about 160. Jia Shu avenged his death, but was arrested and barely escaped execution. -XC 4:10a.

Song Yuan 宋淵 see *sub* Song Nie 宋臬.

Song Zhang 宋章. During the 80s Song Zhang was a clerk in the office of the Excellency Huan Yu. His colleague Yang Ren disapproved of his greed and improper conduct, so strongly that he would not speak with him or share his mat. It is said that people admired Yang Ren's fine principles. -HHS 79/69B:2575.

Song Zhong 宋仲 see Song Chong 宋冲.

Song Zhong 宋忠/衷 surname perhaps Zong 宗 [Zhongzi 仲子]; Nanyang. A strong exponent of the New Text, Song Zhong supported the apocrypha and opposed the more eclectic interpretations of Zheng Xuan and his followers. He taught the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery," a development of the *Book of Changes* by the Former Han scholar Yang Xiong 楊雄, made commentaries to that and to other works of Yang Xiong, and also compiled a treatise on government under the title *Shi ben* 世本. He had many students, including Wang Su, Yin Mo and Li Ren, but none of his writings have survived.

About 200 Song Zhong and his colleague Qimu Kai were leaders among scholars at the court of Liu Biao, and under his sponsorship they prepared a series of detailed commentaries to the five classics, *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*. The work was known as the "Later Edition" 後定.

In 208, as Liu Zong prepared to surrender to Cao Cao, he sent Song Zhong at the last minute to tell Liu Bei, who was predictably indignant. -HHS 74/64B: 2421, SGZ 6:212, SGZ Shu 2:878; Yao Zhenzong:2381, Miao 82:72-75.

Song Zi 宋則 [Yuanju 元矩]; Jingzhao. Son of Song Han, Song Zi was a magistrate in Yingchuan and noted for his recommendations of worthy men.

When Song Zi's young son was practising archery with a slave, the man mis-shot and killed him. The slave expected to be executed, but Song Zi forgave him; he was widely admired for his generosity of spirit. -HHS 26/16:906, XHS 5:20a.

Song Zun 宋遵 (d.23). Governor of Yi province appointed by Wang Mang, he was killed by the bandit Wang Cen. -HHS 13/3:533-34.

Songxia 松下 see Supuyan 蘇僕延.

Southern Shanyu 南單于 see Shanyu and also Bi 比 etc.

Sovereign, First 先主 of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han 屬漢 see Liu Bei. -SGZ Shu 2.

Sovereign, Later 後主 of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu-Han 屬漢 see Liu Shan. -SGZ Shu 3.

Su 蘇, the Lady. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore him a son, Cao Yong. -SGZ 20:590.

Su 蘇 (d.63); Xiongnu. Son of the late Southern Shanyu Mo, he succeeded his uncle Shi in 63, taking the title Qiuchujulin di 丘除車林鞮 Shanyu. He died, however, a few months later. -HHS 89/79:2948.

Su 蘇 [personal name unknown]; Changshan. Member of a powerful local family in He county, in 24 he and his kinsmen were supporters of the pretender Wang Lang. As the army of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was on its way to attack Wang Lang they halted at He. This man Su opened the gates of the city and invited Wang Lang's officer Li Yun to bring in troops and surprise the Han. Liu Xiu's officer Geng Chun discovered the plot, fought with Li Yun, defeated and killed him. -HHS 21/1A:762.

Su An 蘇安. In 75 Su An was a major in the service of Dou Gu, commander-in-chief of the expedition against Turfan. Because of the distance and the difficulty of the mountain passes, Dou Gu planned to concentrate on the more accessible state of Nearer Jushi, but his subordinate general Geng Bing led a successful attack on Further Jushi.

As King Ande came to surrender, however, Su An hoped to take the credit for Dou Gu, and he told the ruler that he should surrender to the supreme commander. Ande accordingly waited for Dou Gu to come forward with the main army. Geng Bing, furious, confronted Dou Gu, and Ande now came out from his capital to be received by Geng Bing and then taken to Dou Gu. -HHS 19/9:717.

Su Bo 蘇伯 (d.211); Hejian. In 210 Tian Yin and Su Bo led an uprising against Cao Cao in You and Ji provinces. They were defeated and killed in the following year by the general Jia Xin under the orders of Cao Pi. -SGZ 23:659.

Su Buwei 蘇不韋 [Gongxian 公先]; Youfufeng. Son of Su Qian, Su Buwei was eighteen in the late 160s when his father was killed by the family enemy Li Gao. Su Bao swore an oath of vengeance, and having put his mother in safety among the hills of Wudu commandery he changed his name and sold the family property to raise a private army. He attacked Li Gao but without success.

Then Li Gao became Minister of Finance. Su Buwei and some followers tunneled into his residential compound for several nights and eventually emerged in his bedroom. At that moment Li Gao was in the lavatory, but Su Buwei killed his concubine and his infant son, left a note for him and went away.

Li Gao now surrounded himself with guards and changed his sleeping quarters every night. Su Buwei then went to the tomb of Li Gao's father Li Fu, took the dead man's head and presented it as an offering at

the temporary grave of Su Qian. Li Gao tried to catch him, but without success, and he died soon afterwards of an apoplexy.

Su Buwei later benefited from an amnesty, and he returned home to carry out the final entombment of his father. Many people were concerned at the manner in which he had maintained the vendetta, particularly his desecration of the dead, and believed that such conduct did not accord with ancient morality. The New Text philosopher He Xiu, however, compared Su Buwei to the legendary Wu Zixu 伍子胥: after the ruler of Chu 楚 killed his father, Wu Zixu fled to Wu 吳, arranged for an army of that state to conquer Chu, then avenged himself by taking the corpse of the former ruler from its tomb and flogging it. The celebrated moralist Guo Tai also praised Su Buwei's gallantry in challenging a powerful official with the resources of the state behind him, and argued that he was actually superior to Wu Zixu. Public opinion came to agree with him.

Though he declined an invitation to join the office of the Grand Tutor Chen Fan, Su Buwei did join the administrative staff of his commandery. His family were old friends of the frontier general Zhang Huan, but Zhang Huan quarrelled with his colleague Duan Jiong. When Duan Jiong was Director of Retainers in the 170s he invited Su Buwei to join his staff, but Su Buwei was worried and claimed to be ill.

Angry at this rejection and at the association with Zhang Huan, Duan Jiong also believed that Li Gao had been wrongly attacked for doing his duty as Director of Retainers against Su Qian, while Su Buwei's example inspired other young men in the capital district to raise private gangs of retainers.

Duan Jiong therefore sent his Attendant Officer Zhang Xian to kill Su Buwei, threatening his father's life if he failed. As Zhang Xian arrived, the Administrator sent Su Buwei to receive him; he was promptly arrested, and he and over sixty of his kinsmen were killed. The Su clan never recovered from the blow, though Duan Jiong's later destruction at the hands of Yang Qiu was seen by some as a belated vengeance.

To a modern sensitivity, with anxiety about "collateral damage" even in time of war, the brutality of Su Buwei's attack on Li Gao's innocent concubine and infant child, combined with his tasteless desecration of a tomb, arouses horror rather than sympathy. The fact that Guo Tai, the most noted moral critic of the day, not only defended but endorsed his conduct, and that

he was supported by all right-thinking men, sheds an uneasy light upon the essential principles of reformist Confucianism at that time. [One may recall also the conduct of Wu Song 武松, hero of the romantic Ming novel *Shuihu zhuan* 水湖傳, who slaughtered men, women and children indiscriminately: e.g. chapter 31; Hsia 68:97-99.] -HHS 31/21:1107-09*, YSS:21a-b; Ch'ü 72:311.

Su Chen 蘇臣. An officer of Yan Cen in 27, Su Chen was defeated in Hongnong by Deng Ye and Yu Kuang, generals under the imperial commander Feng Yi, and surrendered with eight thousand men. -HHS 17/7:647.

Su Chun 蘇純 [Huangong 桓公]; Youfufeng. Scion of an old-established family, Su Chun was respected in the region about Chang'an for his forceful moral opinions.

In 73 Su Chun served under Dou Gu in the attack on the Northern Xiongnu and in the later expansion into the Western Regions. He did well, was enfeoffed, and later became Administrator of Nanyang. -HHS 31/2A:1106.

Su Dai 蘇代; Wu. Administrator of Changsha in 190, Su Dai acted as an independent warlord, but was persuaded to submit to Liu Biao. -SGZ 6:211-12.

Su Dan 疏耽; see Shu Dan 疏耽.

Su Ding 蘇定. Administrator of Jiaozhi in 40, Su Ding attempted to restrict the activities of Zheng Ce [Vietnamese: Tr'ung Trac], an energetic woman of chiefly lineage. Zheng Ce and her sister Zheng Er [Tr'ung Nhi], however, led a rebellion which captured the commandery capital and spread across all Han territory in present-day Vietnam. -HHS 86/76:2836.

Su E 蘇娥, the Lady; Cangwu. As the Lady Su was travelling, she and her attendant Zhi were murdered and robbed by the village headman Gong Shou. The crime was discovered by the Inspector of Jiaozhi Chen Chang, and Gong Shou was executed. -XC 6:13a-b.

Su Fei 蘇飛. A senior officer under Huang Zu, general of Liu Biao opposed to Sun Quan on the middle Yangzi, he several times recommended the fighting man Gan Ning, but without effect. Recognising Gan Ning's disappointment, Su Fei arranged for him to be sent away to be a county magistrate. Gan Ning was thus able to escape and join Sun Quan, while taking his personal troop of followers with him.

Soon afterwards, early in 208, Sun Quan made a final attack and destroyed Huang Zu. He had proclaimed that he had two boxes ready, one for the head of Huang

Zu and the other for that of Su Fei. When Su Fei was taken, however, Gan Ning spoke on his behalf and Sun Quan let him go. -SGZ Wu 10:1292-93; deC 96:366-369.

Su Fei 蘇非. A senior officer under Guan Yu, about 210 he attempted to attack Xiangyang but was driven back by Cao Cao's garrison commander Yue Jin. -SGZ 17:521.

Su Gao 蘇高. Administrator of Jianwei, he reported the fine conduct of the widow Cheng Zhenjue. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Su Gu 蘇固; Youfufeng. Administrator of Hanzhong in 190, Su Gu was unwilling to accept the full authority of the new Governor Liu Yan. Liu Yan gave official positions to the religious leaders Zhang Xiu and Zhang Lu and sent them to attack Su Gu. They defeated and killed him, but then took Hanzhong for themselves. -HHS 75/65:2432, SGZ 8:263.

Su Heng 蘇衡. In 25 Su Heng held office in the warlord government of Wei Ao. -HHS 13/3:522.

Su Hong 蘇鴻. A Commandant in Ba commandery, Su Hong was killed by bandits about 150. -HYGZ 1:6.

Su Jing 蘇竟 [Bokuang 伯況]; Youfufeng. An expert in the *Book of Changes* and the *History*, at the end of Former Han Su Jing became an Academician in the latter discipline. In the time of Wang Mang he worked on text criticism with Liu Xin 劉歆 and was then a military officer in Dai commandery against the Xiongnu.

Following the fall of Wang Mang Su Jing was in Nanyang. About 27 he wrote a most eloquent letter to Liu Xin's kinsman Liu Gong, who was a member of staff of a junior commander under the *condottiere* Yan Cen, and he also addressed Liu Gong's senior officer Deng Zhongkuang. Both made terms with Han.

Guangwu later appointed Su Jing as Administrator of Dai, with responsibility once more for defence. In the winter of 29, however, as the renegade Lu Fang gained a strong position along the frontier the lieutenant-general Sui Di was sent to Dai. As Su Jing was taken ill, he transferred his troops to Sui Di and went to Luoyang with apologies for his lack of success. He was appointed as a Palace Attendant, but left office a few months later of account of his illness. [Su Jing's successor Liu Xing was killed in battle in the following year.]

In retirement Su Jing took pleasure in the study of esoteric arts. He died aged over seventy, leaving a text

on conduct, *Jihui pian* 記誨篇, and other writings. - *HHS* 30/20A:1041-46*; *QHX*:492-493.

Su Kang 蘇康 (d.168). A eunuch, Su Kang became a Regular Attendant to Emperor Huan. In 165 the Minister of Finance Liu You reported that Su Kang and his colleague Guan Ba had enclosed good farmland and wilderness throughout the empire, to the hardship of common people. Emperor Huan, however, was angry at Liu You, and sent him to convict labour.

When Emperor Huan died in 167 his Empress Dou immediately killed his favoured concubine the Lady Tian Sheng, and she wanted to murder all the other Honoured Ladies who had shared the monarch's favour. Su Kang and Guan Ba protested and obliged her not to do so.

In 168, under the regency government of the Lady Dou, Dou Wu charged Guan Ba and Su Kang with wrong-doing and had them tortured to death. This was the first step in a planned attack on the eunuchs, eventually overturned by the eunuchs' counter-coup. The Dowager was not keen on that plan, but she may have been more ready to approve these initial deaths because of her disappointment at having been prevented from killing all her former rivals in the harem. -*HHS* 10B:446, 57/67:2199, 69/59:2242.

Su Kuang 蘇況; Hongnong. In the autumn of 26, Su Kuang raised a local rebellion, attacked the commandery capital and captured the Administrator. Emperor Guangwu's general Jing Dan died on the campaign, but Su Kuang is not heard of again. -*HHS* 22/12:773.

Su Kuang 王況 also as Yu Kuang 玉況 [Wenbo 文伯] (d.51); Jingzhao. A man of distinguished local family, learned in the Confucian classics and respected for his moral qualities, Su Kuang became Administrator of Chenliu. In 47 he was appointed Excellency over the Masses, and died in office four years later. -*HHS* 1B: 75-79, 33/23:1152-53; Bn 79:61-63.

Xie Cheng's biography of Su Kuang, at *XC* 7: 8a, quoted by *HHS* 33/23:1153 TC, tells how his government of Chenliu so blessed the place that it escaped a plague of locusts [a similar story is ascribed to Zhao Xi in Pingyuan]. Xie Cheng also claims that Su Kuang became Excellency in 87, but this does not fit with any other source.

Su Lang 蘇林; Youfufeng. About 60 Su Lang was charged with having made false prognostications about current affairs based upon apocryphal and

mystical works. He was arrested and executed. -*HHS* 40A:1334.

Su Lin 蘇林 [Xiaoyou 孝友]; Chenliu. A man of wide learning, Su Lin studied under Yu Sheng of Yingchuan. Expert in both ancient and modern orthography, he could interpret the most difficult passages of the classics and histories. About 211 he became a scholar in the suite of Cao Pi, who treated him with great courtesy. As Cao Pi took the imperial throne in 220 Su Lin was an Academician with additional titles as Serving within the Palace and Commandant of Cavalry; he joined Dong Ba to prepare a genealogy which linked the Cao family to the mythical Yellow Emperor.

When Cao Pi restored the Imperial University in 224, Su Lin was one of the first Academicians in the new order. He retired to his home on grounds of age, but continued to receive imperial signs of favour. He died aged over eighty. Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, identified Su Lin as one of seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in times of disorder. -*SGZ* 20:620-21; Fang 52:170-171, Goodman 98:107-108, 145.

Su Ling 蘇陵. Su Ling's name appears in the colophon of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the Stone Classics engraved in the early 180s. He is described as a Gentleman of the Palace, which may have been only a probationary cadet appointment but may represent a more substantive rank. -*LS* 14:8b.

Su Mao 蘇茂 (d.29); Chenliu. Joining the rebellion of Han loyalists, Su Mao was named a general by the Gengshi Emperor. Early in 25 he took part in the campaign which destroyed the Young Prince Liu Ying in Anding. He then fought the Red Eyebrows in Hongnong, but was defeated and went to join the garrison at Luoyang under Zhu Wei.

Later that year, Su Mao was sent to make a flank attack on Guangwu's general Feng Yi while Zhu Wei attacked him directly. Su Mao was heavily defeated by Kou Xun, and both columns were driven back to Luoyang. In the winter Zhu Wei and his garrison surrendered. Emperor Guangwu again appointed Su Mao as a general.

In 26 Su Mao was sent under the command of He Yan to attack Liu Yong, who had taken the imperial title in Liang. Liu Yong was soon under siege in his capital, Suiyang in Liang, but at this point Su Mao changed sides once more. Coming from a neighbouring

commandery, he appears to have been affected by local interest, and in the summer he killed Pan Jian, Guangwu's Administrator of Huaiyang, and joined Liu Yong.

Liu Yong named Su Mao as Grand Marshal and gave him title as King of Huaiyang, but as that territory was held by Guangwu's forces Su Mao set himself at Guangle, in the north of Liang. As He Yan maintained the siege of Suiyang, Su Mao attempted to relieve Liu Yong, but he was driven back.

In the autumn of 26 He Yan stormed Suiyang. Liu Yong and few dozen supporters fled to Su Mao. They were joined by Liu Yong's officers and allies Jiao Qiang and Zhou Jian, and they attempted a counter-attack but were once more defeated. Su Mao returned to Guangle, while Liu Yong went with Jiao Qiang and Zhou Jian to Huling city in Shanyang, eighty kilometres to the northeast.

In 27 Suiyang city rebelled against Guangwu and Liu Yong was able to return. He Yan once more laid siege, and in the summer Guangwu's Grand Marshal Wu Han attacked Guangle. Zhou Jian sought to relieve Su Mao, but was defeated and forced back into Huling, while Wu Han joined He Yan outside Suiyang. By autumn the city was starving, Liu Yong was killed as he attempted to escape, and both Suiyang and Guangle surrendered.

Still maintaining resistance, Su Mao and Zhou Jian withdrew to a new base at Chuihui in Pei, where they proclaimed Liu Yong's son Yu as King of Liang. The succession was recognised by Jiao Qiang in Shanyang, but Liu Yong's imperial claim was set aside and Liu Yu was no more than a figurehead for the warlord allies. Su Mao and Zhou Jian attempted to move north into Pengcheng, but they were defeated by He Yan and turned back.

In the autumn of 28 Guangwu's generals Ma Wu and Wang Ba laid siege to Liu Yu and Zhou Jian in Chuihui. Su Mao recruited some men from the remnants of the Wuxiao bandits who had been driven south of the Yellow River, and early in 29 he came to the relief with these new allies and a force of cavalry. He gained some initial success, capturing Ma Wu's baggage, and Zhou Jian and Liu Yu made a sortie which put Ma Wu's troops to flight. Wang Ba, however, held his men back until Su Mao and Zhou Jian had committed themselves to pursuit, then attacked their rear and reversed the course of the battle. On the

following day Su Mao and Zhou Jian challenged him to fight, but Wang Ba held his men in camp and Su Mao and Zhou Jian were forced to withdraw for lack of supplies. As they returned to Chuihui, Zhou Jian's nephew Zhou Song changed sides and closed the gates against them. Liu Yu's party scattered, and Su Mao fled to Dong Xian in Donghai.

When Pang Meng rebelled in Chu and sought alliance with Dong Xian, Su Mao was sent to join him, and in the summer they laid siege to the city of Tao in Rencheng. In the autumn the warlord allies of the southeast were defeated by Guangwu at Changlū in Donghai, and Su Mao then fled north to Zhang Bu in the Shandong peninsula. Zhang Bu had just been defeated by Guangwu's general Geng Yan, and messengers were sent to him and to Su Mao, offering enfeoffment to whichever killed the other and surrendered. Zhang Bu struck first. -*HHS* 12/2,494-95; Bn 59.91-92, 103-104, 133-149.

Su Mao 蘇茂 see Su Mou 蘇茂.

Su Qian 蘇謙 [Zhongrang 仲讓] (d.166); Youfufeng. Member of the distinguished lineage which included Su Chun and Su Zhang, about 160 Su Qian became a commandery Investigator. The county magistrate Li Gao, a friend of the eunuch Ju Yuan, ruled with cruelty and greed, but because of his connections to the court no-one dared complain. Su Qian, however, impeached Li Gao, confiscated his goods and had him sent to convict service.

Su Qian held further offices in the imperial service, became Administrator of Jincheng and then retired to his home country. According to regulations, such a former provincial official was forbidden to visit the imperial capital without permission, but in 166 Su Qian made a private visit to Luoyang. Li Gao had become Director of Retainers; he took the opportunity to arrest Su Qian, had him die in prison, and then beat his corpse to avenge himself for the past humiliation.

Su Qian's son Su Buwei later exacted a ferocious revenge. -*HHS* 31/21:1107-08, *YSS*:21a; Ch'ü 72:311, deC 89:127-128.

Su Shuang 蘇雙; Zhongshan. Wealthy merchants, Su Shuang and Zhang Shiping went to Zhuo commandery about 180 to trade in horses. They met and were impressed by the fighting man Liu Bei, and gave him gold and other valuables so that he might recruit a large troop of followers. -*SGZ* Shu 2:872.

Su Shun 蘇順 [Xiaoshan 孝山]; Jingzhao. In the latter

part of the first century Su Shun was celebrated for his literary and scholarly ability. He lived, however, in seclusion, paying chief attention to the means of nourishing life 好養生術 and the search for the Way. He accepted court appointment in old age, but died without holding substantive office. His collected works amounted to sixteen *pian* of rhapsodies, essays and eulogies, including one to Emperor He. -*HHS* 80/70A:2617*; Vervoorn 90:188.

Su Teng 蘇騰; Pingyuan. A private gentleman 處士, about 175 Su Teng joined in the erection of a stele at the temple of the ancient and worthy hermits Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 at Shouyang Mountain. -*SJZ* 5:3a.

Su Tong 蘇統; Julu. A private scholar, Su Tong was known as an expert on calendrical studies, and in 85 he was consulted by Jia Kui when he prepared his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar for Emperor Zhang. -*HHS* 92/2:3027.

Su Xiang 宿詳 became Administrator of Yanmen. -*FSTY* 6f:135.

Su Yan 宿彦; Chenliu. Probably in the 170s, the clerical officer Su Yan was questioned by Cai Yong and confirmed the remarkable mourning behaviour of the youthful Cheng Wei. -*Cai* 8:2.

Su Ye 蘇鄴 (d.46). Director of Retainers in 46, Su Ye was accused of inappropriate association with the gentlemen Wang Pan and Ding Hong. All three died in prison. -*HHS* 1B:74, 24/14:851.

Su [Yishan] 蘇義山; Nanyang. A former Investigator of the commandery, in 156 Su Yishan, whose personal name is lost, was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17: 17a.

Su You 蘇由/游. In 204 Su You was left with Shen Pei to guard Yuan Shang's base at Ye city. As Cao Cao approached he changed sides and attempted an internal coup, but was defeated and fled. -*SGZ* 6:202.

Su Yue 蘇越. When Cao Cao was at Luoyang in 219 he ordered the construction of a new Hall of the Established Beginning. As the workman Su Yue began to cut a tree, the sap that flowed out looked like blood; soon afterwards, Cao Cao died. -*SGZ* 1:53.

Su Ze 蘇則 [Wenshi 文師] (d.223); Youfufeng. A descendant of Su Chun and Su Zhang, Su Ze was celebrated for his learning when he was young, and for his fierce honesty, but he refused early recommendations for office. About 195, as Chang'an fell into disorder, he took refuge in Beidi and then in Anding, where he received grudging patronage from

the wealthy Shi Liang. About 200 he returned to his homeland, but then went with Ji Mao to live as a hermit scholar in the Qin Ling ranges.

Probably after Cao Cao's victory over the warlords of Liang province in 211, Su Ze held office as Administrator in the frontier commanderies of Jiuquan, Anding and Wudu. Isolated from the main centre of Cao Cao's power, he was obliged to rely upon his own resources and strategy, and it is questionable how far his writ could be made to run. In each territory, however, he established a strong reputation.

In 215, as Cao Cao moved against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, he met Su Ze, was impressed by him, and appointed him to his staff as local adviser. After Zhang Lu surrendered, Su Ze negotiated the submission of various tribes of the Di people, and opened communications across the Yellow River. He was named Administrator of Jincheng, and though Cao Cao's policy was concentrated south towards Yi province rather than out to the northwest, Su Ze settled refugees, made peace with the non-Chinese, and put down rebellions.

In 220 Su Ze received additional appointment as Protector of the Qiang and was enfeoffed. In that year the new government of Cao Pi sent Zou Qi as Inspector of the new Liang 涼 province to restore civil administration in the far west. Led by Huang Hua and Wang Zhao, the local Chinese and non-Chinese combined against him, but with support from Zhang Ji, Inspector of Yong 雍 province on the east, and Zhang Gong the chieftain of Dunhuang, and despite policy restricting operations west of the Yellow River, Su Ze gathered an army to defeat the rebels, settle the region, and open the road to central Asia.

Su Ze was raised in fief and brought to court as a Palace Attendant, but lost favour when he criticised Cao Pi. Sent out again to provincial office, he died on the road. He was awarded posthumous honours, and was considered the most successful frontier general of Wei. -*SGZ* 16:490-93*; Fang 52:5-7, 26-28, Mather 76:571.

Su Zhang 蘇章 [Shicheng 士成]; Beihai. An enthusiastic scholar, Su Zhang travelled widely in search of the best teachers. -*XC* 1:9a.

Su Zhang 蘇章 [Ruwen 孺文]; Youfufeng. A grandson of Su Chun, Su Zhang was widely learned. In the time of Emperor An he was recommended as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright. Graded First Class,

he became a Consultant and gave good advice on a number of matters. He was then sent out as a county magistrate to Pengcheng, where he alleviated a failed harvest by prompt opening of the official granary.

In the time of Emperor Shun Su Zhang became Inspector of Ji province. As the Administrator of Qinghe, an old friend, was under investigation for corruption, Su Zhang visited the commandery and invited him with great courtesy, but arrested and sentenced him next day. Asked to explain such a *volte-face*, he replied that on the first evening he had paid his duties as a friend, but the second day was official business.

Su Zhang was transferred to Bing province, but was dismissed for being unduly harsh to leading local families, and ignoring orders to be more lenient. He retired to his home, and though he was invited to become Intendant of Henan and praised as one of those who could assist in troubled times, he took no further part in public life. -HHS 31/21:1106-07*; Ch'ü 72:470.

Su Zhenghe 蘇正和; Wuwei. About 180 Su Zhenghe was an Assistant Officer of Liang province. The Administrator of Wuwei, who was well connected to the palace, abused his position to indulge his lust and greed. Su Zhenghe reported his misconduct, but the Inspector Liang Gu was anxious to avoid the political implications, and he thought to rid himself of the problem by killing Su Zhenghe. He consulted He Xun, to whom Su Zhenghe had once done a bad turn, but He Xun refused to allow his private enmity to affect his official position. He persuaded Liang Gu that Su Zhenghe was a worthy and useful officer, who should not be attacked in this way. Su Zhenghe attempted to call upon He Xun to offer his thanks, but He Xun refused to see him, saying, "My advice was given for Commissioner Liang, not for you," and he liked him no better than before. -HHS 58/48:1879; deC 89:186-187.

Su Zhi 蘇祇. At the end of 125, after the overthrow of the Yan clan and the restoration of Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, to the imperial succession, the scholar-official Cui Yuan, who had been on the staff of Yan Xian, was disgraced for his connection to the defeated faction. Su Zhi, a former student of Cui Yuan, sent a letter to the throne to tell how Cui Yuan had sought to persuade Yan Xian to restore Liu Bao to the succession. Cui Yuan refused such support, however, and retired to his

home. -HHS 52/42:1723.

Subahui 蘇拔廌; Xianbi. A senior chieftain of his people, in 94 Subahui brought a force of cavalry to assist Ren Shang the Protector of the Wuhuan in pursuit of the renegade Xiongnu prince Fenghou. Their troops ambushed Fenghou and inflicted a heavy defeat, but the main body of the enemy escaped across the frontier and the imperial army abandoned the chase.

Subahui was rewarded for his services with title as King Who Leads his People 率眾王 and with gifts of gold and silk, but this was the last occasion of effective co-operation between Xianbi and Han. In 97 there is recorded the first of many future raids against the northern commanderies of the empire. -HHS 89/79:2958, deC 84:295.

Sufuwan 速附丸 *i.e.* Supuyan 蘇僕延. -SGZ 30:835.

Sui Di 隨弟. In the winter of 29, as the renegade Lu Fang held a strong position along the frontier, the lieutenant-general Sui Di was sent to Dai. The Administrator Su Jing transferred his troops to him and retired to Luoyang. In the following year Lu Fang's forces overran the commandery. -HHS 30/20A:1041; Bn 67:106.

Sui Fan 隨蕃 is mentioned by *FSTY* 6f:146.

Sui Gu 眭固 [Botu 白兔] (d.199). In 185 Sui Gu was a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. In 191 he and others of the group were defeated by Cao Cao in Dong commandery, and in 192 Cao Cao defeated him and Yufuluo of the Xiongnu in Wei.

In 198 Sui Gu was a subordinate commander of Zhang Yang the Administrator of Henei. Zhang Yang was killed by his officer Yang Chou, and Sui Gu killed Yang Chou in turn. Though Zhang Yang's officer Miao Shang took over his title, Sui Gu was evidently the senior military commander and held power in the region. An old enemy of Cao Cao, he gave allegiance to Yuan Shao.

In the following year Cao Cao sent his officers Shi Huan and Cao Ren against him. Sui Gu sought help from Yuan Shao, but he was defeated and killed. It is said that Sui Gu camped at Shequan 射犬 "Shoot Dog" county, and a soothsayer warned him that a place with "dog" in its name was ill omened for a general whose style was "White Hare" 白兔. Sui Gu paid no attention, but suffered an appropriate fate. His troops were taken over by Cao Cao. -SGZ 1:8-9, 17, 8:251-52, HHS 71/6A:2311 [where the surname appears as

Qi 畦].

Sui Xian 隨憲 also as 隋憲; Wuyuan. Sui Xian was a younger brother of Lu Fang's general Sui Yu, who turned against Lu Fang in 36 and surrendered to Emperor Guangwu. Sui Xian followed him and was granted a marquisate in the contested frontier commandery of Dingxiang. -HHS 12/2:507.

Sui Yu 隨昱 also as 隋昱; Wuyuan. A local warlord, in 28 Sui Yu was persuaded by an emissary of the Xiongnu Shanyu Yu to give his support to the pretender Lu Fang., and in the following year Lu Fang set his capital at Jiuyuan city in Wuyuan.

As Lu Fang led an army against Yunzhong in 36, he left Sui Yu in charge of Jiuyuan, but Sui Yu changed sides and attempted to capture him. Though Lu Fang escaped, his men joined Sui Yu, who went to Guo Ji, Guangwu's Governor of Bing province. Sui Yu was named Administrator of Wuyuan and entitled Marquis Who Chisels Away the Northern Barbarians 鐫胡侯. -HHS 12/2:506-07, 31/2A:1093.

Sui Yuanjin 眭元進 (d.200). An officer in the escort for Yuan Shao's supply train near Guandu, he was killed by Cao Cao's raiding party. -SGZ 1:22, HHS 74/64A:2401 [where the surname appears as Ju 睢].

Suicheng 遂成 of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. Known in Korean history as Susong, Suicheng was the son and Heir of King Gong. In the spring of 121, as Feng Huan the Inspector of You province led a punitive expedition across the frontier, Gong sent Suicheng with two thousand men in pretence of surrender. Yao Guang, Administrator of Xuantu, believed him, and the enemy took advantage of the respite to occupy defensive positions while they sent infiltrators into Chinese territory, burning settlements and killing or wounding two thousand people.

As the Chinese were disrupted by internal disputes, further successful raids followed. Gaogouli and its allied forces then besieged the capital of Xuantu, but in the winter they were defeated by Chinese provincial forces and an army from Fuyu, northern neighbours of Gaogouli.

Gong died at this time and Suicheng succeeded him, and though the Chinese sent diplomatic condolences rather than following up their success, it appears the set-back had been significant, and the threat from Fuyu was now a matter of real concern. Early in 122, therefore, Suicheng made a genuine surrender, sending back all the Chinese he had captured and receiving

rewards for each of them.

Later Korean tradition describes Suicheng as a tyrant who was eventually assassinated by one of his own ministers, and it does appear that his reign was a period of unrest and comparative weakness after the earlier successes of his father Gong. Suicheng died about 130, and his son Bogu [Paekko] evidently came to the throne as a minor. -HHS 85/75:2814-15, Gardiner 69A:32, 69B:172-186.

Suli 素利 (d.228); Xianbi. A commander in the eastern region under Tanshihuai in the 170s, Suli was later independent beyond the frontier. His territory was not directly connected to China, but about 207 Yan Rou persuaded him and other chieftains to pay tribute to Cao Cao. They established trading relations and were enfeoffed as kings.

In 220 Suli's royal title was re-confirmed by Cao Pi. In 224 he was attacked by the powerful Kebineng, but he was relieved by the Protector of the Wuhuan Tian Yu and thereafter maintained an uneasy independence. -SGZ 30:838-40; Fang 52:62, 95-96, 181.

Sumashi 蘇馬提; non-Chinese. A chieftain of the Han 韓 people of south-western Korea, in 34 Sumashi came to Lelang commandery with tribute. Emperor Guangwu granted him a noble title, with a fief dependent upon Lelang. -HHS 85/75:2820.

Sun 孫, the Lady I; Wu. Mother of Sun Jian, when she was pregnant with him she dreamt her intestines came out and wound themselves about the main gate of Wu city. A neighbour woman suggested this was not necessarily a bad sign, but whatever the significance of the omen, it was confused by the fact that the Lady gave birth to twins: cf. Sun Qiang. -SGZ Wu 1:1093; deC 90:74.

Sun 孫, the Lady II; Wu. Younger sister of Sun Jian, she married Xu Zhen. In 195 she was with her son Xu Kun as he joined Sun Ce to attack across the Yangzi and, rather than waiting for ships to be prepared, she suggested building rafts for the army from rushes and reeds. -SGZ Wu 5:1197.

Sun 孫, the Lady III; Wu. Daughter of Sun Jian by the Lady Wu, in 209 she was given as wife to Liu Bei by her brother Sun Quan. A woman of character, who maintained a corps of armed female retainers, she frightened her husband and was regarded as a threat to his embryo state.

When Liu Bei went to Yi province in 211, the Lady Sun returned east to her brother. She tried to take his

infant son and heir Liu Shan with her, to serve as a future hostage, but her cortège was intercepted by Zhao Yun and Zhang Fei, who brought the boy back. -SGZ Shu 6:949, 7:960, HYGZ 6:82; deC 90:86, 294-295, C/C 99:46-47, 177.

Sun 孫, the Lady IV; Wu. Daughter of Sun Jian by a concubine, she married Hong Zi. -SGZ Wu 7:1231; deC 90:86.

Sun 孫, the Lady V; Wu. Daughter of Sun Jian by a woman of the Chen family, she married Pan Mi 潘祕, son of Pan Jun. -SGZ Wu 16:1399; deC 90:86.

Sun 孫, the Lady VI; Wu. Daughter of Sun Ben, in 198 she was married to Cao Zhang, son of Cao Cao. -SGZ Wu 1:1104.

Sun 孫, the Lady VII; Wu. Daughter of Sun Ce, about 217 she married Lu Xun. -SGZ Wu 13:1343.

Sun 孫, the Lady VIII; Wu. Daughter of Sun Ce, she married Gu Shao. -SGZ Wu 12:1229.

Sun 孫, the Lady IX; Wu. Daughter of Sun Fu, she married Luo Tong. -SGZ Wu 12:1335.

Sun 孫, the Lady X. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Zishang, Cao Biao and Cao Ziqin. -SGZ 20:579.

Sun 孫, the Lady; see also the Lady Liang IV.

Sun An 孫安. A nephew of the Lady Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Sun An was formally too young to hold office, but was nevertheless appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates and given office in the Feathered Forest corps of guards. -HHS/J 34/24:1257 Hou Kang quoting *Taiping yulan* 242.

Sun Ben 孫賁 [Boyang 伯陽] (d.220); Wu. Born about 174, the elder son of Sun Qiang, Sun Ben was orphaned young, but cared for his young brother Sun Fu. Having held local office in Wu, he joined his uncle Sun Jian in 189 and took part in his campaigns.

When Sun Jian was killed in 191, Sun Ben, still only in his teens, took over his personal following in the service of Yuan Shu. Defeating Zhou Ang, Administrator of Jiujiang for Yuan Shao, he was named Inspector of Yu.

Sun Ben was later sent to join Wu Jing in Danyang, but in 194 they were driven away by Liu Yao. When Sun Ce arrived in 195, they returned south of the Yangzi and took part in his first campaigns.

In 196 Sun Ben returned to Yuan Shu. When Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197 he appointed Sun Ben his Administrator of Jiujiang, but at the invitation of Sun Ce he went back south of the Yangzi. He had

difficulty leaving Yuan Shu, and was obliged to abandon his wife and children, but he evidently recovered them later, for his daughter married Cao Cao's son Zhang.

Following the successful attack on Liu Xun in Lujiang in 199, and the death of Liu Yao in Yuzhang, Sun Ben was named Administrator of the latter commandery and then assisted his brother Sun Fu to defeat Tong Zhi.

Because of the marital connection, as Cao Cao occupied Jing province in 208 Sun Ben was inclined to support submission and the sending of hostages. Zhu Zhi, an old friend of the family, spoke firmly to him and Sun Ben changed his mind. Enfeoffed and given title as a general, he remained in Yuzhang until his death about 220. He was then succeeded in office by his son Sun Lin 隣, aged nine *sui*. -SGZ Wu 6:1209-10*.

Sun Biao 孫表. Sun Biao's name appears in the colophon to *Analects* in the Stone Classics engraved in the early 180s. He is described as a Gentleman of the Palace, which may be no more than a probationary cadet appointment or may represent a more substantive rank. -LS 14:13a.

Sun Bin 孫斌; Dong. During the 150s Sun Bin was a county officer under the magistrate Diwu Zhong, who treated him well.

In 160 the eunuch Shan Chao had Diwu Zhong exiled to Shuofang, where the Administrator Dong Yuan, a kinsman of Shan Chao, planned to kill him. Sun Bin told his friends Zhen Ziran and Lü Zizhi about it, and they gathered a troop to waylay Diwu Zhong's escort. They killed several men, then took Diwu Zhong to refuge until he was released through an amnesty. -HHS 41/31:1404.

Sun Bin 孫賓; Jianwei? The parents of the widowed Lady Cao Jing planned to betroth her to Sun Bin. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Sun Cang 孫倉; Shanggu. A local officer under the Administrator Geng Kuang in 24, he was sent with Geng Kuang's son Geng Yan on a tribute mission to the new Gengshi Emperor. As the party arrived in Julu, the pretender Wang Lang proclaimed his rebellion, and Sun Cang and his colleague Wei Bao wanted to join him. Geng Yan threatened them with a sword, but could not prevent them. -HHS 19/9:704.

Sun Ce 孫策 [Bofu 伯符] (175-200); Wu [posthumously titled King Huan of Wu 吳桓王]. Eldest son of Sun Jian, in the early 190s Sun Ce was with his

mother and family in Lujiang, Danyang and Guangling, where he gained notice among his contemporaries and seniors. When his late father's old commander Yuan Shu was driven south to Jiujiang in 193, Sun Ce sought appointment, and some of his father's former troops took service with him. He was sent south of the Yangzi to join his uncle and cousin Wu Jing and Sun Ben, but was defeated by Zu Lang and returned north in the following year.

Named a colonel and granted another thousand men, Sun Ce attacked Lujiang for Yuan Shu. He was promised further promotions, but was disappointed each time, and in 195 he obtained permission to go back and support Wu Jing and Sun Ben against Liu Yao, Yuan Shu's new rival for Yang province.

Despite his youth, Sun Ce displayed remarkable military ability. Swiftly recognised as leader of the clan-based army, he crossed the Yangzi and in a series of engagements he defeated Liu Yao, his allies and subordinates. By early 196 he controlled much of Danyang and part of Wu, while Liu Yao took refuge in Yuzhang.

Sun Ce now invaded Kuaiji, pursued the Administrator Wang Lang down the coast to Dongye by present-day Fuzhou, captured him, then returned to deal with local opponents in Wu commandery. Naming himself Administrator of Kuaiji, he distributed similar titles to his ally Zhu Zhi, to Wu Jing and other members of his family. As Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197, Sun Ce rejected his allegiance and made formal alliance with Cao Cao, who controlled the Han court at Xu city. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wu and styled General Who Exterminates Rebels, but demonstrated his independence by driving Cao Cao's agent Chen Yu back to the north.

In 198 Sun Ce eliminated his minor opponents in Danyang, and in the following year he moved upstream to the west. In swift succession he drove Liu Xun away and captured Lujiang, together with the remnants of Yuan Shu's party, then defeated Huang Zu, general of Liu Biao the Inspector of Jing province. Early in 200 he received the surrender of Hua Xin the Administrator of Yuzhang and took over that territory.

Sun Ce's forces were now unmatched in the southeast, but there was a rebellion in Wu led by Xu Gong and White Tiger Yan. Returning east, Sun Ce captured Xu Gong and killed him, then prepared to attack White Tiger Yan. Before he could do so, he was

ambushed while hunting by retainers of Xu Gong, and died of the wounds they inflicted. There are stories that he was haunted by Gan Ji, a teacher and adept whom he had put to death as a rival to his own authority.

Young Gentleman Sun 孫郎 had a generous nature, a sense of humour and remarkable ability as a military commander: he was only twenty-six *sui* when he died, but he had laid the foundations of an independent state in the south. -SGZ Wu 1:1101-12*; deC 90, Mather 76: 573-574.

Sun Ce 孫策, wife of: see the Lady Qiao 橋 I.

Sun Chang 孫常; Kuaiji. Sun Chang and his younger brother Sun Lie maintained separate households and farmed separate land. When Sun Lie died in the early 20s, at a time of famine, Sun Chang provided food to his widow and children, but had title to his property transferred to himself.

When Sun Lie's son grew up, he sued to recover his father's land. When the case was heard at the commandery, a majority of the officers held that the arrangement was fair and that the claimant was behaving in unfilial fashion towards a senior kinsman. Zhongli Yi, however, argued that Sun Chang had responsibility to care for his brother's dependents, and he should not have taken their property under duress. This view carried the day. -HHSJJ 41/31:1492 Hui Dong quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*.

Sun Cheng 孫程 [Zhiqing 稚卿] (d.132); Zhuo. A eunuch, Sun Cheng became a junior officer of the imperial harem in the time of Emperor An, and served in the palace of the Dowager Deng, who acted as regent without allowing the emperor any authority.

When the Dowager died in 121 and Emperor An was able to take power for himself, he turned against her family and accepted advice from personal favourites. In 124, under the influence of his Empress Yan, the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng, and a clique of others, he deposed his son and Heir Liu Bao. In the following year Emperor An died, and the Dowager Yan established her own nominee, the five-year-old Liu Yi, known as the Little Emperor.

Soon after his accession, Liu Yi became seriously ill, and in the months which followed Sun Cheng enlisted Xing Qu, Wang Kang and Wang Guo in planning a coup to restore Liu Bao. The boy ruler died on 10 December, and four days later Sun Cheng and his associates gathered supporters among the eunuchs at the Hall of Virtuous Light in the Northern Palace,

where the former Heir was imprisoned; they cut their clothes to swear an oath to him.

On 16 December the conspirators attacked. Killing Jiang Jing and other leaders of the Yan faction, and taking the influential eunuch Li Run as hostage to give credit to their actions, they set the ten-year-old Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne and established control of the Imperial Secretariat. The Yan group attempted a counter-attack, but the troops refused their orders, and they and their leading associates were captured and executed. By 18 December the new regime was firmly in place, and on 21 December an edict could even order that remnants of the Yan group should be treated leniently.

Sun Cheng was given honorary appointment as Commandant of Cavalry and enfeoffed as a county marquis in Bohai with a pension from ten thousand households, while eighteen of his colleagues and fellow-conspirators also received fiefs.

Early in 126 the Director of Retainers Yu Xu levied accusations of conspiracy and faction against the eunuch Zhang Fang. Though he had taken no part in the coup, Zhang Fang was a favourite of the emperor, who was reluctant to have him disgraced. In support of Yu Xu, Sun Cheng and his colleagues Zhang Xian, Meng Shu and Ma Guo, forced Zhang Fang to leave his position beside the throne and face charges in the body of the court. Zhang Fang was disgraced and exiled, some of his associates were executed, and others were sentenced to convict service or fined. Yu Xu had been imprisoned, but he now received a high post in the Secretariat.

Sun Cheng and his allies had acted high-handedly in the presence of the emperor, and the young ruler was angry at their conduct and at the result which had been forced upon him. He ordered Sun Cheng and others to go to their fiefs, and Sun Cheng's estate was shifted from his Bohai to an outpost county by the Yangzi Gorges in Nan commandery. Bitterly resentful, Sun Cheng returned his insignia and retired into the hills. Members of the Imperial Secretariat sought to remind the ruler how much he owed to Sun Cheng and his fellows, but they received no response.

Eventually, at the urgings of his clerk Zhou Ju, the Excellency Zhu Chang joined the protest, and the emperor now felt embarrassed. He sent men to seek out Sun Cheng, awarded him carriages, horses, clothing and other gifts, and restored his former territory. In

128, moreover, Emperor Shun formally recalled the achievement of the past and summoned Sun Cheng and his colleagues back to the capital. He renewed Sun Cheng's appointment as Commandant of Cavalry, gave comparable awards to his associates, and named them Servants at Court, permitting them to remain at the capital.

In 132, as Sun Cheng became extremely ill, he was granted title as General of Chariots and Cavalry and Specially Advanced, positions never before held by a eunuch. When he died soon afterwards he was granted a posthumous title, while his funeral was honoured by the emperor and accompanied by a special escort.

In response to his deathbed request, Sun Cheng's fief was granted to his younger brother Mei, but Emperor Shun also awarded half the estate and the title to Sun Cheng's adopted son Shou. In 114 the adopted son of the eunuch Zheng Zhong had been granted the succession to his fief, but this award to Sun Shou became the precedent for an edict in 135, which authorised all eunuch marquises to pass on their fiefs in this way. -*HHS* 78/68:2514-18*; Ch'ü 72:464-470, Bn 76:91-93.

Sun Chun 孫純. In 76 Sun Chen was Administrator of Longxi when the Bi'nan tribe of the Qiang killed the magistrate Zong Yan and raided the frontier. Sun Chen sent his officer Li Mu to join forces with troops from Jincheng and they defeated the insurgents. -*HHS* 87/77:2881.

Sun Chuo 孫綽; Wu. Son of Sun Gao 髡, Sun Chuo was a Commandant under his cousin Sun Quan. -*SGZ* Wu 19:1444.

Sun Cong 孫琮 [Weishi 威石]; Beihai. Formerly Inspector of Qing province and then Administrator of Hanyang, Sun Cong had a tomb in his homeland. -*Nagata* 94:312.

Sun Deng 孫登 (d.26). A leader of bandits in Shang commandery, in the winter of 26 Sun Deng was proclaimed Son of Heaven by a combination of the Bronze Horse, Green Calf and Youlai groups. Very soon afterwards he was killed by his subordinate Yue Xuan, who brought the whole band, fifty thousand strong, to surrender to Emperor Guangwu.

An apocryphal prophecy concerning Sun Deng was later used by the ambitious sooth-sayer Zhai Fu. -*HHS* 1A:31, 48/38:1602.

Sun Deng 孫登 [Zigao 子高] (209-241); Wu. Though Sun Deng was the first-born son of Sun Quan, and

always recognised as the senior among his brothers, his mother was of such poor background that there is no record of her name or family. Sun Deng was early given into the care of the Lady Xu V, consort of Sun Quan. He was always grateful to her, and while he accepted the position of her successor the Lady Bu in his father's affections, and showed her proper courtesy, on at least one occasion he spoke firmly on behalf of the Lady Xu as the senior wife.

When Sun Quan became King of Wu in 222, he named Sun Deng as his Heir, and the decisive break with Cao Pi of Wei took place when he refused to send Sun Deng as a hostage to the northern court.

Sun Quan chose Sun Deng's companions carefully, and he married him to a daughter of his great general Zhou Yu. When he took the imperial title in 229, he again appointed Sun Deng as Heir, and in that year, at the age of twenty, Sun Deng was left in formal command at Wuchang city in Jing province [formerly E county of Jiangxia in Later Han] while Sun Quan set his capital at Jianye in Danyang, present-day Nanjing. When his younger brother Sun Lü died in 232, Sun Deng took up residence at Jianye to be with Sun Quan, and affairs of the west were left with Lu Xun.

Sun Deng was interested in Huang-Lao, and encouraged Sun Quan in that doctrine. Though generally trusted by his father, he was unsuccessful in his protests against the short-lived influence of the favourite Lü Yi 呂壹 in 238.

After Sun Deng's death in 241, the succession of Wu became confused by rivalries at court and the caprices of an aging ruler. -SGZ Wu 14:1363-66*; C/C 99:218, deC 90:483, 499, 527, 529.

Sun Fu 孫福. In 26 Sun Fu was Administrator of Taiyuan when a horde of Red Eyebrows invaded the commandery. As they attacked the capital, Sun Fu's staff officer Liu Mao took Sun Fu and his family away to hide in a cave. They then went to a neighbouring county, where the party lay concealed during the day and Liu Mao gathered food by night. After three months the bandits left and Sun Fu was able to return to his commandery headquarters.

In the following year an edict called for nominations of Men of Honour. Sun Fu reported Liu Mao's fine conduct and Liu Mao was given office at the capital. -HHS 81/71:2671; Bn 54:46.

Sun Fu 孫輔 [Guoyi 國儀]; Wu. Born about 174, Sun Fu was a son of Sun Qiang and younger brother of Sun

Ben, who cared for him after their parents died. Sun Fu accompanied his cousin Sun Ce to the conquest of Danyang in 196, and in 197 he commanded the defence against Yuan Shu on the line of the Yangzi.

Following the successful attacks on Zu Lang and Liu Xun, in 199 Sun Fu joined Zhou Yu and his brother Sun Ben to defeat Tong Zhi in Luling, the southern part of Yuzhang, and was named Administrator there. He later received titles as a general and as Inspector of Jiao.

Later, probably after 208, Sun Fu was found to have been in correspondence with Cao Cao. He was exiled, his advisers were killed, and his followers were divided amongst members of the family. -SGZ Wu 6: 1211-12*; deC 90:260-261.

Sun Gan 孫乾 [Gongyou 公祐]; Beihai. When Liu Bei succeeded Tao Qian as Governor of Xu province in 194, Sun Gan was recommended to him by the scholar Zheng Xuan. He became a member of Liu Bei's personal staff and was frequently used as an envoy.

When Liu Bei rebelled against Cao Cao in 199, he sent Sun Gan to make alliance with Yuan Shao in the north, and as he sought to take refuge with Liu Biao in Jing province in 201 he sent Sun Gan and Mi Zhu to negotiate terms. Sun Gan remained a close confidant to Liu Bei, comparable to Mi Zhu and Jian Yong.

As Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214, Sun Gan received title as a general. He died soon afterwards. -SGZ Shu 8:970*.

Sun Gao 孫皓; Wu. Sun Gao was the eldest son of Sun Jing, who was a younger brother of Sun Jian and uncle to Sun Ce. When Sun Ce died in 200, Sun Gao was stationed in Kuaiji with rank as a General of the Household. Though he came of a junior lineage, Sun Gao was older than Sun Ce and his brother Sun Quan. There was suspicion he might take over the commandery and claim leadership of the warlord enterprise, but Yu Fan, an older supporter of Sun Ce and at that time a magistrate in Kuaiji, warned him that none of the local officials would support him against Sun Quan. Sun Gao gave up his ambitions.

Though his four brothers held office under Sun Quan, and his sons played a role in the later history of Wu, Sun Gao does not appear to have held any senior position thereafter; he was probably kept at the family home. He has no individual biography in SGZ. -SGZ Wu 12:1319, 19:1444; deC 90:215-216 [as Sun Song].

Sun Gao 孫高. In 204 the Administrator of Danyang, Sun Yi, was murdered by Gui Lan and Dai Yuan, but Sun Yi's widow the Lady Xu IV had Sun Gao and other loyal officers kill the two mutineers. Sun Quan rewarded Sun Gao with appointment to his own headquarters staff. -SGZ Wu 6:1214-15; deC 90:232-234.

Sun Gen 孫根 [Yuanshi 元石] (111-181); Beihai. Sun Gen was a nephew of the Excellency Sun Lang; another uncle was Administrator of Le'an and a younger brother was Administrator of Hanyang and a member of the Imperial Censorate. Sun Gen himself held a number of court and provincial appointments and rose to be Chancellor of Anping.

A stele was set up to honour Sun Gen, with a sponsor list of almost 250 names, the vast majority being men of the Sun surname. Several of the titles claimed were current in Wei and Jin, not in Han, so it appears the list was added to in later years. -LS 10:10b-17b.

Sun Gong 孫恭; Wu. Son of Sun Gao 嵩, Sun Gong held court appointment under his cousin Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 19:1444.

Sun Guan 孫觀 [Zhongtai 仲臺] (d.217); Taishan. Chief of a bandit or clan self-defence group in the region of Mount Tai, he had the nickname "Baby" 嬰兒. His elder brother Kang was also a leader, but it appears Sun Guan was the dominant member of the family.

About 194 Sun Guan and the other leaders of groups in the region acceded to the authority of Zang Ba. They destroyed the local Yellow Turbans, and Sun Guan took title as a Commandant of Cavalry. In 198 he and his fellows went with Zang Ba to assist Lü Bu against Cao Cao, but when Zang Ba was captured and accepted service under Cao Cao he persuaded his fellows to follow suit. They were named as administrators of a series of commanderies about their bases in Mount Tai, and Sun Guan received the territory of Beihai.

Sun Guan accompanied Zang Ba on subsequent campaigns, guarding the east against Yuan Shao in 199 and 200, defeating Yuan Tan in Bohai in 205, and then settling the region of present-day Shandong. Regarded as second only to Zang Ba, he and Sun Kang and their colleagues were all rewarded with enfeoffment.

After the destruction of Yuan Tan, Sun Guan sent members of his family as hostages in Cao Cao's base at Ye city. He was appointed a lieutenant-general, and

later became Inspector of Qing province with the Staff of Authority.

In 217 Sun Guan brought troops to join Cao Cao's attack on Sun Quan's positions on the north bank of the Yangzi. Though badly wounded in the foot, he continued to fight. Cao Cao, full of admiration, gave him field promotion to full general, but Sun Guan died of his wound soon afterwards. -SGZ 18:537-39.

Sun Guang 孫光. In 171 Sun Guang and other members of the staff of Yan province set up a stele in honour of the former Inspector Yang Shugong near the provincial headquarters at Changyi in Shanyang. -SJZ 8:22a.

Sun Gui 孫規. An officer of Sun Quan, in 215 Sun Gui accompanied Lü Meng to seize the southern commanderies of Jing province from Guan Yu and Liu Bei. -SGZ Wu 2:1119, 9:1277.

Sun Hao 孫嵩 see Sun Song 孫嵩/崧.

Sun He 孫河 [Bohai 伯海] (d.204); Wu. A kinsman of Sun Jian, Sun He was adopted into the Yu 俞 family to maintain a lineage which would otherwise have continued through females. He followed Sun Jian to war and commanded his bodyguard, and in 195 he accompanied Sun Ce south of the Yangzi. In recognition of his loyalty, Sun Ce had him resume the family surname, and he became a county magistrate in Wu.

In 200 Sun He joined Sun Quan's attack on Li Shu in Lujiang and was named Administrator of the commandery.

In 204 Sun He held a general's command on the border of Wu commandery with Danyang. When Sun Yi the Administrator of Danyang was killed by Bian Hong, Sun He went to investigate, and he found fault with Gui Lan and Dai Yuan, Bian Hong's superiors. The two men were afraid, so they killed Sun He and went over to Cao Cao. They were destroyed soon afterwards. -SGZ Wu 6:1214; deC 90:150, 231-237.

Sun Huan 孫奂 [Jiming 季明] (195-234); Wu. Sun Huan was the fourth son of Sun Jing, and a cousin of Sun Quan. When his elder brother Sun Jiao died in 219, Sun Huan took his place, with title as a General of the Household acting as Administrator of Jiangxia. He encouraged scholarship in his territory.

Sun Huan served under Lu Xun in the defeat of Liu Bei on the Yangzi in 222, and he was enfeoffed for good service against Wei in 226. He died in office. -SGZ Wu 6:1208-09*.

Sun Huan 孫桓 [Shuwu 叔武] (198-c.222); Wu. Third son of Sun He, Sun Huan was a man of fine bearing and considerable intelligence, and he was admired by Sun Quan. He took part in the attack on Guan Yu in Jing province in 219, persuaded a number of the enemy to surrender, and captured quantities of supplies and equipment.

Sun Huan distinguished himself in the defence against Liu Bei in 222, and his counter-attack broke the enemy's line of retreat. He was enfeoffed and made a general, but died soon afterwards. -SGZ 6:1217*.

Sun Hui 孫徽. Prefect of Insignia and Credentials, Sun Hui took part in the flight of the court from Chang'an in 195.

After a heavy defeat in Hongnong, as the emperor was attempting to cross the Yellow River north to Hedong, it is said that Dong Cheng sent Sun Hui to seize some rolls of silk from the empress or her brother Fu De; an attendant was killed and blood splashed the empress's clothes. The story, however, is confused and probably false. -deC 96:166-167.

Sun Ji 孫期 see Sun Qi 孫期.

Sun Jian 孫堅 [Wentai 文臺] (155?-191); Wu. Sun Jian was a man from Fuchun county, present-day Fuyang in Zhejiang, very likely of merchant family. He became a local officer in the county, and gained reputation for defeating a group of river pirates.

Between 172 and 174 Sun Jian served as an acting major of commandery troops against the rebel Xu Chang. He was commended by the Inspector Zang Min and received imperial commission as an assistant magistrate, first in Guangling, then in two counties in Xiapi. In each place he gathered a personal following among the local youth and from his home country.

When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 Sun Jian became an assistant major under Zhu Jun. With the nucleus of his personal following, he recruited or impressed additional troops and took part in several engagements, including the storming of Wan city in Nanyang at the end of the year.

In 185 Sun Jian was a staff officer in the imperial army against the Liang province rebels near Chang'an; he urged the commander Zhang Wen to punish Dong Zhuo for insubordination. After Dong Zhuo was successful in Youfufeng, Sun Jian took a lead in pursuit of the enemy.

In 186 Sun Jian returned to a holding appointment as a Consultant at Luoyang, but in 187 he was sent

as Administrator to Changsha to deal with a series of insurrections. By the end of the year he had pacified the commandery; he was rewarded with a county fief.

After Dong Zhuo seized power at Luoyang late in 189, Sun Jian came north to join Yuan Shu in the eastern alliance against him. On the way he killed the Inspector of Jing province Wang Rui, and Zhang Zi the Administrator of Nanyang, and took over their troops. Yuan Shu named him Acting General Who Smashes the Caitiffs and Inspector of Yu province.

Sun Jian then moved north and east towards Luoyang, and was the most active commander in the loyalist attack. Defeated by Xu Rong early in 191, he recovered quickly and gained a victory over Hu Zhen. He then went forward to engage Dong Zhuo directly, drove him back and took possession of the capital. The position was untenable, however, and he withdrew into Yingchuan. While he was at Luoyang, some of his men found the imperial Seal of State 傳國璽, and Sun Jian passed it to Yuan Shu.

By this time the alliance was breaking up, and even as Sun Jian was advancing on Luoyang Zhou Yu, an officer of Yuan Shao, attacked his base camp. Sun Jian came back and defeated him, and Yuan Shu then sent him against Liu Biao in Jing province. He advanced to Xiangyang, on the Han at present-day Xiangfan, but was killed in a skirmish that winter.

From his humble background, Sun Jian proved to be a fine fighting general, notable for discipline and his ability to rally after defeat. -SGZ Wu 1:1093-1101*; deC 66A, deC 90:70-145.

Sun Jian 孫堅, wife of: see the Lady Wu 吳 of Wu/Kuaiji.

Sun Jiao 孫皎 [Shulang 叔朗] (d.219); Wu. Third son of Sun Jing, and a cousin of Sun Quan, as a colonel in command of two thousand men he distinguished himself against Cao Cao on the Yangzi in 212. Promoted general, he replaced Cheng Pu at Xiakou in Jiangxia, the mouth of the Han at present-day Wuhan, facing Liu Bei. When Huang Gai, commander in Wuling, died, Sun Jiao took over his troops too, and when his brother Sun Yu died in 215 he also gained command of his men in Danyang. He had broad authority over the west of Sun Quan's state, with four cities providing personal revenue 奉邑 and the right to appoint his own magistrates and local officers. A generous and honourable man, he had the affection of his own officers and wide support from the people of

the region.

On one occasion Sun Jiao and Gan Ning became drunk and quarrelled; and though Gan Ning was willing to be reconciled, his brutal nature was probably incompatible to Sun Jiao's taste. Sun Jiao attempted to remove Gan Ning's troops, but when Sun Quan sent a mild reprimand, he apologised and made his peace.

Despite his rank and experience, it appears that Sun Jiao's position was primarily administrative, while Lu Su and then Lü Meng were responsible for military operations. As Lü Meng proposed to attack Guan Yu in 219, Sun Quan wanted to give joint command to Sun Jiao, but Lü Meng persuaded him not to; it appears that Lü Meng objected to the confusion of dual authority rather than to Sun Jiao's competence. Sun Jiao did command the rear and was involved in the successful campaign. He died soon afterwards. -SGZ Wu 6:1206-08*.

Sun Jin 孫瑾 (d.193). A former Chancellor of Changshan, when the Governor Liu Yu was killed by Gongsun Zan, Sun Jin came with other gentlemen to express their loyalty. They cursed Gongsun Zan and accepted death together. -SGZ 8:244.

Sun Jing 孫敬 [Wenbao 文寶]. A scholar hermit, Sun Jing was so keen on study that he slept on a hammock in his library. -XC 8:10b.

Sun Jing 孫靜 [Youtai 幼臺]; Wu. As Sun Jian was raising troops to join Zhu Jun against the Yellow Turbans in 184, his younger brother Sun Jing brought five hundred clansmen and local youth to join him. Though Sun Jian had authority to conscript troops, Sun Jing's contingent was a substantial part of his force and served as a personal guard.

Sun Jing later retired to the home country of the family, probably after Sun Jian's death in 191. In 196, as Sun Jian's son Sun Ce moved against Wang Lang the Administrator of Kuaiji, he asked Sun Jing for aid, and he again brought clan forces to support the attack. Sun Ce was at first unable to force a bridgehead across the Qiantang River, but Sun Jing led a detachment to cross further upstream. Wang Lang sent troops to meet them, but they were completely defeated and Wang Lang abandoned his position.

Sun Ce gave Sun Jing title as a colonel, but Sun Jing asked leave to remain at the family home and care for the tombs and other property. This was agreed, and though Sun Quan later named him a General of the Household, it does not appear that Sun Jing played any

further military or political role. He died at home. -SGZ Wu 6:1205*.

Sun Jun 孫偶/俊. Administrator of Anding in the early 160s, Sun Jun plundered the local people and the Qiang. When Huangfu Gui came into Liang province in 162 he impeached Sun Jun, who was dismissed and may have been executed. -HHS 65/55:2133-34.

Sun Jun 孫俊 [Shuying 叔英] (d.250); Wu. Youngest son of Sun He, Sun Jun became a garrison commander on the Yangzi. -SGZ Wu 6:1217.

Sun Kan 孫堪 [Zizhi 子穉]; Henan. A man of family, with wide knowledge of the classics, in the time of troubles following the fall of Wang Mang's regime Sun Kan was celebrated for the courage he demonstrated as he defended a camp of his kinsmen.

During the reign of Emperor Guangwu Sun Kan held local office. Noted for his rigid honesty and for the fact that he donated all his salary to the poor, keeping nothing for his own family, he was promoted to be a senior officer. Governing effectively and admired by his subordinates, he became a full magistrate. When he went to take up office, however, the gate guard found his approach too informal and turned him away; Sun Kan promptly resigned his position.

He was later appointed Administrator of Zuopingyi, but the Director of Retainers recommended he be dismissed, again for excessively informal conduct. A few months later, Sun Kan was appointed to the Imperial Censorate and then became Director of the Secretariat.

In 68 Sun Kan became Minister of the Household. Still noted for his direct speech, his advice was frequently accepted by Emperor Ming, who showed him particular favour. The Minister of Ceremonies Zhou Ze was a man of similar character, and as both had the character *zhi* 穉 in their styles, they were known as "the two Zhi."

In 75 Sun Kan resigned his ministry on the grounds of ill health. He became Palace Attendant, a senior adviser to the emperor, with sinecure appointment as a Commandant of Cavalry. He died in that position. -HHS 79/69B:2578-79*.

Sun Kang 孫伧 (d.192); Julu. Members of leading families, Sun Kang and his fellows had influence with the government of the commandery. As Gongsun Zan attacked Yuan Shao in 192, they feared he would be too strong. The Administrator and other senior officers planned to change sides, while the people were restless

and fearful.

Yuan Shao sent Dong Zhao to take over the government. Claiming there was a threat from bandits, he proclaimed a state of emergency and then executed Sun Kang and some thirty of his fellows under the provisions of military law. The people were duly impressed and Dong Zhao re-established good order. -SGZ 14:436.

Sun Kang 孫康; Taishan. Leader of a self-defence group in the region of Mount Tai, Sun Kang appears to have played a lesser role to his younger brother Sun Guan.

About 194 the various groups in the region acceded to the general authority of Zang Ba. They destroyed the local Yellow Turbans, and in 198 they accompanied Zang Ba to assist Lü Bu against Cao Cao. When Lü Bu was destroyed, Zang Ba accepted service under Cao Cao. He persuaded his fellows to follow suit, and they were named administrators of a series of commanderies about Mount Tai; Sun Kang received the territory of Chengyang, which had been a kingdom under Former Han but whose territory had subsequently been incorporated into Langye.

Sun Kang and Sun Guan accompanied Zang Ba on his subsequent campaigns, guarding the eastern front against Yuan Shao in 199 and 200, defeating Yuan Tan in Bohai in 205, and then settling the region of present-day Shandong. The two brothers and their colleagues were all rewarded with enfeoffment, but Zang Ba and Sun Guan ranked slightly higher. There is no detailed account of Sun Kang's subsequent career. -SGZ 18: 537-39.

Sun Kuang 孫匡 [Jizuo 季佐]; Wu. Born about 185, the fourth son of Sun Jian by the Lady Wu, in 198 Sun Kuang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery and Abundant Talent by the province, and was married to a niece of Cao Cao. He died aged twenty, without holding office. -SGZ Wu 6:1213*.

Sun Lang 孫朗 [Daiping 代平]; Beihai. In 157 Sun Lang was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Excellency of Works. After the destruction of Liang Ji and his family by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies in 159, he and his colleagues Hu Guang and Han Yin were found guilty of failing to support the sovereign. Sun Lang was dismissed, imprisoned and sentenced to death less one degree, commuted by payment of a fine. -HHS 7:303-05; deC 89:13.

Sun Lang 孫郎 [Young Gentleman Sun] see Sun Ce

孫策.

Sun Lang 孫狼; Hongnong. In 218 the commoner Sun Lang led a rebellion against conscription for the west. Driven south, he received insignia and reinforcement from Guan Yu and returned to raid the border. He disappeared after Guan Yu's defeat. -SGZ 11:362.

Sun Lang 孫朗 or Sun Ren 仁; Wu. Born of a concubine, Sun Lang was the youngest son of Sun Jian and a half-brother to Sun Ce and Sun Quan. He was a subordinate commander on the Yangzi in 223, but was sent back in disgrace by the general Lü Fan; Sun Quan made him take the Ding 丁 surname, presumably his mother's, and barred him from office. -SGZ Wu 1:1101, 6:1213 [where *Jiangbiao zhuan* wrongly identifies him as Sun Kuang but is corrected by Pei Songzhi].

Sun Li 孫禮; Beihai. A local strongman about 135, Sun Li attempted to establish a relationship with the scholar and diviner Lang Yi. As Lang Yi paid no attention to his overtures, Sun Li killed him. -HHS 30/20B:1075.

Sun Li 孫禮 [Deta 德達] (d.250); Zhuo. A scholar of local reputation, Sun Li joined Cao Cao's military staff as he took over You province in 205. He later became Assistant Administrator in Hejian, then transferred to be Commandant of Rongyang, a new commandery formed from the eastern part of Henan. Appointed Chancellor of Lu, Sun Li settled banditry by issuing grain to those who came to submit.

Sun Li served Cao Pi as Administrator in a series of commanderies. When he accompanied Cao Xiu into Lujiang in 228, he warned him fruitlessly against the danger of an ambush by the army of Wu.

Sun Li later joined the Secretariat, held senior military and civil positions, including a ministry, was Inspector in five provinces and received enfeoffment. When Sima Yi seized power in 249, Sun Li became an Excellency. He died in that office in the following year. -SGZ 24:691-93*.

Sun Li 孫禮 see also Sun Zhi 祉.

Sun Lie 孫烈 see *sub* Sun Chang 孫常.

Sun Lin 孫林. Scholars of the mid-first century, Sun Lin and others lived near Zhang Ba at Luoyang in order to benefit from his learning. -HHS 36/26:1241, HYGZ 10A:133.

Sun Lu 孫魯. Marquis of a village in Ba commandery, about 150 Sun Lu was attacked by bandits. -HYGZ 1: 6.

Sun Lü 孫慮 [Zizhi 子智] (213-232); Wu. Second son

of Sun Quan, by a woman too humble or obscure to be recorded, Sun Lü was enfeoffed as a marquis in 228. He was admired by his father and by senior officials, and in 230 he was appointed a chief general. When he died two years later Sun Quan mourned him deeply. -SGZ Wu 14:1367*.

Sun Mao 孫茂. An officer under Sun Quan, in 215 Sun Mao accompanied Lü Dai to attack Liu Bei's positions in the south of Jing province. -SGZ Wu 15:1384.

Sun Mei 孫美; Zhuo. Sun Mei was a younger brother of the eunuch marquis Sun Cheng, who died in 132. In response to Sun Cheng's deathbed request, his fief was granted to Sun Mei, but Emperor Shun also gave half the estate and the title to Sun Cheng's adopted son Shou. -HHS 78/68:2518.

Sun Meng 孫萌 (d.29). Administrator of Chu for Emperor Guangwu, Sun Meng was killed by the renegade general Pang Meng. -HHS 1A:38, 18/8:688.

Sun Mou 孫茂 see Sun Mao 孫茂.

Sun Qi 孫期 [Zhongyu 仲彧 or Zhongshi 仲式]; Jiyin. A scholar from his youth, Sun Qi was expert on the New Text *Book of Changes* according to the Jing Fang interpretation and on the Old Text version of the *Classic of History*. His family was poor and he herded swine in the marshland, but he cared devotedly for his mother. Students came from afar for his teaching, local people were influenced by his virtues, and in 184 the Yellow Turban rebels spared the village in respect for the worthy Master Sun.

The commandery recommended Sun Qi as Sincere and Upright, and sent an officer to present him with wine and food; Sun Qi continued to care for his pigs and paid no attention. In 189 the Excellency Huang Wan sent a special invitation, but again Sun Qi did not accept. He died at home. -HHS 79/69A:2554*, XC 5: 9a; Tjan 49:149.

Sun Qiang 孫羌. In 163 a group of Qiang tribes attacked Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan. Sun Qiang the Administrator of Longxi defeated them and over three thousand of the enemy were killed or drowned. -HHS 87/77:2898.

Sun Qiang 孫羌 [Shengtai 聖臺]; Wu. Elder twin of Sun Jian, he died young, about 175, but left two sons, Sun Ben and Sun Fu. -SGZ Wu 6:1209.

Sun Qin 孫欽. A scholar of the calendar, at the beginning of Wei he debated the introduction of the *Huangchu* 黃初 [Yellow Beginning] calendar, named after the first reign period of the new dynasty. -JS

17:499.

Sun Qing 孫輕. During the 190s Sun Qing commanded a group of Black Mountain bandits under the leadership of Zhang Yan. In 204 he surrendered to Cao Cao's officer Zhang Liao. -SGZ 8:261, 17:518.

Sun Qiu 孫璆 [Shanling 山陵]; Anping. Administrator of Hongnong in 165, Sun Qiu arranged for the completion of a temple on the sacred Mount Hua which had been commenced by his predecessor Yuan Feng. -LS 2:1a-4a.

Sun Quan 孫權 [Zhongmou 仲謀] (182-252); Wu: Great Emperor of Wu 吳大帝. Second son of Sun Jian and younger brother of Sun Ce, Sun Quan was born when his father was an assistant magistrate in Xiapi. Ten years old when Sun Jian was killed, he accompanied his mother the Lady Wu on travels through south-eastern China, and joined his elder brother Sun Ce in Danyang in 196. He was treated with respect, nominated as a candidate for office, and named a county magistrate. It is said that he took part in discussions of policy, and he was among the commanders at the conquest of Lujiang and the attack on Huang Zu in 199.

When Sun Ce was mortally wounded in 200, he formally handed his command to Sun Quan. There was some uncertainty and dissent, with possible alternative candidates being Sun Quan's younger brother Sun Yi and Sun Ce's close friend Zhou Yu, but Sun Ce's leading officers united to support the succession. In this regard the warlord regime showed a remarkable coherence, for many others fell apart at the loss of their leader.

Sun Ce had been formally allied to the Han court controlled by Cao Cao, and Sun Quan was recognised as General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs and Administrator of Kuaiji. Li Shu, Administrator of Lujiang, was unwilling to accept the new leader. He sought help from Cao Cao, but Sun Quan persuaded Cao Cao, at that time heavily engaged against Yuan Shao, not to interfere; he then destroyed Li Shu.

For the next couple of years Sun Quan was to some extent under the tutelage of Sun Ce's old advisers Zhang Zhao and Zhang Hong, and there was a need to confirm his regime in the lower Yangzi. In 202, however, following the death of the Lady Wu [but see *sub voce*], he sent Zhang Hong away and began to act more aggressively.

In 203 Sun Quan returned to the offensive against Huang Zu, destroyed much of the enemy's fleet, then

consolidated his control of Yuzhang. In 204 there was a mutiny in Danyang, when Sun Yi was killed, but that was soon settled, and in 205 he marked the success of his officer He Qi's expansion of territory in Fujian by establishing a new county; by 208 there was a full commandery in the region.

In 207 Sun Quan returned to the attack on Huang Zu, and in the following year he embarked on the final offensive. Huang Zu was destroyed and the Sun forces now controlled the Yangzi as far as the mouth of the Han.

At this point Liu Biao the warlord Governor of Jing province died, and Cao Cao came to take over his territory. Liu Biao's younger son Liu Zong succeeded him and promptly surrendered, while his elder brother Liu Qi and the *condottiere* Liu Bei fled to the south. As Cao Cao pursued them, they sought help Sun Quan, even as Cao Cao called him to submit. After tense debate among his advisers, Sun Quan decided to resist, and he sent Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu to support Liu Bei and Liu Qi.

Cao Cao's advance, far from home with newly-acquired troops from his recent enemies, may have been intended as no more than a reconnaissance in force, but the battle at the Red Cliffs, on the Yangzi upstream and south of present-day Wuhan, proved decisive. Cao Cao was driven back, largely by an attack from fire-ships organised by Sun Quan's officer Huang Gai. Cao Ren held Jiangling for a year, and thereafter maintained defences on the lower Han, but Cao Cao was obliged to abandon the line of the Yangzi. As Liu Qi died soon afterwards, Liu Bei and Sun Quan divided the territory of southern Jing province.

The arrangement was not satisfactory to Sun Quan. While his troops had been engaged with Cao Ren, Liu Bei had taken over Changsha and the south, so Sun Quan held only a narrow strip along the Yangzi between Cao Cao in the north and Liu Bei in the south. At the same time, his own offensive directly north from the lower Yangzi towards the Huai had been blocked at Hefei city, an embarrassing result which limited possibilities in that region. One alternative was an advance up the Gorges into Yi province, where the warlord Governor Liu Zhang was increasingly unpopular and was opposed by the theocratic state of Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. Zhou Yu, Sun Quan's leading general, was willing to try, but he was still making preparations when he was taken ill and died in 209.

This was a considerable blow to the Sun cause, for Zhou Yu had been the one commander who could match the experience and ability of Liu Bei and his leading followers. The position in the middle Yangzi was thus less tenable, and in a settlement negotiated soon afterwards on the advice of Lu Su, Zhou Yu's successor to command in the west, Sun Quan allowed Liu Bei to "borrow" Nan commandery – the significance of the term 借 *jie* was later disputed – and the greater part of Jing province. He now held only the south of Jiangxia and northern Changsha, the Yangzi basin from the Dongting Lake to the mouth of the Han. Though he had survived Cao Cao's attack, victory at the Red Cliffs had gained him little in comparison to Liu Bei.

For the time being there was no alternative, and Lu Su's advice, though cautious and later criticised, was probably correct. The best apparent opportunities lay north towards the Huai and, more imaginatively, in active colonisation of the hills country to the south, where He Qi, Lu Xun and other commanders maintained their pressure against exiles, refugees and non-Chinese who had not yet been brought to submission. In the mean time Sun Quan established his capital at Jianye, present-day Nanjing, and set up the Ruxu fortress as a bridge-head on the northern bank of the lower Yangzi.

The Sun forces did achieve some success in Lujiang, but the main defences of Wei in that region proved impregnable, for Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu had established a system of military colonies which guarded the region about Hefei. Sun Quan's failure in 208 was followed in 215 by an even more humiliating defeat and withdrawal, and the territory immediately north of the Yangzi remained a no-man's-land which neither side could control: if the Sun forces never took Hefei, the land-based forces of Wei could not break their naval defences on the Yangzi.

By this time Liu Bei had expanded into the west. In 211 Liu Zhang mistakenly invited him in to assist with the threat against Cao Cao, but in the following year Liu Bei turned against him, and in 214 he took over his power. Sun Quan sought compensation through return of the territory he had ceded or "lent" in Jing province, and when Liu Bei refused he attacked his positions there in 215. Liu Bei's general Guan Yu responded, but fighting was limited by the constant danger from Cao Cao in the north, and a new settlement was reached

which at least gave Sun Quan more territory: he now held Jiangxia, Changsha and Guiyang, and the frontier between the two former allies was set along the Xiang River.

In 216 Cao Cao proclaimed himself King of Wei, and in the following year he made a major attack on the lower Yangzi. Though he gained no real success, he left a substantial army in place, and under this threat Sun Quan formally acknowledged his suzerainty; in practice, relations between the two warlord states remained the same.

In 219, after Liu Bei had driven Cao Cao's army from Hanzhong, Guan Yu sought to follow the success by an attack up the Han valley, but in a dramatic military coup Sun Quan sent his general Lü Meng to strike Guan Yu from behind. Surprise was complete, Sun Quan's forces captured the whole of Jing province, and Cao Cao recognised him as Governor of that territory.

Diplomatic manoeuvring followed, including the recognition of Sun Quan as King of Wu in 221 by the newly-proclaimed Emperor of Wei Cao Pi, while Liu Bei took the imperial title for himself. At the end of that year Liu Bei launched a great attack of revenge through the Yangzi Gorges, but after some months he was thoroughly defeated by Sun Quan's general Lu Xun in 222, and the state of Wu held full control of Yang and Jing provinces south of the lower and middle Yangzi.

The capture and retention of Jing province confirmed the viability of Sun Quan's state; he transferred his headquarters there for several years as a sign of confidence in his control of the new territory, and soon afterwards defied Cao Pi and broke the connection to Wei. In 223 he restored the alliance with Shu-Han, and in 226 his officer Lü Dai seized the whole of Jiao province in the far south. At the same time, within the formal frontiers of Wu, campaigns of colonisation continued, and increasing numbers of people were brought to serve the interests of the state. In 229 Sun Quan also claimed the imperial title, so three rival emperors now divided China between them.

Sun Quan lived another twenty years, but though he made several sorties to the north, attempted an alliance with the Gongsun warlord of Liaodong, and sent an expedition to Taiwan, nothing came of these ventures and his dominion was restricted to the south

and southeast. Succession to the state was disrupted by his longevity, for his eldest son Sun Deng died before him, and the later choice of his youngest, Sun Liang 亮, as Heir, was not a good one. On the other hand, Sun Quan's long reign did much to ensure the stability of the regime for its time, and though the empire of Wu was limited and comparatively short-lived it laid the foundations for the refugees of Eastern Jin in the fourth century and the Southern Dynasties which followed for centuries thereafter.

As a military man, Sun Quan had appropriate skills of horsemanship and archery. He was personally brave, even fool-hardy, taking great pleasure in hunting tigers, but unlike his elder brother Sun Ce he could claim no significant ability as a general. He was capable of commanding an army, and he maintained a competent defence against Cao Cao in early years, but he was never involved in a notably successful campaign. At the time of the Red Cliffs in 208 and in Jing province in 219, Sun Quan stayed in reserve as others took the field, while his offensives towards the Huai were unsuccessful and in 215 disastrous. Cao Cao and Liu Bei were both noted military commanders, but Sun Quan owed most of his success to his subordinates; it was unusual for a successful warlord to have such a marginal military reputation.

Sun Quan did, however, possess the administrative and political skills appropriate to the ruler of a state, and if he was not a great tactician he had a good grasp of strategy, and the personal authority which inspired excellent officers to carry out his plans. Despite occasional lapses of conduct, moreover, and a tendency towards superstition, Sun Quan attracted a distinguished group of scholars, literary men and artists to a brilliant court, while the prosperous trade with the far south and the steady expansion of his territory made his capital, Jianye, an impressive centre of culture: see Knechtges 82:373-428, translating the *Rhapsody on the Capital of Wu* 吳都賦 by Zuo Si 左思 [style: Taichong 太沖]. -SGZ Wu 2*; deC 90, Mather 76:572.

Sun Quan 孫權, wives and concubines. Sun Quan had a substantial harem and a series of favourites and concubines, which are discussed in SGZ Wu 5; C/C 99:127-129. His first and second consorts, the Ladies Xie 謝 and Xu 徐, have their own entries here, as do his long-time favourite the Lady Bu 步 and his concubine the Lady Yuan 袁 V, daughter of Yuan Shu. Sun Quan's

first two sons, however, his Heir Sun Deng and the younger Sun Lü, were born to women so lowly and/or casual that their names are not recorded: see *sub voce*.

Also mentioned in the histories are the Lady Wang 王 of Langye, mother of the sometime Heir Sun He 和, whose son Sun Hao 皓 reigned 264-280; and the Lady Wang 王 of Nanyang, mother of Sun Xiu 休, who reigned 258-264. In his old age, Sun Quan became most attracted to the Lady Pan 潘 of Kuaiji, and he granted the succession to her son Sun Liang 亮, who came to the throne in 252 at the age of seven. The turbulent reign of this boy did much to weaken the warlord state, and he was deposed in 258.

Sun Ren 孫仁: Ren was an alternative personal name of Sun Lang 孫朗 of Wu.

Sun Ru 孫孺 [Zhongru 仲孺]; Wu. A second cousin of Sun Jian, Sun Ru served as a senior local officer in the commandery. He became the father of Sun Xiang. -SGZ Wu 6:1210.

Sun Rui 孫瑞 see Shisun Rui 士孫瑞.

Sun Shao 孫紹 (200-?); Wu. Son of Sun Ce, Sun Shao was an infant when his father died, and he may have been posthumous. When Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 Sun Shao was made a marquis. -SGZ Wu 1:1112.

Sun Shao 孫邵 [Changxu 長緒] (164-226); Beihai. Eight feet tall [185 cm], in the early 190s Sun Shao was a member of the local staff of the Chancellor Kong Rong. He later went south to join Liu Yao in Yang province, then joined the staff of Sun Quan as he succeeded his brother Sun Ce in 200. He proved to be a successful adviser, and after a term as Administrator of Lujiang he returned to Sun Quan's headquarters.

When Sun Quan became King of Wu in 221 he named Sun Shao as his Chancellor, with enfeoffment and title as a general. There was some surprise, for Zhang Zhao was senior and more experienced, but Sun Quan did not wish to appoint him, and though Sun Shao demurred, Sun Quan insisted he accept. When Sun Shao died a few years later he was succeeded by Gu Yong. -SGZ Wu 2:1131-32.

Sun Shao 孫韶 [Gongli 公禮] (188-241); Wu. Sun Shao was a nephew of Sun He, who was killed by mutineers in Danyang in 204. At that time Sun Shao was at the base camp, and though he was only seventeen *sui* he took over command and prepared the defences. When Sun Quan had settled the trouble he came back past Sun Shao's position and was impressed by his

readiness and his personal qualities. He confirmed Sun Shao in the command, with rank as a colonel.

Sun Shao was eight feet tall [185 cm], with a refined and elegant manner. He was later promoted and named Administrator of Guangling. Though the territory was largely outside direct control of the Sun family, Sun Shao was responsible for defence against the Wei north of the mouth of the Yangzi. He cared for his men, maintained constant vigilance with advanced scouting parties, and applied such pressure that Cao Cao was obliged to withdraw all his positions south of the Huai, creating a no-man's-land.

When Sun Quan became King of Wu in 221 he gave Sun Shao title as a general and enfeoffed him as a marquis; he was later styled Governor of Xu province and held the Staff of Authority. He died in office. -SGZ Wu 6:1214-17*.

Sun She 孫社 see Sun Li 孫禮.

Sun Shou 孫壽, the Lady (d.159). Sun Shou was the wife of Liang Ji. About the time of the death of his sister the Dowager Liang Na in 150, Sun Shou was enfeoffed as Lady of Xiangcheng in Yingchuan. With additional revenues from a neighbouring county, her annual income was fifty million cash, while her seal and insignia matched those of a Senior Princess.

The historians acknowledge that Sun Shou was extremely beautiful, but in all other respects she is described in most unflattering terms. Sensual and seductive in appearance and manner, she had her eyebrows shaped and her cheeks painted to give a mournful, languorous look, and she wore her hair on one side in a style described as "falling from a horse" 墮馬. Her smiles appeared forced and painful "as if she suffered from toothache," and she walked with delicate, mincing steps as though her feet could barely carry her. In later generations, the name of Sun Shou became proverbial for beauty and wilful extravagance, and her conduct inspired Liang Ji to similar pretensions and foolish conduct.

Liang Ji had a mistress, You Tongqi, formerly a member of the harem of Emperor Shun. Sun Shou, jealous, had Liang Ji followed until she found where he kept the Lady You, then had a group of slaves seize her, beat her, cut off her hair and slashed her face. She even proposed to report the lese-majesty to Emperor Shun, but Liang Ji went to her mother, kowtowed, and through her persuaded Sun Shou to avoid the scandal. Eventually Sun Shou arranged for her son Liang Yin

to destroy the You family, but Liang Ji managed to preserve the Lady Tong's infant son.

Liang Ji also had a homosexual affair with the slave Qin Gong, whom Sun Shou then took to her own bed. Qin Gong acquired enormous influence and became one of the couple's most ruthless agents.

Liang Ji later established a complex of pavilions for the many women who became his concubines, and he constructed a great town house, while Sun Shou built a mansion to match it across the street. Both husband and wife had vast pleasure grounds, and carriages decorated with gold and silver, covered by a canopy of feathers, to wheel them about the gardens.

Despite such tensions and rivalries, it is said that Liang Ji was besotted with Sun Shou and totally under her influence. In particular, she persuaded him to give posts to members of her family, though some, like Sun An, were too young, and others, like Sun Xun, were incompetent. As many as ten of the Liang kinfolk were dismissed from office to make way for relatives of the Lady Sun, several of whom took the Liang surname. With senior rank in the capital and the provinces, the Sun sent retainers and clients to arrest wealthy men on false charges, beating them until they paid ransom. Liang Ji behaved in the same way, but Sun Shou's influence enabled her family to share in the opportunities.

About 153 Sun Shou arranged for Deng Mengnü to enter the harem of Emperor Huan. The youthful Lady Deng was a step-daughter of Liang Gi 紀, who was a brother of Sun Shou's mother and was not directly related to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji 冀 [I use the variant transcription Gi to distinguish him from the General-in-Chief]. The emperor was delighted with his new concubine, and she was swiftly promoted to the rank of Honoured Lady, next only to the empress.

Sun Shou had evidently planned that the Lady Deng would support her family within the harem, but Liang Gi died soon afterwards and when the Empress Liang Nüying died in 159 Emperor Huan planned to replace her with the Lady Deng. There was a fierce struggle for influence, culminating in a coup by the emperor and his eunuch allies against the Liang clan and its associates.

On 9 September a mixed force of eunuchs and palace gentlemen surrounded the residences of Liang Ji and Sun Shou, seizing their insignia of rank and ordering them to exile in the far south. The Lady and

her husband committed suicide that same day, their relatives and clients were dismissed from office, and many were arrested, executed or exiled. -HHS 34/24: 1179-81.

Sun Shou 孫壽; Zhuo. Sun Shou was an adopted son of the eunuch marquis Sun Cheng, who died in 132. Emperor Shun allowed Sun Cheng's younger brother Mei to succeed him, but awarded half his estate and the title to Sun Shou. This grant became the precedent for an edict of 135 which allowed all eunuch marquises to pass on their fiefs to their adopted sons. -HHS 78/68:2518.

Sun Song 孫嵩/崧 [Binshi 寶石 or Binshuo 賓碩]; Beihai. Of strong local family, as a young man about 160 Sun Song met with Zhao Qi, who had fled his enemies Tang Xuan and his brother the powerful eunuch Tang Heng, and was selling pots in the market place. Recognising his quality, Sun Song approached him. At first Zhao Qi was afraid he was a spy sent to trap him, but then he told his story. Sun Song swore friendship, and he hid Zhao Qi for several years in a concealed room in his house.

With the great scholar Zheng Xuan and other gentlemen of the commandery, Sun Song had links to the reform Faction of the late 160s, and they were all proscribed from office for several years. Sun Song maintained teaching, however, and his protection of Zhao Qi made him well-known in the east of the empire. After the Proscription was ended in 184 he became Inspector of Yu province.

During the troubles of the 190s Sun Song went south into Jing province. At first Liu Biao did not receive him well, but in 195 Zhao Qi came on an embassy from the newly re-established court at Luoyang. Greeting Sun Song with the utmost affection, he told Liu Biao how he had saved him, and Liu Biao thereafter treated Sun Song with respect.

Sun Song was named Inspector of his native Qing province, though that territory was currently a centre of warfare between Yuan Tan, Tian Kai and Kong Rong, and the title was rather a courtesy than a reality. He died in the south, but we are told that Zhao Qi carried out funerary ceremonies for him, and his tomb and stele are recorded in his home county, so his body was evidently repatriated to the north. -HHS 64/54:2122-24, 35/25:1807, SGZ 18:551-52, SJZ 26:25a; Ch'ü 72: 208.

Sun Tai 孫泰 (d.234); Wu. Son of Sun Kuang by the

Lady Cao VI, he became a colonel. He was killed in an attack on the Wei city of Hefei in Jiujiang. -SGZ Wu 6:1213.

Sun Weizhi 孫威直 or Sun Xianzhi 咸直; Julu. When Guo Tai's mother died Sun Weizhi attended the funeral. Jia Shu, a local bully who had killed a man in a vendetta, was also there. Sun Weizhi was offended, but as he was about to leave Guo Tai explained that Jia Shu was a man of great moral potential, so he stayed. Jia Shu overheard Guo Tai's praise, and resolved to change his ways. -HHS 68/58:2230.

Sun Xi 孫胤; Wu. Sun Xi was the second son of Sun Jiao and younger brother of Sun Yin. When Sun Yin died without sons about 220, Sun Xi was granted his marquisate. -SGZ Wu 6:1208.

Sun Xia 孫夏 (d.184); Nanyang. After the death of Han Zhong, Sun Xia became leader of the local Yellow Turbans. He continued to hold out in Wan, but the city was stormed by imperial forces under Zhu Jun and Sun Xia was killed as he fled. -HHS 71/61:2309-10; deC 89:189.

Sun Xian 孫咸 or Sun Zang 臧. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in the autumn of 25, he named Sun Xian as his Acting Grand Marshal because of a prophecy that "Sun Xian subdues the northern barbarians" 孫咸征狄. His senior officers objected, saying that Sun Xian was unsuitable, and the experienced commander Wu Han then became full Grand Marshal.

The order of the text indicates that Sun Xian was General Who Pacifies the Northern Barbarians 平狄將軍 before his brief appointment as Grand Marshal, but he may have received that title after his demotion, as a means to maintain the omen. There is no further record of him. -HHS 22/12:773; Bn 59:237.

Sun Xiang 孫香 [Wenyang 文陽]; Wu. Son of Sun Ru, who was a second cousin of Sun Jian, Sun Xiang served under him and remained with Yuan Shu after Sun Jian's death. He was promoted to general, and when Yuan Shu claimed the imperial title in 197 he named Sun Xiang his Administrator of Runan. Sun Ce wrote to invite him and other kinsmen, but though Sun Ben and Wu Jing were able to join him south of the Yangzi, Sun Xiang was too far away and could not do so. He died at Shouchun, Yuan Shu's capital, presumably about 199, during the last days of the fallen state. -SGZ Wu 6:1210.

Sun Xianzhi 孫咸直 see Sun Weizhi 孫威直.

Sun Xing 孫性; Beihai. A headman of a district under

the county magistrate Wu You, Sun Xing embezzled a few hundred cash of tax revenue to buy a plain gown for his father. When his father found out, he was angry at the way Sun Xing had failed to match Wu You's example, and immediately offered himself for punishment. Sun Xing promptly went to court to take the blame.

Wu You held private audience with the two of them. Observing that Sun Xing had committed a crime against public order for the sake of family affection, he cited Confucius's teaching that "By observing a man's faults, one may see his virtues" [*Analects* IV.7] and ordered only that he make restitution. -HHS 64/54:2101.

Sun Xiu 孫脩/修 or Sun Xun 循. An officer of Liu Yan about 190, Sun Xiu was left in charge of Mianzhu after the capital of the province was transferred to Luo city. -HYGZ 3:36.

Sun Xuan 孫諲. Evidently an associate of the eunuchs at court, in 163 Sun Xuan was Administrator of Liaodong. Impeached for misconduct by the Excellency Yang Bing, he was dismissed and may have been executed. -HHS 54/44:1772.

Sun Xun 孫訓 [Zongxin 宗昕]. A nephew of the Lady Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, though Sun Xun was illiterate he became head of the Great Granary at Luoyang and then Administrator of Ji'nan. In the latter office he was reported by Yang Huai/Zhun for allowing his relatives to abuse their position; he was sent to prison. -HYGZ 10B:155, HHSJJ 34/24:1246 Hui Dong.

Sun Xun 孫循 see Sun Xiu 孫脩/修.

Sun Yan 孫儼 alternative personal name of Sun Yi 孫翊.

Sun Yang 孫陽; Donghai. A bandit in Qu county in the north of Donghai, Sun Yang was associated with the local warlord Dong Xian, who took refuge there in 30 from the armies of Emperor Guangwu. In the spring Qu city was starved into submission. Dong Xian escaped briefly into Langye, but the Administrator Chen Jun drove him away, then turned against Sun Yang and settled him. -HHS 18/8:691.

Sun Yi 孫懿. About 120 there was a vacancy in the Imperial Secretariat, and an examination was offered to middle-range officials in the subjects of government affairs, astronomy 天文 and Taoist arts 道術; the candidate who scored highest would be given the position.

The Consultant Zhai Fu was concerned that Sun Yi, formerly Court Astronomer, could be a rival. He therefore warned Sun Yi of a prophecy that a man named Sun Deng 登 would prove to be a wicked official, and would be killed by the eunuchs of the court who resented his ability. The surname was the same and the personal name included half the character of Sun Yi's own. Zhai Fu, who knew physiognomy, added that Sun Yi's physical appearance, seven feet nine inches tall [182.5 cm], with a broad frame and a small mouth, also matched the omen.

Frightened by this, Sun Yi excused himself from the examination on grounds of ill health. So Zhai Fu came first and received the appointment. -HHS 48/38:1602.

Sun Yi 孫翊 or Sun Yan 儼 [Shubi 叔弼] (184-203); Wu. Third son of Sun Jian by the Lady Wu, Sun Yi was generous and energetic like his brother Sun Ce. In 198 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by Zhu Zhi, and Cao Cao formally appointed him to his office of Excellency of Works; he remained, however, with his family in the south.

In 200, as Sun Ce was dying, it was suggested that Sun Yi should succeed him rather than Sun Quan, but Sun Ce insisted on inheritance by age. Sun Yi, in any case, was a hasty man, and the family friend Zhu Zhi had several times admonished him and tried to keep him under control.

In 203 Sun Yi became Administrator of Danyang in 203, but was killed there by Bian Hong. -SGZ Wu 6: 1212*; deC 90:215-216, 232.

Sun Yi 孫翊, wife and widow of: see the Lady Xu 徐 IV.

Sun Yi 孫誼; Wu. Second son of Sun He, Sun Yi became a county magistrate in Wu, but died young. -SGZ Wu 6:1217.

Sun Yin 孫胤; Wu. When Sun Jiao died in 219, his eldest son Sun Yin was enfeoffed as a reward for his father's service. He died soon afterwards. -SGZ Wu 6: 1208.

Sun Yingzi 孫嬰子 [Baby Sun] see Sun Guan 孫觀.

Sun Yong 孫永. As a General of the Household in 49, Sun Yong served under Ma Yuan against the non-Chinese people of Wuling. -HHS 24/14:843, 86/76: 2832; Bn 67:70.

Sun Yong 孫邕; Ji'nan. As a young man about 180 Sun Yong served the adept Wang Heping, who planned to become an immortal 仙. They travelled to the capital, Luoyang, but Wang Heping became ill and died. As

Sun Yong carried out his funerary rites, he also buried more than a hundred manuscripts and a quantity of medicines. Xia Rong, another disciple, later claimed that Wang Heping had arranged a false death 尸解, a device by which he had reached the world of the immortals. Sun Yong then regretted that he had neither read the texts nor taken the potions for his own use. -HHS 82/72B:2751, SGZ 29:805; Ngo 76:146-147, DeWoskin 83:88-89. [Another man named Sun Yong was Administrator of Chenliu under Cao Pi in 226: Fang 52:200.]

Sun Yu 孫昱. A clerical officer to Zhang Bu, in 26 Sun Yu was sent with Fu Long as envoys to Luoyang, taking a memorial and tokens of submission to the new Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 26/16:899.

Sun Yu 孫瑜 [Zhongyi 仲異] (177-215); Wu. Second son of Sun Jing, and a cousin of Sun Quan, about 200 Sun Yu was appointed a colonel. He was noted for the courtesy with which he treated the refugees from northern China who joined the warlord enterprise.

In 204 Sun Yu was appointed Administrator of Danyang, succeeding Sun Quan's brother Sun Yi who had just been killed in a mutiny. The office was obviously a sensitive one, but Sun Yu had thousands of followers, and he was soon named also as a general.

In 206 and 207 Sun Yu aided Zhou Yu to capture the independent camps of Mo and Bao in eastern Jiangxia, and in 212 he sent with Sun Quan to oppose Cao Cao at Ruxu. He urged Sun Quan not to engage in battle, but his advice was not taken and the army was indeed defeated.

As Administrator of Danyang, Sun Yu was concerned for scholarship. He established schools in the commandery, and insisted that his officers and their dependents study with the scholar Ma Pu. He also named his officers Rao Zhu and Yan Lian as magistrates of counties in Lujiang, just across the Yangzi; they attracted many people from the territory that Cao Cao controlled.

Sun Yu held his post in Danyang until his death. -SGZ Wu 6:1206*.

Sun Yu 孫毓; Taishan. Son of Sun Guan, after his father's death in 217 Sun Yu succeeded him as Inspector of Qing province in Cao Cao's service. -SGZ 18:529.

Sun Zang 孫臧 see Sun Xian 孫咸. -HHJ 3:28.

Sun Zhang 孫章. A eunuch, Sun Zhang became a Regular Attendant. About 75 a law case arose in which two brothers killed a man. Emperor Ming believed

that the elder had chief responsibility and should be executed, while the younger could be spared the full penalty, but Sun Zhang issued orders for both men to be put to death. The Imperial Secretariat impeached him for usurping imperial authority; the penalty was to be cut in two at the waist 要斬.

The legal expert Guo Gong argued that since his error was unintentional Sun Zhang should be sentenced only to pay a fine. Emperor Ming had doubts, for Sun Zhang came from the same county as the men who had been executed, and could have had a personal motive, but he eventually accepted Guo Gong's argument for leniency. -HHS 46/36:1544.

Sun Zhang 孫璋. A eunuch, Sun Zhang was a Regular Attendant during the 180s and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 78/68:2534, 102/12:3259.

Sun Zhao 孫肇. In 194, encouraged by his sons Liu Fan and Liu Dan, Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province joined the northern warlord Ma Teng in his attack on Li Jue and his associates, who controlled the imperial court. Liu Yan sent the major Sun Zhao with a small force, but their thrust against Chang'an was defeated and both Liu Fan and Liu Dan were killed. -SGZ Shu 1:867.

Sun Zhi 孫祉 or Sun Li 禮 also as Sun She 社. Elder brother of the Lady Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, during the 150s Sun Zhi was Chancellor of Pei. -HHS 76/66:2476 [as 祉 and/or 社], FSTY 7:55 [as 禮].

Sun Zhong 孫重? [personal name uncertain]; Wu. Father of Sun Jian, he was possibly a merchant. A later legend gives his name, and tells how he presented a melon to a small child, who then revealed himself as a divine being. Offered a reward, Sun Zhong chose to become the ancestor of emperors.

In some contrast, the biography of Sun Jian tells how at the time of one of his early exploits against a group of pirates, his father argued that such public service was no concern of his, and urged him to take no action. -SGZ Wu 1:1093; deC 90:73-79.

Sun [Zhongyang] 孫仲陽; Langye. In 85 Sun Zhongyang set up a stone gate-tower 石闕 in memory of his late father. The cost was 15,000 cash. -Nagata 94:28.

Sun Zhu 孫著; Langye. Headman of a village, in 143 Sun Zhu was involved in settling the murderous land dispute involving Song Bowang and his brothers. -Nagata 94:92.

Sun Zhu 孫助; Wu. Eldest son of Sun He, Sun Zhu

became a county magistrate in Wu, but died young. -SGZ Wu 6:1217.

Sun Zi 孫資 [Yanlong 彥龍] (d.251); Taiyuan. Orphaned when he was young, Sun Zi was brought up by his elder brother. He became a student at the Imperial University, where he was noticed by Wang Yun.

In 196 Cao Cao called him to join his staff. Sun Zi, however, had just murdered a man who had killed his brother and he took refuge with his kinsmen and clients in Hedong. The Administrator of Taiyuan also invited him, but he apologised on the grounds of illness.

About 202 his friend Jia Kui persuaded Sun Zi to join Cao Cao. He went to Xu city as Reporting Officer from Hedong, and presented special praise of Jia Kui's conduct in operations against Guo Yuan. He later held a number of county magistracies, impressed Xun Yu, and was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat. Leaving office for family concerns, he returned to Hedong.

In 213 Sun Zi was appointed to the library 祕書 established by Cao Cao for his ducal state of Wei. When Cao Pi renamed it as the Palace Library 中書, Sun Zi and Liu Fang held the senior positions. They became close counsellors to the new emperor and were granted enfeoffments.

Likewise trusted by Cao Rui, in 238 Sun Zi and Liu Fang had decisive influence in setting up the regency for Sima Yi and Cao Shuang, and excluding Cao Yu 曹宇 from power. Further honoured by Cao Fang under the regency of Sima Yi and Cao Shuang, they received titles as senior generals, but both men resigned on the grounds of age in 248. After the destruction of Cao Shuang in the following year, Sun Zi returned to court with the same rank and position as before; he died soon afterwards. -SGZ 14:457-61*, JS 56:1539.

Sun [Zicai] 孫子才; Lujiang. About 210 Sun Zicai was a junior officer under Cao Cao's commander Xie Qi in the region of Qichun, north of the Yangzi opposite the position held for Sun Quan by Lü Meng. When Lü Meng made a surprise attack and drove Xie Qi away, Sun Zicai and some of his colleagues changed sides. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Sun [Zixia] 孫子夏; Hanyang. Sun Zixia was a noted scholar of the mid-second century. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Sun [Ziyi] 孫子逸. Formerly a magistrate in Xiapi, Sun Ziyi became Chancellor of Lu in the early 120s. He nominated Kong Jichan as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHSJJ 79/69A:2811.

Sun Zong 孫宗. In the mid-140s the stone-mason

Sun Zong was paid 40,000 cash for a pair of lions to ornament the tomb complex of the Liang family of Shanyang. -Wu 89:24-25 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Suo Ban 索班 (d.120). Chief Clerk to Cao Zong the Administrator of Dunhuang, in 119 Suo Ban was sent with a thousand men to set up a military colony at Yiwu near present-day Hami. The kings of Nearer Jushi and Shanshan paid their respects, but a few months later the Xiongnu and King Junjiu of Further Jushi attacked Suo Ban and destroyed him.

Cao Zong asked to send a punitive expedition, but this was not approved. In 125, however, Ban Yong captured Further Jushi. He executed King Junjiu and his Xiongnu ambassador at the place Suo Ban had been killed. -HHS 47/37:1587, 1590, 88/78: 2911, 2930.

Suo Feng 所奉; Pingyuan. Father of Suo Fu, in 108 or 109 Suo Feng was appointed a cadet gentleman at court in honour of his son's self-sacrifice. -HHS 81/71: 2672.

Suo Fu 所輔 (d.108); Pingyuan. In 108 Suo Fu was a junior officer in his county when the magistrate Liu Xiong was defeated and captured by the pirate Bi Hao. The bandits were going to stab him, but then Suo Fu came forward, made a kowtow, and asked to take his master's place. So Liu Xiong was released and Suo Fu, stabbed front to back with a lance, died in his stead.

Bi Hao was later captured by the Administrator of Donghai, who learnt of this incident and reported it to the court. An imperial letter gave Suo Fu posthumous honours, awarded his family 200,000 cash, and gave orders that his father Suo Feng be appointed a cadet gentleman. -HHS 81/71:2672.

Suo Jun 索顏. Wu Colonel at Further Jushi in 96, Suo Jun wanted to depose King Zhuodi and place the Han sympathiser Xizhi on the throne. Zhuodi, however, attacked Nearer Jushi, and it took a large army to defeat him. -HHS 88/78:2929-30.

Suo Lufang 索盧放 see Suolu Fang 索盧放.

Suolu Fang 索盧放 [Junyang 君陽]; Dong. A scholar of the *Classic of History*, Suolu Fang had more than a thousand students. He also held clerical office in the commandery.

In 24 the Gengshi Emperor sent a commissioner to the region. The Administrator of Dong commandery was found guilty of some fault and sentenced to execution, but Suolu Fang argued that the reason people had turned away from Wang Mang and supported Han was because it offered a more humane tradition

of government; rather than seeing his master killed he offered himself in his stead. The commissioner admired his conduct, and pardoned all concerned.

Suolu Fang became known for this, and in 30 he was appointed Prefect of Luoyang. His government was widely admired, but he was obliged to resign on account of illness. He became a Counsellor Remonstrant at court and gave excellent advice on several occasions, but was again forced to leave office because of poor health.

Suolu Fang declined an invitation to return to office in the early 50s, but Guangwu nonetheless sent men to escort him for a special audience, made him a donation of grain, and appointed his son to the suite of the Heir.

Suolu Fang died at home. -HHS 81/71:2674-75*.

Supuwan 蘇僕丸 see Supuyan 蘇僕延.

Supuyan 蘇僕延 [HHS] or Supuwan 蘇僕丸 [SGZ] (d.207); Wuhuan. A chieftain in western Liaodong and the Dependent State during the late 160s, with command of a thousand tribal groups, Supuyan styled himself King Qiao 峭王 "Severe."

In 187 Supuyan joined the rebellion of Zhang Chun, but was persuaded to surrender by Liu Yu. In 195 he joined the attack on Gongsun Zan led by Xianyu Fu and Yan Rou and [under the name of Songxia 松下] was granted title as Shanyu by Yuan Shao.

In 204 Supuyan accepted Cao Cao's authority, but in 207 he joined the war leader Tadun to support Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi. After the defeat at White Wolf Mountain, Supuyan fled east to Gongsun Kang, who killed him. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 1:29, 30:834-35; deC 84:396-412.

Susong [Korean] see Suicheng 遂成 of Gaogouli [Koguryo].

Sutuhu 蘇屠胡; Xiongnu: see *sub* Bi; Xiongnu.

Suyule 蘇榆勒 of Yutian [Khotan]. Chief minister to King Xiumoba in 60, after his death Suyule arranged the accession of Xiumoba's nephew Guangde. -HHS 88/78:2925.

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Tadun 蹋頓 (d.207); Wuhuan. Nephew of Qiuliju of Liaoxi, following his death about 193 Tadun became the guardian of Qiuliju's son Louban. He led the Wuhuan against Gongsun Zan in the late 190s, and

received title as Shanyu from Yuan Shao.

By the early 200s Louban was recognised as the leading Shanyu, but though Tadun was only a king he continued as the war leader of a loose confederacy.

In 207 Tadun gathered an army to aid Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi, but Cao Cao defeated them at White Wolf Mountain in the hill country of Liaoxi, by the present Daling River. Tadun died in the battle. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 1:29, 30:834-35; deC 84:403-411.

Tai 泰, the Lady, was the mother of Wei Yuanpi, who left office for a time after her death. -LS 17b-20a.

Tai Chong 臺崇 (d.196). In 196 Tao Chong was a Palace Attendant at the remnant imperial court in Luoyang. As Cao Cao took over, he executed Tai Chong for wrongdoing. -HHS 9:380, HHJ 29:344.

Tai Tong 臺佟 [Xiaowei 孝威]; Wei. During the reign of Emperor Zhang, Tai Tong dug a hole in the mountains and lived there as a hermit, eating only herbs which he gathered himself. The provincial authorities invited him to office, but he would not accept.

On one occasion the Inspector came on circuit and brought Tai Tong gifts appropriate to a teacher. He expressed dismay at the hardship of his life, but Tai Tong replied that he far preferred it to the cares of office. He then went even further away and was not seen again. -HHS 83/73:2770*; Vervorn 90:149-150.

Taiqi 臺耆; Xiongnu. A member of the royal house of the Southern Xiongnu, in 142 Taiqi and the chieftain Bode joined the rebel leader Wusi in plundering Bing province. Though Wusi was assassinated in the following year, Taiqi and Bode remained at large and continued to cause trouble.

In 155 Taiqi and Bode led some seven thousand men to attack the Xiongnu capital at Meiji in Xihe. Isolated and defeated by the Chinese commander Zhang Huan, they were forced to surrender. -HHS 6:272, 7:302, 65/55:2138, 89/79:2962-63.

Taishi Bing 太史稟 served in the Imperial Secretariat. -FSTY 5f:119.

Taishi Ci 太史慈 [Ziyi 子義] (166-206); Donglai. As a young man Taishi Ci was a scholar, then held clerical office in his commandery.

In 186 there was a dispute between the Administrator and the provincial office. Both sides sent in reports, but the province wrote first, so its messenger was ahead in the queue at the palace entrance and thus held the advantage. Taishi Ci, however, tricked the provincial officer into handing him his dispatch, tore it up, then

urged his rival to run away lest he be punished for failing to take proper care. He too pretended to flee, but returned to present the commandery case, which was duly successful.

Fearing retribution by the province, Taishi Ci took refuge in Liaodong. Kong Rong the Chancellor of Beihai, who had not met him but admired his reputation, sent officers to pay respects to his mother. In response to this courtesy, when Taishi Ci returned from the north in 193 he went to help Kong Rong, who was besieged by Yellow Turbans. Volunteering to seek help, he tricked his way through the siege-lines, killing several of the enemy, then reached Liu Bei in Pingyuan and persuaded him to send relief.

Taishi Ci later went south of the Yangzi to join his fellow-countryman Liu Yao, who was defending himself against Sun Ce. Refusing Taishi Ci an active command, Liu Yao set him to guard the baggage, but on one occasion Taishi Ci encountered Sun Ce face to face, and though outnumbered he fought him hand-to-hand. As more soldiers came up from each side, the two men were separated before either could harm the other.

When Liu Yao withdrew to Yuzhang in 196, Taishi Ci remained in western Danyang, taking title as Administrator and making alliance with the hills people to the south. In 198 Sun Ce attacked and captured him. Recalling their previous encounter, he now appointed him as a personal guard and showed him full trust. He sent him to Yuzhang to observe the situation after the death of Liu Yao, and on the basis of his report he decided to take over that territory.

Seven feet seven inches tall [178 cm], with a fine beard and long arms, Taishi Ci was an expert archer. He was made Commandant of Jianchang to guard the west of Yuzhang from raids by Liu Biao's forces in Jing province, and after Sun Quan succeeded in 200 his responsibility was extended further south. He died six years later. -SGZ Wu 4:1186-90*.

Taishi Xiang 太史享 [Yuanfu 元復]; Donglai. Son of Taishi Ci, he became a member of the Secretariat of Sun Quan and was Administrator of Wu commandery. -SGZ Wu 4:1190-91.

Tan 鐔 [surname] see Xin 鐔 *passim*.

Tan 檀 (d.124); Xiongnu. Son of the former Southern Shanyu Chang, he succeeded his cousin Shizi in 98, taking the title Wanshi shizhu di 萬氏尸逐鞮 Shanyu.

Initially a firm supporter of Han, during the first

years of his reign the Shanyu Tan continued to gain subjects at the expense of his renegade rival, the chieftain Fenghou, who found it increasingly difficult to maintain himself on the frontier. At the same time the Northern Shanyu sent a series of embassies seeking peace with China, though the imperial court responded only with gifts and gave no formal reply or acceptance.

In 107 the Han government was faced with the great rebellion of the Qiang in Liang province. The imperial armies suffered a series of defeats, and there were also heavy rains and floods in eastern China. In 109, as the Wuhuan of Yanmen combined with Xianbi from across the frontier to defeat the local troops of Wuyuan, the renegade Han Zong persuaded the Shanyu that he should take advantage of Chinese difficulties to seek independence. So Tan sent troops to attack the Emissary Geng Chong in his camp at the Xionggnu capital, Meiji in Xihe.

Geng Chong withstood the siege, but the Chinese response was confused by the death of the General on the Liao Wang Biao, evidently of natural causes. The minister He Xi was appointed to raise an army, while Geng Kui the Administrator of Liaodong brought Chinese militia and Xianbi auxiliaries from the eastern frontier. With assistance from He Xi's second-in-command Pang Xiong and other Chinese troops, he made a first attack towards Meiji and defeated a force of three thousand men sent by the Shanyu under the command of a king.

Geng Kui was compelled to abandon the offensive when disease broke out among the horses of his Xianbi companions, and early in 110 the Xionggnu raided Changshan and Zhongshan, on the North China plain below the Taihang mountains. By this time, however, the main army under He Xi had arrived in the north and moved west along the frontier to reoccupy Wuyuan. This army too was attacked by sickness, and He Xi died, but the rebel Xionggnu were isolated from their potential allies on the steppe.

The new General on the Liao Liang Qin now moved on Meiji with eight thousand men, defeating another Xionggnu king and his Wuhuan allies, killing three thousand, capturing women and children, and seizing quantities of goods and treasure. Shanyu Tan brought seven or eight thousand horsemen to surround Liang Qin, but he broke their lines and the Shanyu fled south into marshlands.

As the Chinese continued their advance, Tan became increasingly frightened. He sent envoys asking to return to allegiance, and when his request was approved he came bareheaded and barefoot to meet Pang Xiong and the imperial generals. He confessed his faults and received the imperial amnesty. All was established as before, and Tan returned the Chinese prisoners he had taken, together with a number who had been sold as slaves by the rebel Qiang, a total of ten thousand.

Though Tan had dealings with the rebel Qiang, he had made no alliance with them, and the fact that he received no substantial penalty is a measure of the Chinese concern to have the incident out of the way so they could concentrate upon the major problem. Tan kept peace with China for the remaining years of his reign, and allowed his soldiers to be used against the enemies of Han: in 116 the General on the Liao Deng Zun commanded the Shanyu and his troops against the Qiang headquarters in Beidi, and in the early 120s Geng Kui used Xionggnu auxiliaries under the king Huyouhui against Xianbi raids.

By the time of Tan's death in 124, the Southern Xionggnu state was clearly in decline. Apart from the failed attempt for independence in 109 and 110, the very scale of fighting at that time shows the weakness of organised power in the Ordos. Though Xionggnu raids had reached the North China plain, the armies which the Shanyu himself put into the field were small: the one defeated by Geng Kui was said to be three thousand men, and the two which faced Liang Qin were each less than ten thousand. This is far from the days of the first Southern Shanyu Bi, whose troops had numbered between fifty and a hundred thousand, and indicates both a depopulation of the northern frontier region, through unrest and insecurity among both Chinese and Xionggnu, and also the loss of control by the Shanyu's regime over the human and physical resources it had possessed just a few generations before. -HHS 89/79:2957-59, 19/9:719, 47/37:1592-93, deC 84:282-289.

Tan Bin 檀彬; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Tan Bin was a senior member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members'

arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Tan Erjian 覃兒健 see Qinnijian 覃兒健.

Tan Fu 檀敷 [Wenyou 文有]; Shanyang. A scholar of poor family but high ideals, Tan Fu refused all offers of local appointment, official nomination and posts at the capital, but lived simply in the countryside and taught. His students came from far and wide and were numbered by the hundreds.

In the time of Emperor Huan, Tan Fu was invited to become an Academician at the University, but again refused. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling in 168 he was nominated Sincere and Upright by the Grand Tutor Chen Fan. This time he accepted, for he approved the reformist tenor of the new regime. He was appointed a Consultant, then a county magistrate in Liang. Disapproving of the moral quality of the head of the commandery, he left office.

There is confusion about the period that Tan Fu accepted official appointment. HHS 67/57:2215 says that he was nominated by the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong, who held that office from 159 to 161 and died in 164. If that is correct, then Tan Fu took office soon after the fall of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, when there was also a sense of restoration and reform. HHS 67/57:2187, however, says that it was during the regency of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, and that regime appears more likely to have attracted Tan Fu.

Tan Fu's household was so poor that he and his sons and grandsons shared the same suit of clothes, wearing it in turns so each could go out, and they had food only on alternate days. Despite such privations, Tan Fu died at home at the age of eighty. His moral scholarship and frugality were admired by the reformists and students of the University, who included him in their lists of popular heroes during the late 160s. -HHS 67/57:2215* & 2187, XC 4:9a, SGZ 6:211; deC 75A: 24-29, Vervorn 90:173.

Tan Jian 檀建; Shanyang. A county officer in the 40s, when there was an outbreak of banditry Tan Jian accepted responsibility. The magistrate Zhongli Yi only dismissed him, applying no punishment. Tan Jian's father, however, ordered him to take poison.

Another account says that Tan Jian had misappropriated a gift. -HHS 41/31:1407 & JJ at 1494.

Tan Mo 檀謨. Chancellor of Langye about 180, Tan Mo invited Zhao Yu to local appointment, but was

refused. -SGZ 8:349.

Tan Nijian 覃兒健 see Qinnijian 覃兒健.

Tan Rong 潭戎 see Tanrong 潭戎.

Tan Xian 譚賢 [Bosheng 伯升]; Taiyuan. A man of principle, Tan Xian refused office under Wang Mang. He was invited to take appointment under the Han dynasty restored by Guangwu, but again would not accept. -HHS 83/73:2762.

Tan'erjian 覃兒健 see Qinnijian 覃兒健.

Tang 唐, the Lady I; Yingchuan. Adopted daughter of the eunuch Tang Heng, she was rejected by Fu Gongming, but was then married to the infant Xun Yu. -HHS 70/60:2281, SGZ 10:308.

Tang 唐, the Lady II; Yingchuan: see the Lady Tang Ji 唐姬.

Tang Ben 唐賁; Yingchuan. Son of Tang Hui, Tang Ben became an officer of the Imperial Censorate. He was the father of the future Excellency Tang Zhen and it is possible, though unlikely, that he was also the father of the eunuch Tang Heng. -XTS 74:3210 and see *sub* Tang Zhen.

Tang Chao 唐超 [Jingliao 景遼]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Tang Chao was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Tang Feng 唐鳳. A cousin of the palace eunuch Tang Heng, Tang Feng became Administrator of Kuaiji. Relying on his connection to the court, he governed with greed and cruelty; when his Officer of Merit Zhou Gui criticised and warned him, he had him arrested. Soon afterwards Tang Feng was impeached and taken to the capital in a cage cart. -HHSJJ 71/61:2527 Hui Dong quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*.

Tang Fu 唐扶 [Zhengnan 正南]; Yingchuan. Magistrate of a county in Jiyin, in 183 Tang Fu was honoured with a stele. -LS 5:7a-10b.

Tang Gu 唐固 [Zizheng 子正] (d.225); Danyang. Born in the early 150s to a humble family, Tang Gu devoted himself to learning. He wrote on *Guo yu* and on the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to *Chunqiu*, and regularly had several dozen students.

After Sun Quan became King of Wu in 221 he appointed Tang Gu as a Consultant. Respected by Lu Xun and other senior officials, Tang Gu reached senior office in the Secretariat in 225, but died later that year aged over seventy. -SGZ Wu 8:1250.

Tang Han 唐邯. An officer under Wu Han at Chengdu in 36, Tang Han was one of the leaders of an elite

reserve which broke the troops of Gongsun Shu as he made a final sortie. -HHS 18/8:682.

Tang Heng 唐衡 (d.164); Yingchuan. In 146, soon after Emperor Huan had come to the throne, as the General-in-Chief Liang Ji attacked the senior ministers Li Gu and Du Qiao the eunuchs Tang Heng and Zuo Guan told the young ruler how the two men had opposed his accession. Li Gu and Du Qiao were executed.

In 159 Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were Attendants at the Yellow Gates. Emperor Huan was increasingly concerned about the plans of Liang Ji, who had killed the brother and attacked the mother of his favourite concubine Mengnü and was attempting to force her into accepting adoption as his daughter. He called Tang Heng to join him in the lavatory, and asked who might help him against Liang Ji. Tang Heng recommended Zuo Guan, Shan Chao, Xu Huang and Ju Yuan, and the five eunuchs carried out the coup [see *sub* Ju Yuan]. Each received a county marquisate and a donation of cash, while Tang Heng and Zuo Guan were promoted to be Regular Attendants.

Shan Chao died a few months later, but the four other eunuchs presumed on their favour and influence to live in luxury, building great mansions and taking women of good family as [decorative and titular?] concubines. They adopted unrelated children and even slaves to maintain their lineages, while their kinsmen held high office.

When Tang Heng died in 164 he was honoured as General of Chariots and Cavalry in the same fashion as Shan Chao before him. -HHS 78/68:2520-22*; Ch'ü 72:476-480, Bn 76:94-95, deC 89:12-14.

It is possible, though unlikely, that Tang Heng was a son of the censorial officer Tang Ben: see *sub* Tang Zhen.

Tang Hui 唐會; Yingchuan. Son of Tang Wei, Tang Hui became a county magistrate in Wuwei. -XTS 74:3210.

Tang Ji 唐姬, the Lady; Yingchuan. Daughter of Tang Mao, the Lady was the favourite concubine of Liu Bian, the Little Emperor deposed to become King of Hongnong. In 190, as Liu Bian was compelled to take poison on the orders of Dong Zhuo, she danced at his request and sang for him.

The Lady returned home, but resisted her father's attempts to marry her off again. As Dong Zhuo's officer Li Jue raided to the east in 192, he seized her and brought her to Chang'an. He wanted to marry her,

but she refused him. Though she did not reveal her former connection to the throne, Jia Xu of the Imperial Secretariat learnt of her situation and informed Emperor Xian. He arranged the Lady's release, and she received land and attendants to maintain her status as concubine of the late emperor and king. -HHS 10B:451.

Tang Long 唐龍; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Tang Long was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Tang Mao 唐瑁; Yingchuan. XTS 74B:3202-03 says that Tang Mao, son of the Excellency Tang Zhen, became Administrator of Kuaiji.

HHS 10B:451 tells how Tang Mao's daughter Tang Ji became the favourite consort of Liu Bian, who became emperor in 189 and was then deposed to be King of Hongnong. After Liu Bian's death at the hands of Dong Zhuo in 190, the Lady returned home. Tang Mao wanted her to marry again, but she refused.

Tang Qiang 唐羌 [Boyau 伯游]; Runan. Having served in the offices of the Excellencies, about 100 Tang Qiang became a magistrate in Guiyang. At this time there was a special service which brought longans and lychees from the far south for the emperor's table. As the couriers travelled day and night, many of them were attacked and killed by wild beasts. Tang Qiang sent in a memorial on the hardships of this traffic, and Emperor He ended the arrangement.

Soon afterwards Tang Qiang left his office. Refusing all further summons, he stayed at home and compiled the *Tangzi* 唐子 book in over thirty *pian* [for another work of the same name about this time, see *sub* Tang Tan below]. -XC 7:8a-b; Loewe 86C:301.

Tang Tan 唐檀 [Zichan 子產]; Yuzhang. As a young man, Tang Tan travelled to study at the University in Luoyang, specialising in the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, the Han interpretation of the *Poetry*, and the Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu*. He also became an expert on the interpretation of omens and in astrology. Returning to his home country, Tang Tan taught privately, with more than a hundred students, and he compiled the *Tangzi* 唐子 book in twenty-eight

pian [for another work of the same name about this time, see *sub* Tang Qiang above].

In 120 a miraculous *zhi* 芝 plant was found in the commandery, and the Administrator Liu Zhi planned to present it to the throne. Tang Tan advised him, however, that the plant was an ill omen, for imperial relatives by marriage, notably the regent Dowager Deng, held excessive power at court. So Liu Zhi did not report or present it.

Later that year a local woman of the region gave birth to quadruplets and Liu Zhi asked Tang Tan for his interpretation. Tang Tan replied that there was an aura of conflict at the imperial capital, and trouble would come from those close to the throne: Tang Tan's biography identifies this somewhat vague prediction with the coup of the eunuch Sun Cheng against the Yan family of the Dowager, which brought Emperor Shun to the throne five years later.

In 130 Tang Tan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. As a white rainbow appeared across the sun, he sent in a memorial warning that this was an inauspicious sign and advising the emperor how he should conduct himself in regard to Heaven, Earth and Mankind. He then left the court, and later died at home. -*HHS* 82/72B:2729*; Ngo 76:108-109, DeWoskin 83:67-68.

Tang Wei 唐蔚; Pei>Yingchuan. Tang Wei was a son of Tang Lin 林, who had been Director of the Secretariat under Wang Mang and had received enfeoffment [*QHX*:502-503]. The fief was abolished as Han was restored, and Tang Wei moved his residence from Pei commandery to Yingchuan. -*XTS* 74:3210.

Tang Xi 唐喜 (d.115). In 112 Tang Xi was sent as an Imperial Clerk in command of an army against the rebels Du Jigong and Wang Xin in Hanyang south of the Wei. His troops killed Wang Xin and over six hundred of his men, captured their women and children, and acquired great quantities of treasure. Du Jigong fled to join the Qiang.

Tang Xi went on to attack the Qiang rebels in Guanghan, north of Yi province, but he had no success. He was replaced by Yin Jiu in 115, and despite his earlier triumph he was now ordered to kill himself. -*HHS* 5:219, 87/77:2888, *HYGZ* 2:25; deC 84:106.

Tang Xiang 唐翔; Yingchuan. *XTS* 74B:3202 says that Tang Xiang was a son of Tang Mao. Appointed Administrator of Danyang, he took the occasion to move his family to the south. We are further told that

Tang Xiang's son Gu *q.v.* held office in the Secretariat of Sun Quan.

Tang Gu, however, was born in the 150s, while Tang Mao was the father of the Lady Tang Ji, concubine of the young emperor Liu Hong in 189.

XTS also traces a descent to Tang Bin 彬, a general of Jin, but Tang Bin's biography in *JS* 42:1217 disagrees. *XTS* has evidently confused both the generations and the lineage of this family.

Tang Xuan 唐瑄; Yingchuan. Elder brother of the eunuch Tang Heng, Tang Xuan became Commandant of the Tiger Tooth garrison by Chang'an. Despised by people of the region for having received his appointment through connections rather than by ability, and was bitterly resentful.

In 158 Tang Xuan became Intendant of Jingzhao, and took revenge on Zhao Qi, who had been among the leaders of those who had sneered at him. Zhao Qi ran away, but Tang Xuan arrested members of his family on trumped-up charges and had all of them killed. -*HHS* 64/54:2122.

Tang Yi 唐姬, the Lady: see the Lady Tang Ji 唐姬.

Tang Yi 唐霈 see Tang Yu 唐虞.

Tang You 唐佑 [Junsi 君思]; Henan. In 165 Tang You was Assistant Commandant of Huayin county in Hongnong. With the Magistrate Zhu Jie and the Assistant Zhang Fang, he was ordered by the Administrator Sun Qiu to complete work on the temple to Mount Hua which had been commenced by Sun Qiu's predecessor Yuan Feng. -*LS* 2:3a.

Tang Yu 唐虞 or Tang Yi 霈; Langye. Noted for his longevity, Tang Yu was a contemporary of the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo in the latter part of the second century AD, but spoke as if he had been in personal contact with the Red Eyebrows and the warlord Zhang Bu at the beginning of Later Han. -*HHS* 82/72B:2740-41; Ngo 76:126.

Tang Yu 唐蔚 see Tang Wei 唐蔚.

Tang Yue 唐約 [Zhongqian 仲謙]. A member of the Imperial Secretariat, Tang Yue was expert in precedent, celebrated for the manner in which he gave good and firm advice without prejudice or revealing confidentiality. -*XC* 8:6a-b.

Tang Zeng 唐繒 see Tangzeng 唐繒.

Tang Zhen 唐珍; Yingchuan. Towards the end of the reign of Emperor Huan, Tang Zhen was Director of Retainers and a close associate of the leading eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang.

In 173 Tang Zhen was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Excellency of Works. He left office at the end of the following year. -HHS 8:335-36, 103/13:3283; deC 89:477-478.

XHS 1:6a, quoted by SGZ 6:179 PC, says that Tang Zhen was a younger brother of the eunuch Tang Heng, who died in 164. Guan Ba and Su Kang were killed in 168, but other members of their party, such as Tang Zhen and Liu Ao, evidently continued to prosper.

XTS 74B:3201 traces Tang Zhen's ancestry back to Tang Lin 林, who was Director of the Secretariat and received enfeoffment under Wang Mang [QHX:502-503 and see *sub* Tang Wei above], and says that Tang Zhen was the son of Tang Ben, an officer of the Censorate.

If these statements are correct, then the eunuch Tang Heng had a notable lineage, but I suspect that Tang Zhen was the son of Tang Ben, and I doubt that an officer of the Censorate would have his son castrated.

Tang Zhou 唐周; Ji'nan. A disciple of the religious leader Zhang Jue, early in 184 Tang Zhou sent a message to the court of Han warning of the plot to overthrow the dynasty. -HHS 71/61:2300.

Tang Zou 唐菽 see Tangzou 唐菽.

Tangqi 堂谿 [surname] see Tangxi 堂谿. This surname also appears with the characters唐 and 溪, and the latter may be pronounced *qi*. A Tangxi Hui of Yingchuan, presumably an ancestor of the Later Han family, was a student of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* during Former Han [QHX:504].

Tangxi Dian 堂谿典 [Bobing 伯并 or possibly Jidu 季度]; Yingchuan. There is confusion about the style of Tangxi Dian. *Xianxian xingzhuang*, quoted by HHS 60/50B:1990 TC and HHS 64/54:2103 TC, says that he had the style Jidu, but this may be confused with that of his father Xie: see the entry immediately below. At HHSJJ 8:317, Hui Dong quotes a fragmentary stele set up in 174 at Mount Song [see below] which gives Tangxi Dian's style as Bosheng. The stele has since disappeared, but this version appears more likely.

A scholar and teacher of *Zuo zhuan* [see also *sub* Jia Bosheng], Tangxi Dian was recommended by the eunuch Cao Teng and became a General of the Household.

In 175 Tangxi Dian was sent to Mount Chonggao 崇高山 to pray for rain. Now known as Mount Song 嵩山, this was the central one of the five sacred peaks of China, and was situated in the northwest of Tangxi

Dian's home commandery of Yingchuan. A stele was set up to commemorate the occasion, and Tangxi Dian recommended that the name of the mountain, which had been changed by Emperor Wu in 111 BC, should revert to its former style of Songgao 嵩高. In the following year this was done [cf. Dubs 44:85].

Also in 175 Tangxi Dian joined Cai Yong and others in the proposal to engrave the Stone Classics at Luoyang, and when approval was given Tangxi Dian was certainly involved with the Gongyang text. The project was completed in 183. -HHS 68/58:2519, 60/50B:1990, 64/54:2103, DGHJ 3:5b, HHS 8:337, LS 14:9a.

Tangxi Xie 堂谿協 [Jidu 季度]; Yingchuan. Nagata 94:216 transcribes a fragmentary stele relating to Tangxi Dian's journey to Mount Songgao and his prayer for rain. A part of the text refers to "...the father of Dian, whose taboo given name was Xie, and whose style Jidu" 典大君, 諱協, 字季度. It goes on to tell how he became Registrar of the commandery, and in that capacity composed an inscription for the mountain. He was later nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became magistrate of Xi'e county in Nanyang, but died soon afterwards.

Xianxian xingzhuang, however, quoted by HHS 60/50B:1990 TC and HHS 64/54:2103 TC, says that it was Tangxi Dian who had the style Jidu and was magistrate of Xi'e. If the stele is correct, then *Xianxian xingzhuang* has confused the records of the father and the son.

Tangzeng 唐繒; non-Chinese. A king of the Zuodu people, in 100 Tangzeng and other chieftains led 17,000 people to the frontier of Shu commandery to offer submission. The leaders were awarded golden seals with purple ribbons, and lesser chiefs received gifts of cash and cloth. -HHS 86/76:2857.

Tangzou 唐菽; non-Chinese. A king of the Zuodu 荜都 people on the frontier of Shu commandery, about 74 Tangzou presented three songs in praise of Han. The Inspector Zhu Fu submitted a transcription and translation to the court of Emperor Ming, who was delighted to receive such recognition from afar. He had the texts and their Chinese rendering sent to the history office, and they were included in *Dongguan Han ji*.

The three pieces are *Yuanyi lede geshi* 遠夷樂德歌詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Delighting in the Virtue [of Han]," *Yuanyi mude geshi* 遠夷慕德歌

詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Longing for the Virtue [of Han]" and *Yuanyi huaide geshi* 遠夷懷德歌詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Embracing the Virtue [of Han]." *DGHJ* 22 has what purports to be the original non-Chinese, with a line-by-line translation. In *HHS* 86/76:2856-57, Fan Ye used only the Chinese version, but the Tang commentary attaches the non-Chinese text. -*HHS* 86/76:2855-57, *DGHJ* 17:5a, 22:1b-2a.

In his memorial of presentation, Zhu Fu says that the poems had been submitted by King Tangzou of the White Wolf tribe 白狼王唐叟. Just before this, however, the main text of *HHS* 86/76 lists Tangzou as the name of a tribe, like the White Wolf. One of these statements must be wrong.

Tanrong 潭戎; non-Chinese. A tribesman of the hill country west of Wuling, Tanrong rebelled in the winter of 92, burning local offices and killing officials. The trouble was settled by local commandery forces. -*HHS* 86/76:2833.

Tanshihuai 檀石槐; Xianbi. A nominal son of Touluhou, Tanshihuai was born about 130. Touluhou had been absent for three years before his birth, but his mother claimed that Tanshihuai had been conceived when a miraculous hailstone fell into her mouth. Touluhou was not convinced and had the infant exposed, but his wife persuaded her own family to take the child in and care for him.

Gaining prominence in various clan skirmishes, Tanshihuai was recognised as a fighting leader while still in his teens, and he gradually gathered a confederacy with rudimentary laws and government. In 156, from headquarters in the hill country north of Dai commandery near present-day Zhangbei in Hebei, he embarked on a series of incursions against the Chinese frontier, and in 166, supported by Wuhuan and Xiongnu, he made a major attack on nine commanderies.

By this time Tanshihuai had shown authority both in war and as a political leader. The Han government attempted to engage him in the traditional pattern of alliance, and offered him insignia as a king, but Tanshihuai rejected such approaches. After a brief respite the raids were renewed in late 167, and they continued almost every winter until the early 180s.

By the 170s it was claimed that Tanshihuai's power extended along the whole frontier and north over Mongolia, Manchuria and central Asia – and that

he had successfully attacked the Japanese 倭 [Wa]. This last is certainly an exaggeration, but Tanshihuai evidently held some authority over territory formerly controlled by the Xiongnu, and his raids reached as far west as Beidi, southwest of the Ordos, and Jiuguan in north-western Gansu. The loose hegemony was divided into three, each region containing ten or twenty tribal groups under a number of lieutenants. Neither a sophisticated nor a stable organisation, it was an effective pirate kingdom, devastating the northern provinces of China.

Unable to control the situation with local resources, in 177 the government of Emperor Ling approved a direct attack across the frontier by 30,000 men in three columns of cavalry and non-Chinese auxiliaries, led by Xia Yu, Tian Yan and Zang Min. A risky project, opposed by several advisers, it proved a disastrous failure. Cut off and overwhelmed, the imperial army lost all its material and most of its men, and the generals barely escaped. Not only did the defeat leave the frontier more vulnerable than before, it displayed the weakness of Han: for the first time since the beginning of the dynasty a full imperial army facing the barbarians could no longer be certain of victory.

Fortunately for China, Tanshihuai died about 185, a few years after this great success, at the age of forty-five. His empire disintegrated under the rule of his son Helian and in the faction fighting which followed Helian's death. -*HHS* 90/80:2989-94, *SGZ* 30:837-38; Schreiber 47, G/deC 77, deC 84:330-345.

Tantai Gong 澹臺恭 was an Academician. -*FSTY* 6f: 145.

Tantai [Jingbo] 澹臺敬伯; Wu. Having studied the New Text Han version of the *Classic of Poetry* under the Academician Xue Han, Tantai Jingbo became a well-known scholar. -*HHS* 79/69B:2573.

Tanzhe 炭遮 of Further Jushi. In 153 Tanzhe was an officer under King Aluoduo. When Aluoduo quarrelled with the Han agent Yan Hao and attacked the Chinese military colony, Tanzhe turned against him and sought to make peace. Aluoduo fled north to the Xiongnu. -*HHS* 88/78:2931.

Tanzhi 貪至; Wuhuan. A chieftain in the Dependent State of Liaodong, described as a King 王, about 188 this man brought his people to surrender to Gongsun Zan. -*SGZ* 8:239.

Tao Dun 陶敦 [Wenli 文理]; Henan. Sponsored by Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager, about 110

Tao Dun was appointed Minister Steward.

At the end of 125, when the power of the regent Dowager Yan and her family was destroyed and the young Emperor Shun was brought to the throne, Tao Dun became Excellency of Works. In the following year he attacked the Director of Retainers Yu Xu for his excess zeal in impeaching the high officials Feng Shi and Liu Xi, who had held office under the Yan; Tao Dun argued that they were honourable men who had sought only to serve the government of the day. Yu Xu, however, then persuaded the emperor that moral reform must begin at the top. So Feng Shi and Liu Xi were dismissed, and Tao Dun left office a few months later. -*HHS* 6:251-53, 58/48:1870.

Tao Fan 陶範; Henan. In 125 Tao Fan was Minister Steward when Liu Yi the Little Emperor, who had been placed upon the throne by the Dowager Yan and her family, became ill. Tao Fan joined a plot with the Excellency Li He and the colonel Zhao Zhi to restore Emperor Shun to the succession, but the eunuch Sun Cheng and his colleagues carried out their own coup before they were ready to act.

The plan was not known at the time, but it was revealed a year later and Li He was offered enfeoffment. We are not told whether his associates were similarly rewarded. -*HHS* 82/72A:2718.

Tao Qian 陶謙 [Gongzu 恭祖] (132-194); Danyang. Tao Qian's father, a county magistrate in Kuaiji, died when Tao Qian was a child. As a young man, Tao Qian acted the fool and was a ringleader for local trouble-makers, but he impressed the gentleman Gan Gong, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

Tao Qian later became a keen scholar and a man of honour, though he could still be erratic in his conduct. Having held local appointment in his commandery, Tao Qian was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served in the Imperial Secretariat, and became a county magistrate in Lujiang. The Administrator Zhang Pan, a friend of his late father, sent to welcome him, but Tao Qian snubbed him and left office.

Nominated by the provincial authorities as Abundant Talent, Tao Qian was appointed a magistrate, this time in Jibei, and was later Inspector of Yu province. In 185 he held military office and then a staff position against the Liang province rebels in the northwest, but was soon afterwards sent as Inspector of Xu province to deal with remnant Yellow Turbans. He restored order and established peaceful government, so that Xu

province became prosperous and was a place of refuge for people escaping civil war.

In 191 Tao Qian sent three thousand men to support Zhu Jun against Dong Zhuo, and he later sought to form an alliance against Li Jue and his fellows. Nothing came of it, and in 193 Tao Qian made contact with the regime at Chang'an; he was promoted to Governor, named a general and enfeoffed. As he began to show increasing favour to corrupt officials, however, he lost the support of the gentry and his administration became disordered. He was now in a loose alliance with Yuan Shu and the northern warlord Gongsun Zan.

Towards the end of 193 soldiers under Tao Qian's command waylaid and killed Cao Song, father of Cao Cao the Governor of Yan province. Tao Qian may have been innocent of the affair, but Cao Cao attacked his territory with full force, defeated his army and ravaged Pengcheng and Xiapi. Tao Qian fled to Donghai, and in 194 he received support from Tian Kai and Liu Bei. Cao Cao attacked again, but was then obliged to turn back and deal with insurrection in his home territory. Soon afterwards Tao Qian died of illness. -*HHS* 73/63:2366-68*, *SGZ* 8:247-50*.

Tao Shang 陶尚; Danyang. Son of Tao Qian, he held no public office. -*SGZ* 8:250.

Tao Sheng 陶升; Wei. Formerly a county officer, Tao Sheng later styled himself General Who Pacifies Han 平漢將軍 and joined the Black Mountain bandits. In 191 the bandits captured Ye city, but Tao Sheng rescued the families of Yuan Shao's followers and other officials and brought them to safety. Yuan Shao named him a General of the Household. -*HHS* 74/64A:2381, *SGZ* 6:194.

Tao Shuo 陶碩 [Gongchao 公超]; Henan. A man without desires, Tao Shuo ate very simple food. -*XC* 6:11b-12a.

Tao Ying 陶應; Danyang. Son of Tao Qian, he held no public office. -*SGZ* 8:250.

Taoqiu Hong 陶丘洪 [Zilin 子林 or Zixiu 子休]; Pingyuan. Well-known as a scholar and a moralist, Taoqiu Hong refused nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, but later joined the offices of the Grand Commandant. He died at the age of thirty.

As a young man about 170, Taoqiu Hong expressed approval for the action of Wei Shao and his associates, who sold commandery property in order to fund a bribe to the eunuch Hou Lan and secure the reduction of the death penalty for their former Chancellor Shi Bi. He

also expressed admiration for Liu Dai of Donglai and his brother Liu Yao, arguing that the initial nomination of Liu Dai as a provincial nominee of Abundant Talent should not disqualify his brother from following him if he was worthy to do so.

In 188 Taoqiu Hong considered joining a plot of Wang Fen and Chen Yi to kidnap Emperor Ling, but was dissuaded by Hua Xin. -HHS 64/54:2111-12, SGZ 12:371, SGZ Wu 4:1184.

Teng Dan 滕耽; Beihai. The brothers Teng Dan and Teng Zhou were gentlemen of the same province as Liu Yao of Donghai. As civil war broke out in the early 190s they went to join him in the south. They later joined the Sun group, and Sun Quan appointed Teng Dan as a major. He had a fine reputation, but died about 210. -SGZ Wu 19:1443.

Teng Fu 滕撫 [Shufu 叔輔]; Beihai. Having held office in his commandery and province, Teng Fu became magistrate in the chief county of Zhuo. The Administrator was so impressed with his ability that he gave him charge of the other six counties in the commandery. He maintained this regime for seven years, reforming customs and showing grace to the people, and all was peace and order.

In 144 there was major rebellion in the southeast, initially inspired by the insurrection of the bandits Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng. A first attack by levies from Yang and Xu provinces led by Feng Gun was defeated, and the disturbance spread across the whole of the lower Yangzi and the Huai. Teng Fu was sent as Commandant to Jiujiang, the centre of the trouble. One Administrator had died in early fighting, and his successor was killed in his capital of Hefei by another bandit group.

In such an emergency, Teng Fu's appointment as Commandant gave him powers largely independent of civil authority, and he restored support for Han by generous gifts to those communities which remained loyal. The situation had been so serious that there were plans to send a major army from the capital, but in the summer of 145 Teng Fu combined with Feng Gun and others to defeat the main force of the bandits, killing Fan Rong, Zhou Sheng and their colleagues.

Teng Fu was now named a General of the Household, replacing Feng Gun in charge of military operations in Yang and Xu provinces. Two more groups of bandits appeared, and the chieftain Hua Meng was strong enough to attack Hefei and kill the Administrator Yang

Cen. Teng Fu, however, defeated these in turn, taking many prisoners and quantities of cattle, horses and treasure, and over the next few months the region was gradually brought under control.

Returning to the capital, Teng Fu was granted the *ren* right to have one of his sons appointed as a gentleman cadet. He was also given rich rewards, which he distributed among his men.

Teng Fu was later Administrator of Zuopingyi, but the eunuchs disliked him because he was honest and straightforward and refused to be involved in court intrigue; and when it was proposed that he be enfeoffed for his achievements they argued against it. The Grand Commandant Hu Guang, who shared authority with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, followed their lead and had Teng Fu dismissed from his post. There was general indignation at his treatment, but Teng Fu did not hold office again. -HHS 38/28:1279-80*.

Teng Shi 滕是. A eunuch, in 168 Teng Shi was member of staff at the residence of the regent Dowager Dou. When his colleague Zhu Yu learned that Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to arrest the senior eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu, Teng Shi was one of the people he called for support. The group took an oath in blood to destroy Dou Wu, and their coup was successful. -HHS 69/59:2243, 78/68:2524; Ch'u 72:491.

Teng Yan 滕延 [Boxing 伯行]; Beihai. In 160 Teng Yan was Chancellor of Jibei. The imperial eunuch favourites Hou Lan and Duan Gui had estates in Jiyin near the borders of his territory, and their retainers and clients plundered across a wide area. Teng Yan arrested them, killed several dozen, and laid the bodies on the roadside. Hou Lan and Duan Gui complained to Emperor Huan that he had killed innocent men, and Teng Yan was dismissed, but he was widely admired as a man of principle.

Teng Yan was later a most conscientious Intendant of Jingzhao. -HHS 78/68:2522-23, XC 8:2b; deC 89:26-27. HYGZ 10B:155 refers to a Teng Yan 騰延, surely a miswriting of this man's name.

Teng Zhou 滕胄; Beihai. Teng Zhou and his younger brother Dan were gentlemen of the same province as Liu Yao of Donghai. When civil war broke out in the early 190s they went to join him in the south, and they later joined the Sun group. Teng Zhou was skilled at literary composition, and Sun Quan had him revise the drafts of his official documents.

Teng Zhou died sometime before 220. His son Teng

790 Teng Zi

Yin 胤 married a woman of the Sun clan and became a guardian for Sun Quan's son and successor Sun Liang. -SGZ Wu 19:1443; Fang 65:101.

Teng Zi 滕咨; Beihai. According to XC 3:14a, in the late 140s and 150s Teng Zi gave shelter to Li Xie, son of Li Gu, as he was pursued by agents of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji.

Ti 題 [surname unknown]. With rank as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis, in 220 he was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Tian 田 [personal name unknown]. In 159 he served against the bandits of Taishan and Langye. -LS 21:21b-22a.

Tian 田 [personal name unknown]. In 177 a stele was erected in honour of this man, who had served as a county magistrate in Julu. The text gave details of his family and his career, but the top half of the stone is lost and the readings are uncertain. -LX 20:1b-3b.

Tian Bin 田邠 see Tian Fen 田芬.

Tian Cheng 田盛 see Tian Sheng 田盛.

Tian Chou 田疇 [Zitai 子泰] (169-214); Youbeiping. A scholar and a skilled swordsman, Tian Chou distinguished himself in 190 by journeying through frontier territory to take a message from Liu Yu, Governor of You province, to the court at Chang'an. Appointed to office there, he returned to the northeast just after Gongsun Zan killed Liu Yu in 193. He presented the return message at Liu Yu's grave, and though Gongsun Zan had him arrested he refused to acknowledge his authority or join his service.

Retiring to the north, Tian Chou gathered his kinsmen to establish a colony in exile among the hills of Xuwu in the north of Youbeiping. His simple rule attracted wide acceptance, and his government is seen as a model of gentry-led self-sufficiency and independence.

Tian Chou defied Gongsun Zan and later rejected the Yuan, but he was angry at the depredations of the Wuhuan in the region. As Cao Cao came north in 207 Tian Chou went to join him, then guided him on the oblique approach north across the frontier to surprise Tadun and the Yuan brothers at White Wolf Mountain. Yuan Shang had at one time recommended him for office, and when he was killed by Gongsun Kang Tian Chou held mourning for him.

Though Cao Cao pressed him hard several times,

Tian Chou refused enfeoffment and gave away all his rewards. He would accept only low advisory office. -SGZ 11:340-44*; Ebrey 86:630; deC 96:122-124, 356-361.

Tian Fen 田芬 or Tian Bin 邠 (d.195). As Minister Steward, Tian Fen accompanied Emperor Xian on his escape from Chang'an in 195. He was killed in one of the battles along the way. -HHS 9:378.

Tian Feng 田豐 (d.200) [Yuanhao 元皓]; Julu or Beihai. A man of local reputation, Tian Feng joined the offices of the Excellencies, was recommended as Abundant Talent, and became a member of the Imperial Censorate. Concerned at the eunuch influence in government, however, he resigned and returned home.

As Yuan Shao raised rebellion against Dong Zhuo in 190, he invited Tian Feng to join him, and when he took over Ji province from Han Fu in 191 he appointed him as Attendant Officer. Tian Feng killed the loyalist officers Geng Wu and Min Chun, became a valued adviser, and he sheltered Yuan Shao when their camp was attacked by troops of Gongsun Zan in 192.

In 198 Tian Feng urged Yuan Shao to attack Cao Cao's base city of Xu on a claim to rescue the emperor, but his pre-emptive strategy was not followed. As Yuan Shao prepared his offensive in 200, Tian Feng stressed the need to move quickly while Cao Cao was engaged against Liu Bei, but after Cao Cao returned he warned against a direct attack and urged a policy of delay and attrition. Yuan Shao disagreed and, as Tian Feng persisted, he imprisoned him.

Following the defeat at Guandu, Yuan Shao's officers regretted Tian Feng's advice had not been taken, but his rival Pang Ji claimed Tian Feng was glad to see he had been proven correct. So Yuan Shao killed him. -SGZ 6:200-01.

Tian Gan 田紺; Wuwei. Member of a powerful local clan, during the 30s Tian Gan was Chief Clerk in Command of Troops, effective head of the commandery. His kinsmen and retainers bullied the people, and when the Administrator Ren Yan arrived he arrested and executed Tian Gan and several others of his following. -HHS 76/66:2463.

Tian Gong 田恭; Jianwei. A clerical officer in the commandery about 74, Tian Gong dealt with the non-Chinese people and knew their language. When King Tangzou of the Zuodu people presented three songs in praise of the Han, the Inspector Zhu Fu had Tian Gong

translate them, then sent him with his officer Li Ling to submit the transcription and translation to the court of Emperor Ming. Delighted to receive such recognition from afar, the emperor had the texts and their Chinese rendering sent to the history office; they were included in *Dongguan Han ji*. -HHS 86/76:2855-57, DGHJ 17:5a, 22:1b-2a and see *sub* Tangzou.

Tian Hong 田鴻. An officer under Cen Peng, general of Emperor Guangwu in 29, after the warlord Tian Rong of Nan commandery was driven up the Yangzi to take refuge with Gongsun Shu Tian Hong was appointed Commandant of Yiling county, to maintain defence in depth against any incursion back through the Gorges.

In 30 Gongsun Shu sent Tian Rong in a counter-attack. The advance position under Feng Jun was overrun, but though the enemy entered the middle Yangzi, they were turned back without permanent effect.

In the spring of 33 Tian Rong and other commanders attacked again, and this time they broke through the defences, seized Yiling, and established a position which defied the Han troops for two years. Tian Hong was very likely killed in this campaign, for he is not heard of again. -HHS 17/7:659-60; Bn 59:184-187.

Tian Hui 田輝 [Shudu 叔都]; Zuopingyi. Well known as a young man, Tian Hui was frequently offered nomination by his commandery, but he became concerned that his elder brother Weidu had received no such recognition. Under the pressure he first became ill and was then struck mute. At first his friends thought he was pretending, but when they stole his bedding and found that he could make no cry of protest they were suitably convinced.

After four years, Tian Weidu was at last nominated, and as he went to pay respects at the family temple Tian Hui's speech was restored to him. He was promptly proposed as Abundant Talent by the provincial office of the Director of Retainers, and received invitations to join the offices of the Grand Commandant and of the General-in-Chief. He became an Imperial Clerk, but died soon afterwards. -FSTY 5:35-36; Nylan 83:451-453.

Tian Jing 田景 see Tian Yi 田儀.

Tian [Jingzhong] 田敬仲 see Jing 敬 [personal name unknown].

Tian Kai 田楷 (d.199). Named Inspector of Qing province by Gongsun Zan in 191, Tian Kai fought

Yuan Shao for that territory until a truce was agreed in 193. In 194 he brought aid to Tao Qian against Cao Cao.

By 196 Tian Kai had been pushed back north by Yuan Tan, and he joined Gongsun Zan at Yi city in Hejian. He died when the fortress was stormed by Yuan Shao.

Tian Li 田立. In 24 Tian Li was enfeoffed as king of a county by the Gengshi Emperor. He held command in the garrison under Zhu Wei which defended Luoyang against Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, but as Guangwu's army crossed the Yellow River in the autumn of 25, Tian Li surrendered. -HHS 17/7:642, 1A:24; Bn 59:56, 87, 105.

Tian Li 田颯 (d.57); Shuofang. A local warlord, in 28 Tian Li was persuaded by an emissary of the Shanyu Yu of the Xiongnu to give his support to the pretender Lu Fang, who established his capital in Wuyuan in the following year. Lu Fang recognised Tian Li as Administrator of Shuofang, but in 31 he executed Tian Li's colleague Li Xing, Administrator of Wuyuan. In the winter Tian Li defected to Emperor Guangwu; he was confirmed in his position in Shuofang.

Tian Li later became Chief Clerk in Command of Troops in Longxi commandery; though his rank was lower than that of an Administrator, this was a substantial military appointment and Longxi was far more important than Shuofang. In 57 he was part of a combined army under the Internuncio Zhang Hong against a Qiang raiding force led by Dianyu. As the Han forces were heavily defeated in Jincheng, Zhang Hong and Tian Li were both killed. -HHS 12/2:506-07, 87/7:2879; Bn 67:105-107, deC 84:79 [as Tian Sa].

Tian Lin 田林; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Tian Lin was a member of the group, and it is likely he was a kinsman of Tian Pan below. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210, ZF:16a [in SGZ 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Tian Lü 田慮. In 73 Tian Lü accompanied the envoy Ban Chao to Shule [Kashgar]. King Jian of Qiuzi [Kuqa] had deposed the king of Shule and replaced

him with his own officer Douth. As local opponents to the new regime offered their support, Tian Lü was sent into the city, where he caught Douth by surprise and arrested him. Ban Chao then restored the native dynasty. -HHS 47/37:1574.

Tian Ming 田明. As Administrator-elect of Jiangxia about 146, Tian Ming went to pay his respects to Liang Buyi, brother of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Concerned at this sign of his brother's influence, Liang Ji had Tian Ming arrested, flogged, and sent to exile to Shuofang. He died on the journey. -HHS 34/24:1185.

Tian Pan 田槃; Shanyang. Probably a kinsman of Tian Lin *q.v.*, Tian Pan was also a member of the ill-fated fellowship from Shanyang.

Tian Rong 田戎 (d.36); Runan. A migrant into the south of Nan commandery, Tian Rong was probably a refugee from the troubles which followed the flooding of the Yellow River. As rebellion broke out against the government of Wang Mang in 23, he and his associate Chen Yi took control of territory along the Yangzi, styled themselves generals and kings, and made alliance with Qin Feng, immediately to the north. Chen Yi is not heard of again, but Tian Rong married one of Qin Feng's daughters and the two warlords held their positions for some years without incident.

In 26 Emperor Guangwu's forces began the reconquest of Nanyang, and by the autumn of 27 Qin Feng had been driven south and was under close siege in his home district of Liqiu. His earlier wife, The Lady Qin, had evidently died by this time and he had married again; his new brother-in-law Xin Chen persuaded Tian Rong that he should surrender to the imperial army.

Early in 28 Tian Rong left Xin Chen to hold his base at Yiling, present-day Yichang, while he went by ship down the Yangzi and up the Han to seek terms at Liqiu. Xin Chen, however, plundered Tian Rong's treasury and went directly overland to surrender first. He sent a letter urging Tian Rong to join him, but Tian Rong realised he had been betrayed and was concerned at his likely reception. Having taken auspices by tortoise-shell, he refused to submit and tried instead to assist Qin Feng.

Some months later Tian Rong was defeated by imperial troops. He was forced back to Yiling, and in the spring of 29 Cen Peng came south against him. Defeated again near Jiangling, Tian Rong was driven up the Yangzi. Abandoning his wife and children

and accompanied by just a few dozen horsemen, he fled west through the Gorges to Gongsun Shu, who recognised him as a king.

In the following year Tian Rong was sent with other commanders down the Yangzi to attack Nan commandery, no doubt in the hope that he might still have sufficient local support to regain his former position. Though the raiders broke through Cen Peng's defences and reached as far as Yiling, they achieved no substantial gain. Later that year Gongsun Shu's adviser Jing Han proposed that Yan Cen be sent north to seize the upper Wei valley while Tian Rong moved west down the Yangzi. Tian Rong and Yan Cen strongly supported the plan, but no action was taken, and Gongsun Shu's troops simply held their positions along the Gorges.

In 33, accompanied by the senior official Ren Man and an Administrator-designate for Nan commandery, Tian Rong was sent with a strong force on rafts down the Yangzi against Cen Peng. Defeating Feng Jun and other generals, they occupied the course of the Yangzi beyond Yiling and established encampments above the stream, with a fortified bridge floating across it, and barricades in the water. The Han troops could make no headway against these defences, and for the next two years Cen Peng remained inactive in his headquarters by Jiangling. For their part, Tian Rong and his associates made no move to expand their holdings in Nan commandery; their position was rather a defensive outpost than the spring-board for an offensive into the valley of the Han.

Eventually, in the summer of 35 Cen Peng led a full attack on Tian Rong's river defences. Aided by a monsoon wind which drove their boats against the current, his men broke through the palisade in the water and set fire to the floating fortress, which collapsed in flames. Tian Rong's men were utterly defeated and he withdrew through the Gorges to Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing.

Cen Peng forced his way up the river and attacked Tian Rong. He achieved no success, for Tian Rong was well supplied in a strong position, but he then left Feng Jun to keep Tian Rong in check while he moved directly against Gongsun Shu's capital, Chengdu. Isolated in Jiangzhou, Tian Rong took no active part in the campaign which led to the death of Gongsun Shu in the winter of 36.

Before that, in the autumn of 36, Jiangzhou had

fallen to storm. Tian Rong was captured and executed. -*HHS* 17/7:656-62, *XC* 8:1b; Bn 59:26-28, 153-157, 183-194.

Tian Ru 田弱; Youfufeng. A fellow-countryman of the hermit scholar Fa Zhen, Tian Ru recommended him warmly to Emperor Shun, but Fa Zhen refused to take any appointment. -*HHS* 83/73:2774.

Tian Sa 田颯 see Tian Li 田颯.

Tian Shang 田尚; Wuwei. Son of Tian Gan and member of a powerful local clan, after his father and brothers were killed by the reforming Administrator Ren Yan in the 30s, Tian Shang took title as a general and brought several hundred men to attack the commandery offices by night. Ren Yan brought his own troops to destroy the attackers, and there was no more such trouble. -*HHS* 76/66:2463.

Tian Shao 田韶 (d.190); Liaodong. Like other members of leading local families, Tian Shao had treated Gongsun Du with contempt as frontiersman. When Gongsun Du became Administrator in 190, he arrested Tian Shao and his fellows on various charges and executed them. -*SGZ* 8:252; Gardiner 72A:66.

Tian Sheng 田聖, the Lady (d.168). A Chosen Woman, lowest rank of concubine in the harem of Emperor Huan, when the Empress Deng was disgraced and died in 165 she and eight companions were taken to their master's bed, and they continued to share his favours even after his Empress Dou was appointed at the end of that year. The names of the other women are not recorded, though one may have been the Lady Feng II *q.v.* It seems probable that the women were engaged not only for their qualities as sexual partners, but also in the hope that one of the magical number nine might conceive a son. The Empress Dou, in any case, had been largely forced upon Emperor Huan by his senior ministers, and he does not appear to have shown any interest in her.

In the winter of 167/168, as Emperor Huan was dying, he promoted Tian Sheng and her colleagues to be Honoured Ladies. After he was dead, however, and even as his body lay in state in the palace, the Empress Dou, now Dowager, killed the Lady Tian; through the intervention of the eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang, however, she was obliged to spare the lives of the other eight favourites. -*HHS* 10B:445-46.

Tian Sheng 田盛 or Tian Cheng [Zhongxiang 仲嚮]; Chenliu. A friend of Guo Tai, Tian Sheng was also well-known and admired. Refusing to take any office,

he journeyed as a scholar and died old. -*HHS* 68/58: 2233.

Tian Si 田汜 (d.92). In 92 Tian Si was an officer on the staff of Nie Shang the Protector of the Qiang, who received a visit from the Lady Bique, grandmother of the warlord Mitang. Nie Shang appears to have treated the old lady with courtesy, and sent Tian Si and four other men to escort her back. When they arrived, however, Mitang murdered them and used their blood to swear enmity against Han. There is no explanation for this sudden ferocity; it may have been premeditated, or triggered by some unexpected breach of protocol. -*HHS* 87/77:2883.

Tian [Weidu] 田威都; Zuopingyi. Elder brother of Tian Hui, he received no recognition or appointment, while Tian Hui himself was regularly approached by the commandery with offers and invitations. Greatly concerned at this discrepancy, Tian Hui became ill and was stricken mute. Eventually Tian Weidu was nominated, and Tian Hui regained his speech.

Tian Weidu became Chief Clerk of Anding commandery and then Administrator of Wudu. -*FSTY* 5:35-36.

Tian Xi 田翕. Administrator of Lingling in 29, Tian Xi had received a formal commission from the late Gengshi Emperor, but controlled his own territory. Guangwu's commander in the south, Cen Peng, wrote urging him to accept the new imperial regime, and sent one of his officers with a formal summons to arms. Tian Xi duly sent tribute to Han and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -*HHS* 17/7:659; Bn 59:157-158.

Tian Xin 田歆. Intendant of Henan in the early 140s, Tian Xin was required to make six nominations of men as Filial and Incorrupt. Five of the places had been pre-empted by relatives and clients of influential families, but Tian Xin was able to make one on merit alone. His nephew Wang Shen, whom he asked for a recommendation, proposed Chong Gao, and Chong Gao later rose to the highest rank. -*HHS* 56/46:1826; Bn 80:135.

Tian Xu 田續; Youbeiping. Tian Xu was a great-nephew of Tian Chou, who had given Cao Cao great assistance in the northeast but always refused reward. When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he awarded Tian Xu a secondary marquissate in honour of Tian Chou's good work. -*SGZ* 11:344.

Tian Yan 田弇. A general in the service of Gongsun Shu, in 32 Tian Yan was sent north to aid Wei Ao in

Tianshui. For several months he and his colleague Li Yu joined the attack on Lai Xi's forlorn hope in Lueyang, but they failed to take the city and were driven off when Guangwu's main army arrived.

Tian Yan and Li Yu retreated to defend Shanggui in Tianshui, close to Wei Ao's refuge in Xi city of southern Longxi. At the end of the year Wang Yuan brought reinforcements from Gongsun Shu and the sieges were broken. Li Yu returned to the south, but Tian Yan remained in the Wei valley.

After the death of Wei Ao in 33, Tian Yan and his colleague Zhao Kuang attempted to support his son Wei Chun and maintain a presence for Gongsun Shu in the north. They were attacked by the imperial army under Lai Xi: Zhao Kuang was killed in 34 and Tian Yan probably shared his fate. -HHS 13/3:530, 15/5: 588.

Tian Yan 田晏. In Duan Jiong's many campaigns against the Qiang, Tian Yan and his colleague Xia Yu were among his most trusted and effective officers. In 159 they led a small advance troop to entice an attack from the Qiang of Longxi, leading to Duan Jiong's successful campaign across the frontier, and they took leading roles in his operations to destroy the Eastern Xianbi in 168 and 169.

Tian Yan later became Protector of the Qiang, but was dismissed. He was pardoned, but was anxious to regain credit.

In 177 Xia Yu proposed a great offensive against the Xianbi and their war-leader Tanshihuai. Many at court had reservations, but the proposal was supported by the eunuch Wang Fu, an old ally of Duan Jiong; there is no record of Duan Jiong's opinion, and he may have been away from court at the time. The expedition was approved, and Tian Yan led one of three columns of local levies and Xiongnu cavalry which advanced into Xianbi territory. The army, however, was disastrously defeated, the first such failure of Chinese arms since the time of Former Han. Tian Yan and the other leaders were brought back in cage carts, paid a ransom and were reduced to commoner status. -HHS 90/80:2990-94; deC 84:127, 137, 338-342.

Tian Yan 田彦. A disciple of Zhang Zhi, at the end of Han Tian Yan was a celebrated calligrapher in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." -JS 36:1065.

Tian Yi 田邑 [Boyu 伯玉]; Zuopingyi. Tian Yi's father Tian Feng 田豐 had been a general under Wang Mang and was enfeoffed as his representative kinsman from

the ancient royal house of Qi 齊: Dubs 55:279, QHX: 209.

Tian Yi was a man of high morality and broad scholarship, skilled in literary composition. Despite the connection to Wang Mang he evidently had no difficulty in accepting the Gengshi Emperor, and he became Administrator of Shangdang under the new regime.

Early in 25 Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, sent Feng Yi and Kou Xun into Henei to oppose the Gengshi commander Zhu Wei at Luoyang. Feng Yi also drove north towards Shangdang, establishing a defensive position which was then held by Wang Liang, and which prevented Tian Yi from intervening in operations about Luoyang.

After the fall of Luoyang the armies of Emperor Guangwu attacked Shangdang, seizing two counties and capturing Tian Yi's mother, brother, wife and children. Despite this, Tian Yi remained loyal to the Gengshi Emperor and held back the invaders, but in the winter, after learning of the death of the Gengshi Emperor, he sent messengers to Luoyang and surrendered. Guangwu confirmed Tian Yi in his post.

Tian Yi told his former colleagues Bao Yong and Feng Yan of the new situation, but they refused to accept it and Feng Yan wrote to criticise him. Tian Yi replied, and their exchange was preserved as a model of debate. Bao Yong seized one of Tian Yi's cities, but Tian Yi arrested some of his kinfolk and urged him again to surrender. Bao Yong would not reply, and the two men's quarrel became personal.

Tian Yi was later named Administrator of Yuyang, but took sick on the road and was recalled to the capital as a Counsellor Remonstrant. He died soon afterwards. -HHS 28/18A:969-76, DGHJ 14:3a-4a; Bn 59:106, 209.

Tian Yi 田儀 or Tian Jing 景 (d.192). When Dong Zhuo was assassinated at Chang'an his Registrar Tian Yi went to attend the corpse; he was killed by Lü Bu. -HHS 72/62:2331-32 [Tian Yi], SGZ 6:179 [Tian Jing].

Tian Yin 田銀 (d.211); Hejian. About 210 Tian Yin and Su Bo led a rebellion in You and Ji provinces. In the following year they were defeated and killed by the general Jia Xin under the orders of Cao Pi. -SGZ 23:659.

Tian Yu 田豫 [Guorang 國讓]; Yuyang. Having followed Liu Bei into Yu province in 194, Tian Yu went back north to care for his aging mother. He

became a magistrate in the service of Gongsun Zan, and dissuaded the mutineer Wang Men from attacking his city.

After Gongsun Zan was destroyed by Yuan Shao in 199, Tian Yu joined Xianyu Fu in Yuyang and persuaded him to support Cao Cao. He joined Cao Cao's staff and then held county magistracies in Yingchuan and Runan. About 213 he was appointed Administrator of Yiyang commandery, newly established in the hill country between Jiangxia and Runan.

In 218 Tian Yu was a senior adviser to Cao Zhang against the Wuhuan of Dai commandery, then returned south in 219 as Administrator of Nanyang. The commandery had long suffered from the hills people, either inhabitants or refugees, and it had lately experienced the mutiny and rebellion of Hou Yin, who seized the capital, Wan city, and obtained support from those people of the hills. As the trouble was put down, some five hundred hills people were captured. They were scheduled for execution, but Tian Yu released them all. Making the kowtow in gratitude, the prisoners went back to tell of their generous treatment. So the hills became peaceable and the commandery was settled. Cao Cao himself expressed admiration.

In 221 Cao Cao's son and successor Cao Pi appointed Tian Yu as Protector of the Wuhuan, dealing also with the Xianbi and particularly with the growing power of the chieftain Kebineng. About 230 Tian Yu was transferred to Runan, but returned to take command of naval forces in Qing province against the alliance of Gongsun Yuan and Sun Quan of Wu; in 232 he saw the wreck of the Wu fleet off Shandong. Back in the south, Tian Yu successfully defended the key city of Hefei against a major attack in 234. About 240 he was sent back north to deal with the Xiongnu, and he later held office at court. He died about 250 aged over 80. -SGZ 26:726-29*.

Tian Yue 田樂; Jincheng. In 215 Tian Yue and Yang Kui took the head of Han Sui to Cao Cao; they were rewarded with secondary marquisates. *Cf.*, however, *sub* Han Sui. -SGZ 11:350.

Tianyu 填虞 *i.e.* Dianyu 滇吾. -JS 116:2959.

Tiao 刁 [surname] see Diao 刁 *passim*.

Tiao 銚 [surname] see Yao 銚 *passim*.

Tiaobian 調便 or Tiaopian or Tiaowang Bian 調王便 see Bian 便, King of Yetiao/Shetiao 葉調.

Tiaohe 雕何; Qiang. In 118 Tiaohe was sent by the Chinese general Deng Zun to assassinate Langmo,

fugitive leader of the rebel Qiang. He was rewarded with title as Marquis of the Qiang. -HHS 87/77:2891.

Timieling 替滅陵 (d.58); non-Chinese. In 58 Timieling and Damu/Damou, tribal chieftains in Yizhou commandery, led a rebellion. They were defeated by local Chinese troops, and their heads were sent to Luoyang. -HHS 101/11:3229.

Tong 童/僮 [surname] see also *sub* Dong Hui 董恢: HHSJJ 76/66:2718 Hui Dong.

Tong Yin 僮尹 was either Inspector of Jiaozhi or Administrator of the commandery of that name. -FSTY 6f:142.

Tong Zhi 僮芝; Danyang. In 198, after the death of Liu Yao, Inspector of Yang province, in Yuzhang, various leaders divided up the territory. Tong Zhi occupied the southern part, in the marshlands and the upper reaches of the Gan River, and proclaimed himself Administrator of Luling.

After Sun Ce had taken over the major part of Yuzhang in 199, he left his cousins Sun Ben and Sun Fu to await an opportunity to move against Tong Zhi. Soon afterwards Tong Zhi was taken ill, and Sun Fu, aided by Zhou Yu, seized his territory. -SGZ Wu 4: 1190, 6:1210.

Toulouchu 兜樓儲 (d.147); Xiongnu. In the early 140s Toulouchu was a hostage prince at the Han court in Luoyang, and had been given the title King Who Maintains Loyalty 守義王. His exact connection to the royal house of the Southern Xiongnu is not known, but the succession had been interrupted after the suicide of the Shanyu Xiuli and his heir in 140. The chieftain Yiti may have been next in line, but he was compromised by his earlier involvement in rebellion, and the Chinese government preferred Toulouchu.

In the summer of 143, therefore, at a ceremony held in the presence of Emperor Shun, Toulouchu was proclaimed as the new ruler. He took the dynastic title of Hulanruo shizhujiu 呼蘭若尸逐就 Shanyu, received an official seal and other insignia, and was sent north a few months later, farewelled by another grand ceremony.

Toulouchu remained at his capital, Meiji in Xihe, under the guardianship of his Chinese supervisors, until his death four years later. It is doubtful, however, whether he or his successor Juche'er held any more than marginal authority over their nominal subjects. -HHS 89/79:2962-63; deC 84:313-315.

Touluhou 投鹿侯; Xianbi. Touluhou was the official

father of Tanshihuai: after three years on campaign with the Xiongnu he returned to be presented with a new-born baby. His wife explained that she had conceived by mistakenly swallowing a hail-stone, but Touluhou was not convinced. He had the infant exposed, but Tanshihuai's mother arranged for her own family to care for the child. -*HHS* 90/80:2989, *SGZ* 30: 837; *G/deC* 77:16-24.

Tr'ung Sisters see *sub* Zheng Ce.

Tu Er 屠兒; Hongnong. According to *Sanfu jiushi*, ascribed to Wei Biao later in the first century and cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ* 1A:457, Tu Er took part in the final assault on Chang'an in 23 and aided Du Wu to kill Wang Mang. It seems more likely that the characters *tu'er* are not the name of a man, but describe the occupation of Du Wu as that of a butcher: see *sub* Du Wu, also *Dubs* 55:465 and *Bn* 54:132.

Tu Jingxian 屠景先, a man from Hedong at the end of Han, is mentioned in *FSTY* 6f:138.

Tu Yun 塗惲 was a Counsellor Remonstrant. -*FSTY* 6f:139.

Tuiyan 推演; Xianbi. A commander in the west under Tanshihuai in the 170s, this man may have been the ancestor Tuiyin 推寅 of the imperial Tuoba 拓跋 family of the Wei 魏 dynasties which ruled in north China from the late third century to the sixth. -*SGZ* 30: 838, *Wei shu* 1; *G/deC* 77:42.

Tumen Shao 屠門少; Jingzhao. In 23 Tumen Shao was the chieftain of a strong clan in Duling county. In the autumn the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties under Wang Xian and Han Chen towards Chang'an. Tumen Shao and other local leaders took title as generals in the name of Han and came to attack the capital. As the main Han army was halted at Huayin, these irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang. -*Dubs* 55:461, *Bn* 54:130.

Tumen Shao's local power no doubt suffered a few years later when the *condottiere* Yan Cen took control of Duling.

Tun 屯 see Tuntuhe 屯屠何.

Tun Moru 屯莫如 was Administrator of Changshan. -*FSTY* 5f:120.

Tunchuhe 屯屠何 see Tuntuhe 屯屠何.

Tuntuhe 屯屠何/河 or Tunchuhe (d.93); Xiongnu. Son of the former Southern Shanyu Shi and younger brother of the former Shanyu Chang, he succeeded his cousin Xuan in 88, taking the title Xiulan shizhuhou di

休蘭尸逐侯鞬 Shanyu.

At this time, after the defeat and death of the Youliu Shanyu at the hands of the Xianbi in the previous year, the northern state was in complete disorder. The name and title of the new Northern Shanyu are unknown, but in 88 a dissident group of nobles set up his elder half-brother, the Worthy King of the Right, as a rival claimant.

In the autumn Tuntuhe reported this turmoil to the Han court and proposed a decisive campaign to take over the steppe. Emperor Zhang had died in the spring of 88, and the plan came before the Dowager Dou, regent for the young Emperor He. Embarrassed by the recent scandalous conduct of her brother Dou Xian, the Lady Dou was glad to give him occasion to gain credit, and though the expedition was opposed by Yuan An and other senior ministers, she insisted that it take place.

The army was prepared during the winter of 88 and Dou Xian was given command. In the summer of 89 four columns set out from the frontier to gather at Zhuoye Mountain, in the Gurvan Sayhan Uul range in the south of Outer Mongolia. While a detachment to the west defeated the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain and pursued him into the Altai ranges, the main army marched in triumph to the north, burned the sacred site of Longcheng, and erected a celebratory stele at Mount Yanren in the Hangayn Nuruu range. Southern Xiongnu horsemen played a substantial role both in the main expedition and in the detached force which defeated the Northern Shanyu.

The Northern ruler sued for peace, but Tuntuhe urged that his rival should be utterly destroyed, and in the spring of 90 the Emissary Geng Tan with eight thousand cavalry under the king Shizi attacked his refuge in the Altai Mountains. The Shanyu was wounded and barely escaped with his life, while the Chinese and their allies killed eight thousand of his followers, seized his seal and treasury, and took prisoner his consort the Yanshi 閼氏, five of his children, and several thousand of his subjects.

The Northern Shanyu still sought to obtain terms, but the southerners maintained their attacks, and Dou Xian advised that the northern ruler was so weak there was no point in treating with him. In 91 the colonel Geng Kui finally drove the Shanyu away to the west among the Wusun people of present-day Kazakhstan; he was not heard of again.

In the spring of 92, following the policy of Dou Xian, the imperial government sent Geng Kui with insignia to set the younger brother of the departed Shanyu, Yuchujian, in his place, to reside at Yiwu near present-day Hami, supervised and guarded by a new Emissary, Ren Shang. The arrangement was deliberately parallel to that of the southern court, and was a blow to the pretensions of Tuntuhe to reign over all the Xiongnu tribes.

The senior ministers Yuan An and Ren Wei argued against the move on the grounds that the Han had a long commitment to the Southern regime and that it was quite inappropriate, after the enormous expense of the campaign, for two tributary courts to be established. Both would require subsidy, and it would be far better to restore a single ruler and ensure he remained subject to China as in the days of the first Huhanxie Shanyu at the end of Former Han.

For the time being Dou Xian had his way, but Tuntuhe was bitterly hostile to the north, and the energetic prince Shizi was popular among the people of the south for his harassment and oppression of the northerners. In the autumn of 92 after the power of the Dou family was destroyed by the youthful Emperor He the position of the Northern Shanyu was once more brought into question.

In the autumn of 93 the Northern Shanyu Yuchujian "died while attempting to escape." Some children of his predecessor had been captured previously but are not referred to again, and an earlier candidate of Dou Xian, the prince Atong, was not acceptable. The line of inheritance of the northern state thus ended with Yuchujian, and the Shanyu Tuntuhe became the sole titular ruler of his people, both the original southerners and those of the north who had surrendered or been made captive.

There was naturally great tension between the two sides of the recent internecine conflict, for the triumphant Southerners were now obliged to share wealth and influence with the northern group, and those from the North, who had suffered attack for so long, had neither affection nor trust for their conquerors. Following the death of Tuntuhe in 93, and with the contested succession of Anguo and then Shizi, matters came to a head. -HHS 89/79:2952-54; deC 84:264-277.

Tuteruo shizhujiu Shanyu 屠特若尸逐就單于 of the Southern Xiongnu (*reg.* 172-177). Son of the Shanyu

Juche'er, he succeeded his father. His personal name does not appear in the Chinese records, no doubt a sign of the weakness of his nominal state and the now marginal relevance of his position.

In 177 the Shanyu and the Emissary Zang Min led a contingent of horsemen to join the expedition led by Xia Yu and Tian Yan against the Xianbi ruler Tanshihuai. Their force was one of three columns, each said to have comprised ten thousand men.

The army was heavily defeated: it is claimed that the losses amounted to three-quarters of the troops engaged, and that the commanders fled with only a few score followers each. The Shanyu died a few months later, while the remnant authority of his state was now largely destroyed. -HHS 89/79:2964; deC 84:340-345.

W

Wa 洼 [surname] see Gui 洼 *passim*.

Wan Chi 萬熾 (d.126); Youfufeng. Son of Wan Feng and a great-great-grandson of Wan Xiu, he succeeded to the family fief. Wan Chi died without sons, and the fief was ended. -HHS 21/11:757.

Wan Feng 萬豐; Youfufeng. Wang Feng was a great-grandson of Wan Xiu, whose county fief had become extinct with the death of Wang Qin. In 113 the Dowager Deng enfeoffed Wan Feng as a village marquis. -HHS 21/11:757.

Wan Gong 萬恭; Youfufeng. Wan Gong was a great-great-grandson of Wan Xiu, whose family fief had twice become extinct for lack of heirs [see *sub* Wan Qin and Wang Chi]. In 159 Wang Gong was enfeoffed as a village marquis. -HHS 21/11:757.

Wan Liang 萬良; Zuopingyi. Officer of Merit under the magistrate Zhou Gong, Wan Liang killed a man to avenge his father, then went to the county prison in bonds. Zhou Gong set him free. -XC 1b-2a.

Wan Pu 萬普; Youfufeng. Son of Wan Xiu, he succeeded to his fief; the county was later transferred to Shangdang. -HHS 21/11:757.

Wan Qian 萬潛. In 192, after the Inspector of Yan province Liu Dai had been killed by Yellow Turbans, the Attendant Officer Wan Qian accompanied Bao Xin when he went to invite Cao Cao to take over the province.

As a senior clerical officer in 213, Wan Qian was

one of those who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei.

After Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, Wan Qian and other officers were granted the right to have one of their sons appointed as a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 1:9 & 40, 2:59.

Wan Qin 萬親; Youfufeng. Son of Wan Pu, he succeeded to the family marquisate, which was later transferred to a county in Xindu. Wan Qin died without sons, and the fief was ended. -HHS 21/11:757.

Wan Xiu 萬脩/修 [Junyou 君游] (d.26); Youfufeng. In 23 Wan Xiu was appointed magistrate of Xindu county by the new government of the Gengshi Emperor. That winter, as Wang Lang took the imperial title, the greater part of the north accepted his claim, but Ren Guang the Administrator of Xindu remained loyal to Han, and Wan Xiu joined him in raising troops and welcoming Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time a commissioner of the Gengshi regime. Wan Xiu was named a lieutenant-general and enfeoffed as a marquis of title, and after the destruction of Wang Lang in the summer of 24 he became General on the Right.

Wan Xiu took part in the capture of Luoyang and in the campaigns by which Liu Xiu conquered the north, and in 26 he was awarded a county fief in his home commandery. That year he was sent to attack the rebels Deng Feng and Dong Xin in Nanyang, but was taken ill and died. Recognising Wan Xiu as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 21/11:757*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 76:26, 79, 83-84.

Wan Yusheng 萬虞生; Kuaiji. Nominated by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, Wan Yusheng reached high office. -HYGZ 10A:133.

Wang 王, the Lady I. Wife and then widow of Song Yang, she became the mother of the imperial concubines Song and thus grandmother of Liu Qing. By 100 she was old and ill, and Liu Qing asked his half-brother Emperor He to allow her to come to the capital for treatment. The emperor agreed, and this became a catalyst for a limited rehabilitation of the Song family. -HHS 55/45:1801.

Wang 王, the Lady II; Yuyang. Sister of Wang Ping, she married He Fu and became the mother of He Ce. -HHS 18/8:689.

Wang 王, the Lady III (d.181); Zhao. Granddaughter of the General of the Household Wang Bao, and son of Wang Zhang, of whom nothing more is known, the Lady entered the harem of Emperor Ling as a woman of respectable family 良家. Good-looking and intelligent, she became a Beauty [second-rank concubine] and in the summer of 180 she became pregnant. It is said that she was frightened of the Empress He, and took drugs to abort the child, but the medicine failed, while she also reported dreams that she was carrying the sun.

In the spring of 181, on 2 April, the Lady Wang gave birth to a son, Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian. Seven days later she was poisoned by the Empress He. Emperor Ling composed a mourning hymn for her, and *Zhuide fu* 追德賦 "Rhapsody of Virtue Remembered."

After Emperor Xian had taken the Cap of Manhood in 194 he was urged to choose an empress, but he would not do so until his mother had been properly buried. This was done: she received posthumous imperial honours and a special mission was sent to arrange her burial in the tomb complex of Emperor Ling, alongside her killer the Empress He. -HHS 10B: 449-52, XHS 1:19a.

Wang 王, the Lady IV. Concubine "Brilliant Companion" 昭儀 of Cao Cao, the Lady had influence with him, and in 217 she supported the appointment of Cao Pi as Heir.

It appears the Lady had no children of her own, but when his concubine the Lady Chen died, Cao Cao had the Lady Wang act as foster-mother to her son Cao Gan/Lang, then aged three *sui*. Two years later, at a time Cao Cao was extremely ill, the Lady arranged that he commend the boy to Cao Pi, who undertook a special relationship with him. -SGZ 20:575, 585-86.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] I; Chenliu. He married the foster-daughter of Yu Yan. -XC 1:11a.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] II; Youfufeng. A magistrate in Jianwei, he had repair work carried out on the local roads. A commemorative stele was set up in 96. -LX 11:8a-9a.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] III; Shang. Administrator, probably of Yuyang, he nominated Xianyu Huang as Filial and Incorrupt. -Nagata 94: 156.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] IV. A magistrate of Guanghai in the commandery of that name, in 148 a stele was set up to commemorate the repair work he

had carried out on the roads. -LS 4:8a-b.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] V. *LS* 13:7b records a fragment of a stele from the Spirit Road 神道 of this man's tomb. He had been a magistrate of Mianzhu in Guanghan.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown; style Gong? 公?] VI; Nanyang. Described as a private gentleman 處士, in 156 he was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:17a.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] VII. In 159 he was Chancellor of Chen, praised for his benevolence. -*LS* 20:12a-b.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] VIII; Zuopingyi. He served as a magistrate in Pei, and when he was transferred to Guanghan Dependent State the officials and people set up a stele in honour of his good government. -*SJZ* 24:7b-8a.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] IX; Shanyang. Son of Wang Qian, about 189 the General-in-Chief He Jin sought to marry his daughter to this young man or to his brother Wang Can. Wang Qian, however, refused the alliance. -*SGZ* 21:597.

Wang 王 [personal name unknown] X. Formerly a magistrate in Beihai, he died in the early 220s at the age of forty-one. A commemorative stele was set up at his funerary temple. -*LX* 11:12a-14b.

Wang Ba 王霸 [Ruzhong 儒仲 or 孺仲]; Taiyuan. A man of high moral quality, when Wang Mang took the throne in 9 AD Wang Ba abandoned public life and went to live as a recluse.

Some time during the 30s Wang Ba was invited to the court of Emperor Guangwu and came to Luoyang. When he gave his name to the Imperial Secretariat, however, he did not refer to himself by the usual term as "subject" 臣. Questioned on this, he demanded privilege as a Confucianist and quoted the *Ritual* to say that "The Son of Heaven has those who are not his subjects, and feudal lords have those who are not their friends" [cf. the present-day *Li ji* 禮記 41:10]. Not only was he not punished for such temerity, but the Excellency over the Masses Hou Ba asked to resign in his favour. Hou Ba's protégé Yan Yang, however, remarked that men from Taiyuan tended to form factions, so the matter went no further.

Wang Ba left Luoyang on grounds of illness and returned to his simple life as a hermit farmer. He received many more invitations to court, but would never accept. There was one sad occasion when an

old friend Linghu Zibo, now a high official, sent his son, also an official, to bring a letter. Wang Ba's own son was so dazzled by the distinguished visitor that he could not raise his eyes to look him in the face. Wang Ba was ashamed that his simple life had caused his son to be simple too, but his wife reassured him and confirmed him in his principles.

Wang Ba died of old age at home. -*HHS* 83/73:2762-63*, *XTS* 72B:2632; Vervoorn 90:146, 193-194.

Wang Ba 王霸, wife of: the Lady's family name is not known, but her biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -*HHS* 84/74:2782-83*.

Wang Ba 王霸 [Yuanbo 元伯] (d.59); Yingchuan. Wang Ba's family had a tradition of involvement with the law and was evidently rising gradually in the world: his grandfather had been Assistant at a prison and his father became judicial officer in the commandery. When Wang Ba was young he too became a clerk at court, but he did not enjoy office work and had wider ideals. His father admired his ambition and sent him to study for a time at Chang'an.

After the Han rebellion broke out against Wang Mang Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to Yingchuan in the spring of 23. Wang Ba brought clients and retainers to join him and was accepted as a Companion. In the summer he took part in the victory at Kunyang, but then returned to his home country. When Liu Xiu was named Director of Retainers by the Gengshi Emperor in the autumn of 23, he passed through Yingchuan on his way to Luoyang, and Wang Ba obtained his father's permission to join him once more. He accompanied Liu Xiu to Luoyang, and when Liu Xiu was named Grand Marshal he appointed Wang Ba to his office for personnel.

When Liu Xiu went as commissioner to the north of the Yellow River, Wang Ba accompanied him, but only a few dozen of his family retainers were willing to still follow him, and one after another they withdrew and went home. Liu Xiu nonetheless appreciated his loyalty all the more.

When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, Liu Xiu was at Ji city in Guangyang. He sent Wang Ba to call for troops in the market-place, but there was strong local support for the usurper and Wang Ba was forced to withdraw.

As Liu Xiu abandoned Ji and moved south, the supporters of Wang Lang followed in close pursuit and his men were frightened. When scouts reported that

the Hutuo River had not yet formed its winter ice and could not be crossed, Liu Xiu sent Wang Ba to make a second assessment. The river was indeed impassable, but Wang Ba gave false assurance that it would bear, and the men went forward encouraged. Just as they arrived the ice was strong enough to cross, and it broke up as the last of the cavalry went over. So Liu Xiu's men were safe from pursuit. He praised Wang Ba's judgement, but Wang Ba replied that it was the will of Heaven, and the good omen cheered the troops.

Liu Xiu enfeoffed Wang Ba as a secondary marquis and appointed him Director of the Army, responsible for discipline. In the summer, as the Han troops captured Wang Lang's capital of Handan, Wang Ba and his men chased and killed the usurper and took his seal and insignia. Wang Ba was again rewarded with a district marquise, apparently in his own homeland.

He then took part in the campaigns to conquer the north of the plain, and regularly shared camp with Zang Gong and Fu Jun. Unlike others, Wang Ba took special care of his men: when one of them died, he was prepared to use his own clothes to dress the corpse for burial, and he went himself to attend the wounded. When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he recognised Wang Ba's care for his men and appointed him a lieutenant-general with command over Zang Gong and Fu Jun's troops; the latter two were named Commandants of Cavalry.

Wang Ba took part in the siege and capture of Luoyang, in 26 he accompanied the Grand Marshal Wu Han against bandits in Wei commandery, and later that year he followed He Yan to attack the pretender Liu Yong. In the autumn of 28, as Guangwu came to Pei commandery to supervise the campaign in the east, he sent Wang Ba with the general Ma Wu to besiege Liu Yu and his supporter Zhou Jian at Chuihui.

Early in 29 Su Mao came to the relief of the defenders. He gained an initial success, capturing Ma Wu's baggage, and Zhou Jian then led a sortie which put Ma Wu's troops to flight. Wang Ba, however, held his men back until the enemy had committed themselves to pursuit, then sent out a group of volunteers from the rear gate of his camp. These men attacked the enemy from behind and reversed the course of the battle. On the following day Su Mao and Zhou Jian challenged him to battle, but Wang Ba kept his men in camp to rest and feast, refusing to be provoked even when his cup of wine was hit by an arrow. As Su Mao and Zhou Jian

were compelled to retreat for lack of supplies, Zhou Jian's nephew Zhou Song changed sides and closed the gates against them. Liu Yong's party was scattered, and a Palace Counsellor was sent to appoint Wang Ba as a general.

In 30 Wang Ba was in Hongnong, where he set up military colonies to guard the Hangu Pass west of Luoyang, and in the summer he accompanied Li Tong to attack Yan Cen in Hanzhong. In 32 he settled bandits in the east of Henan to the south of the Yellow River.

In the summer of 33 Wang Ba was sent under the Grand Marshal Wu Han, with three other generals and fifty thousand men, to attack Lu Fang's officers Jia Lan and Min Kan in Dai commandery. They were defeated, however, and forced to withdraw. Wu Han returned to Luoyang, leaving garrisons along the frontier, and Wang Ba was named Administrator of Shanggu, still with his title as a general, which gave him authority to operate outside the territory of his commandery.

At the end of the year Wang Ba joined an assault under Du Mao against Yanmen, which was defeated by Lu Fang's officer Yin You, and at the beginning of 34, as Wu Han launched another attack, Wang Ba and Chen Xin the Administrator of Yuyang were in the vanguard. Wang Ba was successful against a troop of Xiongnu cavalry, killing several hundred and driving them back across the frontier, but the offensive as a whole gained no ground. In 36, however, Lu Fang's position in China collapsed and he fled to the Xiongnu. In 37 Wang Ba's fief was increased in value and raised to county level.

The frontier was nonetheless still threatened by Lu Fang and his Xiongnu allies, and Wang Ba was ordered to take six thousand convict labourers to work with the general Du Mao on a system of fortifications, including the strategic Flying Fox Road from Shanggu through Dai commandery to the south, linking with a long wall across the border of Yanmen and Dai. Gold, silk and brocade were sent to pay the army and as presents for the people on the border.

In fact, the northern border commanderies were now largely lost to Han, and many people moved south to escape the raids of the Xiongnu and Wuhuan. In 39 imperial orders were given for officials and civilians to be evacuated from Yanmen, Dai and Shanggu, so Wang Ba held only a fraction of his nominal territory, and his position was rather that of a garrison commander than the civil head of a commandery.

The situation, however, changed dramatically as a succession struggle broke out among the Xiongnu after the death of the Shanyu Yu in 46. The non-Chinese state was divided between contenders, and by 50 the Southern Shanyu Bi was an effective puppet of China. In these circumstances another edict announced the restoration of the northern commanderies, and the frontier was now close to the old lines of Former Han. On the other hand, those lines on the map concealed a serious loss of the Chinese population which was needed to maintain the borders, and the empire in the north was never as strong as before.

Wang Ba was in Shanggu for over twenty years through all the changes, fighting constantly against the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan. Recognised as an expert on affairs of the north, he made several proposals for peace, and also urged the construction of canals to aid the transport of supplies northwest from Guangling and the region of present-day Beijing. Though the north was largely settled, there was a series of raids by the Wuhuan from 54, which ended only in 58, after the Xianbi had been enlisted as allies.

Wang Ba was awarded a final marquisate in Linhuai/Xiapi in 54, but he remained in the north until 59, when he retired on account of illness and died a few months later. Recognising him as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Emperor Ming had Wang Ba's portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 20/10:734-37*; Bn 67:107-131, Bn 76:26, 79, 83, deC 84:377-387.

Wang Bao 王苞; Zhao. Sometime a General of the Household, he was grandfather of the Lady/Beauty Wang, mother of Emperor Xian. -*HHS* 10B:450.

According to *XHS* 1:19a, the Beauty Wang was a daughter of a certain Wang Zhang, presumably Wang Bao's son, but nothing more is known of him.

Wang Bao 王豹; Donglai. Wang Bao died about 192, comparatively young, and was buried at Luoyang. His son Wang Ji became a high official of Wei, and when his mother, widow of Wang Bao, died in 248, Wang Bao was awarded posthumous title as Administrator of Beihai. -*SGZ* 27:755.

Wang Bao 王豹, wife of (d.258); Donglai. Mother of Wang Ji, who was born in 190, the Lady was widowed early but died at a good age. She was buried with her husband at Luoyang. -*SGZ* 27:755.

Wang Bi 王畢 [Shibi 世鼻]; Youfufeng. A senior

man and an officer of his native county, Wang Bi was consulted by the magistrate Cao Quan, and in 185 he contributed a thousand cash to a stele in his honour. -*JSCB* 18:2b-4a; Ebrey 80:342-343.

Wang Bi 王必 (d.218). Assistant Officer to Cao Cao as Governor of Yan province, in 192 Wang Bi was sent as an emissary to obtain recognition from the imperial court at Chang'an controlled by Li Jue and Guo Si.

In 198 Wang Bi was Registrar to Cao Cao. When Lü Bu was captured he urged that he be killed.

In 217 Wang Bi was Chief Clerk to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor of Han, holding charge on his behalf over the court at Xu city. Early in 218 Jin Yi, Geng Ji, Ji Ben and others attempted to take over the city and invite Guan Yu in from the south, and Ji Ben's son Miao attacked Wang Bi's camp. Wang Bi was wounded, but he made his escape with the help of one of his staff officers. Next morning he obtained reinforcements from Yan Kuang and led loyal troops to destroy the rebels. He died of his wounds a few days later. -*SGZ* 13:392, 7:228, 1:50; deC 89:518-519.

Wang Bi 王祕; Wuwei. In 219 Wang Bi killed the rival warlord He Luan of Zhangye. -*SGZ* 15:474.

Wang Bi 王毖; Changsha. During the last years of Han Wang Bi took service in the north, probably attached to the puppet court of Han. In 220 he joined the process which brought the abdication of Han in favour of Wei. -*SGZ* 2:63, *JS* 20:635; Goodman 98:98.

Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249); Shanyang. Son of Wang Ye, Wang Bi was a notable but eccentric philosopher, central figure in the School of the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*] during the Wei period. He must be distinguished from the three men immediately above; e.g. *Demiéville* 86:829.

Wang Biao 王彪 (d.109). Administrator of Shuofang in 100, Wang Biao was transferred to be Acting General on the Liao. In 109, just as the Southern Shanyu Tan began a rebellion, Wang Biao died. -*HHS* 89/79:2957.

Wang Bin 王斌 [Wen'gao 文高]; Chen. Originally, Wang Bin was a slave named Diyu 地餘, owned by Gongsun Zhijie. Intelligent and literate, at the age of seventeen he ran away to Danyang, changed his name to Wang Bin, and later became a clerk in the commandery.

Then Gongsun Zhijie came as Inspector of the province, and Wang Bin was chosen to attend him. When he saw his former master, he kowtowed and confessed everything. Gongsun Zhijie took no action

against him, and Wang Bin later became Administrator of Zangke. -*FSTY* 3f:105.

Wang Bin 王斌; Zhao. Elder brother of the Beauty Wang, mother of Emperor Xian, about 190 he was invited by the emperor with his family to Chang'an, was granted house and lands and made Commandant of the Equipage.

In 194 Wang Bin accompanied the cortège for the reburial of his sister by the tomb of Emperor Ling, and on his return he was enfeoffed and appointed Bearer of the Mace. He died soon afterwards, and was granted posthumous appointment as General of the Van and special funerary honours. -*HHS* 10B:451-52.

Wang Bo 王博 [Jixi 季習]; Guanghan. *HYGZ* 12:224 says that Wang Bo, eldest son of Wang Tang, was a noted scholar, but does not mention his style nor indicate any offices he may have held.

Wang Bo 王博, wife of: see the Lady Yang Jin 楊進.

Wang Bo 王博 [Jixi 季習]. *XC* 6:11b contains an extract from a biography of Wang Bo, whose style was Jixi, but whose place of origin is not recorded. It describes him as a conscientious officer of the Imperial Secretariat, with particular knowledge of tradition and precedent. It seems likely that this relates to Wang Bo of Guanghan; though it should be noted that the man Bo, possibly of the Wang surname, in the entry immediately below, had a similar style and certainly belonged to the Secretariat.

[**Wang?**] **Bo** 王博 [Jizhi 季智]; Hedong? This man is described in a stele unearthed in Henan in 1923. His surname is not given, but Bo is described as a younger son of an Excellency of Works. In particular, we are told in the stele, as below, that he came from the capital province of Sili, that his father died in office 薨, and that he joined the offices 府 of the General-in-Chief. The Excellency of Works Wang Zhuo from Hedong died in that post in 137, while Liang Shang and then Liang Ji were Generals-in-Chief from 135 to 141 and from 141 to 159. No other combination appears to fit those criteria, so Bo was most likely the son of Wang Zhuo.

The inscription describes Wang Bo as a worthy man with both public and private virtues, a scholar of the *Changes*, the *Poetry* and the *History*. He served as a local officer in his commandery, and also in the provincial offices of the Director of Retainers. After the death of his father he was granted position as a gentleman cadet and was also nominated Filial and

Incorrupt, but he turned down both offers on grounds of ill health, and when he was later invited to join the offices of the Excellency of Works he left to mourn the death of his mother. In the early 140s he was nominated Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright by both the Director of Retainers and the Excellency of Works; he did then hold some appointments, but later resigned once more.

Returning to public life through the office of the General-in-Chief, Wang Bo became Inspector of Yan province and later joined the Imperial Secretariat, rising to become Director. He served with distinction as Administrator of Julu and was later Chancellor of Ganling. It appears that was the last position he held: the stele inscription goes no further, and its title describes him as Chancellor; it is not known whether he resigned or died in office. -Nagata 94:280.

Wang [Bochun] 王伯春 or Wang [Boqi] 王伯齊 see *sub* Diwu Lun 第五倫.

Wang [Boqi] 王伯齊 or Wang [Bochun] 王伯春 see *sub* Diwu Lun 第五倫.

Wang [Borong] 王伯榮 see Wang Yong 王永.

Wang [Bosan] 王伯三; Runan. Son of Wang Zifang, Wang Bosan was the elder brother of Wang Shufan *q.v.* -*FSTY* 3f:105-06.

Wang Bu 王誦 see Wang Pu 王誦.

Wang Can 王粲 [Zhongxuan 仲宣] (177-217); Shanyang. Son of Wang Qian and one of the great literary figures of Han, Wang Can was with his father at Luoyang in 189 and went with the court to Chang'an in 190. He was a favourite student of Cai Yong, who bequeathed him his vast library [see also *sub* the Lady Cai Yan].

In 193, at the age of only seventeen, Wang Can was invited to office, but after the fall of Dong Zhuo and the death of Cai Yong later that year, he fled to Jing province. In contrast to the recognition he had received at Chang'an, however, his unprepossessing appearance and unconventional conduct meant that Liu Biao paid him small regard. Liu Biao had thought to give him his daughter in marriage, but was put off by Wang Can's appearance and conduct, and married the young woman instead to Wang Can's cousin Wang Kai. During these years of exile Wang Can composed two works now celebrated: *Qi'ai shi* 七哀詩 "Poem of Seven Sorrows" on his departure from Chang'an; and *Denglou fu* 登樓賦 "Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower," about his wasted exile in the south [Knechtges

87:236-241].

After Liu Biao's death in 208, Wang Can urged his son and successor Liu Zong to surrender to Cao Cao. He joined Cao Cao's staff and was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis, and in 213 he was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. He was made a Palace Attendant of the new state, with commission to reform the administration, but as he accompanied Cao Cao on campaign against Wu in 217 he became ill and died.

Wang Can left sixty *pian* of literary work, notably poems and rhapsodies, but also essays and official documents, and he compiled the contemporary history [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記 "Records of the Heroes and Champions at the End of Han." In his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature," Cao Pi honoured Wang Can as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period.

In 219 Wang Can's two sons were executed for involvement in the conspiracy of Wei Feng, and he had no other direct heirs. The library which he had received from Cai Yong, and added to himself, went to his kinsman Wang Ye. -SGZ 21:597-99*, HHS 56/46:1826; Mather 76:595-596, Miao 82, Knechtges 87:362-364, MBeck 90:46.

Wang Cao 王曹 see Wang Chang 王昌 (fl.195).

Wang Cen 王岑 (d.23); Guanghan. As the empire fell into disorder after the destruction of Wang Mang, the self-styled general Zong Cheng came from Nanyang to raid Hanzhong commandery. The effect of his incursions extended south into Guanghan, and the local bandit Wang Cen attacked Luo city, headquarters of the province. He killed Song Zun, the Governor appointed by Wang Mang, and Wang Cen then took title also as a general and declared his support for Zong Cheng.

Gongsun Shu, Administrator of Shu, invited Zong Cheng to Chengdu. Wang Cen went to join him, but as Zong Cheng paid chief attention to plunder, Gongsun Shu had him killed. As there is no further mention of Wang Cen, he probably shared his colleague's fate. -HHS 13/3:533; Bn 59:30.

Wang Cen 王岑; Zhuo. When Zhu Fu was appointed Governor of You province for Emperor Guangwu in 24, he obtained support from the local gentry by appointing leading members to his staff. Wang Cen was one of these, and he later became Governor of Liang province. -HHS 33/23:1137-38.

Wang Chang 王昌 see Wang Lang 王郎.

Wang Chang 王常 [Yanqing 顏卿] (d.36); Yingchuan. Wang Chang's family came to Yingchuan from Youfufeng only at the end of Former Han, but they were numbered among the local gentry. About 20 Wang Chang killed a man to avenge the death of his brother. He fled south into Jiangxia, joined the bandits led by Wang Feng and Wang Kuang, and became a secondary leader.

In 22, as the group divided under the impact of sickness and privation, Wang Chang joined Cheng Dan and Zhang Ang to lead a separate party west into Nan commandery. They were known as the Troops from the Lower Yangzi. The name may reflect only that they came from the region of Jiangxia, downstream from Nan commandery, but it may also indicate the presence of a number of refugees who had come to the lands of the middle Yangzi after disastrous flooding of the Yellow River over more than ten years: those driven south from the plain would have migrated gradually south across the Huai and then along the Yangzi upstream to the south of the Dabie Shan. See Bn 54:152 and *sub* Wang Kuang and Fan Chong.

Wang Mang's government sent Zhuang You and Chen Mao with an army into Nan commandery, and Wang Chang and his fellows were defeated. Regrouping, they resumed their career of plunder and recovered sufficient strength to defeat the levies of Jing province. They then moved north into Nanyang.

At this time, the gentry rebel Liu Bosheng and his bandit allies, including Wang Kuang and Wang Feng, had just been defeated by Wang Mang's local officers Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci in battle at Xiao-Chang'an. Collecting his scattered forces at his base in Jiyang county, Liu Bosheng also went in person to recruit the Troops from the Lower Yangzi. Wang Chang agreed to join the rebellion, then persuaded his fellows and followers to accept the alliance. With these reinforcements, Liu Bosheng destroyed the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, and followed this with a successful attack on Zhuang You and Chen Mao, who had also come north into Nanyang.

In the spring of 23, as the rebel army laid siege to Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, the commoner leaders of the bandit Troops held a caucus meeting and chose Liu Xuan, the Gengshi Emperor, to be the imperial candidate against Wang Mang. Liu Bosheng, hitherto leader of the movement, was

deliberately passed over; when he sought to argue the case Wang Chang was his only supporter, while Wang Chang's old colleague in the leadership of the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, Zhang Ang, was a vociferous opponent of Liu Bosheng.

Wang Chang was named Minister of Justice and a chief general under the new regime, and he took joint command of the army sent into Yingchuan, Runan and Pei. In July he and his fellow-commander Wang Feng held the city of Kunyang in Yingchuan while Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, led troops from outside. On 7 July they gained a decisive victory.

It does not appear that Wang Chang suffered for his earlier opposition to the Gengshi Emperor, and he was evidently too influential to be ignored. Though Liu Bosheng was executed soon after the fall of Wan in 23, Wang Chang received a marquisate, and he was given charge of affairs in Nanyang as the main force of rebels went to attack Wang Mang's capital.

In the enfeoffments granted after the Gengshi Emperor established his court at Chang'an in 24, Wang Chang was named as a king, with an appanage of eight counties. He was also granted the privilege of the Liu surname, but *HHS* always refers to him by his original surname; it is unlikely that he made use of the honour after the fall of the Gengshi Emperor who granted it.

In the summer of 26, after the destruction of the Gengshi Emperor, Wang Chang came with his wife and children to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, at Luoyang. Baring his back, he presented himself as a supplicant, but he was warmly welcomed and rewarded by the emperor, recognised as an old comrade-in-arms, enfeoffed as a county marquis in Pei, and granted formal control of the Imperial Secretariat. At another meeting of the court, Guangwu spoke of how Wang Chang had brought the Troops from the Lower Yangzi to join the forces of Han, and gave him title as General Loyal to Han.

Wang Chang was sent to Nanyang against the rebels Dong Xin and Deng Feng, and was later ordered north to deal with some local groups in Hejian and Yuyang. In 28 he joined Wu Han in Pingyuan, and the following year he accompanied Guangwu's campaign to the east. He led the troops which took Huling city in Shanyang by storm in autumn, then joined the emperor for operations against Su Mao and Pang Meng. Under a hail of arrows, he led repeated assaults against the city gate of Xiapi and drove back the defenders.

Guangwu, watching from higher ground, sent one of his personal attendants with orders to withdraw, but the city surrendered soon afterwards. Wang Chang then went with Wang Ba to put down the rebel Mao Xu in Pei.

As Wang Chang returned to Luoyang in the spring of 30, messengers from the emperor were sent to greet him in Yingchuan and escort him to carry out worship at his family tombs. He was sent west to camp at Chang'an against Wei Ao, and in 31 he was made a chief general. Later that year he defeated Wei Ao's general Gao Jun in Anding, intercepted other detachments, then went outside the frontier to settle some groups of the Qiang.

In the autumn of 32 Wang Chang was sent with the Excellency Li Tong and the Palace Counsellor Geng Chun to deal with a rebellion in Dong commandery and Jiyin. In the following year he attacked and destroyed a group of bandits in Wei. Wang Chang then went north into Zhuo to face Lu Fang and his Xiongnu allies, and in the summer of 33 he was sent with three other generals and fifty thousand men under Wu Han and Wang Ba to attack Lu Fang's officers Jia Lan and Min Kan in Dai commandery. Defeated in a rain-storm, they were forced to withdraw, and Wang Chang was left in garrison to defend Changshan. He died in the north three years later.

Recognising Wang Chang as a chief assistant of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 15/5:578-82*, 11/1:467-68, 20/10:737, 22/12:789-91; Bn 54:55-56, 74-80, 110, Bn 59:18-21, 220, Bn 67:107-108, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:79.

Wang Chang 王長 sometimes miswritten as Zhu Chang 主長; Hongnong. A local leader in 26 who had taken title as a general, he surrendered to Emperor Guangwu's officer Feng Yi. -*DGHJ* 9:3b.

Wang Chang 王萇 [Bo? 伯?]; Nanyang. Described as a former officer at commandery headquarters, Wang Chang was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu in 156. -*LS* 17:17a.

Wang Chang 王暢/暢 [Shumao 叔茂] (d.169); Shanyang. Son of Wang Gong, as a young man Wang Chang was noted for the manner in which he kept to his own standards, refusing contact with any political faction. Nominated as Filial and Incorrupt, he pleaded ill health and did not go, but about 140 the General-in-

Chief Liang Shang gave him special recommendation as Abundant Talent. He then held a series of posts at the capital and rose to be Director of the Imperial Secretariat; his career was no doubt aided by contacts of his father, who had been Grand Commandant in the late 130s.

Later, Wang Chang was successively Chancellor of Qi, Director of Retainers, and Administrator of Yuyang. In each post he gained a reputation for strict, clear government, and for reform of his staff, and in the late 150s he became Administrator of Nanyang.

Home country of the Liu imperial house, Nanyang was dominated by imperial relatives and families which took pride in displaying their wealth and power. Wang Chang, ostentatiously simple and frugal, was determined to bring them under control and to change the prevailing culture. He ruled very firmly, sometimes destroying the houses, trees and wells of those who had committed an offence, and the great families were terrified. His Officer of Merit Zhang Chang wrote to protest, arguing that his policy was counter-productive and a territory of such grand tradition deserved more respect. Others presented similar arguments, and Wang Chang was impressed. His regime became more tolerant, and we are told it was accepted and successful.

Returning to the capital, Wang Chang became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate. About 163 various powerful families objected to the policy of Chen Fan and Huang Wan, who insisted that only men of good quality in the corps of Gentlemen should receive ministerial recommendation as Abundant Talent. Diao Wei and his superior Wang Chang approved the change and took no action, but they were then accused of faction: Chen Fan was dismissed, Huang Wan and Diao Wei were proscribed from office, and Wang Chang was demoted to be a Consultant.

Chen Fan soon returned to office, and in 165 he became Grand Commandant. Under the personal government of Emperor Huan the Imperial Secretariat gained great influence, and the emperor asked the Excellencies for suitable officers to staff it. Chen Fan recommended Wang Chang, and he was appointed.

As an associate of Guo Tai, Wang Chang was praised by reformers and students at the capital as an "ideal for the empire" 天下俊秀, and he appeared as a "hero" [俊 *jun*], second category in the major list of

worthy men which was circulated at that time. Early in 168, following the death of Emperor Huan, Wang Chang returned to the capital as Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, residence of the new Dowager Dou, and in the summer of that year he was promoted to be Excellency of Works in the reformist government dominated by Dou Wu and Chen Fan. He shared their intention to eliminate the eunuchs, but in the autumn a few months later he left office on account of heavy rain and flooding. He was therefore not involved in the purge which followed the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan soon afterwards.

Following the eunuchs' coup, by the beginning of 169 there was widespread pressure for Wang Chang to be brought back into the government, but he died about this time. -*HHS* 56/46:1823-26*, 61/51:2040, 67/57:2186-87, *SGZ* 6:211, *XC* 3:7ab; deC 89:110, 435.

Wang Chang 王萇 [Changde 長德]; Hongnong. In 165 Wang Chang was a senior clerical officer in Huayin county. He assisted the magistrate Zhu Jie, who had been ordered by the Administrator Sun Qiu to complete work on the temple at Mount Hua commenced by Sun Qiu's predecessor Yuan Feng. -*LS* 2:3a.

Wang Chang 王敞 [Yuanfang 元方]; Youfufeng. A senior man and an officer in his native county, Wang Chang was consulted by the magistrate Cao Quan, and in 185 he contributed a thousand cash to a stele in his honour. -*JSCB* 18:2b-4a; Ebrey 80:342-343.

Wang Chang 王昌. Palace guards at Chang'an in 195, under Li Jue's instructions Wang Chang and three hundred others escorted Emperor Xian to Li Jue's camp.

Soon afterwards the emperor sent Huangfu Li away, to avoid Li Jue. Wang Chang was sent after him, but was unwilling to see such a loyal man killed. He claimed he had been unable to catch him, and Huangfu Li was able to make his escape. -*HHS* 71/61:2306, *SGZ* 6:185; deC 89:154.

Wang Chang 王昶 [Wenshu 文舒] (d.259); Taiyuan. Son of Wang Ze, when Wang Chang was a young man he was a close friend of Wang Ling, though they were not closely related. Wang Chang entered the household of Cao Pi when he was Heir, and when Cao Pi took the imperial throne Wang Chang was appointed a Cavalier Attendant.

Having served as Inspector of Yan, Wang Chang was recommended by Sima Yi to Cao Rui, and became

806 Wang Chang

a leading general against Wu. In later years he was enfeoffed and made an Excellency.

A man of strong Confucian principles, Wang Chang presented a letter on moral conduct to his sons and nephews, and he compiled treatises on government and military matters. -SGZ 27:743-50*; Fang 52:508-509.

Wang Chang 王常 see Wang Tang 王堂.

Wang Chen 王譔; Jingzhao. XTS 72B:2651 says that Wang Chen was the son of Wang Kang; he presumably inherited the family fief.

Wang Chen 王晨; Taiyuan. Described as the son of an elder brother of Wang Yun, Wang Chen was probably a son of Wang Hong 王宏 I [Changwen 長文].

When Chang'an was stormed in 192 by Li Jue and other officers of the assassinated Dong Zhuo, Wang Yun and many of his family were killed, but Wang Chen and his younger brother Wang Ling managed to escape and went back to their home country. -HHS 66/56:2177, SGZ 28:757.

Wang Cheng 王成; Shanyang. A gentleman recluse in the mid-20s, Wang Cheng refused invitations to office from the restored regime of Han. The Academician Fan Sheng accused him, Zhou Dang and others of insolence and ingratitude, but Emperor Guangwu approved their stance and even rewarded them. -HHS 83/73:2762.

Wang Cheng 王成. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Wang Cheng took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquise in Julu.

After Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Wang Cheng and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. Wang Cheng died a few years later. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Wang Cheng 王成; Hanzhong. A client of Li Gu, in 147 Wang Cheng was entrusted with the care of Li Gu's youngest son Li Xie, to preserve him from the wrath of Liang Ji. He took the boy with him to the east, where Li Xie served in a wine-shop and Wang Cheng told fortunes in the market-place. About 160, after the fall of Liang Ji, they were able to return. When Wang Cheng died, Li Xie mourned him each season, as for a most respected guest. -HHS 63/53:2090, HYGZ 10B: 167, 172.

Wang Cheng 王承. In 192 Ma Teng's troops in Liang province were short of food and Ma Teng brought them close to Chang'an. The local commander Wang Cheng feared Ma Teng was planning against him. He attacked Ma Teng by surprise, defeated him and drove him away. -SGZ Shu 6:945.

Wang Cheng 王盛 see Wang Sheng 王盛.

Wang Chong 王充 [Zhongren 仲任] (27-c.100); Kuaiji. Son of Wang Song, Wang Chong was admired locally for his filial piety. Encouraged to study by his parents, he attended the Imperial University in Luoyang and studied under Ban Biao. His family was not distinguished and he was too poor to buy texts, so he was obliged to read in book-shops, and he resented the general admiration for men of good background who held official rank even when they had no scholarly ability. Though widely learned, he had small interest in the vast and detailed commentaries which were common at that time, but when he observed an imperial visit to the Hall of the Circular Moat he was inspired to compose *Daru lun* 大儒論 "An Essay on Great Confucianism."

Returning to his home country, Wang Chong became a teacher. He was for a time Officer of Merit in his commandery, but was critical and quarrelsome and left that position.

In retirement and seclusion Wang Chong wrote a great number of essays on various philosophical and practical questions, including *Jisu* 讖俗 "On Common Morality" and *Jieyi* 讖義 "Censures" [which Forke interprets as a single work, "Censures on Common Morality"], *Zheng wu* 政務 "On Government," and *Yangxing shu* 養性書 "On Macrobiotics." Seventy or eighty of these pieces were collected into *Lun heng* 論衡 "Discussions" or "Discourses Weighed in the Balance," and the collection was probably extended later, to become an anthology of all Wang Chong's writing. Though chapter numbers vary, it is believed that the present-day text is largely complete.

Wang Chong later became Headquarters Officer to the Inspector Dong Qin, but again resigned. His friend Xie Yiwu recommended his work to the throne, and Emperor Zhang sent him a special summons, but he was ill and did not go. He died at home about 100.

The core of Wang Chong's philosophy was a common-sense scepticism for the metaphysics of official New Text Confucianism, challenging its more exaggerated claims, and insisting upon testing

the historicity of alleged teachings from the past. His arguments are not always logical or fully founded upon evidence, but he rejected, for example, beliefs in the powers of ghosts and spirits, in the authority of shamans, and in the effectiveness of divination. He accepted the concept of man's inter-relationship with the natural world, including aspects of the Five Powers, but he believed that the world operated by spontaneous, natural development, and that individual destiny, *ming* 命, depended upon the strength of vital essence, *qi* 氣, and the accidents of chance. Despite the randomness of his fate, however, an individual can nonetheless be valued for moral conduct, and this was the true value of Confucian doctrine.

In his own time, Wang Chong's teachings were largely ignored, and there was no copy of *Lun heng* at the capital. During his exile to the south in the 180s Cai Yong encountered the work and spoke of it highly, and when Wang Lang returned to the north in 198 he brought a copy with him to the Han court controlled by Cao Cao at Xu city. Thereafter, as the fantasies of the New Text fell into disrepute, Wang Chong's rationalist approach became increasingly popular and influential. -HHS 49/39:1629-30*, XC 2:14a, YSS:14a; Forke 07 & 11, Ebrey 86:633-634, Loewe 86E:698-703, Ch'en 86:780-783, *Texts*:309-312 [Pokora and Loewe].

Wang Chong 王寵; Administrator of Nan commandery, Wang Chong carried out major canal and irrigation works. -SJZ 28:17b.

Wang Chong 王冲; Jianwei. Wang Chong was the suitor of the widowed Lady Cheng Zhenjue *q.v.*

Wang Chou 王稠. Emissary to the Southern Xiongnu in 133, Wang Chou sent one of his officers with the Xiongnu king Fushen on a successful raid of reprisal against the Xianbi beyond the frontiers. -HHS 6:262.

HHS 90/80:2988 also records this incident, but has the name of the Emissary as Zhao Chou 趙稠. It is not possible to determine which name is correct.

Wang Chun 王純 [Shaolin 少林]; Guanghan. As Wang Chun was travelling to study at Luoyang he came to an empty lodging where there was another student, desperately ill. He gave Wang Chun ten catties [24.5 grams] of gold and asked him to care for his corpse, but died before he could give his name. Wang Chun sold one catty to pay for the funeral, hid the rest in the coffin and kept nothing for himself.

Several years later Wang Chun returned home, and the county appointed him chief of a village. The first

day he arrived at his new post a horse came galloping, then stopped in front of him, while the wind blew an embroidered cloth to drop at his feet. Wang Chun reported this, and the county authorities said he should keep the goods.

Soon afterwards, as Wang Chun rode to a neighbouring county, his horse bolted and carried him into the courtyard of a house. The owner was delighted to see the animal again, but accused Wang Chun of having stolen it. Wang Chun told his story, and showed the embroidered cloth, which proved also to have been blown away from that house. The owner asked what power he could have to collect such things, and Wang Chun told the story of the dead student; it turned out he had been the son of the family, named Jin Yan. The young man's body was brought home and the remaining gold was found intact.

The family offered many gifts, but Wang Chun refused all of them. Father Jin was an Attendant Officer, however, and he told the magistrate of Wang Chun's county. Now well known, Wang Chun was appointed Officer of Merit for the commandery, recommended as Abundant Talent by the province, and became a county magistrate in Youfufeng.

As he was travelling to his new position, he stayed at a post-house, which was said to be haunted by a murderous ghost. Wang Chun was not afraid, but he was woken in the night by a woman's voice wailing about her wrongs. He called her to come and explain, but she replied that she had no clothing. So he threw some clothes outside and she then appeared and made her accusation: that her husband, also a magistrate, had been murdered with all his party by the local headman. Wang Chun asked why she killed people herself, and she explained that she tried to tell them about the crime, but they paid no attention and went to sleep, so she got angry. Wang Chun assured her that her complaint would be dealt with, but she must stop killing people. The woman disappeared, leaving only her empty garments.

When Wang Chun questioned the headman, he confessed and implicated his companions in crime. All were executed and the post-house had no more disturbances. -HHS 81/71:2680-81*, HYGZ 10B:148.

Wang Chun 王純 [Bodun 伯敦] (103-161); Dongping. A man of family, Wang Chun's father had been Administrator of Wei commandery. Wang Chun became an Attendant Officer of the province, and in

137 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. After a period of probation as a gentleman cadet he became an Internuncio, then held other offices at court until an Excellency graded him First Class and he joined the Censorate as an Imperial Clerk.

Wang Chun was later an Inspector in Yang, Xu and Ji provinces, but left office for some fault and retired. When he died at the age of fifty-nine, a stele was set up at his tomb with the names of more than two hundred sponsors who described themselves as *mensheng* 門生. -*LS* 7:1a-2b, *LX* 12:18b-21b.

SJZ 8:8a mentions a stele to an Inspector of Ji province named Wang Fen 紛 which was set up on a hill in Dongping in 187. At *LS* 7:2b Hong Kuo notes that Wang Chun's stele was found in Dongping, and suggests that *SJZ* has miswritten 紛 for 純.

Wang Cizhong 王資仲; Shanggu. A noted calligrapher of the mid-second century AD, expert in the official *li shu* 隸書 "Clerical Style," Wang Cizhong is said to have been the inventor of the simplified *kai shu* 楷書, also known as *zheng shu* 正書 or *zhen shu* 真書, the "Standard Script" of the present day. Very little is known of his life. -*SGZ* 1:31, *JS* 36:1064; Ch'en 66:50.

Wang Da 王大; Jingzhao. Wang Da was chieftain of a strong local clan in Xiagui county when, in the autumn of 23, the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent a detachment under Wang Xian to operate north of the Wei River. Taking title as a general in the name of Han, Wang Da went to join Wang Xian, who led his new allies south across the Wei. He gained further troops from other clans and then, as the main Han army halted at Huayin, his irregular forces seized Chang'an, ravaged the city, and killed Wang Mang. -*Dubs* 55:461, *Bn* 54:130. See also Wang Xin.

Wang Dan 王丹 [Zhonghui 仲回]; Jingzhao. During the last years of Former Han, Wang Dan served in the local offices of his commandery and province, but after Wang Mang took power he refused invitations to office. A man of wealthy family, he delighted in charitable works, and would set out wine and delicacies for his field-workers at harvest-time. Widely respected and influential in the community, he was noted for his sense of morality, and he had a strong dislike for the traditional bullying of powerful local families. He criticised the arrogance of his fellow-country-man Chen Zun, Administrator of Henan for Wang Mang,

and refused to deal with him, though he relented and farewelled Chen Zun as he embarked on his mission to the Xiongnu for the Gengshi Emperor.

As Guangwu's commander Deng Yu entered the passes in 25, Wang Dan brought his clan to welcome them and provided grain. Deng Yu recommended him as Administrator of Zuopingyi, but Wang Dan excused himself and left office on grounds of ill health. He returned home, but about 29 he was named Junior Tutor to the Heir Liu Qiang. Anxious to make friends, the Excellency Hou Ba sent his son Yu to welcome him as he came to Luoyang, but Wang Dan was reluctant to be involved with the nephew of a eunuch who had also served the usurper Wang Mang. Other senior ministers showed similar respect to Wang Dan; they were more successful, and Wang Dan became a leading moral figure at court.

Wang Dan was dismissed when one of his nominees for office was convicted of a crime, but he was soon afterwards re-appointed as Senior Tutor to the Heir. His protégé had been too embarrassed to apologise for his fault, but Wang Dan forgave him and treated him as before.

Wang Dan later retired from office; he died at home. -*HHS* 27/17:930-32*.

Wang Dan 王旦. When the Lady Bian, future consort of Cao Cao, was born in 160, a yellow mist filled the chamber. The Lady's father Bian Yuan consulted the diviner Wang Dan, and he foretold an auspicious future for her. -*SGZ* 5:156; *C/C* 99:91, *Mather* 76:342 [where the personal name appears as Yue 越.]

Wang Dan 王澹 see Wang Tan 王澹.

Wang Dang 王當. As Administrator of Runan, Wang Dang maintained an effective government by relying upon good local officials. -*XC* 7:8b.

Wang Dang 王當. About 190 Wang Dang commanded a group of Black Mountain bandits under the leadership of Zhang Yan. -*SGZ* 8:261.

Wang Dao 王道. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Wang Dao took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. Wang Dao was rewarded with a county marquisate in Dong commandery.

After Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Wang Dao and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and

they were permitted to return to the capital. Wang Dao was named a Commandant of Cavalry.

Wang Dao was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -*HHS* 78/68: 2516-18.

Wang [Deyuan] 王得元 (d.100); Xihe. In 100 a stele was erected to mark this man's tomb. -*Nagata* 94:38.

Wang Dian 王典 see sub Wang Zun IV.

Wang Ding 王定 (d.192); Taiyuan. Third son of Wang Yun, when Chang'an was stormed by Li Jue and other officers of the assassinated Dong Zhuo, Wang Ding was executed with his father. -*HHS* 66/56:2177. *Zhonghua* and the *Harvard-Yenching* index interpret Wang Ding and Wang Jing II *q.v.* as brothers, but the *Kyoto* index combines the names to describe one person, Wang Jingding.

Wang Ding 王定; Jiying. About 190 the peasant farmer Wang Ding is said to have found a jade seal with an inscription saying that "Yu is the Son of Heaven" 虞為天子. This was interpreted by Han Fu in a letter to Yuan Shu as support for his proposal that Liu Yu should be offered the imperial title. -*SGZ* 8:241-42.

Wang Du 王度; Yingchuan. Son of Wang Fu, Wang Du succeeded to the family fief in Jiangxia. He married the Princess Liu Zhong, daughter of Emperor Ming, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -*HHS* 10B:460, 20/10:738.

Wang Du 王度. An assistant magistrate in Dong commandery in 184, he joined the Yellow Turbans but was defeated by the local gentleman Cheng Yu. -*SGZ* 14:425.

Wang Duan 王端; Zhao. Eldest son of Wang Bin, when his father died about 195 he succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 10B:452.

Wang Dun 王惇 (d.256). After his conquest of Jing province in 219, Sun Quan confirmed his tribute relationship with Cao Cao, and sent Wang Dun to buy horses in the north.

Wang Dun later became a general, but in 256 he was put to death for conspiracy. -*SGZ* Wu 2:1121; Fang 65:243.

Wang Dun 王惇 see Wang Chun 王惇.

Wang Fan 王汎; Kuaiji. Though Wang Fan was the son of a landowner, early in the first century he made his living as a merchant. He and his sons Meng and

Song were local bullies, and the family was twice forced to move to escape enemies. Wang Fan became the grandfather of Wang Chong. -*Lun heng* 30; Forke 07:64, Ebrey 86:633.

Wang Fang 王魴; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72B:2651 says that Wang Fang was the son of Wang Zun III. He presumably inherited his fief.

Wang Fang 王方; Henan. About 82 Wang Fang was recommended by the magistrate Lu Gong as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright. Emperor Zhang sent a special carriage for him and he became a Palace Attendant. -*HHS* 25/15:875.

Wang Fang 王防 [Wenshi 文始]. As Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Wang Fang was concerned to offer loyal advice on government. He later became Director of Retainers, and in that office he set an example by eating only plain rice. He refused to deal with the leading families of the capital province and he applied the law firmly to the imperial relatives by marriage. No-one dared offend. -*XC* 6:8b-9a; one edition has the surname as Ren 任.

The *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye has no mention of this man, and it is difficult to date him, but if the surname was in fact Ren, then he may have been involved in construction of the Stone Bridge at Luoyang in 135: see sub Ren Fang 任防 of Henan.

Wang Fang 王訪; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Wang Fang was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210, *ZF*:16a [in *SGZ* 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Wang Fang 王方. A former follower of Dong Zhuo, in 192 Wang Fang joined Li Jue and others in the capture of Chang'an. He is not heard of again. -*SGZ* 6:181.

Wang Fen 王芬 (d.188). Inspector of Ji province in 188, Wang Fen led a conspiracy to kidnap Emperor Ling as he came on tour in the north, put another member of the Liu house on the throne, and kill the eunuchs. The plot was discovered and Wang Fen killed himself. -*SGZ* 1:4.

Wang Fen 王紛 see sub Wang Chun 王純.

Wang Feng 王鳳; Jiangxia. There was serious famine

in the region of the middle Yangzi in 20, and many people in the Xinshi district of Jiangxia left their settlements to seek food in the marshlands. This misfortune was very likely a consequence of the disruption from immigrant refugees entering the lands of the middle Yangzi after disastrous flooding of the Yellow River over more than ten years. See *sub* Fan Chong and Bn 54:152.

Wang Feng and Wang Kuang, commoners who were recognised for honest dealing and fair judgement, became leaders of these rootless people. By 21 they had gathered some seven or eight thousand men, and they defeated a provincial army twice their number, capturing baggage and equipment. They stormed a series of county cities, abducted women and retired into the wilderness.

As the insurgents rose in number, the local authorities were quite unable to cope with them, but in 22 there was an outbreak of disease and the bandits made their way north into Nanyang under separate leaders. Wang Kuang and Wang Feng were now associated with Ma Wu, evidently a member of the gentry, and the lesser commander Zhu Wei, and their group was styled the Troops from Xinshi. They attacked a county city in the south of Nanyang, without success, but were then joined by local Troops from Pinglin led by Chen Mu and Liao Zhan.

In the autumn of that year, further to the north, Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, rose in rebellion against Wang Mang, and he sent his kinsman Liu Jia to propose an alliance. This was agreed to, and Liu Bosheng gained substantial reinforcements. As Bielenstein observes, however, the commoner troops whose support Liu Bosheng was compelled to seek would later be responsible for his loss of the leadership of the movement which he had begun. The combined force moved gradually against Wan city, capital of Nanyang, but the rebels were heavily defeated at Xiao-Chang'an, south of Wan, by commandery forces under Wang Mang's officers Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci.

Wang Feng and his colleagues threatened to leave the losing cause, but Liu Bosheng recruited another bandit group, the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, led by Wang Chang, Cheng Dan and Zhang Ang, and the balance of power against Wang Mang's local forces was restored. In the winter at the beginning of 23 the rebels again fought the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu

Ci, and on this occasion they gained complete victory and killed both enemy commanders. A few weeks later they defeated another army, commanded by the generals Zhuang You and Chen Mao, then advanced to besiege Wan city.

At this time, however, in the spring of 23, the leaders of the Troops deposed Liu Bosheng as leader of the rebellion and named Liu Xuan as [the Gengshi] Emperor. Wang Feng was made Supreme Duke Who Perfects the State 成國上公, one of the highest titles in the new regime, and he held joint command of the army which invaded Yingchuan, Runan and Pei. In July he and his fellow-commander Wang Feng held the city of Kunyang in Yingchuan while Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, led troops from outside. On 7 July they gained a decisive victory.

In 24 the Gengshi Emperor named Wang Feng king of a county in Nan commandery; Bielenstein observes that the pattern of enfeoffments at this time reflected a political setback for the former bandit chieftains as against their rivals of the Nanyang gentry. There is no record of Wang Feng in accounts of the disorders which accompanied the breakdown of the Gengshi regime; he presumably died in 24 or 25. -HHS 1A:6-8, 11/1:467-71; Bn 54:75-80, 106-136, Bn 59:16-19, 53, 102.

Wang Feng 王豐. As Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, pursued some groups of bandits into Youbeiping in 25, his troops were defeated. Hard-pressed, he jumped down an embankment, and the light cavalryman Wang Feng gave him his horse. So Liu Xiu got away. -HHS 1:19. [It is possible that Wang Feng survived, and is the same person as the general immediately below.]

Wang Feng 王豐. In 57-58 Wang Feng was General of the Household and second-in-command to Ma Wu in his campaign against the Qiang war-leader Dianyu. -HHS 12:786. [This may be the man in the entry immediately above.]

Wang Fu 王扶; Youfufeng. Wang Fu was chieftain of a strong local clan in Zhouzhi county when, in the autumn of 23, the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties under Wang Xian and Han Chen towards Chang'an. Wang Fu and other local leaders took title as generals in the name of Han and came to attack the capital. While the main Han army was halted at Huayin, these irregular troops ravaged the city and

killed Wang Mang. -Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130.

HHS 17/7:647 refers to a certain Luo Yan as warlord of Zhouzhi county in 27, so it appears Wang Fu may have lost his local position of leadership within a few years.

Wang Fu 王扶 [Ziyuan 子元]; Donglai. As a young man, Wang Fu migrated into Langye, probably to escape the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang; the people of the village where he stayed were inspired by his moral example. The Chancellor Zhang Zong invited him to appointment, and when Wang Fu would not accept he threatened him with force. So Wang Fu returned to his home country, where he was also sought for office, but was able to excuse himself on grounds of ill health. He likewise refused an invitation from Emperor Ming's Grand Tutor Deng Yu.

Then Zhongli Yi of the Imperial Secretariat nominated Wang Fu and other gentlemen aged over seventy who had influence for good in their local communities, and they were summoned to Luoyang as Consultants. When he came to audience Wang Fu bowed respectfully but did not speak. He was nonetheless admired for his upright conduct, and in his "Hymns to the [Men of] Virtue of Han" the imperial kinsman Liu Fu praised him as one of the celebrated ministers of Emperor Ming. -*HHS* 39/29:1297-98*; Vervorn 90:148.

Wang Fu 王符; Yingchuan. Son of Wang Ba, he inherited his marquisate in 59. The fief was later transferred from Xiapi to Jiangxia. -*HHS* 20/10:738.

Wang Fu 王阜 [Shigong 世公]; Shu. A precocious scholar, at the age of eleven Wang Fu wanted to attend the University at Luoyang, and when his parents said he was too young he travelled to Anding to study the New Text Han School of *Poetry*.

Wang Fu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Diwu Lun about 70, and he became a county magistrate in Zuopingyi. A flock of magical *luan* birds 鸞 stayed at his *yamen* for ten days. Wang Fu had his officers play music for them, and they danced and flapped their wings.

In the time of Emperor Zhang Wang Fu served as Administrator of Yizhou commandery, where he constructed schools to reform the local barbarian customs and maintained the peace by personal authority. His work was so successful that four magical horses appeared from the Dian Lake, sweet dew 甘露

fell, and white crows appeared.

About 90 the General-in-Chief Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager for Emperor He, sought to enlist Wang Fu as a client, and presented him with a splendid cloak. Wang Fu, however, refused the gift and later, when Dou Xian's attendant Li Wen came with a request for six million cash, he refused to hand it over until formal approval had been received from the court. -*HHS* 86/76:2847 [as Wang Zhui 追], *DGHJ* 18:5a-b, *HYGZ* 4:49, 10A:133, *XC* 5:6b.

Wang Fu 王符 [Jiexin 節信]; Anding. Born about 90, the son of a concubine, Wang Fu was looked down upon by his neighbours, but he was a man of high moral quality and became a noted scholar. He was a friend of Ma Rong, Dou Zhang, Zhang Heng and Cui Yuan, but he was very out-spoken, took no advantage of any influence and never held office. He may have spent a number of years at Luoyang, but had returned to Anding by 145, where he was treated with respect by the noted general Huangfu Gui. He died about 165.

Wang Fu's *Qianfu lun* 潜夫论 "Comments of a Recluse," probably compiled for the most part in the late 140s and the 150s, is a wide-ranging work on the ills of the day. Wang Fu emphasised the need for personal morality, and he was particularly concerned with the need for honest and impartial administration, carried out by men of personal quality rather than those who had inherited their position, and he argued that even the emperor must recognise public duty above his private wishes. At the same time, however, he did not rely only upon the enforcement of law but looked also for a moral regeneration both in human and cosmic terms.

Three sections of *Qianfu lun* contain graphic descriptions of the great Qiang rebellions of 107-118 and 140-144, which strongly influenced Fan Ye's account in *Hou Han shu*. Wang Fu came from one of the affected regions, he may have experienced the troubles for himself, and he certainly knew people who had. From his point of view, the insensitivity and failure of Han policy in the northwest provided direct examples of the general malaise of the Chinese world. -*HHS* 49/39:1630-43*; Balazs 50, Pearson 89, Ch'en 86:789-794, deC 84:90, 103, *Texts*:12-15 [Ch'en and Pearson].

Wang Fu 王輔. In 93 the Northern Shanyu Yuchujian, who had surrendered to Han, tried to escape from Chinese control and return to the steppe. The Chief

Clerk in Command of Troops Wang Fu and the Emissary Ren Shang were sent after him. They caught the Shanyu and persuaded him to return, but on the road back Yuchujian died, perhaps forcibly. -HHS 89/79:2954; deC 84:275.

Wang Fu 王輔 [Gongzhu 公助]; Dongping. A scholar of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, and of *Xiao jing wei Yuanshen qi* 孝經緯援神契, an apocryphal work associated with the *Book of Filial Piety*, Wang Fu lived in seclusion in the wilderness.

At one time he took office in the capital and was then nominated as Knowing the Way. This entailed the presentation of responses to questions, and following this Wang Fu was appointed a gentleman cadet. He gave advice on portents, and was promoted to Consultant, but left office on account of ill health.

In 121 Wang Fu received a special invitation to office from the government of Emperor An, but he did not accept. -XC 6:6b, HHS 82/72A:2722-23; Vervorn 90:158.

Wang Fu 王輔; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Peng Fei, he died young. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Wang Fu 王輔. In 132 an edict of Emperor Shun noted that unseasonable weather indicated the government was out of balance and the forces of nature disturbed. The Palace Attendant Wang Fu and others were sent with the Staff of Authority to offer sacrifice to the tutelary gods of Mount Tai and the Eastern Sea, and also to the Yellow River, to the Luo, and to the junction of rivers at Rongyang in Henan. -HHS 4:259.

Wang Fu 王福 [Zhongzhao 仲昭]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Wang Fu was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Wang Fu 王阜; Changsha. Magistrate of Qiao county in Pei in the 150s, Wang Fu erected a stele at the tomb temple of the Lady Li 李母, mother of Laozi 老子. This was at a time that the regent Liang family was showing patronage of the sage and had a temple constructed at his attributed birthplace in the neighbouring county of Hu in Chen state: see *sub* Kong Chou. -SJZ 23:5b.

Wang Fu 王甫/輔 or Wang Pu 輔 (d.179); Chenliu. A eunuch, at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167 Wang Fu was in charge of interrogations. He was then appointed to the Changle apartments of the Dowager Dou.

As Dou Wu prepared to destroy the eunuchs in 168 he had his associates Yin Xun and Shan Bing

torture Zheng Li until he implicated Wang Fu and Cao Jie, then sent in a report calling for their arrest. In a counter-coup, however, Cao Jie forced the Secretariat to appoint Wang Fu Prefect of the Yellow Gates and give him a warrant to arrest Yin Xun and Shan Bing. Wang Fu killed them both and then accompanied Zheng Li to seize the Dowager's seal. He sent officers to take control of the Southern Palace, and closed the Covered Way which linked the two compounds. Chen Fan led a small group into the Northern Palace but he was swiftly captured, and Wang Fu and Zheng Li now led a thousand palace guards to join Zhang Huan and Zhou Jing against Dou Wu and the Northern Army. Through Zhang Huan's prestige, Dou Wu's troops were persuaded to change sides.

As the eunuchs confirmed control, Wang Fu was promoted to Regular Attendant while still acting as Prefect of the Yellow Gates, and he thereafter held a leading role in government as a close ally of Cao Jie. His relatives and clients spread their influence through the empire, and Wang Fu and his associates were notorious for corruption and cruelty.

Liu Kui, King of Bohai and brother of the late Emperor Huan, refused to pay a bribe he had promised, so in 172 Wang Fu and Cao Jie had him accused of plotting rebellion. Liu Kui was executed and Wang Fu and eleven others were rewarded with enfeoffment.

In 177, as a favour to Tian Yan, Wang Fu urged his plan for a great attack on the Xianbi. The expedition was a disastrous failure.

In 178, fearing that the Empress Song might be resentful of his role in destroying Liu Hui, for her aunt had been a concubine of the late king, Wang Fu accused her of witchcraft. She was imprisoned and died.

When Yang Qiu became Director of Retainers in 179, he immediately accused Wang Fu and his colleagues of corruption. Wang Fu was arrested with his family as he was on holiday at his estates, and he and his associates died under the bastinado. His body was exposed by a gate of the capital, while his wife and surviving family were exiled to the far south. -HHS 78/68:2524-26, 77/67:2499-2500.

Wang Fu 王服 [Zifu 子服?] (d.200). A lieutenant-general at Xu city, in 199 he joined Dong Cheng's conspiracy against Cao Cao. In 200 the plot was discovered and Wang Fu and his family were destroyed. -HHS 72/62:2343.

SGZ Shu 2:875 and *HYGZ* 6:79 refer to the general Wang Zifu 王子服 as one of the conspirators. This is probably the same man; the character *zi* may be a mistaken addition, or Zifu was Wang Fu's style.

Wang Fu 王甫 [Guoshan 國山] (d.222); Guanghan. Skilled at debate, Wang Fu was a clerical officer under Liu Zhang. When Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he appointed him a county magistrate, and Wang Fu later served as a consultant in Jing province. He was killed in the defeat of Liu Bei's expedition against Wu. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1086.

Wang Gai 王蓋 (d.192); Taiyuan. Eldest son of Wang Yun, he became Palace Attendant in his regime at Chang'an. When the city was stormed by Li Jue and other officers of the assassinated Dong Zhuo, Wang Gai died with his father. -*HHS* 66/56:2177.

Wang Gao 王皋; Youfufeng. An officer under the county magistrate Cao Quan, in the mid-180s Wang Gao distributed medicine and clothing to the poor, and in 185 he joined in sponsorship of a stele in his honour -*JSCB* 18:3b; Ebrey 80:342-344.

Wang Gong 王龔 [Bozong 伯宗]; Shanyang. Member of a family which had held local position for several generations, Wang Gong received commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, and later became Inspector of Qing province. When he sent in reports on several heads of commandery units who were themselves greedy and corrupt, Emperor An was impressed, and called Wang Gong to join the Secretariat at the capital.

In 121 Wang Gong was appointed Director of Retainers. He kept good order at the capital, and in the following year he became Administrator of the great commandery of Runan. He governed humanely and agreeably, paying attention to nominating men of quality for office, including Chen Fan the future leader of reform. It is said that he also attempted to contact the worthy recluse Huang Xian, but without success; Huang Xian, however, was born only about 118, so the story appears improbable.

In 126 Wang Gong was called to the capital as Minister Coachman and soon afterwards became Minister of Ceremonies. In 128 he was sent with the Staff of Authority to make offerings at Maoling, the tomb of Emperor Wu of Former Han which had been damaged by fire.

In 129 Wang Fu was appointed Excellency of Works. He left office in 133, after an earthquake in the

capital district, but in 136 he returned to Excellency rank as Grand Commandant. In high office, Wang Gong was respectful and cautious. He did not deal with the minutiae of administration, but he sought to have the best men appointed to office, and he was increasingly worried about the growth of eunuch influence in government. He presented several memorials on this, and the eunuchs were so concerned they had several of their clients lay charges against him. His former subordinate Li Gu, now a senior assistant to the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, persuaded him to speak to Emperor Shun, and the matter was resolved. [*XHS*, however, says that Wang Gong had to be dissuaded from attacking the powerful eunuch Zhang Fang 張昉.]

In 140 Wang Gong retired from office on grounds of ill health. He died at home. -*HHS* 56/46:1819-21*, *XC* 3:7a, *XHS* 4:6a.

SGZ 21:597 PC quotes the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan, which says that when Wang Gong's wife died, he and his children all bore staffs to the funeral. About the same time, Xue Qin treated the funeral of his wife in a more stoic, and classically Taoist, fashion. Ying Shao and others considered both approaches excessive: *FSTY* 3:22.

Wang Gong 王恭 [Jigong 季公]; Nanyang. A gentleman cadet, in 156 Wang Gong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16b.

Wang Gua 王鵠; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72B:2651 says that Wang Gua was a son of Wang Chen; he probably inherited the family fief.

Wang Guan 王灌 see Wang Huo 王獲/獲.

Wang Guan 王觀 [Weitai 偉壺]; Dong. Orphaned and poor when he was young, Wang Guan was nonetheless a man of energy and ambition. About 210 he became a literary adviser on Cao Cao's staff as Imperial Chancellor, then served as magistrate in several counties.

When Cao Pi took the imperial throne in 220 Wang Guan was appointed to the Secretariat, and he later became a commandery Administrator and held high office at the capital. A supporter of Sima Yi and his family, Wang Guan was enfeoffed and named an Excellency. He retired and died at home about 260. -*SGZ* 24:693-94*.

Wang Guang 王廣; Shu. Son of Wang Hao, he escaped the slaughter of his family by Gongsun Shu

and took refuge in the wilderness. Under the reign of Emperor Guangwu he was nominated several times for office, but refused each time, explaining that since he had been unable to avenge his father's death he had no right to worldly glory. He was admired for his high sense of honour. -HYGZ 12:215.

Wang Guang 王廣; Yingchuan. Son of Wang Chang, he succeeded to his father's marquisate in Pei in 36. In 54 the fief was transferred to a county in Danyang. In 71 Wang Guang was implicated in the disgrace of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and was stripped of his fief. -HHS 15/5:582.

Wang Gui 王瓌 (d.190). A colonel in the Northern Army, in 190 Wang Gui was sent by Dong Zhuo on embassy to make peace with the eastern alliance. On orders from Yuan Shao, however, the Administrator of Henei Wang Kuang killed Wang Gui and his colleagues. -HHS 9:370, 74/64A:2376, SGZ 6:192.

Wang Guo 王國; Jingzhao. A eunuch, Wang Guo was a member of the household of the regent Dowager Yan, but in 125 he joined Sun Cheng in conspiracy to overthrow the Yan family and restore Liu Bao, son and former Heir of the late Emperor An, to the succession. The coup was successful and Wang Guo was rewarded with a county marquisate in Nanyang.

After Sun Cheng had forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Wang Guo and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. Wang Guo died a few years later. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Wang Guo 王國 (d.189); Hanyang. Probably a former officer in Liang province, Wang Guo became leader of the local rebels after the assassination of the Inspector Geng Bi in 187. Taking title as a general, he raided Hanyang, and at the end of 188 he embarked on a major attack against Chencang in Youfufeng. The court sent an army under Huangfu Song with Dong Zhuo to oppose the invasion, and in the spring of 189 the rebels abandoned the siege. Following up, the imperial forces won a series of engagements, and Wang Guo was deposed and presumably killed by his own men. The *Xiandi chunqiu* by Yuan Ye of the third century refers to Wang Guo among leaders of the rebellion as early as 184, but his native Hanyang was not affected, and he does not appear prominently until a few years later. He may even have been in the service of Geng Bi at the time of the mutiny. -HHS 58/48:1877-78, 72/62:

2321; Haloun 49/50, deC 84:152-161; and see *sub* Han Sui.

Wang Guo 王國; Dongping. About 205 Wang Guo and Xue Ti were appointed as senior clerical officers on Cao Cao's staff in Ji province. They became known for their loyalty and honesty. -SGZ 22:645.

Wang Hai 王海 (d.213); Yuzhang. A leader of bandits in the east of Poyang, he was destroyed by He Qi in 213. -SGZ Wu 15:1379.

Wang Han 王漢; Zuopingyi. In 179 the private scholar Wang Han presented a book on lunar eclipses to the throne. His work was reviewed by the Court Astronomer Xiu and again, on orders from the Imperial Secretariat, by the officer Liu Hong. Both men rejected it as valueless, and Wang Han was sent home. -HHS 92/2:3042-43.

Wang Hao 王皓 [Zili 子離]; Shu. A county magistrate in Youfufeng during the reign of Emperor Ping, after Wang Mang took the throne in 9 AD Wang Hao left his office and returned home.

When Gongsun Shu claimed the imperial title in 25 he sent messengers to summon Wang Hao and his fellow-countryman Wang Jia. Concerned they might not obey, he had their families arrested. Wang Hao, however, replied that even dogs and horses can recognise their master, and this was still more true of men. He killed himself and had his head sent to Gongsun Shu's messenger.

Gongsun Shu, furious, had Wang Hao's family killed, though his son Wang Guang managed to escape. Wang Jia then followed Wang Hao's example. -HHS 81/71:2670, HYGZ 10A:138; Vervoor 90:142.

Wang He 王和, the Lady; Guanghan. Widow of Bian Jing, who died young, she lived most virtuously, caring for his children and kinfolk. He Yu of Shu sent a go-between to ask that she marry him, and her elder brother Zhu accepted the distinguished connection on her behalf. The Lady, however, cut off one of her ears, to disfigure and disqualify herself. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Wang Hei 王黑 also as Wang Yi 異; Taiyuan. Wang Hei was a grandson of Wang Yun. After the imperial court had come to Xu city in 196, Emperor Xian awarded him a village marquisate in recognition of his grandfather's loyalty. -HHS 66/56:2178.

Wang Heng 王衡 (d.138); Wu. When Wang Heng was Administrator of Wu in 138, there was a mutiny led by the non-Chinese [Yue 越] brothers Yang Zhen and Yang Ye. Wang Heng defended his *yamen*, then

defeated the rebels and killed their ringleaders. -HHS 6:267, 101/11:3245.

Wang Heping 王和平; Beihai. A practitioner of magical arts, with ambition to become an immortal 仙, Wang Heping travelled to the capital, Luoyang, about 180, but was taken ill there and died. As his follower Sun Yong carried out his funerary rites, he buried also more than a hundred manuscripts and a quantity of medicines. Wang Heping's disciple Xia Rong later claimed that Wang Heping had arranged a false death 尸解, a device to reach the world of the immortals; Sun Yong then regretted that he had neither read the texts nor taken the potions for his own use. -HHS 82/72B:2751*, SGZ 29:805; Ngo 76:146-147, DeWoskin 83:88-89.

Wang Hong 王閼. Son of Wang Tan 譚, an uncle of Wang Mang, Wang Hong was a Regular Attendant under Emperor Ai of Former Han. When the emperor died in 1 BC Wang Hong forced the eunuch and former favourite Dong Xian 董賢 to hand over the imperial seal which he had been given by the late ruler. As Wang Mang took power, he was distrustful of Wang Hong, and sent him out to Yan province.

In fear for his life, Wang Hong took no role in general politics but maintained his territory intact, and when Wang Mang was destroyed in 23 he acceded to and was accepted by the new regime of the Gengshi Emperor.

Wang Hong was named Administrator of Langye, but the local leader Zhang Bu kept him out. Issuing a summons to raise troops, Wang Hong managed to occupy some territory in the south of the commandery, but when he sought to move directly against Zhang Bu he was defeated.

In 24, as Liu Yong in Liang made contact with Zhang Bu, Wang Hong was surrounded. Making personal contact with Zhang Bu, with a fine defiant speech recorded by the history, he was treated with respect and accepted as Administrator; in practice, he was now under the warlord's control.

After the defeat and death of Liu Yong in 27, Zhang Bu considered recognising his son Liu Yu, but Wang Hong dissuaded him. As Zhang Bu surrendered to the forces of Guangwu in 29, Wang Hong also submitted. He is not mentioned again. -HHS 12/2:498-500; Bn 59:36, 58-59, 139, QHX:524.

Wang Hong 王閼 (d.30); Lelang. Wang Hong was a distant descendant of Wang Zhong 仲, a scholar of

natural phenomena from Langye, who was consulted by the rival Lü and Liu families in the early second century BC, but took refuge from the troubles in Lelang, which was then beyond the frontier [QHX:566]. The family evidently maintained local authority and in the early 20s Wang Hong was Thrice Venerable of the commandery.

About 25 the local leader Wang Tiao killed the Administrator appointed by the Gengshi Emperor and took his title, but in 30 Emperor Guangwu named his own officer Wang Zun as Administrator of Lelang, and sent him to attack Wang Tiao. While he was still in Liaodong, however, Wang Hong and the local officer Yang Yi killed Wang Tiao and welcomed the Han forces.

The successful conspirators were named as marquises, but Wang Hong refused the honour. Guangwu was impressed and called him to court, but he became ill and died while on the road. -HHS 76/66: 2464.

Wang Hong 王弘. In the summer of 107, as the imperial government decided that the difficulties and costs of maintaining a position in the Western Regions had become too great, orders were sent to abolish the office of Protector-General and recall all Chinese colonists. Wang Hong was sent as Commandant of Cavalry with recruits from within the passes to escort the settlers back into Han territory, together with the troops commanded by Liang Qin and other officers of the region.

Besides his Chinese troops, Wang Hong was also ordered to impress several hundred Qiang horse-men and other non-Chinese from Jincheng and neighbouring commanderies. The number raised was just a few hundred, and the men were called up only for the current emergency, but the recruitment was hasty and the conscripts evidently believed they faced long-term exile. Added to an earlier levy by Liang Qin, and with Chinese weakness shown by the withdrawal, they were resentful and unruly, and as they came to Jiuquan the men mutinied and deserted.

This uprising marked the beginning of the great East Qiang rebellion, and it is probable that Wang Hong was one of the earliest victims. -HHS 47/37:1592, 87/77:2886; deC 84:90-91.

Wang Hong 王閼 [Gongxuan 公選]; Wu. A local officer when he was young, Wang Hong was recognised for his generous nature and his honesty. He was later

Inspector of Ji province, known for its powerful families and fierce people. Wang Hong maintained firm government, refused to accept pressure from the local leaders, and was known as a man who kept to himself.

On one occasion Wang Hong was crossing the estuary of the Qiantang River by present-day Hangzhou when a fierce storm blew up and the boat was in danger of capsizing. Throwing his sword into the river, Wang Hong called on the legendary hero Wu Zixu 伍子胥. The wind abated and he was able to complete the crossing. -XC 8:3a.

Wang Hong 王宏 I [Changwen 長文] (d.192); Taiyuan. Elder brother of Wang Yun, Wang Hong was sponsored by his fellow-countryman Guo Tai, known for his judgement of character, and became well-known and respected. As Inspector of Ji province he dealt firmly with powerful local families, and as Administrator of Hongnong he killed several wealthy eunuch associates who were causing trouble.

In 192 Wang Hong and Song Yi were Administrators respectively of Zuopingyi and Youfufeng under the regime of Wang Yun at Chang'an. When Li Jue and other officers of Dong Zhuo seized the capital soon afterwards, they were concerned that Wang Hong and Song Yi posed a threat, and so they called them in. Wang Hong wanted to combine the forces of the two commanderies to oppose the new regime, but Song Yi would not agree. So both men obeyed the summons, and Li Jue had them killed with Wang Yun and his family. As Wang Hong came to execution, he cursed Song Yi for a useless book-worm. -HHS 66/56:2177, 68/58:2227: see also, however, *sub* Wang Hong II below.

Wang Hong 王宏 II; Taiyuan. The biography of Wang Xuanmo 王玄謨, an official of the Song dynasty in the fifth century AD, says that he was the descendant of Wang Hong, who was Administrator of Hedong and had been enfeoffed as a marquis. This Wang Hong was a nephew or junior cousin of the Excellency Wang Yun [described as his 從叔], and when Wang Yun was destroyed in 192 Wang Hong left his office and went to live in the north. He became Administrator of Yanmen and then of Xinxing, a new commandery set up by Cao Cao in 215 to replace the northern administrations of Yunzhong, Dingxiang, Wuyuan and Shuofang. -SS 76: 1973.

If the lineage given in *Song shu* is reliable, then the

potential identification of Wang Hong I above as an elder brother of Wang Yun cannot be correct, for Wang Hong II would be a son, a nephew or a close cousin of Wang Hong I, and two such kinsmen should not have the same personal name. There are a number of ways in which the records could have been confused or miswritten, but there is insufficient information to sort the matter out.

Wang Hong 王肱. In 190 Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province killed his old enemy Qiao Mao the Administrator of Dong commandery. He named Wang Hong to replace him, but Wang Hong proved unable to deal with the many bandit groups of the region. In the following year Yuan Shao, Governor of Ji province and leader of the loyal alliance, ordered that Cao Cao, who had achieved substantial success against the insurgents, should take his place. -SGZ 1:8.

Wang Hong 王宏 [Zhengzong 正宗]; Shanyang. Son of Wang Ye and an elder brother of Wang Bi 弼, Wang Hong was Director of Retainers under Wei. -SGZ 28: 796.

Wang Hu 王護. In 30 Wang Hu was Director of the Imperial Secretariat when the local official Feng Yan sent in a memorial proposing reforms. Emperor Guangwu wanted to see him, but Feng Yan's enemy Linghu Lue told Wang Hu and his officer Zhousheng Feng that Feng Yan would slander them. They therefore prevented the audience from taking place. -HHS 28/18A:977.

Wang Huai 王懷. About 170 Wang Huai was Administrator of Yingchuan. When the scholar Xu Jing, member of a leading local family, died, Wang Huai granted him posthumous title as Master of Profound Conduct 玄行先生 [*cf.* also *sub* Qiu Zhen. -HHSJJ 62/52:2226 Hui Dong citing the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi.

Wang Huan 王渙 [Zhizi 稚子] (d.105); Guanghan. Son of Wang Shun, Wang Huan was a troublemaker when he was young, but he later changed his conduct and became a conscientious scholar, with particular interest in the *Classic of History* and in legal matters. As Officer of Merit to the Administrator Chen Chong, he was one of his close assistants in pacifying the commandery, and when Chen Chong was called to the capital as a minister in 92, he recommended him to Emperor He.

Nominated Abundant Talent by the province, Wang Huan served three years as a magistrate in

Henei, where he restored good order with a firm hand: it is claimed that people were able to sleep with their doors open and cattle could be left to graze in the open country. He then became Inspector of Yan province, where he again kept strong control, but was dismissed for making a wrongful arrest. After a year out of office he returned as an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate.

In 103 Wang Huan accompanied the emperor on tour to the south, and on return he was appointed Prefect of Luoyang, where he gained great influence and was admired for the manner in which he supported the weak against the strong, and exposed and punished hidden wrongs. When he took ill and died two years later, all number of people paid him honour, and as his funeral cortège travelled west through Hongnong, traders came to pay their respects because he had ended the corruption and theft they used to encounter when sending grain to the capital.

In 108 the regent Dowager Deng issued an edict to honour Wang Huan and appoint his son as a gentleman cadet. A temple was established for him, and when Emperor Huan gave orders in 165 that such local worship should be ended Wang Huan's shrine was specifically exempted. Fan Ye classified Wang Huan as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66:2468-70*, XHS 5:9a, HYGZ 10B:145; Loewe 86C:304.

Fragments of the inscription from Wang Huan's shrine are at Xindu 新都, near Chengdu in present-day Sichuan. -LS 13:1b-2a, 22:8b-9a, Nagata 94:42.

Wang Huan 王奐 [Zichang 子昌 or Zibing 子炳]; Henei. Expert in the Confucian classics, Wang Huan was an early friend and model to Fan Dan, though Fan Dan later quarrelled with him.

As a county magistrate in Chenliu, Wang Huan ruled firmly, but he admired the village headman Qiu Lan for the manner in which he reformed the unfilial son Chen Yuan without applying punishment. He appointed Qiu Lan to his staff and arranged for him to attend the Imperial University at Luoyang.

Wang Huan later became Administrator of Hanyang, then returned to Luoyang as a Consultant. He died in that office. -HHS 81/71:2689, 76/66:2480, XC 5:5a, 8:4a.

Wang Hui 王誨 [Mengjian 孟堅]; Donglai. In 134 Wang Hui was sent as Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River, to take charge of a major project to dredge and reconstruct the channel of the River and its tributaries, including the Vast Canal near Rongyang

in Henan. The work was extremely expensive, and was carried out with contributions of cash and corvée labour from commanderies along the course of the River. Before it was finished, Wang Hui was transferred to be Inspector of Yan province, and the work was brought to completion by his successor Sima Deng. -SJZ 7:8a-9a.

Wang Hui 王暉 [Bozhao 伯昭] (d.211); Dependent State of Shu commandery. Formerly a Reporting Officer, in the year after his death Wang Hui was remembered with a stele. -Nagata 94:264.

Wang Huiyang 王惠陽; Dongping. A man of leading local family, Wang Huiyang was a close friend of Huang Lang, who came from poor background but had travelled to educate himself. Wang Huiyang treated Huang Lang's mother with the same courtesy as if she were his own.

Wang Huiyang became Administrator of Jiuzhen under Wei. -SGZ 23:676.

Wang Huo 王濩/獲 or Wang Guan 灌; Guanghan. A younger brother of the scholar Wang You, after Wang You's death he gathered his writings to compile the *Wangzi* 王子 book in five *pian*. -HYGZ 10B:144.

Wang Ji 王紀, the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Wang Tang, she married an official. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Wang Ji 王姬, the Lady; Ba. Widow of Wang Yuankui, who died when she was young, the Lady refused to marry again. As Qiang raiders attacked her homeland about 110, she was afraid they would take her chastity. With the Lady Ma Yi and the Lady Zhao Hua, two women in the same situation, she leapt into the Han River and drowned herself. They were celebrated as the Three Virtuous Women 三貞. -HYGZ 1:4.

Wang Ji 王冀. Inspector of Yi province, Wang Ji laid false charges against the Administrator of Shu, but was defied by the Officer of Merit Zhu Pu. -HYGZ 10A: 137.

Wang Ji 王吉. As Emperor Ming was on one of his tours to the east of the empire, a crow flew down and perched on his carriage. The guardsman Wang Ji shot it, then claimed that the omen promised the sovereign ten thousand years, while he would become a minister. The emperor gave him twenty thousand cash, and ordered that pictures of the crow should be painted on walls in the locality. -FSTY 2f:97. This may be the same man as immediately below.

Wang Ji 王吉; Langye. JS 33:987 says that Wang Ji, who became a Counsellor Remonstrant, was an

ancestor of Wang Xiang and Wang Lan. This may be the same man as in the entry above.

Wang Ji 王吉 (d.179); Chenliu. Adopted son of the eunuch Wang Fu, Wang Ji had a good education but was cruel and corrupt. When just over twenty he became Chancellor of Pei, where he encouraged informers, dug up old cases and readily punished members of a wrong-doer's family. In the space of five years he carried out ten thousand executions, and he took particular pleasure in sending the bodies of those killed around the counties: even as the flesh rotted away, he tied up the skeletons and maintained the grisly cortège.

In 179 Wang Ji and his father were impeached by Yang Qiu the Director of Retainers. They were arrested and beaten to death in prison. [Both Wang Ji and his nemesis Yang Qiu are classified by Fan Ye as Stern Officials 酷吏.] -HHS 77/67:2501*, 78/68:2526.

Wang Ji 王基 [Boyu 伯輿 or Boxing 伯興] (190-261); Donglai. Wang Ji lost his father when he was young, and was brought up by his uncle Wang Weng. They were noted for the care with which Wang Weng treated his nephew, and the filial respect which Wang Ji showed in return.

In 206, at the age of seventeen, Wang Ji was called to local office in the commandery, but he left because he disapproved of the administration. He travelled to Xu province to study, and attended the private academy of Zheng Xuan.

In the time of Cao Pi, Wang Ji came to office at the capital. He served in the imperial library, but later became a leading general and an Area Commander against Wu. He compiled *Shiyao lun* 時要論 "Essay on the Needs of the Time," dealing with contemporary politics. -SGZ 27:750-56*.

Wang Jia 王嘉 [Gongqing 公卿]; Shu. Wang Jia became a gentleman cadet at the court of Emperor Ping, but left his office after Wang Mang took the throne in 9 AD.

When Gongsun Shu claimed the imperial title in 25 he sent messengers to summon Wang Jia and his elder fellow-countryman Wang Hao. Concerned they might not obey, moreover, he had their families arrested. Wang Hao committed suicide, and Gongsun Shu had his family killed.

When Wang Jia heard of this, he expressed regret only that he had not been the first to show his sense of honour in such a way. Following Wang Hao's example,

he killed himself in front of the messenger. His family was also slain. -HHS 81/71:2670, HYGZ 10A:138; Vervorn 90:142.

Wang Jia 王甲; Taiyuan. HHSJJ 84/74:3066 Shen Qinhan cites an inscription referring to Wang Jia as a grandson of Wang Ba *q.v.*

Wang Jianshi 王堅石 (d.71); Yuyang. Son of Wang Yu, he succeeded to his father's marquisate. Later, however, he was involved through his younger brother Wang Ping in the alleged conspiracy of Liu Ying, King of Chu. Wang Jianshi was publicly executed, and the fief was abolished. -HHS 22/12:776.

Wang [Jicai] 王季才. Son of Wang Xing, Wang Jicai was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25 with a marquisate in Zhongshan. -SJZ 11:1b.

Wang Jie 王捷; (d.32); Tianshui/Hanyang. In 25, as Wei Ao re-established himself in Tianshui after his return from Chang'an, he appointed Wang Jie as a chief general. Later Wang Jie and Wang Yuan advised Wei Ao against too firm a commitment to Emperor Guangwu.

In 32 the imperial general Wu Han laid siege to Wei Ao at Xi city, in the south of Longxi, and the defenders were in desperate straits. Wang Jie climbed a wall of the fortifications and shouted to the Han troops, "King Wei's men will hold to the death, and would rather die than betray him. You should end your attack at once. I kill myself as a sign of fidelity." He then cut his own throat. -HHS 13/3:522-30.

Wang Jie 王戒 [Wenbao 文寶]; Hanzhong. A staff officer to the Administrator Wang Sheng in 148, Wang Jie was associated with a stele celebrating the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges, and honouring his master's fellow-countryman Yang Huan, who had urged its repair. -LS 4:5a.

Wang Jin 王金; Guiyang. Leader of bandits on the borders of Nanhai about 220, he was later defeated and captured by Lü Dai the Inspector of Jiao province and sent to Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 15:1384.

Wang Jing 王景 [Zhongtong 仲通]; Lelang. Son of Wang Hong, Wang Jing studied the *Book of Changes* when he was young, and he also acquired knowledge of other classics, became skilled in astronomy, in divination by numbers, and in practical engineering. During the 60s he was appointed to the offices of the Excellency Fu Gong, and on account of his ability in water control he was ordered by Emperor Ming to assist Wang Wu in repairing the Junyi Trench in Chenliu,

part of the Vast Canal complex. Wang Wu used Wang Jing's plans, notably the technique of holding back water behind sluice gates 水門, then releasing it to scour out the channel 塹流法: Needham 71:229. The danger of flooding in that region was ended.

In 69 the court resolved to carry out repairs at Rongyang in Henan, the centre of the Vast Canal system, where the Yellow River joined the Bian River and other waterways to the east and south. Wang Jing was called in and presented most thorough plans, and in the summer Wang Wu was given charge of the project, with a labour force of several hundred thousand men. One year later Emperor Ming came in person to inspect the completed works at Rongyang and issued a commemorative edict.

As Bielenstein has observed, the work at Rongyang restricted the flow of water from the Yellow River into the southern canals and restored the main stream to its former eastern course, entering the sea at the north of the Shandong peninsula. From the time the dyke system broke down at the end of Former Han, sixty years earlier, much of the flow of the Yellow River had gone southwards, along the canals to the Huai and to the sea south of Shandong. The floods which resulted had been massive and erratic, but the energies of the imperial government had been concentrated on the struggle for unification and war on the northern frontier, and it was not until the 60s that resources were found to tackle the problem.

The immediate work at Rongyang was essential, so that, as the edict says, "the Yellow River and the Bian have been separated and flow once more in their old beds," but the commission had required the course of the Yellow River to be controlled as far as the sea. The full project thus extended over five hundred kilometres, with sluice gates to control the flow every ten *li*, and may well have taken more than twelve months. Though we are told that Wang Jing worked very economically, the cost was still enormous, but when the work was done the danger of flooding on the North China plain was largely ended. Wang Wu and his senior assistants were awarded one grade of noble rank – not such a generous grant as one might have expected, considering the scale and value of the work – while Wang Jing became well known.

After some intermediate posts, Wang Jing became an Imperial Clerk, and he accompanied an imperial tour eastwards to Dongping in 73. Admiring how the

construction had been carried out and was continuing to be effective, Emperor Ming named Wang Jing as Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River and awarded him a carriage and horses, silk and cash. It appears that he remained in charge of the work for another nine years, possibly as successor to Wang Wu.

In 82 Wang Jing was appointed Inspector of Xu province. Many years before, the literary Du Du had written *Lundu fu* 論都賦 "Rhapsody on the Capitals," urging that the court should return to Chang'an. Wang Jing now composed *Jinren lun* 金人論 "Discussion by the Metal Men," which replied to Du Du's work with eloquent praise for the qualities of Luoyang [the Metal Men were presumably the Bronze Men 銅人, statues which had been cast by the First Emperor of Qin and set up at Chang'an: e.g. Knechtges 82:120, deC 96:54]. The debate appears as a fore-runner of the great paired works by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng.

In 83 Wang Jing was appointed Administrator of Lujiang, where he reconstructed the irrigation system about the Shaobei lake. He established firm and clear regulations, while it is said that he also taught the native people the art of ploughing with oxen, encouraged the production of silk, and had instructions posted in every village. The region became vastly more productive and it was no doubt on account of this civilising and colonising work that Fan Ye classified Wang Jing as a Benevolent Official 循吏.

Wang Jing died in office, presumably in the second half of the 80s. Besides his practical work, he had also maintained his early interest in prognostications: his *Dayan xuanji* 大衍玄基 sought to reconcile some inconsistencies in this field. -HHS 76/66:2464-66*; Bn 54:147-150, Needham 71:229, 270, 281, 346, Demiéville 86:681.

Wang Jing 王敬 (d.152). In 151 the Chinese Chief Clerk for the Western Regions Zhao Ping died at Yutian [Khotan], and King Chengguo of neighbouring Jumi claimed King Jian of Yutian had poisoned him.

As he went to replace Zhao Ping, Wang Jing was briefed on this story, and it was repeated by King Chengguo. Eager to establish his authority, as soon as Wang Jing reached Yutian he invited Jian to a feast, then attempted to arrest him for investigation. Before this could be done, however, Chengguo's senior secretary Qinmu, who was present at the gathering, came forward and killed the king.

As the local leader Shubo gathered troops to attack, Wang Jing took Jian's head to the top of a tower and proclaimed that the killing had been by order of the emperor. This did not improve the situation: Shubo and his men set fire to the *yamen*, numbers of Chinese officers died and Wang Jing was killed. His head was displayed in the market-place. -HHS 88/78:2916.

Wang Jing 王景 (d.192); Taiyuan. Second son of Wang Yun, after Chang'an was stormed by Li Jue and other officers of the assassinated Dong Zhuo, Wang Jing was executed with his father. -HHS 66/56:2177. The Zhonghua edition and the Harvard-Yenching index interpret Wang Jing and Wang Ding *qq.v.* as brothers, but the Kyoto index combines the names to describe one person, Wang Jingding.

Wang Jing 王景; Jingzhao. XTS 72B:2651 says that Wang Jing was a grandson of Wang Fang, but not by his chief lineage through his son Wang Fang.

Wang Jingding 王景定; Taiyuan: see Wang Jing 王景 and Wang Ding 王定.

Wang [Jiran] 王季然; Xihe. Sponsored by Guo Tai, Wang Jiran became well known and respected, and was later Administrator of Beidi. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Wang [Jiuzhen] 王九真; Jiuzhen? During the last years of Han, Wang [of?] Jiuzhen was known as an expert player of "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese *Go*]. -SGZ 1:54.

Wang Jun 王俊. When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was faced with the Bronze Horse bandits on the north China plain in 24, Wang Jun recommended he send a screen of light horsemen ahead of the enemy, to have the people hide away their goods and defend themselves. Liu Xiu had Wang Jun carry out his plan, the scorched earth policy was completely successful, and the enemy were compelled to scatter and were defeated in detail.

Liu Xiu gave high praise to Wang Jun, but there is no further mention of him in the histories. -XHS 5: 18a.

Wang Jun 王均; Jingzhao. XTS 72B:2651 says that Wang Jun was a son of Wang Jing.

Wang Jun 王儁 [Ziwen 子文]; Runan. Born about 140, Wang Jun was a friend of Fan Pan and Cen Zhi, and a close confidant of the younger Cao Cao. He consistently refused invitations to office, but during the 190s he took refuge in the isolated commandery of Wuling and became the leader of some hundred families. He refused invitations from Liu Biao and

also from the imperial court controlled by Cao Cao, but he advised Liu Biao against his alliance with Yuan Shao.

Wang Jun died in the early 200s, at the age of sixty-four. Cao Cao mourned him, and after he took Jing province in 208 he moved his tomb and honoured him as one of the worthy men of the time. -SGZ 1:31.

Wang Jun 王恂 see Wang Chun 王惇.

Wang [Jungong] 王君公 see Wang Zun 王遵 I.

Wang Kai 王凱; Shanyang. An elder cousin of Wang Can, Wang Kai went with him to Jing province in 193. The warlord Governor Liu Biao intended to give his daughter in marriage to Wang Can, but disapproved of his poor appearance and conduct, so he married the girl to Wang Kai. -SGZ 28:796.

Wang Kai 王楷. A staff officer under Cao Cao in 194, Wang Kai joined the conspiracy of Zhang Miao and Chen Gong which invited Lü Bu to seize Yan province, and he then served Lü Bu.

In 198, as Lü Bu was besieged by Cao Cao in Xiapi, Wang Kai was sent to seek aid from Yuan Shu. -SGZ 7:221-27.

Wang Kang 王康 (d.69). Director of Retainers under Emperor Ming, he was sent to prison for some fault and died there. -HHS 2:115. This may be the same man as immediately below.

Wang Kang 王康; Jingzhao. XTS 72B:2651 says that Wang Kang was the son of Wang Fang and a grandson of Wang Zun III. He presumably inherited the family fief. It is possible this is the same man as in the entry above.

Wang Kang 王康; Nanyang. A eunuch, Wang Kang became a member of the staff of the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. When Liu Bao was deposed by his father in 124, Wang Kang felt it was wrong.

In the latter part of 125, as Liu Yi the Little Emperor became seriously ill, Wang Kang was now a junior officer of the harem, and he joined Sun Cheng in planning to restore Liu Bao to the succession. On 16 December, a few days after the death of the boy ruler, as the conspirators made their move, Sun Cheng and Wang Kang attacked their rivals Jiang Jing, Li Run and other senior eunuchs. They killed all except Li Run, whom they forced at knife-point to assist them place Liu Bao upon the throne and take command of the Imperial Secretariat. When the coup was successful Wang Kang was rewarded with a county marquise in Nan commandery.

After Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Wang Kang and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor remembered their good work and allowed them to return to the capital. Wang Kang died a few years later. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Wang Kang 王康; Guanghan. Eldest son of Wang Tang and his second wife the Lady Wen Ji, Wang Kang evidently held office. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Wang Kao 王考 [Wenzu 文祖]; Dongping. Inspector of Ji province during the late 160s, Wang Kao was numbered in the lists of popular heroes proclaimed by the reformists and students of the University. -HHS 67/57:2187 & 2190.

Wang Kuang 王況; Wei. A soothsayer, in 21 Wang Kuang prophesied to the administrator Li Yan 李焉 that the Han dynasty would be restored and the Li family should assist it. Wang Mang found out, and Li Yan was killed. -Dubs 55:408-409, Bn 59:235, QHX:533.

Wang Kuang 王匡 (d.25); Jiangxia. There was serious famine in the region of the middle Yangzi in 20, and many people in Xinshi district left their settlements to seek food in the marshlands. This misfortune was very likely a consequence of the disruption from immigrant refugees entering the lands of the middle Yangzi after disastrous flooding of the Yellow River over more than ten years. See *sub* Fan Chong and Bn 54:152.

Wang Kuang and Wang Feng, commoners who were known for honest dealing and fair judgement, became leaders of these rootless people, and by 21 they commanded some seven or eight thousand men. Defeating a major provincial army, they obtained baggage and equipment, then stormed a series of county cities, abducted the women-folk and retired into the wilderness. As the insurgents increased in number, the local authorities were quite unable to cope with them.

In 22, however, disease broke out. The bandits split up and various groups went north into Nanyang under separate leaders. Wang Kuang and Wang Feng were now associated with Ma Wu, evidently a member of the gentry, and the lesser commander Zhu Wei; their group was styled the Troops from Xinshi. They attacked a county city in the south of Nanyang, without success, but were then joined by local Troops from Pinglin under Chen Mu and Liao Zhan.

In the autumn of that year, further to the north, Liu Bosheng, elder brother of Liu Xiu the future Emperor

Guangwu, led a rebellion against Wang Mang and sent his kinsman Liu Jia to propose an alliance. This was agreed, and Liu Bosheng gained substantial reinforcements. As Bielenstein observes, however, the commoner Troops whose support he obtained would later be responsible for his loss of the leadership of the movement which he had begun.

The combined forces moved against Wan, capital of Nanyang, but they were heavily defeated at Xiao-Chang'an, south of the city, by commandery troops under Wang Mang's officers Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci. Wang Kuang and his colleagues threatened to abandon the losing cause, but Liu Bosheng recruited another bandit group, the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, led by Wang Chang, Cheng Dan and Zhang Ang, and the balance of power against Wang Mang's local forces was restored.

In the winter at the beginning of 23 the rebels again fought the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, and on this occasion they achieved decisive victory and killed both enemy commanders. A few weeks later they defeated another army, commanded by the generals Zhuang You and Chen Mao, then advanced to besiege Wan city. At this time, however, in the spring of 23, the leaders of the Troops arranged a coup to depose Liu Bosheng as leader of the rebellion and to name Liu Xuan as [the Gengshi] Emperor. Wang Kuang was made Supreme Duke Who Settles the State 定國上公, one of the highest titles in the new regime.

After the fall of Wan city, the victory at Kunyang and the death of Liu Bosheng, in the autumn of 23 Wang Kuang was sent in command of the army to attack Luoyang, defended by his namesake Wang Kuang, who was Wang Mang's Grand Master and General. The city fell in the following month, a few days after the destruction of Wang Mang himself at Chang'an.

In 24 the Gengshi Emperor named Wang Kuang as king of a county in Nanyang, though Bielenstein observes that the pattern of enfeoffments at this time reflected a political setback for the former bandit chieftains as against their rivals of the Nanyang gentry. Wang Kuang and his associate Zhang Ang were soon afterwards reported as ravaging the region about Chang'an: embittered by loss of influence at court, they were evidently reverting to their original careers as bandits.

In the first half of 25, as the Red Eyebrows ad-

vanced towards the capital, Deng Yu, general of Liu Xiu, entered Hedong and laid siege to its chief city, Anyi. Wang Kuang, Zhang Ang and other chieftains attacked him, but they were heavily defeated and fled back to Chang'an, while Deng Yu took over the whole commandery.

Wang Kuang, Chen Mu and Cheng Dan were then stationed east of the capital to face the Red Eyebrows, but soon afterwards Zhang Ang and other leaders rebelled in Chang'an and the Gengshi Emperor abandoned the city. Suspecting their loyalty, he summoned and executed Chen Mu and Cheng Dan. Wang Kuang fled to his colleagues in Chang'an, but they were attacked by Li Song and Zhao Meng, loyal to the emperor, and after a month of fighting they were driven from the city.

As the Red Eyebrows came to Chang'an in the winter of 25, the chieftains went to join them, and when the Gengshi Emperor surrendered they persuaded the victors to have him killed. At the end of the year, however, falling out with the newcomers, Wang Kuang, Zhang Ang and Hu Yin surrendered to Guangwu's officer Zong Guang. They were taken under escort to the east, but "died while attempting to escape" before the party reached Luoyang. -*HHS* 11/1: 467-74, 16/6:600-04; Bn 54:106-136, Bn 59:53, 60, 92-102.

Note that there were two other men named Wang Kuang 王匡 about this time:

1 Wang Kuang 王匡, son of Wang Mang by a concubine, was born about 2 BC and was enfeoffed in 21 AD. -*Dubs* 55:407, *QHX*:532 & 669 *sub* the Lady Zengzhi 增秩.

2. Wang Kuang 王匡, son of Wang Shun 王舜, a cousin of Wang Mang, became Grand Master and General 太師將軍 for the Xin dynasty. He attacked the Red Eyebrows in 22 but was defeated and fled. In 23 he led an expedition against rebels in the east, but by the autumn of that year he had been brought back to defend Luoyang. After the destruction of Wang Mang he surrendered and was executed. -*Dubs* 55:316, 432, 467, Bn 54:128, Bn 59:31-32, *QHX*:532.

Wang Kuang 王況 [Wenbo 文伯]; Jingzhao. Recognised as one of the best men of the region about Chang'an, learned and of fine morality, Wang Kuang became Administrator of Chenliu. He carried out such excellent government that a plague of locusts which ravaged the region in 72 spared his territory, and it

received a good harvest. -*XC* 7:8a.

XC 7 also says that Wang Kuang was appointed Excellency over the Masses in 87, but this appears wrong, for *HHS* 3:156 says that in 87 Yuan An was appointed Excellency over the Masses. Fan Ye has in fact no record of Wang Kuang.

Wang Kuang 王匡 [Gongjie 公節] (d.190); Taishan. A close friend of Cai Yong when they were young, Wang Kuang was known for his disdain of material things, but also had a propensity for violence. As a member of the staff of the General-in-Chief He Jin in 189, he was sent to recruit soldiers from Xu province to overawe the eunuchs.

Later that year, as He Jin was killed and Dong Zhuo seized power, Wang Kuang gathered an additional following of clan forces, styled himself Administrator of Henei and joined the eastern alliance. He ruled his territory with greed and cruelty, and when Dong Zhuo sent gentlemen as envoys to the east Wang Kuang killed them, including his own brother-in-law Humu Ban.

In 190 Wang Kuang advanced to the Yellow River to attack Dong Zhuo from the north, but he was taken by surprise and his force was wiped out. He fled back to Taishan and attempted to raise further troops in alliance with Zhang Miao, but kinsmen of his victim Humu Ban raised men to attack him, and with support from Cao Cao they killed him. -*SGZ* 1:6, 23:658-59, *HHS* 72/62:2328, 74/64A:2376, *XC* 5:2b.

Wang Lan 王覽 [Xuantong 玄通] (206-278); Langye. Son of Wang Rong by his second wife, the Lady Zhu, even as a small child he sought to protect his elder half-brother Wang Xiang against her enmity. Later he encouraged Wang Xiang to take office, and himself rose to high rank and enfeoffment under Jin. -*JS* 33:990-91*; Fang 65:242.

Wang Lang 王郎 or Wang Chang 昌 (d.24); Zhao. *HHJ* 1:11 says that this man's personal name was Chang and his style Lang; *HHS* 12/2:491 gives Lang as an alternate personal name. He is usually referred to as Wang Lang and I follow that convention.

Diviner, physiognomist and astrologer, Wang Lang was a friend of Liu Lin, from the royal house of Zhao 趙 under Former Han. About 23 Wang Lang developed a claim that he was in fact Liu Ziyu 劉子與, son by a concubine of Emperor Cheng of Former Han. It had been well established that no sons of that ruler were still alive, and a previous claimant had been

executed by Wang Mang, but Wang Lang asserted that he had been substituted for another infant, then taken for refuge west to Shu and south to Danyang, and had come north as a young man.

Based upon this fiction, with the support of Liu Lin and other local magnates, and aided by fear of the Red Eyebrows, in the winter of 23/24 Wang Lang claimed the imperial title at Handan city in Zhao and took up residence in the royal palace of the Former Han kingdom. His regime gained support among the gentry of north-eastern China as far as Liaodong, while his immediate enemy Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu but at that time regional commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor, was isolated in the north.

Making his escape from Ji city in Guangyang, Liu Xiu went south to collect troops in Xindu. A first attack into Zhao was defeated and he was forced to refuge in Julu, but soon afterwards the northern administrators Peng Chong and Geng Kuang sent reinforcements and the Gengshi Emperor's general Xie Gong gave essential support. At the beginning of summer the Han forces besieged Handan, and the city fell three weeks later. Wang Lang was killed as he fled. -HHS 12/2:491-94; Bn 59:64-76, QHX:518 [as Wang Chang].

Wang Lang 王朗 [Jingxing 景興] (d.228); Donghai. Wang Lang's original personal name was Yan 嚴, but he changed it. A scholar of the *Book of Changes*, he compiled a commentary, *Yizhuan* 易傳. Recommended as Knowing the Classics, Wang Lang became a gentleman cadet and then a county magistrate in Pengcheng; while there, he collaborated with the local scholar Zhang Zhao an essay on the ancient use of taboo names 諱. He left office after his patron Yang Ci died, and refused further invitations from the capital.

About 191 Wang Lang became Headquarters Officer to Tao Qian the Inspector of Xu province, and he joined Zhao Yu in urging Tao Qian to pay respects to the emperor in Chang'an. Tao Qian was rewarded with appointment as Governor and a general, and he made Wang Lang Administrator of Kuaiji. There he established a luxurious court and, in a tradition developing at that time, he asked his Officer of Merit Yu Fan about leading men from the region in that past; their conversation was recorded as an early form of local history.

In 196 Sun Ce attacked his territory. Wang Lang attempted to hold the line of the Zhe River, but his army was defeated and he fled by ship along the coast,

hoping to reach Jiao province. Sun Ce pursued him to Dongye by present-day Fuzhou, and forced him to surrender, but Wang Lang refused to serve him. When Sun Ce established a rapprochement with Cao Cao in 198 he allowed Wang Lang to go north to the Han court at Xu city.

Despite his unsuccessful military career, Wang Lang was formally appointed to Cao Cao's military staff. In 213 he was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and he then became Administrator of Wei commandery. He later held ministerial positions at the royal court, and was a leader of successful opposition to the proposal of Chen Qun that the old mutilating punishments should replace flogging.

When Cao Pi succeeded Cao Cao in 220, Wang Lang was enfeoffed and appointed an Excellency. No doubt based upon his early experience in the south, he was consulted on several occasions about relations with Sun Quan, each time urging caution and restraint. In another aspect of his interest in criminal policy, Wang Lang presented a memorial arguing the importance of education as a means to reduce the need for severe punishments. He continued as an Excellency under the new empire of Wei.

In 227, when the matter was raised once more by Cao Rui, Wang Lang again opposed the introduction of mutilating punishments, arguing that they were cruel and that they were not accepted among the people; he also criticised the extravagance of the court. He died at the end of the following year, leaving a collection of memorials and several more commentaries on the classics. -SGZ 13:406-14*, Wu 12:1324-25; Mather 76:590-591.

Wang Lei 王累; Guanghan. In 211 the warlord Governor of Yi province Liu Zhang was persuaded by treacherous counsellors that he should invite Liu Bei to assist him deal with the threat from Cao Cao to his north. The Attendant Officer Wang Lie strongly objected to the proposal, and hung himself upside down at the gates of the *yamen* in protest. Liu Zhang nonetheless continued his mistaken policy. -HHS 75/65:2434; deC 96:430.

Wang Li 王禮, the Lady. Former wet-nurse to Liu Chang, King of Liang, in the early 90s she was an associate of Bian Ji and encouraged the king to seek support and guidance from the spirit world. As a result of these activities, Liu Chang was reported for Impiety.

-HHS 50/40:1676.

Wang Li 王立; Zhongshan. In the time of Emperor Ming, the filial son Wang Li was commemorated with a stele. -SJZ 11:19a.

Wang Li 王歷; Youfufeng. Registrar of his native county, in 185 Wang Li was one of the sponsors of a stele to honour the magistrate Cao Quan. -JSCB 18:3b; Ebrey 80:342-344.

Wang Li 王立. As the imperial court moved to Chang'an in 191, Wang Li was Court Astronomer. Wang Yun, who was in charge of the government for Dong Zhuo, arranged for him to teach the *Book of Filial Piety* to the young Emperor Xian, and was also named a Palace Attendant.

In 193 Wang Li mistook the timing of an eclipse, but he was excused by the emperor, who took the error as a warning for his own government.

In 196, Wang Li read stars and signs to say that the emperor should go east from Luoyang to join Cao Cao, and foretold the succession of Han by Wei. Cao Cao, however, urged him to speak no more of the latter prophecy. -DGHJ 21:4b, HHS 9:373, SGZ 1:13-14.

Wang Lian 王連 [Wenyi 文儀]; Nanyang. Having moved into Yi province, Wang Lian became a magistrate in Guanghan for Liu Zhang. As Liu Bei began to take over in 213, Wang Lian initially refused to submit, but Liu Bei admired his courage, treated him leniently and gave him further county posts. He did well and was given charge of the salt and iron monopolies, which he administered excellently, while he also recommended many good men for office.

About 220 Wang Lian was transferred to be Administrator of Shu, with rank as a general, still in charge of the salt office. He later became a senior assistant to Zhuge Liang, but died about 223. -SGZ Shu 11:1009-10*.

Wang Liang 王良 [Zhongzi 仲子]; Donghai. A keen scholar when he was young, Wang Liang was expert in the Younger Xiahou interpretation of the New Text *Classic of History*. When teaching at the capital about 1 AD he was called up by Wang Mang. Wang Liang's disciple Guo Xian argued that though Wang Mang was a high minister, as a student he should attend upon his teacher, not the other way round. Wang Liang did go, but he arrived late. [Cf. also *sub* Guo Xian.]

When Wang Mang took the imperial title, Wang Liang claimed to be ill and refused offers of appointment, but he maintained a school with more

than a thousand private students.

In 26 Wang Liang refused an invitation to join the staff of the Grand Marshal Wu Han. He was criticised for this by the Academician Fan Sheng, but in the following year he accepted appointment as a Counsellor Remonstrant. He was respected at court for his ability in debate, his loyal advice and his recommendations for good conduct.

He was sent out to be Administrator of Pei, but as he arrived he said that he had been taken ill on the way and did not proceed to take up office. The local officials went to call upon him, but Wang Liang claimed to be extremely sick and asked to resign. He was brought back as a Palace Counsellor, and in 30 he replaced Xuan Bing as Guardian of Honesty, a censorial post under the Excellency over the Masses.

Wang Liang refused to take any personal advantage from his position. He would not allow his wife or children to live in the official residence, and he wore only cloth and ate off earthenware dishes. On one occasion, when the officer Bao Hui went to call upon his family at their home in Donghai, he found Wang Liang's wife in plain costume, bringing in firewood after work in the fields, and mistook her for a servant. He reported the visit when he returned to the capital, and all who heard of it shared his amazement.

Wang Liang again retired on account of illness. He was called to office once more a year later, but was too ill to accept. On the other hand, when he went to visit a friend the man refused to see him, for he claimed Wang Liang would not make up his mind to take office, and was just toying with ill health. Wang Liang felt deeply ashamed, and from that time on he refused all offers of appointment, even when the emperor made a direct request.

When Guangwu visited Donghai in 44 he sent messengers to enquire after Wang Liang. They were not able to speak with him, but an imperial edict granted exemption from labour services to his descendants. Wang Liang died at home. -HHS 27/17:932-33*; QHX:534 and 566 *sub* Wang Zhongzi.

Wang Liang 王梁 [Junyan 君嚴] (d.38); Yuyang. A member of local staff in his commandery, Wang Liang became a county magistrate under the local warlord and Administrator Peng Chong. In 24 he was one of the troop sent with He Yan and Wu Han to support Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, against Wang Lang.

With title as a lieutenant-general, Wang Liang took

part in campaigns across the north, and after the fall of Wang Lang he was made a secondary marquis. He was then appointed as a magistrate in Henei under the Administrator Kou Xun, who was left to defend the region while Liu Xiu returned to further action in the north. Wang Liang held his position against the Gengshi Emperor's Administrator of Shangdang, Tian Yi, then joined operations against the Gengshi garrison at Luoyang.

Recognising his good work, and following a prophecy from an apocryphal text, when Liu Xiu claimed the imperial title in 25 he named Wang Liang Excellency of Works and enfeoffed him as a county marquis. The position as Excellency meant he was formally a chief of the civil administration, but Wang Liang continued to serve as a military commander.

Early in 26 Wang Liang was sent under the Grand Marshal Wu Han to attack the Tanxiang bandits in Wei commandery. Guangwu had ordered all officers to stay directly under Wu Han's command, but Wang Liang went to raise his own troops in Henei. He was sent a reprimand and told to stay in place, but again disobeyed and led his men east against the enemy. Furious at such disobedience, the emperor sent Zong Guang, an officer of his Secretariat, with authority to execute Wang Liang. Zong Guang, however, could not bear to kill such a loyal, albeit over-enthusiastic, officer, so he had Wang Liang sent to the capital in a cage cart. Wang Liang was pardoned, but was dismissed from his office as Excellency.

Soon afterwards Wang Liang was named General of the Household and acting Bearer of the Mace and sent west to hold the borders of Henei against any move by the Red Eyebrows along the north of the Yellow River. He attacked one group in Hedong and forced them to surrender.

Following the success of Wu Han's campaign in the previous year, in the spring of 27 Wang Liang was sent east with Du Mao against the remnants of the Wuxiao bandits on the North China plain. They conquered camps and settlements in Wei, Qinghe and Dong commanderies, either side of the Yellow River, and Wang Liang pursued a group north into Zhao, defeated them and forced their submission. In the winter of that year he was made General of the Van.

At the beginning of 28, as part of the imperial offensive against Zhang Pu and Liu Yu, Wang Liang advanced into Taishan and joined Du Mao to move

south into Pei and Chu and attack Qiao Qiang and Su Mao. With reinforcements under Ma Wu and Wang Ba, they settled the territory, and in the following year Wang Liang joined the forces sent to relieve Tao city in Dongping. After the defeat of the rebel Pang Meng, claimant King of Dongping, Wang Liang was named Administrator of Shanyang. With responsibility for resettling the people disturbed by the recent military activity, he continued to hold his position as general.

A few months later, Wang Liang was recalled to become Intendant of Henan, head of the commandery about the new imperial capital. Though Luoyang lay close to the Yellow River, the Luo River was not navigable by the barges required to bring grain and other supplies to the growing city. Wang Liang undertook to build a transport canal from the Gu River which curved around the city, east for some twenty-five kilometres to join the lower reaches of the Luo. When the work was completed in 31, however, the gradients were wrong and there was insufficient water to carry traffic. Wang Liang asked to resign. Acknowledging his previous good work, but recognising the waste of labour caused by his mistaken project, the emperor ordered his demotion to Administrator of Ji'nan.

In 37, as Wang Liang was still in Ji'nan, his fief was raised in value and transferred to a county in Bohai. He died in the following year. Later, recognising Wang Liang as one of the great assistants of his father Guangwu, Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 22/12:774-75*, *SJZ* 16:15a; Bn 59:140, 237, Bn 76:16, 26, Bn 79:66, 85, 195.

Wang Lie 王烈 [Yanfang 彦方 or Yankao 彦考] (141-218 or 142-219); Pingyuan or perhaps Taiyuan [*HHS* and *SGZ* disagree on details of Wang Lie's style, dates and place of origin]. A man of learning, and a noted student of Chen Shi, Wang Lie's judgement was respected in his local community and he was renowned for his ability to reform men's character. On one occasion, a man who caught stealing some cattle claimed he would accept any punishment rather than have Wang Lie hear about it. Wang Lie did find out, and gave the man cloth in recognition of his conscience. The former thief later protected the property of others.

Wang Lie refused nomination and invitation to office. About 191 he took refuge in Liaodong, where he also obtained a high reputation among the local

non-Chinese people. He likewise refused to serve the warlord Gongsun Du, and even became a merchant in order to disqualify himself. Cao Cao sent him several invitations, but the Liaodong rulers would not allow him to leave, and he died in the northeast. -HHS 81/71: 2696-97*, SGZ 11:355-56*; Ch'ü 72:382, deC 96:87.

Wang Lin 王琳 [Juwei 巨尉]; Runan. When Wang Lin was ten, his parents died, and as their neighbours fled the troubled times at the end of the reign of Wang Mang he and his brothers lived alone. Wang Lin's brother Ji was captured by Red Eyebrows bandits, who were going to eat him, but Wang Lin went and offered himself first, and the bandits were so impressed they let the brothers go.

Wang Lin became known for this. He was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies, but recommended others in his stead. -HHS 39/29:1300*.

Wang Lin 王林. In 96 Wang Lin was Chief Clerk in the Western Regions when King Zhuodi of Further Jushi attacked Nearer Jushi. Wang Lin gathered an army of Chinese commandery troops and non-Chinese auxiliaries, and he defeated Zhuodi and killed him in the following year. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Wang Ling 王靈; Wudu. Local leaders, in 213 Wang Ling and Li Jun joined Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang of Hanyang to attack Ma Chao and drive him from that commandery. -SGZ 25:701.

Wang Ling 王陵/凌 [Yanyun 彦雲] (d.251); Taiyuan. Described as the son of an elder brother of Wang Yun, Wang Ling was probably a son of Wang Hong 王宏 I [Changwen 長文].

When Chang'an was stormed in 192 by Li Jue and other officers of the assassinated Dong Zhuo, Wang Yun and many of his family were killed, but Wang Ling and his brother Chen climbed the city wall and escaped to their home country.

About 206 Wang Ling was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Dong commandery. Learning of his relationship to Wang Yun, Cao Cao brought him onto his staff. He later became Administrator of Changshan, then returned to the offices at the capital.

Wang Ling served Cao Pi as Inspector in several provinces, was enfeoffed as a marquis and became a general against Wu. When Sima Yi destroyed Cao Shuang in 249, Wang Ling was Excellency of Works. He was promoted to be Grand Commandant., but two years later he attempted a coup against Sima Yi. As

the enterprise failed, Wang Ling was obliged to kill himself. -SGZ 28:757-59*.

Wang Liu 王流, the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Wang Tang, she married an official. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Wang Long 王隆; Dong. In 7 AD Wang Long's father Wang Weng 王翁 joined the rising of the Administrator Zhai Yi against Wang Mang. After Zhai Yi's force was defeated, Wang Weng continued to resist, but he was eventually captured and burned to death [QHX:554].

During the late 20s Wang Long was Officer of Merit in his commandery. As he accompanied the Commandant on a journey of inspection, their party was attacked by bandits. Wang Long was killed as he shielded his superior with his own body. -HHS 45/35: 1530.

Wang Long 王隆 [Wenshan 文山]; Zuopingyi. In the time of Wang Mang, Wang Long became a cadet gentleman through the *ren* right of his father, an official whose personal name is not recorded. Avoiding the troubles of the early 20s, Wang Long took service as an administrative officer under the western warlord Dou Rong, but later returned to the east and was a magistrate in Yingchuan under Emperor Guangwu.

Celebrated for his literary style, Wang Long composed a great number of poems, rhapsodies, inscriptions and essays. His *Xiaoxue Hanguan pian* 小學漢官篇 "Han Offices Explained for Beginning Students," describing the structure of the bureaucracy in rhyming verses, was admired by the scholar-official Hu Guang, who used it as the basis for his own substantial commentary, extending the information to the mid-second century. Sima Biao, compiler of HHS Treatise of Officials, however, regarded the work as superficial. -HHS 80/70A:2609*, 114/24:3555; MBeck 90:84-87, 198, 214-215.

Wang Long 王隆. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat at Chang'an in 195, Wang Long was among the group of senior officers taken hostage by Guo Si in his quarrel with Li Jue. -HHJ 28:334.

Wang Mao 王懋; Taiyuan. In the fifth century AD the minister Wang Yi 王懿 of the Song dynasty claimed to be a descendant of Wang Mao, a younger brother of the Excellency Wang Yun (d.192), who had been an Inspector of You province and a Palace Attendant. -SS 46:1390, XTS 72B:2642.

Wang Men 王門. A military commander under Gongsun Zan about 195, Wang Men changed allegiance to Yuan Shao and invaded Hejian. The magistrate Tian

Yu confronted him and shamed him into withdrawing. -SGZ 26:726.

Wang Meng 王孟; Jingzhao. Wang Meng was chieftain of a strong local clan in Lantian county when, in the autumn of 23, the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties under Wang Xian and Han Chen towards Chang'an. Wang Meng and other leaders took title as generals in the name of Han and came to attack the capital. As the main Han army halted at Huayin, these irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang.

A few years later the *condottiere* Yan Cen took control of Lantian, and Wang Meng went west to join the warlord Wei Ao in Tianshui. He commanded a defence position against the attack of the Han army in 32, but is not heard of again. -HHS 13/3:528; Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130.

Wang Meng 王蒙; Kuaiji. Son of the merchant Wang Fan and elder brother of Wang Song, Wang Meng was the uncle of Wang Chong. The family were local bullies, and twice had to move in order to escape enemies. -Lun heng 30; Forke 07:64, Ebrey 86:633.

Wang Meng 王蒙. An Internuncio, in 75 Wang Meng was appointed to assist Qin Peng on the expedition to rescue the Chinese garrisons in Turfan under siege from the Northern Xiongnu. He is described as subordinate to Qin Peng, but appears to have played a leading role in strategic decisions.

At the beginning of 76 an army of seven thousand men, made up of commandery levies and auxiliaries from Shanshan, advanced along the Northern Road, joined up with the remnant troop in Nearer Jushi and attacked the capital of that state. Killing four thousand of the enemy and taking three thousand prisoners, they captured almost forty thousand head of camels, horses, cattle and sheep. The Xiongnu fled back to the north, and Nearer Jushi returned to its allegiance.

The Chinese commander in Nearer Jushi, Guan Chong, had died earlier, and Wang Meng and his fellows now wanted to return to China. Fan Qiang, however, an officer of the garrison in Further Jushi who had been sent to get winter clothing from Dunhuang, sought leave to bring aid to his commander Geng Gong. Wang Meng was reluctant to commit the main army, but he allowed Fan Qiang to take two thousand men through the mountains. The remnant of Geng Gong's force was rescued and brought back to China.

-HHS 19/9:722.

Wang Meng 王萌 (d.179); Chenliu. Adopted son of the eunuch Wang Fu, Wang Meng became Director of Retainers and then Steward at the Yongle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling. In 179 Wang Fu and his associates were arrested by the new Director Yang Qiu, put in prison and tortured. Wang Meng asked Yang Qiu to spare his aged father, but Yang Qiu refused. Wang Meng swore at him, and Yang Qiu filled his mouth with earth. All the prisoners were then beaten to death. -HHS 77/67:2499-2500, 78/68:2526; deC 89:155-156.

Wang Mi 王密. About 112 Wang Mi was nominated Abundant Talent by the Inspector of Jing province, Yang Zhen, and he became a county magistrate in Shanyang. Soon afterwards Yang Zhen was sent to be Administrator of Donglai, and on his way he passed by Wang Mi's new post. Wang Mi brought a present of gold, and when Yang Zhen demurred that it looked like a bribe, he argued that no-one would know about it. Yang Zhen replied that the two of them would know, and also Heaven and the spirits. Wang Mi left in shame. -HHS 54/44:1760.

Wang Min 王敏 [Shugong 叔公] (d.74); Xihe. In 73 Wang Min was promoted from Minister of Finance to Excellency over the Masses. He died in office in the following year. -HHS 2:120-21.

Wang Min 王旻. In 166 Wang Min was Administrator of Shang commandery, but left office and returned home because of mourning in his family. Wang Min's friend Huangfu Gui, who was at that time General on the Liao, was anxious to quit his post. He made a point of accompanying Wang Min across the provincial border, then arranged that the breach of procedure was reported to Hu Fang the Inspector of Bing province. Hu Fang, however, took no action. -HHS 65/55:2137.

Wang Min 王旻 (d.177). In 177 Wang Min was Coachman at the Palace of Perpetual Peace, in the detached garden of that name at the north-eastern corner of the city of Luoyang [Bn 76:46-47]. That year he was sent to prison and died; his crime is not recorded. -HHS 8:340.

Wang Min 王敏. In 186 Wang Min was Inspector of Jing province. He brought troops to assist the Administrator of Nanyang, Yang Xu, against the rebel Zhao Ce. The campaign was successful, and Wang Min was rewarded with a county marquise in Bohai -HHS 8:353, 31/21:1110, SJZ 12:5b.

Wang Mo 王摩. In 200 Wang Mo was an officer of Yuan Shao commanding a detached camp on the Yellow River in the campaign against Cao Cao. The camp was destroyed in a raid led by Yu Jin and Yue Jin, and Wang Mo surrendered. -SGZ 17:523.

Wang Mo 王模; Le'an. As Cao Cao gave appointments to Wang Mo and Zhou Kui about 200, his officer Chen Qun foretold they would not do well. They were later executed for crimes. -SGZ 22:633.

Wang Mou 王謀 [Yuantai 元泰]; Shu Dependent State. Having been Administrator of Ba commandery, Wang Mou became Headquarters Officer to the warlord Governor Liu Zhang.

As Liu Bei took over the province in 214 he appointed Wang Mou his Attendant Officer, and when he proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in 219 he named him Minister Steward. In 220, after Emperor Xian abdicated in favour of Cao Pi of Wei, Wang Mou was a signatory to the memorial urging Liu Bei to take the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 15:1082.

Wang Mu 王牧. Administrator of Wei commandery about 115, Wang Mu recommended the local gentleman Yin Fang as a suitable person to be an Excellency. Nothing came of the proposal. -HYGZ 10C:178.

Wang Nan 王男, the Lady (d.124). A wet-nurse to Liu Bao, son of Emperor An and future Emperor Shun, she was a close and trusted favourite of the child Heir. [Note that there was another wet-nurse, the Lady Song E.]

In 124 Liu Bao became the centre of a struggle for influence, in which Wang Nan and the kitchen officer Bing Ji were opposed by the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng and the Lady Wang Sheng, who had been wet-nurse to Emperor An. Upset and confused by the intrigues, Liu Bao took refuge at the mansion which had lately been built for Wang Sheng. Bing Ji and Wang Nan sought to regain control by arguing that the place was affected by spirits disturbed in the recent construction, but their protests were ignored and they lost much of their influence. Wang Sheng and her allies then accused them of conspiracy: Bing Ji and Wang Nan were killed and their families and associates were exiled to the far south.

Liu Bao mourned Wang Nan and Bing Ji, and the successful clique were concerned that he might later seek to avenge their deaths. A few months later, therefore, they told Emperor An that Liu Bao had also taken part in the alleged conspiracy, persuaded him to

dismiss Liu Bao as Heir.

After Liu Bao was brought to the throne in the coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng in 125, the Lady Wang's relatives and associates were permitted to return to the capital and were generously rewarded. -HHS 15/5:592-93.

Wang Pan 王磐 [Zishi 子石] (d.46). Son of Wang Ren 仁, a cousin of Wang Mang, after the fall of Wang Mang he gathered such property as he could and went to his father's former fief in Jiujiang. He held considerable influence in the region south of the Huai, and was linked by marriage to the great Ma family.

Wang Pan later travelled to Luoyang, where he became a friend of the leading officials Zhu Fu and Yin Xing, the latter being brother to the empress, and of Liu Zhang the King of Qi, nephew of Emperor Guangwu. Ma Yuan observed that this was unwise and dangerous: a survivor of the former imperial house, now destroyed and discredited, should keep himself at a distance and should not take a role in the society of the capital.

In the autumn of 46 Wang Pan, the gentleman Ding Hong and the Director of Retainers Su Ye were accused of inappropriate association; all three died in prison. -HHS 24/14:850-51.

Wang Peng 王彭 [Zhongguo 仲國]; Guanghan. Son of Wang Shang, Wang Peng was Administrator of Ba commandery about 220. -HYGZ 11:188.

Wang Ping 王平 (d.71); Yuyang. Wang Ping was a son of Wang Yu. He and Yan Zhong were friends of Liu Ying, King of Chu, but in 70 they were denounced by Yan Guang for casting omens and planning rebellion. Arrested and interrogated, they implicated others. Wang Ping died in prison, and pursuit of the alleged conspiracy claimed thousands of lives throughout the empire over the next several years. -HHS 22/12:776, 42/32:1428; Bn 67:33.

Wang Ping 王憑; Kuaiji. Wang Ping, an innocent man, was found guilty of some crime and the commandery Administrator had the county execute him. Wang Ping's family complained to the emperor, and the provincial authorities were told to investigate. Though the Administrator had given the order, his Officer for Legal Matters 決曹 Meng Ying took the blame and killed himself. -SGZ/J Wu 12:15b.

Wang Ping 王平 [Zijun 子均]; Ba. Brought up by kinsmen of his mother, Wang Ping took their family name of He 何, but later reverted to his original surname.

In 215 the non-Chinese chieftains Duhu and Fuhu turned to Cao Cao, but were defeated by Zhang Fei and driven away. Wang Ping went with them, and was given a colonel's command by Cao Cao. He was with the army in Hanzhong in 219, and was captured when Xiahou Yuan was defeated at Dingjun Mountain. Liu Bei gave him position at his military headquarters with rank as a major-general, and Wang Ping became one of the leading military commanders of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 13:1049-51*.

Wang Pu 王輔 see Wang Fu 王輔 [eunuch].

Wang Pu 王輔 or Wang Bu. A Consultant at the Han court under Cao Cao's control, in 197 Wang Pu was sent on embassy to Sun Ce to award him insignia as a marquis, as Administrator of Kuaiji and as a Commandant of Cavalry. Sun Ce, however, insisted on receiving title as a general, which gave him greater freedom of action, and Wang Pu was obliged to grant him his wish. -SGZ Wu 1:1107.

Wang Pu 王普; Guanghan. Registrar to Xiahou Zuan, who was Administrator of Guanghan in the service of Liu Bei, in 214 Wang Pu accompanied him to a meeting with the scholar recluse Qin Mi. -SGZ Shu 8:975.

Wang Qi 王祈; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Wang Qi joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree.

Wang Qi 王頎 (d.192). After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192, Wang Qi was appointed a colonel in the Northern Army under the government of Wang Yun. He was killed soon afterwards, as troops led by Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo stormed Chang'an. -HHS 9:373, SGZ 6:182.

Wang Qian 王遷 miswritten for Wang Zun 王遵 I.

Wang Qian 王謙; Shanyang. Son of Wang Chang, about 189 he was Chief Clerk to the General-in-Chief He Jin. Because Wang Qian's father and grandfather had been Excellencies, He Jin sought to marry his daughter to one of Wang Qian's two sons. Wang Qian, however, refused the alliance. He retired on grounds of ill health and died at home. -HHS 56/46:1826, SGZ 21:597.

Wang Qiao 王喬; Hedong. During the reign of Emperor Ming Wang Qiao was magistrate of Ye/She

葉 county in Nanyang. A man of powers, he travelled regularly to the imperial capital, borne invisibly by shoes disguised as flying ducks, and his appearances at court were heralded by the beating of a mighty drum, untouched by human hands. A book of prognostication by the appearance of birds *Niaoqing zhan* 鳥情占, ascribed to Wang Qiao, is listed in *Sui shu* 34:1030.

Later a jade coffin descended from the skies, and Wang Qiao put on grave-clothes and laid himself inside it. The coffin promptly buried itself and a funeral mound was formed with the magical aid of local oxen. The people built a shrine to the Ye/She Lord 葉君, prayers were granted there, and magistrates and clerks paid respects. Many believed Wang Qiao to have been a reincarnation of the legendary immortal Prince Qiao 王子喬. -HHS 82/72A:2712*, FSTY 2:11-12; Ngo 76: 86-87, DeWoskin 83:52-53.

Wang Qiao 王欽. In the late 170s the palace eunuch Wang Fu had his client Wang Qiao set up a private toll-post on the borders of Jingzhao commandery. When the Intendant Yang Biao reported this, the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu took the occasion to destroy Wang Fu and his party. -HQ 2:1a, HHS 54/44:1766.

Wang Qin 王欽. Administrator of Shangdu 賞都 commandery [part of Han dynasty Runan] under Wang Mang, in 23 Wang Qin went to join Guo Qin and two other generals of the defeated Nine Tiger army in their defence of the Capital Granary. After Wang Mang was killed at Chang'an, Wang Qin and his colleagues surrendered; the Gengshi Emperor rewarded them with enfeoffment. -Dubs 55:467; QHX:547.

Wang Qin 王欽; Donglai. A local officer about 200, Wang Qin was sent by the Administrator He Kui to put down the bandit Wang Ying. -SGZ 12:379.

Wang Qing 王青 [Gongran 公然]; Dong. Son of Wang Long, in the late 20s Wang Qing became a junior officer of the commandery. As he went with his father on tour with the commandery Commandant, their party was attacked by bandits. Wang Long was killed defending his master, and Wang Qing was badly wounded in the throat, so that he could speak only with a hoarse shout.

Because of a regulation, that men who bore the wounds of metal weapons upon the body could not be nominated for civil office, Wang Qing was never recommended for the imperial service. When Zhang Pu became Administrator in 76, he learned of the case and was distressed that a family of such long loyalty

to the Han should receive no acknowledgement or reward. He took Wang Qing onto his personal staff, and also sent in a petition, urging that an exception be made for him. The matter was referred to the highest officials, and it was agreed that Wang Qing, now aged about 60, could become a clerk in the office of the Excellency of Works. He later held commission as a major in the Northern Army.

Not fully content with this concession, Zhang Pu nominated Wang Qing's son as Filial and Incorrupt, so that he might become a civil official in the imperial bureaucracy. -*HHS* 45/35:1530; *XC* 2:11a.

Wang Qing 王卿. Administrator of Jianwei, Wang Qing invited Du Fu to become his Officer of Merit, but was refused. -*HYGZ* 10B:156.

Wang Qing 王卿 [Jihe 季河]; Jianwei Dependent State. Assistant magistrate of Mianzhu 縣竹 in 176, Wang Qing was involved in the water control program under Shen Ziju the Administrator of Guanghan. -*LS* 15:8b.

Wang Qiu 王球. Administrator of Taiyuan in the early 170s, Wang Qiu admired the gentleman Lu Fu and wished to give him appointment. His officer Wang Yun objected that Lu Fu had shown no particular quality. Wang Qiu was ready to kill Wang Yun, but Wang Yun was then recruited to the personal staff of the Inspector Deng Sheng, and Lu Fu was sent away. -*HHS* 66/56:2172.

Wang Qiu 王球. In 175 an edict ordered that the boundary of Ji and You provinces should be formally marked. As Assistant Officer of Ji, Wang Qiu joined his opposite number Zhang Zhao from You province to set up an inscribed stele near Beiping county in Zhongshan. -*SJZ* 11:24a.

Wang Rao 王饒. General of Wang Lang in charge of the garrison at Julu in 24, Wang Rao resisted the attacks of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, but after the fall of Wang Lang he is not heard of again. -*HHS* 1A:14, 12/2:493; Bn 59:74.

Wang Rao 王饒. Followers of the "Yellow Turban" leader Ma Xiang in 188, Wang Rao and Zhao Bo were sent to attack Luo city, headquarters of Yi Province. They captured the city and killed the Inspector Que Jian. -*HYGZ* 5:70, 10C:170.

Wang Ren 王任 of Langye was Inspector of Qing province during the second century. He was the father of Wang Rong. -*JS* 33:987.

Wang Rong 王融 [Juwei 巨偉]; Langye. Son of Wang

Ren, Wang Rong was the father of Wang Xiang *q.v.* and of Wang Lan. He was invited to office but did not accept. -*JS* 33:987.

Wang Rou 王柔 [Shuyou 叔優]; Taiyuan. During the 160s Wang Rou and his younger brother Wang Ze went to seek advice from the celebrated judge of character Guo Tai. He told them that they could both achieve high rank, but Wang Rou should look for advancement through service to the state while Wang Ze sought success through scholarship. As they followed his advice, Wang Rou became Emissary to the Xiongnu and Wang Ze Administrator of Dai. -*HHS* 68/58:2231, *SGZ* 27:744.

Wang Rui 王叡 [Tongyao 通耀] (d.190); Langye. A man of family [see *sub* Wang Zun IV], Wang Rui was Inspector of Jing province in the late 180s, joined Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha, to deal with rebels in the southern commanderies, but treated Sun Jian discourteously.

In 190 Sun Jian came north to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo, and Wang Rui also had troops at his headquarters, Hanshou in Wuling. Cao Yin the Administrator of Wuling, whose capital was close by, had quarrelled with Wang Rui and was afraid of him. He sent forged orders to Sun Jian to execute Wang Rui. As Sun Jian arrived and proclaimed his intentions, Wang Rui killed himself. Sun Jian then took over his army. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1096-97; deC 90:112-114.

Wang Shang 王賞. With title as a colonel in the Northern Army, in 29 Wang Shang was sent to join Ma Cheng and others in the attack on the pretender Li Xian south of the Huai.

Wang Shang was later enfeoffed, and in 56 he accompanied the army of Ma Wu which defeated the Qiang war-leader Dianyu. -*HHS* 22/12:778, 100/10:3224.

Wang Shang 王上; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Yuan Fu, who bore him two sons, Wang Shang died from excess of grief after the death of his parents. His widow killed herself rather than marry again. -*HYGZ* 10B:154.

Wang Shang 王商 (*fl.* late 160s); Donglai: see Wang Zhang 王章.

Wang Shang 王商 [Wenbiao 文表] (d.211); Guanghan. Son of Wang Zun VI and the Lady Zhang Shuji, Wang Shang was a distinguished scholar. He compiled a local history *Ba-Shu qijiu zhuan* 巴蜀耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Ba and

Shu" [see also Zhao Qian and Zheng Qin], and about 195 he became Headquarters Officer to Liu Zhang the warlord Governor of Yi province. Liu Zhang was indecisive and lacked support from local leaders, but Wang Shang urged him to be more forceful, and Liu Zhang showed some improvement.

As the northern chieftain Ma Chao sought an alliance, Wang Shang warned against such fierce and ambitious men, and Liu Zhang kept his distance. Wang Shang's reputation extended to the east, and he corresponded with Liu Biao the Governor of Jing province and with the Confucian Song Zhong.

Recommended by the distinguished immigrant Xu Jing, about 200 Wang Shang was made Administrator of Shu. He encouraged moral conduct, teaching and farming, nominated scholars and gentlemen for official positions, honoured the local hero Qin Jian for his display of filial piety, and set up a stele to commemorate the Former Han worthies Li Hong 李弘 and Zhuang Zun 莊遵 [referred to by the surname Yan 嚴 to avoid taboo and by his style of Junping 君平: *QHX*:749].

After ten years of popular and successful local government, Wang Shang died in office. -*SGZ* Shu 8: 967, *HYGZ* 10A:139, 10B:147, 11:188, 12:224; Yao Zhenzong:2369.

In the affair of Dong Tai and the widow Han Jiang, recorded in *HYGZ* 10B:160, Wang Shang is referred to by his style, though it is miswritten Weibiao 為表 instead of Wenbiao 文表: *HYGZJBTZ*:593.

Wang Shen 王諶 [Zisi 子嗣]. Nephew of Tian Xin, who was Intendant of Henan in the early 140s, Wang Shen was a learned man known for his judgement of character. Tired of the way in which leading families used their influence to obtain nominations for kinsmen and clients, Tian Xin asked Wang Shen for an honest recommendation.

On the following day Wang Shen met Chong Gao, who was at that time an officer in the county office of Luoyang. He admired him and recommended him to Tian Xin. Tian Xin laughed at his choosing someone who was already known, rather than a man of hidden virtue, but Wang Shen pressed the point. Tian Xin interviewed Chong Gao and was most impressed, and Chong Gao later rose to the highest ranks.

Wang Shen also recommended the legal scholar Wu Xiong, who likewise became an Excellency. -*HHS* 56/46:1826.

Wang Sheng 王聖, the Lady; Qinghe. Wet-nurse to Emperor An, she remained one of his favourites, and with the eunuch Li Run she was regularly in his company. They were concerned at the failure of the Dowager Deng to transfer power to the emperor even after he had attained his majority, and they became suspicious when the Dowager called various princes to the capital in 119 and kept Liu Yi the King of Pingyuan in residence. When the Dowager died in 121 and Emperor An obtained full authority, Wang Sheng and Li Run claimed that Deng Fang of the Imperial Secretariat and the Dowager's brothers Deng Kui and others had planned to depose him in favour of Liu Yi. Furious, the emperor destroyed the Deng clan and demoted his putative rival from a king to a district marquis.

Wang Sheng was enfeoffed as Lady of Yewang, a county in Henan, but the grant was opposed by many officials, while earthquakes and floods were presented as omens against her influence at court.

Soon afterwards Wang Sheng became engaged in a struggle for influence over the Heir Liu Bao: with her daughter Yong, the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng, and the senior official and relative Geng Bao, she opposed the boy's former wet-nurse Wang Nan and the kitchen officer Bing Ji. In the end, Liu Bao went to the mansion which the emperor had ordered built for Wang Sheng, and though Wang Nan and Bing Ji argued that the place was affected by spirits disturbed in the recent construction work, their protests were ignored. Wang Sheng and her allies then accused them of conspiracy; Wang Nan and Bing Ji were killed and their families and associates were sent to exile in the far south.

Liu Bao mourned Wang Nan and Bing Ji, and the successful clique were concerned that he might later seek to avenge them. At the end of 124, therefore, Wang Sheng and her allies reported to Emperor An that Liu Bao had also taken part in the alleged conspiracy. Though he was strongly supported by regular officials of the court, he was dismissed as Heir.

A few months later, in the summer of 125, Emperor An died and the Dowager Yan and her family took power. They swiftly turned against their rivals, including Wang Sheng, the senior official Geng Bao, and their eunuch associates. Convicted of factionalism and conspiracy, Wang Sheng and her daughter Yong were sent to exile in the north. -*HHS* 16/6:616, 46/36:

1558, 15/5:590-91, 10B:437.

Wang Sheng 王升 [Zhiji 稚紀]; Jianwei. Administrator of Hanzhong, in 148 Wang Sheng had repairs carried out on the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. Having made a tour of inspection, he composed verses and set up a stele in honour of his fellow-countryman the Director of Retainers Yang Huan, who had pressed for the work to be done. -LS 4:4b.

Wang Sheng 王盛 or Wang Cheng. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Wang Sheng, Zhang Pu and four other Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒 received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -LX 3:8a-9a, cited by Qian Daxin in *HHSJJ* 75/65:2689 *jiaobu*.

Wang Sheng 王晟; Wu. A local leader and a former Administrator of Hepu, Wang Sheng was among the gentry who opposed Sun Ce in 196. Their troops were defeated and Wang Sheng's associates were killed, but Sun Ce's mother the Lady Wu pleaded for his life. Before she married his father, she said, Wang Sheng had been one of her suitors, but now he was old and his kinfolk were all dead. Sun Ce had pity, and he let Wang Sheng live. -SGZ Wu 1:1105; deC 90:170-171.

Wang Shi 王嵒; Langye. *XTS* 72B:2601 says that Wang Shi was a son of Wang Zun IV.

Wang Shi 王石; Guanghan. Two years after Wang Shi's father Wang Huan had died as Prefect of Luoyang in 105, an edict of the regent Dowager Deng made Wang Shi a gentleman cadet in honour of his service. -*HHS* 76/66:2470.

Wang Shi 王始, the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Wang Tang and the Lady Wen Ji, she married an official. -*HYGZ* 10C:177.

Wang Shi 王示, the Lady; Guanghan. Daughter of Wang Tang and the Lady Wen Ji, she married an official. -*HYGZ* 10C:177.

Wang Shi 王寔; Taiyuan. *XTS* 72B:2642 says that Wang Shi was a great-grandson of Wang Yin, and that he became the father of Wang Yun, Wang Wei and Wang Mao.

Wang Shi 王士 [Yiqiang 義彊] (d.225); Guanghan. A cousin of Wang Fu, Wang Shi joined Liu Bei when he came to the west, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and joined his headquarters. He served as Administrator in Jianwei and Yizhou, but was killed by non-Chinese as he accompanied Zhuge Liang's southern expedition.

-SGZ Shu 15:1088, *HYGZ* 12:227.

Wang Shu 王述/術 (d.26). A distant cousin of Wang Mang, Wang Shu's father Wang Ren 王仁 was forced to commit suicide by the future usurper about 3 AD. Wang Shu inherited his marquisate under Han and was later Administrator of Jiujiang under the Xin; it appears that he was allowed to maintain his fief.

Wang Shu married the sister of Ma Yu 馬余, Inspector of Yang province, and when Ma Yu died in 23 his widow went to stay with him, accompanied by her sons Ma Yan and Ma Dun.

In 24 Wang Shu lost his position after the fall of Wang Mang's regime, but again continued to hold the fief. As the Lady Ma died about this time, Wang Shu took her two sons with him to Pei commandery. He died in 26, and the marquisate was ended. -*HS* 18:703, *DGHJ* 12:4b.

Wang [Shuhan] 王叔漢; Runan. Son of Wang Zifang, Wang Shufan was separated from his father for twenty years. Then, when he was a member of the Imperial Secretariat, someone said that Wang Zifang had died in their home commandery. Wang Shuhan had his elder brother Bosan go to attend the funeral and himself sought leave for mourning. This was approved, and he was also given a grant of twenty thousand cash.

It then turned out that the news was false, and that Wang Zifang had in fact returned north from Zangke. Wang Shufan went back to the capital, restored the money, and offered himself for punishment as one who had given false information. Emperor Ling ordered a high-ranking court conference to discuss the matter, and on the advice of the Academician Ren Min it was agreed that no penalty should be inflicted. -*FSTY* 3f: 105-06.

Ying Shao was active about this time and came from Runan, so he should have had good evidence for the story. Since Emperor Ling was known for his greed and miserliness, however, it is a little surprising that such a generous grant was made in the first place.

Wang Shun 王順; Guanghan. Towards the end of the first century Wang Shun was Administrator of Anding. -*HHS* 76/66:2468.

Wang Si 王思; Jiyin. Recruited into Cao Cao's offices in the early 200s, Wang Si was admired for his character and had a wide circle of friends, including Liang Xi, Xue Ti and Xi Jia. He served as Inspector of Yu province, and became a member of the Secretariat and a minister under Wei. He was enfeoffed by Cao Pi.

-SGZ 15:470-71.

Wang Song 王誦; Kuaiji. Second son of Wang Fan, Wang Song was the father of Wang Chong. Though the family were local bullies, and twice had to move to escape enemies, Wang Song never beat his son; he taught him to read at the age of six, and sent him to school at the age of eight.

Wang Song died while Wang Chong was still young. -HHS 49/39:1629, *Lun heng* 30; Forke 07:64-65, Ebrey 86:633.

Wang Song 王松; Yuyang. In 205 Wang Song controlled Zhuo commandery for the Yuan. Liu Fang, however, persuaded him to submit to Cao Cao. -SGZ 14:456-57.

Wang Su 王肅 (d.52). Son of Wang Pan, though his father had been disgraced and died in 46, Wang Su maintained his position as a wealthy nobleman at the capital, regularly visiting the imperial palace and the residences of the kings. As he had for Wang Pan, Ma Yuan remarked that this was most unwise behaviour, and the number of Wang Su's retainers was a particular cause for concern.

After the death of the former Empress Guo in 52, an anonymous letter to the emperor noted Wang Su's position as the son of a criminal who had been executed, and accused him of planning treasonous trouble. Guangwu was angry and ordered various local authorities to arrest Wang Su's followers. Several thousand people were executed. -HHS 24/14:851.

Wang Su 王蘇; Jianwei. In the late second century Wang Su was a client of Dong Tai. When the young widow Han Jiang refused Dong Tai's offer of marriage Wang Su and his colleague Zuo Xi abducted her. They forced her into the union, but the Lady killed herself. The Administrator learnt of the affair, and had Wang Su and Zuo Xi executed to avenge her death. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Wang Su 王肅 [Ziyong 子雍] (195-256); Donghai. Son of Wang Lang, Wang Su was born when his father was Administrator in Kuaiji. At the age of eighteen he went to study with the New Text scholar Song Zhong in Nanyang, whose teachings followed the classical interpretations of Jia Yi 賈誼, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han, and opposed the more eclectic approach of Zheng Xuan. Wang Su became a leader of this school, composing many commentaries to the classics and histories, together with official and ritual documents for the court, while

he also developed the theories on the *Book of Changes* which had been put forward by his father Wang Lang.

It is alleged that in his zeal to attack Zheng Xuan and his followers, Wang Su forged an ancient text of the *Classic of History* and also *Kongzi jiaju* 孔子家語 "Home Sayings of Confucius." The first accusation is doubtful, the second may be correct; see *Texts*:385 [Shaughnessy] and *Texts*:259-260 [Kramers].

Wang Su held scholarly and administrative positions under Wei. His daughter married Sima Zhao 司馬昭 and became the mother of Sima Yan 司馬炎, founding Emperor Wu of Jin 晉武帝. -SGZ 13:414-20; Miao 82:73, Demiéville 86:828.

Wang Tan 王澹; Ba. A local gentleman in the 190s, Wang Tan was recommended by Wang Shang and nominated Abundant Talent by Governor Liu Zhang. He rose to high office in the province. -HYGZ 10B:147, 12:220.

Wang Tan 王潭. A member of the Imperial Secretariat, Wang Tan was admired for his knowledge of the laws. -XC 7:3a.

Wang Tang 王堂 or Wang Chang 常. Administrator of Wuling, Wang Tang held a commission from the late Gengshi Emperor but controlled his own territory. In 29 Guangwu's commander in the south, Cen Peng, wrote urging him to accept the new imperial regime, and sent one of his officers with a formal call to arms. Wang Tang sent tribute to Han and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:157-158.

Wang Tang 王堂 [Jingbo 敬伯]; Guanghan. Recommended as Abundant Talent by the Minister of the Household, Wang Tang distinguished himself as a county magistrate in Dong commandery. When rebel Qiang killed the Administrator of Ba in 116, the Excellencies recommended Wang Tang to replace him. He defeated the enemy and pacified the region, he recommended several worthy men, and the Inspector Zhang Qiao commended his Exceptional Quality. When he was transferred to become Administrator of Youfufeng the people erected a temple in his honour.

As Emperor An came on tour to the west in 124, the former imperial wet-nurse Wang Sheng and the palace eunuch Jiang Jing both sought to call upon Wang Tang, but despite his officers' urgings and the threat of slander he claimed illness and refused to see them. When the emperor died in the following year Jiang Jing and his associates were killed, and Wang Tang's prescience was widely commended.

In 127 Wang Tang became Court Architect, but was demoted for some fault two years later and became a Consultant. He was later Chancellor of Lu, where he kept the peace so well that there were no legal disputes for several years. Transferred to Runan, he reformed the local administration and named Chen Fan and Ying Si as models for his staff.

As Wang Tang refused to show them any special respect, the General-in-Chief Liang Shang and his associate Yuan Tang, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, became angry. When rebels from Lujiang attacked his territory, Wang Tang led commandery troops to against them. The rebels were defeated and scattered, but as Wang Tang pursued them Liang Shang and Yuan An reported that he had crossed the borders of his territory. Wang Tang was dismissed.

Wang Tang died at home at the age of eighty-six. He left no property behind and had only an earthenware coffin. -HHS 31/21:1105-06, HYGZ 10B:145.

Wang Tang 王堂, second wife of: see the Lady Wen Ji 文極.

Wang Tengzhi 王騰之. A county officer, in 135 Wang Tengzhi was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -SJZ 16:15a.

Wang Tian 王恬. In 94 Wang Tian was an officer of the Emissary guarding the Southern Shanyu Shizi, whose predecessor Anguo had just been killed and who was well known for his hostility to the surrendered Northern Xiongnu. Some hundreds of these people promptly attacked Shizi, but Wang Tian brought troops to defeat them. Several tribal groups then appointed their own Shanyu, Fenghou, and fled beyond the frontier. -HHS 89/79:2955.

Wang Tiao 王調 (d.30); Lelang. About 25 Wang Tiao led a rising against the regime of the Gengshi Emperor. He killed the Administrator Liu Xian, took his title and also styled himself a chief general. In 30 Emperor Guangwu sent an army against him under the new Administrator Wang Zun. As he approached, the Thrice Venerable of Lelang, Wang Hong, and the local officer Yang Yi killed Wang Tiao and welcomed the Han troops. -HHS 76/66:2464.

Wang Tiao 王調 [Shuhe 叔和]. Intendant of Henan in the early 90s, Wang Tiao was a client of Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager. He was criticised by several officials for failing to keep proper control of the Dou family and their retainers.

Wang Tiao was later dismissed for having bought a bamboo plantation outside Luoyang and then recommending that work on the eastern canal system be halted, presumably to preserve his new property. -HHS 41/31:1416, 43/33:1478-79.

Wang Tiao 王調; Bohai. When Li Gu was arrested at the behest of Liang Ji in 147, his client Wang Tiao put himself into fetters and sent a letter of protest. This was followed by a further demonstration of support, and the regent Dowager Liang released Li Gu; the Dowager's brother Liang Ji, however, had Li Gu arrested again and executed. -HHS 63/53:2087.

Wang Tong 王同; Ji'nan. About 210 Wang Tong was leader of a group of retainers and clients of Liu Jie, a man of local family who was Registrar of the commandery. Wang Tong and his men evaded their corvée duties and frequently acted like bandits, but Liu Jie always protected them.

When the county magistrate Sima Zhi conscripted Wang Tong and his fellows as soldiers, Liu Jie hid them. He then sent an Investigator to find charges against Sima Zhi, but Sima Zhi reported the whole matter to the Administrator, Hao Guang, and presented a catalogue of Liu Jie's offences. Deciding in favour of Sima Zhi, Hao Guang compelled Liu Jie to take Wang Tong's place as a conscript. -SGZ 12:386-87.

Wang Tu 王. As a Protector of the Army, responsible for discipline, in 213 Wang Tu was one of the officers who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -SGZ 1:40.

Wang Tun 王饨 see Wang Chun 王惇.

Wang Wang 王望 [Ciqing 慈卿]; Langye. Probably to avoid the disturbances at the beginning of Later Han, Wang Wang migrated into Kuaiji, but early in the reign of Emperor Ming Zhongli Yi of the Imperial Secretariat nominated him and other gentlemen aged over seventy who had great influence for good in their local communities. They were summoned to court for appointment as Consultants, and Wang Wang then became Inspector of Qing province.

There had been a drought and other natural disasters at this time, and when Wang Wang went on tour he saw the starving people. Filled with pity, he issued government stores of grain and clothing without seeking permission from the court. Emperor Ming and his senior officials intended to punish him for this breach of regulations, but Zhongli Yi argued on his behalf and Wang Wang was pardoned. -HHS

39/29:1297*.

Wang Wang 王望; Qi. A clerk in the commandery offices in the early 60s, Wang Wang proposed an effusive toast to the Administrator at an official function, but his flattery was sharply criticised by his colleague Wu Liang. -HHS 27/17:942.

Wang Wei 王威; Runan. Wang Wei held local office under Administrator Guo, who committed some fault and received a summons. Guo was frightened and wanted to kill himself, but Wang Wei took the document, threw himself into a fire and died. Guo escaped any penalty. -XC 8:8a.

Wang Wei 王衛. An officer under Zhang Huan in 155, Wang Wei was sent to face down the Qiang as they proposed to join up with rebel Xiongnu. -HHS 65/55:2138.

Wang Wei 王隗; Taiyuan. XTS 72B:2642 says that Wang Wei was a son of Wang Shi and brother of the Excellency Wang Yun, who died in 192.

Wang Wei 王威 of Yi province (*fl.* 190) see Wang Xian 王咸.

Wang Wei 王威. As Liu Zong the Governor of Jing province was preparing to surrender to Cao Cao in 208, Wang Wei urged him to make a surprise attack. Liu Zong refused. -SGZ 6:214.

Wang Weibiao 王為表 see *sub* Wang Shang 王商. -HYGZ 10B:160, HYGZJBTZ:593.

Wang Weiqing 王偉卿; Ba. A friend of Wang Si, in the early 200s Wang Weiqing was Prefect of Chang'an. -HYGZ 12:218.

Wang Weng 王翕; Donglai. Wang Weng's nephew Wang Ji lost his father when he was young, and Wang Weng brought him up. The two men were noted for the care with which Wang Weng treated his nephew, and the filial respect Wang Ji showed in return. -SGZ 27:750 [*cf.* a different man of the same name *sub* Wang Long].

Wang Wu 王吳. During the 60s Wang Wu was appointed Internuncio for Engineering 將作謁者 to work on repairs to the Vast Canal, which linked the Huai valley with the Yellow River and Luoyang, and which had been broken and liable to flood since the last years of Former Han: Bn 54:147-150. As he was engaged with the Junyi Trench, a section in western Chenliu [*cf. sub* Yue Jun], Wang Jing was appointed to assist him and the two men established a partnership: it appears that the younger Wang Jing designed the work while Wang Wu organised the labour.

Early in 69 Wang Jing presented detailed plans for repairing the Bian River, the core of the Vast Canal complex, and for the control of flooding along the Yellow River. In the summer Wang Wu was formally commissioned to repair the break in the dykes at the central staging post of Rongyang in Henan, and to control the Yellow River eastwards to the sea at Qiansheng/Dong'an. It is said that a labour force of several hundred thousand men was organised, and twelve months later Emperor Ming visited the site and issued an edict to celebrate the completed work. He was presumably referring only to the closing of the dykes at that critical position; full control of the Yellow River would have taken longer. There is further discussion of the work in the entry for Wang Jing.

Wang Wu and his senior assistants were each awarded an advance of one degree in noble rank for their achievement, but Wang Wu is not heard of again. It is possible that he remained in charge of the Yellow River project until his death or retirement in 73, for that year Wang Jing was given a comparable title by Emperor Ming in 73. -HHS 2:114-16, 76/66:2464; Bn 54:147-150.

Wang Xi 王喜; Henei. A local elder, about 140 Wang Xi supported the placement of a stele at the funerary temple of the Grand Duke Lü Wang 太公呂望, founder of the ancient state of Qi 齊. -SJZ 9:7a.

Wang Xi 王喜 (d.146). Administrator of Guangling in 146, Wang Xi was found guilty of a lack of energy in dealing with rebels. He died in prison. -HHS 6:280.

Wang Xian 王咸; Taiyuan. XTS 72B:2622 says that Wang Ba [*q.v.*] had a son named Xian.

Wang Xian 王咸 (d.23); Hongnong. Formerly a local clerk in Hongnong commandery, in 23 he joined the forces of Deng Ye and Yu Kuang in their rebellion against Wang Mang. After the defeat of Wang Mang's last field army at Huayin, the allies entered the Wei valley. They halted to attack the Capital Granary, but sent Wang Xian, now a colonel, with a detachment of a few hundred men into Zuopingyi, north of the Wei.

As Wang Xian advanced, many local leaders and gentry came to join him. With troops numbering thousands of men, they took titles as generals in the name of the Han. While the main Han army remained in Huayin, unable to take the Capital Granary and preparing equipment to attack Chang'an, Wang Xian and his irregulars forced their way into the city. On 6 October they killed Wang Mang and his last

attendants.

Flushed with pride at his nominal command of a vast army, Wang Xian styled himself a chief general of Han. He kept Wang Mang's seals, wore his robes, rode in his carriages and made use of the dead man's harem. Three days after the fall of Chang'an, however, Li Song, Deng Ye and the other generals of Han arrived with the regular army. Because of his extravagant conduct, and because he had failed to send the imperial seals immediately to the Gengshi Emperor in Nanyang, Wang Xian was executed. -Dubs 55:460-466; Bn 54:129-132.

Distinguish Wang Xian 王咸, an officer under Wang Mang at Chang'an in 23: Dubs 55:449, Bn 54:122, *QHX*:557 (6).

Wang Xian 王咸. A man of powerful family in Ba commandery in Yi province, Wang Xian was seen by the Governor Liu Yan as a potential rival. About 190 he was arrested on some charge and executed. -*SGZ* Shu 1:867, *HYGZ* 5:70 [which describes Wang Xian as Administrator of Ba commandery, so not a man of local family].

Wang [Xiancai] 王顯才. Son of Wang Xing, Wang Xiancai was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25 with a marquisate in Zhongshan. -*SJZ* 11:1b.

Wang Xiang 王象; Bohai. Wang Xiang killed the scholar Hou Man. When Hou Man's fellow-student Kou Qi came to take revenge, Wang Xiang pleaded that he was ill. Kou Qi went away, but waited until Wang Xiang had recovered and then returned to kill him. -*HYGZ* 10C:175.

Wang Xiang 王象; Dongping. In the middle 150s Wang Xiang was a clerk in the office of the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong. When Huang Qiong complained to his staff that the balance of nature was awry and he felt responsible, Wang Xiang and others sought to encourage him by observing that even the legendary heroes of the past had experienced similar times of ill omen, but they would pass. Wang Xiang's colleague Li Xuan, however, urged their master to a more active role. -*HHSJJ* 61/51:2222 *jiaobu* quoting Hou Kang.

Wang Xiang 王象 [Xibo 羲伯] (d.222); Henei. Orphaned and poor, Wang Xiang became a servant, and at the age of seventeen he was flogged for reading books while he was herding sheep. The local leader Yang Jun admired him, purchased him from the family which owned him, arranged a marriage, and set him

up with a house. Wang Xiang became known for his literary and scholarly ability.

In 206 Liang Xi, Cao Cao's Inspector of Bing province, recommended Wang Xiang and others, and Wang Xiang and his fellow-countryman Xun Wei became members of the household of Cao Pi, later Heir and successor to Cao Cao. After the deaths of Wang Can, Chen Lin and colleagues in the sad year of 217, Wang Xiang was the most distinguished of the surviving, younger generation.

When Cao Pi came to the throne of Wei in 220, he gave orders for the compilation of *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings," a comprehensive edition of the classics and their commentaries. Named a Cavalier Attendant, enfeoffed as a marquis, and appointed Custodian of the Private Library, Wang Xiang was the initial convenor for this massive project, assisted by Xun Wei and other leading scholars, including Liu Shao and Huan Fan.

Grateful to his early patron Yang Jun, Wang Xiang always spoke in his favour, and in 222 he joined Sima Yi and Xun Wei to intercede on his behalf when Cao Pi had him arrested. As their pleas proved unsuccessful, Yang Jun killed himself, and Wang Xiang died soon afterwards. -*SGZ* 23:663-664.

Wang Xiang 王祥 [Xiuzheng 休徵] (180-268); Langye. Wang Xiang was the son of Wang Rong by his first wife. His mother died when he was young and his father's second wife, the Lady Zhu, disliked him intensely. She turned Wang Rong against him, and after his father died, presumably about 210, she wanted to kill him. Wang Xiang was saved on several occasions by the intervention of his young half-brother Wang Lan, son of the Lady Zhu, but for his part he served her with the utmost filial duty. On one occasion, when she asked for fresh fish in the middle of winter, Wang Xiang went to the frozen river, took off his clothes and attempted to break the ice; as he did so, however, it opened itself and two fish jumped out. Such instances of his good will and magical benefits became celebrated.

In the time of troubles at the end of Han Wang Xiang and his family took refuge in Lujiang, and lived in seclusion for thirty years. When the Lady Zhu died he mourned her so deeply that he became ill and frail.

In the early 230s Wang Xiang was invited to office in the province. Urged to accept by Wang Lan, he became known for his excellent government. He rose

to high rank under Wei and was enfeoffed by the Jin. -JS 33:987-90; Fang 65:242, Mather 76:586.

Wang Xiaoyuan 王孝淵 (d.128); Shu. Formerly Officer of Merit in his county and a local officer of the commandery, Wang Xiaoyuan was commemorated with a stele at his tomb. -Nagata 94:70.

Wang Xin 王歆; Jingzhao. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Wang Xin became warlord in his home county of Xiagui on the lower Wei River. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -HHS 17/7:647. This man is surely a kinsman of Wang Da above.

Wang Xin 王歆; Yingchuan. Son of Wang Du and the Princess Liu Zhong, daughter of Emperor Ming, Wang Xin succeeded to his father's fief in Jiangxia. -HHS 20/10:738.

Wang Xin 王信. Following the dismissal of the general Liu Shang in 98, the Internuncio Wang Xin was given command of troops against the Qiang warlord Mitang. His colleague Geng Tan persuaded and bribed a number of Mitang's followers to submit, and Mitang himself then surrendered.

Wang Xin and Geng Tan disbanded their troops, but when Mitang led another attack two years later, Wang Xin, Geng Tan and the Protector Wu Zhi were all dismissed. -HHS 87/77:2884.

Wang Xin 王信 (d.112); Hanyang. A local leader south of the Wei, in the autumn of 111 Wang Xin joined Du Qi and Du Jigong in a rebellion allied to the Qiang. In the following year they were defeated by the Imperial Clerk Tang Xi. Wang Xin was killed and his head was sent for display at Luoyang. -HHS 5:218-19, 87/77:2888; deC 84:106.

Wang Xing 王興; Hanyang. Wang Xing's father Wang Tan 譚 held a marquisate under Former Han. Though he was a kinsman of Wang Mang, he would not take part in his new regime, for he believed he had been offered too low a position. After his death in 16 AD his son Wang Ren 仁, brother of Wang Xing, succeeded to his fief, but he was later killed by Wang Mang [QHX: 553 & 548].

Wang Xing sired five sons. Evidently concerned at the fate of Wang Ren, they took refuge in the hill country of Zhongshan. It is not known when Wang

Xing died, but the sons were all enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25: see Wang Yuancai, Wang Yicai, Wang Xiancai, Wang Zhongcai and Wang Jicai. -SJZ 11:1a-b.

Wang Xiu 王脩; Kuaiji. Formerly an Assistant Officer of Yang province, in the early 190s Wang Xiu was cited by Yu Fan as an official remembered for his self-sacrifice. -SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Wang Xiu 王脩 [Shuzhi 叔治]; Beihai. Noted when young for his filial piety, generous conduct and scholarship, Wang Xiu was appointed Registrar to Kong Rong in Beihai about 190, and later became a county magistrate in that territory. The powerful Sun 孫 family provided a refuge for bandits, but Wang Xiu brought local militia, and though they were reluctant he urged them to the attack. The Sun were frightened and surrendered, and other families then submitted too. Appointed to another county, Wang Xiu killed the local bully Gongsha Lu and restored some order. Kong Rong was unable to maintain control of the territory as a whole; as he prepared to abandon his post he dismissed Wang Xiu for his own good.

Wang Xiu was then a magistrate under Yuan Shao and later served as Attendant Officer to his son Yuan Tan, though he had small influence in his counsels. When Yuan Tan was defeated by his brother Shang in 203 Wang Xiu brought him relief, but he protested to both brothers about their quarrel.

As Cao Cao attacked Yuan Tan in 205, Wang Xiu again brought help, but was too late. He begged Yuan Tan's body for burial, then received appointment from Cao Cao to take charge of grain supplies at Le'an. He captured Yuan Tan's Administrator of Le'an, Guan Tong, but refused orders to kill him. Impressed by his moral courage, and also by his lack of greed and his concern for scholarship, Cao Cao took Wang Xiu onto his staff. He was later appointed Administrator of Wei commandery, which he ruled with success.

In 213 Wang Xiu became a minister in the ducal state of Wei. When Yan Cai raised a mutiny at the capital about 216 Wang Xiu ignored protocol, which called for ministers to guard their own offices, but led his guards to attack the rebels. He became ill and died soon afterwards, leaving a number of works of literature and scholarship.

After Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, in recognition of his past loyal service a son or grandson of Wang Xiu was granted the right to appointment as a

gentleman cadet -SGZ 11:345-48*, 2:58.

Wang Xiu 王休; Nan. As Guan Yu was besieging Xiangyang in 219, the local farmers Wang Xiu and Zhang Jia presented him with a jade seal they had found in the Han River. This was later taken as a sign that Liu Bei should claim the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 2:888.

Wang Xuan 王宣 or Wang Zhong 重. Chieftains of the Red Eyebrows, late in 26 Wang Xuan and Liu Shi held off an attack by Guangwu's general Feng Yi at the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River. After two months' resistance, they were obliged to surrender early in 27. -HHS 17/7:646.

Wang Xuan 王選. A senior member of Cao Cao's personal staff, in 213 Wang Xuan was one of the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -SGZ 1:40.

Wang Xun 王尋. In 76 Wang Xun was Administrator of Yongchang commandery, which had lately been established to supervise great numbers of the Ailao people who had come to submit. The headquarters of the commandery were on the Mekong by present-day Yongping in Yunnan.

In that year King Lei'ao of the Ailao quarrelled with his Chinese supervisor, who was probably attempting to extract greater tribute and obedience from the new subjects of Han. Killing several Chinese officials, Lei'ao drove Wang Xun back to the region of the Dali Lake and destroyed the new counties of the region. -HHS 86/76:2851, 101/11:3232.

This man of Later Han cannot be the same person as Wang Xun the general of Wang Mang, who was defeated by Liu Xiu and the Han forces at Kunyang in 23.

Wang Yan 王演; Kuaiji. Nominated by the Administrator Zhang Ba during the 90s, Wang Yan rose to high office. -HYGZ 10A:133.

Wang Yan 王晏 [Shubo 叔博]; Guanghan. Wang Yan studied at the Imperial University. When their fellow-student Zhang Chang was killed by Lü Tiao, Wang Yan and his colleague Ning Shu avenged him. Emperor Shun admired their conduct and pardoned them. -HYGZ 10C:175.

Wang Yan 王琰; Zuopingyi. Wang Yan was regarded as a man of poor background, for either he or members of his family had held dishonourable occupations or positions 不名為清白. He nonetheless became a county commandant in Jingzhao, and in 206 he

captured and killed Gao Gan, who had raised an unsuccessful rebellion against Cao Cao and was attempting to escape into Jing province.

Wang Yan was rewarded with enfeoffment, but it is said that his wife wept when she heard this, for she believed that now he was wealthy and honoured he would take a new concubine in her place.

Wang Yan became Administrator in a number of commanderies and was also Protector of the Qiang.. -SGZ 6:207, 23:661.

Wang Yan 王嚴 see Wang Lang 王郎.

Wang Yanshou 王延壽 [Wenkao 文考 and Zishan 子山]; Nan. Son of Wang Yi, Wang Yanshou was a young man of great literary talent. When he was aged just over twenty he went on a journey with his father to Taishan, and composed the rhapsody *Lingguang dian fu* 靈光殿賦 "Rhapsody on the Hall of Numinous Brilliance" on the celebrated palace in Lu [Knechtges 87:262-279].

Wang Yanshou also suffered from strange and worrying dreams, and wrote *Meng fu* 夢賦 "The Dream Rhapsody," in an attempt to control them. As he was crossing the Xiang River on his journey home, he was drowned.

It is said that many years later the great Cai Yong also wanted to compose a rhapsody on the Lingguang Palace, but when he read Wang Yanshou's work he admired it so greatly that he made no attempt to emulate it. -HHS 80/70A:2618, XC 5:11a-b.

Wang Ye 王業 [Changxu 長緒]; Shanyang. Son of Wang Kai and the Lady Liu XIV, daughter of Liu Biao, he inherited the property of his uncle Wang Can, including the great library, after the death of his two cousins, the sons of Wang Can, in 219. Later, Cao Pi granted Wang Ye the succession to Wang Can's fief, and he became Supervisor of Internuncios under Wei. Wang Ye was the father of the precocious philosopher Wang Bi 弼. -SGZ 28:794-96; MBeck 90:46.

Wang Yi 王姬, the Lady: see the Lady Wang Ji 王姬.

Wang Yi 王逸 [Shushi 叔師]; Nan. A man of literary ability, about 115 Wang Yi went to the capital as Reporting Officer of his commandery. He was appointed a collator in the imperial library, and in the time of Emperor Shun he became a Palace Attendant.

Wang Yi compiled a detailed commentary to the *Chu ci* 楚辭 anthology, which was widely circulated. He also composed twenty *pian* of rhapsodies and prose works, and 123 *Han shi* 漢詩 "Poems of Han," while

he maintained an erudite correspondence with his close friend Fan Ying. -HHS 80/70A:2618*, XC 5:11a-b.

Wang Yi 王誼 see sub Wang Zun IV.

Wang Yi 王翊 [Yuanfu 元輔]; Jingzhao. A county magistrate in Changshan, Wang Yi was involved in a series of stele arranged by the Chancellor Feng Xun. -LS 3:17b-23b.

Wang Yi 王邑 [Wendu 文都]; Beidi. Formerly a county magistrate in Xihe, in 195 Wang Yi was Administrator of Hedong. Following his escape from Chang'an Emperor Xian came to Anyi, capital of Hedong, at the end of the year. As he received the imperial party with food and clothing, Wang Yi was rewarded with enfeoffment and given title as a general.

In 205 the imperial government, now under the control of Cao Cao at Xu city, recalled Wang Yi and commissioned Du Ji as his replacement. Wang Yi was reluctant to leave Hedong, and his officers Wei Gu and Fan Xian, secret supporters of Gao Gan, officer of the Yuan family, wanted to avoid Cao Cao's new official. They went to the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, asking that Wang Yi might stay, but Zhong Yao insisted he must hand his insignia to Du Ji.

Taking his seal and ribbon with him, however, Wang Yi went directly to Xu city. Zhong Yao wrote an indignant letter of complaint, but Du Ji eventually established himself in Hedong, and no further action was taken against Wang Yi. -HHS 72/62:2340-41, SGZ 13:394; deC 96:168, 341.

Wang Yi 王異 or Shi Yi 士異, the Lady. Wife of Zhao Ang of Hanyang, in 210 the Lady was lodging at Xi, by present-day Lixian in Gansu, while her husband served as a county magistrate in Wudu. As the city was stormed by the rebel Liang Shuang, the Lady's two sons were killed and she herself faced rape. She wanted to kill herself, but felt obliged to care for her six-year-old daughter Ying. They hid in a privy, and kept out of sight for almost a year.

Then Liang Shuang made peace with the authorities and the Lady was able to rejoin her husband. As she approached his city, however, she took poison, for she had failed to live up to the models of the past, and now her daughter was safe there was no excuse to live. An antidote was forced upon her, and her life was saved.

In 213 the Lady Wang was with her husband at Ji, capital of Hanyang, when Ma Chao attacked. She played an active role in the defence, but after the city fell her reputation as a woman of principle gained her

favour with the Lady Yang, wife of Ma Chao; so Zhao Ang too was accepted and trusted.

As Zhao Ang planned a rising against Ma Chao, he was concerned for his son Zhao Yue, whom Ma Chao held hostage. He asked Wang Yi, and she replied that it was the duty of a son to give his life, if the purpose was to maintain his father's honour as a loyal officer. Zhao Yue was indeed killed. -SGZ 25:703-04.

Wang Yi 王異 see Wang Hei 王黑.

Wang [Yicai] 王益才. Son of Wang Xing, Wang Yicai was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25 with a marquisate in Zhongshan. -SJZ 11:1b.

Wang Yin 王胤/印. A captain in the Dependent State of Jiuquan, in 31 Wang Yin was killed in a vendetta by Zhu Ying, younger brother of the Administrator of Jiuquan. -HHS 23/13:805.

Wang Yin 王殷; Taiyuan. XTS 72B:2642 says that Wang Yin was a son of Wang Ba, and that he became Administrator of Zhongshan.

Wang Yin 王音 [Shaoxuan 少玄]; Langye. XTS 72B:2601 says that Wang Yin was a son of Wang Zun IV, and that he held a clerical position under a General-in-Chief.

Wang Yin 王蔭; Henan. A local commandery officer, in 135 Wang Yin was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see sub Ma Xian. -SJZ 16:14b.

Wang Ying 王嬰. The close friendship between Wang Ying and his fellow-countryman Fan Juqing became proverbial. -XC 7:4a.

Wang Ying 王應; Donglai. A local bandit about 200, he was put down by officers of the Administrator He Kui. -SGZ 12:379.

Wang Yong 王永 [Borong 伯榮], the Lady (d.125); Qinghe. Daughter of Wang Sheng the wet-nurse of Emperor An, Wang Yong also benefited from the imperial favour. As Emperor An took power after the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121, she was granted access to the inner palace, and used her position to take bribes. Sent on missions to the tomb of the emperor's mother, the Lady Zuo, in Qinghe, she demanded special honours wherever she passed. Wang Yong also had an affair with the imperial clansman Liu Gui, who later took her as his formal wife, and through this influence Liu Gui obtained the inheritance of a family marquisate and position as a Palace Attendant.

The Grand Commandant Yang Zhen and other officials presented memorials against Wang Yong and

her mother, citing omens and portents of criticism, but the emperor showed them the papers, and in 124 Yang Zhen was destroyed by their eunuch allies.

As the Yan clan of the Dowager took power after the death of Emperor An in 125, they turned against their rivals, including the minister Geng Bao and the Lady Wang Sheng. Convicted of factionalism and conspiracy, Wang Yong and her mother were exiled to the northern frontier. -HHS 10B:437, 54/44:1761, 46/36:1562.

Wang Yong 王永. Administrator of Yuzhang in the early 160s, Wang Yong was reported by Chen Xiang, Inspector of Yang province, for his corrupt alliance with the eunuch favourites of Emperor Huan. He was dismissed and sent to prison. -HHS 67/57:2213.

Wang You 王祐 [Pingzhong 平仲]; Guanghan. When Wang You was young he had a high reputation, and some considered him the finest scholar in the empire. He refused all offers of appointment from the province and the commandery.

After Wang You died at the age of forty-two, his younger brother Huo gathered his writings to compile the *Wangzi* 王子 in five *pian*. -HYGZ 10B:144.

Wang Yu 王禹; Yuyang. Son of Wang Liang, he inherited his father's marquisate in 38. He died some time before 70 and was succeeded by his eldest son Wang Jianshi.

Wang Yu was a friend of Liu Ying, King of Chu, and the connection was maintained by his younger son Wang Ping. It later brought disaster upon the family. -HHS 22/12:776.

Wang Yu 王郁. As Senior Colonel to the Emissary Duan Chen in 50, Wang Yu accompanied him on his mission to the Southern Xiongnu Bi and later commanded the Chinese troops guarding the Shanyu's court at Meiji in Xihe. -HHS 89/79:2943-45.

Wang Yu 王昱. Administrator of Yingchuan about 160, Wang Yu initially admired the reticence of the retired official Liu Sheng, but was later persuaded by Du Mi that such disengagement from public affairs was in fact a moral failure. -HHS 67/57:2198, *FSTY* 5:42.

Wang Yu 王寓. About 170 Wang Yu was Director of Retainers. An associate of the eunuchs, he proposed that the powers of his office should cover all officials at the capital, as high as the Excellencies. When the minister Zhang Huan argued against the plan, Wang Yu accused him of factionalism; Zhang Huan was dismissed and

proscribed from office. -HHS 65/55:2141.

Wang Yu 王戡. As Attendant Officer to Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province, about 190 Wang Yu encouraged him to seek the advice from Cheng Yu on whether he should ally himself with Yuan Shao or with Gongsun Zan. -SGZ 14:426.

Wang Yuan 王元 [Youweng 游翁 or Huimeng 惠孟: see also the entry immediately below]; Jingzhao. In 25, as Wei Ao re-established himself in Tianshui after his return from Chang'an, he appointed Wang Yuan a chief general.

Though Wei Ao acceded to the demand of Emperor Guangwu to send his son Wei Xun as a hostage, Wang Yuan and Wang Jie were among those of his officers who believed the emperor's success was not yet certain, and that Wei Ao should not give full submission. In 30, as the imperial envoy Lai Xi pressed for a firm decision, they urged Wei Ao to kill him and attack the region of Chang'an. Lai Xi, however, was allowed to leave, and it is clear Wei Ao was concerned only to maintain his position in the upper Wei valley and had no intention of enlarging his area of control.

As the Han armies prepared to move into Tianshui, Wei Ao sent Wang Yuan to oppose them on the Long Slope. After an initial defeat by the imperial vanguard under Zhai Zun, in the summer Wang Yuan won a major victory and forced the enemy to retreat. Wei Ao then ordered Wang Yuan and Xing Xun to counter-attack towards Chang'an, but they were defeated and driven back by Feng Yi and Zhai Zun.

When Guangwu renewed the campaign in 32, Wang Yuan again guarded the Long Slope. Wei Ao's position disintegrated behind him, however, as the Han forces out-flanked him on the north and many commanders sought terms from the emperor.

Wei Ao was then besieged in Xi city, in the south of Longxi, and Wang Yuan crossed the Qin Ling to seek aid from Gongsun Shu. In the winter he returned with reinforcements and, pretending his troops were far more numerous than they really were, he broke the siege, rescued Wei Ao, and brought him to Ji city. The imperial general Wu Han attempted to renew the attack, but as his supplies became short, his men deserted, and the invaders were forced to withdraw.

When Wei Ao died early in 33, Wang Yuan and Zhou Zong proclaimed his son Wei Chun as king in his place, but in the following year, 34, the Han armies returned in force. Wei Chun and his followers

surrendered to the commander Lai Xi, but Wang Yuan escaped to join Gongsun Shu, who appointed him to command of defences in Wudu.

In the summer of 35, as Guangwu's forces moved west up the Yangzi, Lai Xi attacked over the mountains from the north. Wang Yuan and his colleague Huan An sent an assassin to kill him, and the Han made no further advance on that front. Wang Yuan then came south to assist the defences on the Fu River against the advance of the Han, but in the autumn, following the defeat of Yan Cen he surrendered to Zang Gong. -HHS 13/3:522-31, 541-42; Bn 59:175-180, 189-191. See also immediately below.

Wang Yuan 王元 [Huimeng 惠孟]; Youfufeng? HHS 13/3:531 says that Wang Yuan, whose career in the service of Wei Ao and Gongsun Shu has been described above, had sometime been a county magistrate in Runan, and after his surrender and despite his long record of hostility to the Han, he was made Chancellor of Dongping. In 40, however, he was found guilty of sending in false reports on the amount of arable land for taxation, and died in prison [see *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, and Bn 79:136-139].

After the destruction of Gongsun Shu in 35, some of his former supporters were noted for their ability by Guangwu and received office in his regime: *e.g.* Li Yu II. One must doubt, however, that a long-term enemy such as Wang Yuan would ever have been given senior appointment. He had, after all, arranged the assassination of the imperial general Lai Xi, while at the time of his surrender Guangwu had destroyed his last enemies and had little to gain from any show of leniency.

Furthermore, while HHS 13/3:531 gives the style of the Chancellor of Dongping as Huimeng 惠孟, HHS 24/14:832-33 has Ma Yuan referring to Wei Ao's military commander by the style Youweng 游翁. Again, the main text of HHS 13/3:522 says that Wei Ao's officer Wang Yuan was a native of Changling 長陵, but commentary quotes DGHJ, which describes him as a man from Duling 杜陵; both counties were in Jingzhao. The second-century local history *Sanfu juehu*, cited by HHS 13/3:531 TC, says that Wang Huimeng came from Pingling 平陵 in Youfufeng.

The modern commentator Hong Yixuan, in HHSJJ 24/14:880 [dealing with HHS 24/14:832-33], suggests that the same man had two styles. I suspect, however, that *Sanfu juehu* is confused, and that there were two

men of the Wang surname from the region about Chang'an: both had the personal name Yuan, but they had different styles, they came from different counties, and they had different careers, one in the east and one in the west.

Wang Yuan 王元; Jianwei. About 120 Wang Yuan was Attendant Officer to Zhang Qiao the Inspector of Yi province. -HYGZ 12:229.

Wang Yuan 王元. Protector of the Wuhuan, in the summer of 141 Wang Yuan brought five thousand Xianbi horsemen to assist the General on the Liao Ma Xu against the rebel Xiongnu chieftains Wusi and Che'niu in Xihe. Despite some success, Ying Shao observed later that the auxiliaries had proved unruly and added to the troubles of the region. -HHS 48/38: 1609-10, 89/79:2962; deC 84:312.

Wang Yuan 王元. As commandery Registrar, Wang Yuan put forward recommendations without any consideration of personal affection or enmity. -XHS 4:20b; the commentary of Wang Wentai suggests that this passage in fact refers to Wang Yun 王允 of Taiyuan.

Wang Yuan 王苑 [Sunzhong 孫仲]. Wang Yuan lived as a hermit in a rush-made hut, eating only nettles and beans. -XHS 5:19b.

Wang [Yuanbin] 王元賓 see Wang Yuanshang 元賞.

Wang [Yuancai] 王元才. Son of Wang Xing, Wang Jicai was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25 with a marquisate in Zhongshan. -SJZ 11:1b.

Wang [Yuankui] 王元愷; Ba. Husband of the Lady Wang Ji, he died when she was young. -HYGZ 1:4.

Wang [Yuanshang] 王元賞 or Yuanbin 元賓 (d.161). Descended from an official family, Wang Yuanshang became a county magistrate in Chenliu. A stele was set up when he died. -LS 22:2a, 24:18a-b [as 元賞], LX 19:2b-3b [as 元賓].

Wang Yue 王越 see Wang Dan 王旦. -Mather 76: 342.

Wang Yun 王惲; Dongping. Recommended by Li Gu in 143, Wang Hun was invited to office, but is not heard of again. -HHS 63/53:2081.

Wang Yun 王允 [Zishi 子師] (137-192); Taiyuan. Wang Yun was a member of a leading family; XTS 72B:2642 says that he was the son of Wang Shi. Ambitious to reform the state on Confucian lines, Wang Yun studied the classics and also practised horsemanship and archery. He was praised by his fellow-countryman Guo Tai.

About 155 Wang Yun was appointed to local office in the commandery. Some ten years later, as the eunuch Zhao Jin was causing trouble and disruption, Wang Yun arrested him, and although there was an amnesty in force he killed him. Zhao Jin's friends at court told Emperor Huan, and in the following year the Administrator Liu Zhi was executed, being the senior officer responsible for Wang Yun's conduct. Wang Yun escorted the funeral to Liu Zhi's home country in Pingyuan and stayed there for three years' mourning.

Returning to the commandery service, Wang Yun quarrelled with the Administrator Wang Jiu about the quality of the officer Lu Fu. Wang Jiu thought of killing him, but Wang Yun was saved by the Inspector Deng Sheng, who appointed him as his Attendant Officer. He then entered the office of the Excellency over the Masses at the capital, was certified First Class and became an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate.

At the outbreak of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 Wang Yun was appointed Inspector of Yu province. Urging an end to the long Proscription for involvement in Faction, he recommended Xun Shuang and Kong Rong for office. In the field, he defeated a detachment of rebels, then joined the main armies under Huangfu Song and Lu Zhi. Letters came into his hands revealing that clients of the palace eunuch Zhang Rang had been in contact with the rebels, and Wang Yun reported this to the throne. Zhang Rang persuaded Emperor Ling to take no action, but he was furious with Wang Yun.

Zhang Rang later found cause for an accusation, and Wang Yun was sent to prison. Released under an amnesty, he was promptly arrested on another charge. The Excellency over the Masses Yang Ci urged him to commit suicide in order to avoid torture, and officials of his province came with tears to offer him a draught of poison, but Wang Yun insisted on the virtue of his cause and went by cage-cart to the Ministry of Justice. Everyone admired his courage, and the General-in-Chief He Jin and the highest ministers pleaded for him. His sentence was commuted from death, and as ministers continued to argue his case Wang Yun was eventually released. Fearing further attacks, he fled the capital under a false name.

When Emperor Ling died in 189, Wang Yun returned to Luoyang as an adviser to He Jin, and he was appointed Intendant of Henan. After He Jin was killed, the eunuchs Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and others took the imperial children Liu Bian and Liu Xie and

fled Luoyang, but Wang Yun ordered his officer Min Gong to lead a posse in pursuit and the two boys were brought back.

As Dong Zhuo took power after the death of He Jin and the massacre of the eunuchs, he appointed Wang Yun as Minister Coachman, with control of the Imperial Secretariat, and in 190 he named him Excellency over the Masses. In that year Dong Zhuo moved the capital to Chang'an, and Wang Yun arranged the transfer of as much of the libraries and archives as possible. When Emperor Guangwu shifted the capital from Chang'an to Luoyang he had brought the documents in two thousand carts. This time much had already been destroyed and the remainder required only seventy carts; there was heavy rain, moreover, and only half of them arrived. The current archives and classical works were however preserved.

While Dong Zhuo stayed by Luoyang to oppose the rebels from the east, Wang Yun controlled the government at Chang'an. He had Dong Zhuo's full confidence, but his real concern was to support the imperial house. He disapproved of Dong Zhuo's erratic regime, and he plotted with the Director of Retainers Huang Wan and Zheng Tai of the Secretariat to kill Dong Zhuo. Their first idea was to send Yang Zan and Shisun Rui to attack Dong Zhuo from the rear, but the plan was dropped as Dong Zhuo became suspicious.

In 191 Dong Zhuo came to Chang'an, and Wang Yun was obliged to accept enfeoffment for his role in moving the capital. In the following year he and Shisun Rui revived the project of assassination, and this time they secured the aid of Dong Zhuo's trusted guard Lü Bu. Dong Zhuo was killed on 22 June 192, and Wang Yun and Lü Bu shared credit and power.

Once in control of government, Wang Yun was both arrogant in his conduct and confused in his policies. He appalled scholars by ordering the execution of Cai Yong, the distinguished historian who had been given office by Dong Zhuo: Wang Yun accused him of sympathy for the dead usurper and argued that Cai Yong's work would slander his own party. It is said that he soon afterwards regretted the decision and sought to countermand the order, but Cai Yong was already dead.

Still more seriously in practical terms, Wang Yun gave small concern to the former officers of Dong Zhuo who commanded troops outside Chang'an. Evidently discounting their ability to organise and cooperate, he

neither pardoned them nor offered acceptable terms. As a result, within a few weeks Li Jue, Guo Si and others had brought their forces against the capital, and on 28 June they stormed the city. Wang Yun was captured and was executed a few days later. -HHS 66/56:2172-77*, ZF:10b-11a.

Wang Ze 王澤 [Jidao 季道]; Taiyuan. During the 160s Wang Ze and his elder brother Wang Rou went to seek advice from the celebrated judge of character Guo Tai. He told them that they could both achieve high rank, but Wang Ze should seek success through scholarship while Wang Rou looked for advancement in service to the state. As they followed his advice, Wang Rou became Emissary to the Xiongnu and Wang Ze was Administrator of Dai. -HHS 68/58:2231, SGZ 27:744.

Wang Ze 王則. Commandant of the Equipage at the court of Emperor Xian controlled by Cao Cao, in 197 Wang Ze was sent as an envoy to grant titles to Lü Bu. -SGZ 7:225.

Wang Zhang 王章. A major under Teng Fu in 145, Wang Zhang led a detachment which defeated rebels and bandits in Lujiang. -HHS 6:279.

Wang Zhang 王璋 [Boyu 伯玉]; Nanyang. A county magistrate, in 156 Wang Zhang was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Wang Zhang 王章/璋 or Wang Shang 商 [Boyi 伯義 or 伯儀]; Donglai. In 165 Emperor Huan sent officers to present sacrifices at the tomb temple of the legendary Prince Qiao 王子喬 of the Zhou period, who was considered an associate of the legendary philosopher Laozi 老子. As Chancellor of the state of Liang, Wang Zhang set up a stele to honour the sage, with an inscription composed by Bian Shao.

In the late 160s Wang Zhang became Minister Steward. He was praised by the reformists and students of the University at Luoyang and numbered in their lists of worthy men. -SJZ 23:15b, HHS 67/57:2187 & 2190.

Wang Zhang 王章; Zhao. XHS 1:19a says that the Beauty Wang, concubine of Emperor Ling and mother of Emperor Xian, was a daughter of Wang Zhang. HHS 10B:450 says that she was a granddaughter of Wang Bao, who had been a General of the Household.

Wang Zhang would thus have been Wang Bao's son, but nothing more is known of him.

Wang Zhao 王照; Zuopingyi. Bandits of the northern hills, in 220 Wang Zhao and Zheng Gan were attacked

by the Wei general Zhang He. They surrendered. -SGZ 2:59.

Wang Zhen 王真 [Shujing 叔經]; Shangdang. A practitioner of long life at the court of Cao Cao in the early third century, Wang Zhen claimed to be a hundred years old, but had the appearance and behaviour of a strong, healthy man of fifty. He also said that he had travelled the world and climbed the five sacred mountains. He could hold his breath indefinitely, abstain from cereals and nourish himself merely by his own saliva, and he maintained regular sexual contact with women. -HHS 82/72B:2750-51*; Ngo 76:143-145, DeWoskin 83:88.

Wang Zheng 王政. In 35 Wang Zheng was an officer under Gongsun Shu's general and senior minister Ren Man. The Han general Cen Peng attacked Ren Man's army in Nan commandery, broke through the river defences and thoroughly defeated it. Wang Zheng then killed Ren Man, took his head and went to surrender. -HHS 13/3:542; Bn 59:189.

Wang Zheng 王政 [Jipu 季輔] (104-153); Rencheng. Wang Zheng's grandfather had been Administrator of Hanzhong, and Wang Zheng was known for his scholarship of the *Classic of History* in the Ouyang tradition of the New Text. He became an Assistant Officer of Yan province and served successfully as an acting county magistrate in Shanyang. He was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet, but before his period of probation was ended, he died at the age of fifty. -LX 1:1a-2b.

LS 27:6b cites the stele to this man, and says that it was found at his tomb in Rencheng.

Wang Zheng 王政. A retainer of the rebel Zhang Chun, in 190 Wang Zheng killed his master and sent the head to Liu Yu, Governor of You province. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 73/63:2354, SGZ 8:240.

Wang Zhi 汪直 [Yuanxiao 元孝]; Nanyang. Described as a former local officer at commandery headquarters, in 156 Wang Zhi was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Wang Zhi 王智; Chenliu? Brother of the eunuch Wang Fu, in 179 Wang Zhi was Administrator of Wuyuan. The scholar-official Cai Yong had been exiled in the north for nine months, but was pardoned and prepared to return. Wang Zhi prepared a banquet to farewell him, but when he offered a toast Cai Yong made no response. Wang Zhi was offended and

embarrassed in front of his own followers, and Cai Yong was again under threat, but with the aid of his Yang kinsmen by marriage he took refuge in Wu and Kuaiji commanderies.

Wang Zhi 王穉稚 [Shuqi 叔起] (d.203); Guanghan. Second son of Wang Tang and the Lady Wen Ji, Wang Zhi was known for his pure and scholarly life. He was repeatedly recommended and invited to office, but never accepted. After his death at the age of eighty-one, his disciples recorded his life and styled him "Illustrious Father" 憲父. -*HHS* 31/21:1106, *HYGZ* 10B:147.

Wang Zhi 王芝; Guanghan. Third son of Wang Tang and the Lady Wen Ji, Wang Zhi evidently held office. -*HYGZ* 10C:177.

Wang Zhong 王重 see Wang Xuan 王宣.

Wang Zhong 王忠. Wen Xu, Protector of the Qiang for Emperor Guangwu, was captured by Wei Ao's officer Gou Yu in 30 and committed suicide. His officers Wang Zhong and Han Zun brought his body back and told the emperor of his heroic death. Guangwu gave rewards of grain and silk, and ordered Wang Zhong to escort Wen Xu's remains to Luoyang.

Wang Zhong later served under the general Zhai Zun, and during the initial attack on Wei Ao in 30 he led a group of pioneers to clear the road forward. -*HHS* 81/71:2673, *DGHJ* 9:4b.

Wang Zhong 王忠; Jingzhao. *XTS* 72B:2651 says that Wang Zhong was a son of Wang Jing.

Wang Zhong 王仲. A man of great wealth, Wang Zhong offered a million cash to the scholar recluse Gongsha Mu. Gongsha Mu rejected the gift, explaining that prosperity and honour were the will of heaven, and he could not seek to establish his position in the world by such accidental fortune. -*HHS* 82/72B:2730.

Wang Zhong 王忠; Youfufeng. Sometime chief of a village post-station, in the early 190s Wang Zhong fled to Jing province from the turmoil about Chang'an. The local warlord Lou Gui tried to recruit him, but Wang Zhong escaped and led a thousand men to join Cao Cao.

In 199 Wang Zhong and Liu Dao made an unsuccessful attack on Liu Bei in Pei.

In 213 Wang Zhong, described as a general and a village marquis, was among those who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and in 220 he was one of the sponsors of the stele commemorating Cao Pi's accession to the imperial throne.

Wang Zhong had been forced to eat human flesh in time of famine at Chang'an, and it is said that on one occasion Cao Pi had the saddle of his horse decorated with bones from a tomb, as a joke. -*SGZ* 1:18, 40, *LS* 19:3a; Goodman 98:196.

Wang [Zhongcai] 王仲才. Son of Wang Xing, Wang Zhongcai was enfeoffed by Emperor Guangwu in 25 with a marquisate in Zhongshan. -*SJZ* 11:1b.

Wang [Zhongzeng] 王仲曾 or Wang [Zhongceng]; Shu. About 160 Wang Zhongzeng was one of a group of local scholars about Liu Zong. When Liu Zong held senior local office in his commandery and the province, he arranged that Wang Zhongzeng and three of his colleagues received appointment in the imperial bureaucracy. Nothing is known about Wang Zhongzeng's subsequent career. -*HYGZ* 10A:134-35.

Wang [Zhongzi] 王仲子. Zhongzi was the style of Wang Liang *q.v.* above, and also of Wang Heng/Huang 横/黃 of Former Han: *QHX*:566, 534, 524-525.

Wang Zhougong 王州公. About 20 Wang Zhougong was the leader of a group of bandits based upon the Yangzi and plundering in Lujiang. He and his following were put down by Li Xian. -*HHS* 12/2:500-01.

Wang Zhu 王著; Guanghan. Elder brother of the Lady Wang He, he accepted an offer of marriage on behalf of his widowed sister, but she disfigured herself to avoid it. -*HYGZ* 10B:153, *HYGZJBTZ*:581.

Wang Zhu 王柱 is probably miswritten for Huang Zhu 黃柱.

Wang Zhuan 王顗; Youfufeng. An officer of his native county, in 185 Wang Zhuan was a leading sponsor of a stele to honour the magistrate Cao Quan. -*JSCB* 18:3b; Ebrey 80:342-344.

Wang Zhui 王追 see Wang Fu 王阜. -*HHS* 86/76:2847.

Wang Zhuo 王卓 [Zhongliao 仲遼] (d.137); Hedong. Minister of the Household in 134, Wang Zhuo was promoted to be Excellency of Works. He died in office two years later. -*HHS* 6:264-66.

Wang [Zi'ai] 王子艾; Liang: *i.e.* Huang [Zi'ai] 黃子艾 of Jiyin. -*HHSJJ* 68/58:2445 [following the Palace edition], *XC* 7:16a-b.

Wang [Zifa] 王子法; Beihai. Fast-talking but in fact a man of limited ability, in the early 190s he and Liu Kongci were favourites of the Chancellor Kong Rong. -*SGZ* 12:372.

Wang [Zifang] 王子房; Runan. The father of Wang Bosan and Wang Shufan *q.v.*, Wang Zifang spent many

years in Zangke. There was a rumour of his death but he returned home soon afterwards. -*FSTY* 3f:105-06.

Wang Zifu 王子服 see Wang Fu 王服.

Wang [Ziyou] 王子祐; Runan. A county officer about 140, in the course of an investigation Wang Ziyou examined a certain Chen Bin, who died under torture. Chen Bin's nephew Chen Gongsu later killed Wang Ziyou in revenge. -*FSTY* 3f:107-08.

Wang [Zijun] 王子居; Jiyan. A student at the University in Luoyang, as he was dying he entrusted his remains to his colleague Shentu Pan. Shentu Pan duly took his body back to his home. -*HHS* 53/43:1751.

Wang [Zixiang] 王子香 (d.106); Chenliu. In the time of Emperor He Wang Zixiang became Inspector of Jing province. His rule was excellent, and he was recalled to the capital for further appointment, but died on the road.

Three white tigers came to take part in the mourning, and the people of Nan commandery established a temple in his honour, with a stele recording his virtues. Wang Zixiang became known as the Lord of the White Tigers 白虎君, and his family were known for generations afterwards as the White Tiger Wangs. -*SJZ* 34:12b-13a.

Wang [Zishi] 王子師 see Wang Yun 王允. -*HHS* 68/58:2231.

Wang [Ziya] 王子雅; Nanyang. Formerly Administrator of Shu commandery, Wang Ziya had three daughters but no sons. When he died his daughters expressed sorrow that he had no heir to his lineage, and each contributed five million cash to construct a tomb complex for him. -*SJZ* 31:8a.

Wang Zong 王宗. As Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, in 110 Wang Zong was sent to attack the pirate chieftain Zhang Bolu, with authority over all provincial and commandery troops in the east. With a combined force of several ten thousand men he defeated the bandits after several engagements, killed the old and weak, drove the remainder to flight, and captured great quantities of their goods and treasure. -*HHS* 38/28:1277.

Wang Zong 王宗 (d.110); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Wang Zong was appointed to the local staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. As rebel Qiang attacked in 110, Zheng Qin took the commandery militia out against them but was heavily defeated. Wang Zong and other officers fought to protect their master, but all of them were killed.

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of Wang Zong and his comrades. -*HHS* 87/77:2887, *HYGZ* 10C:169.

Wang Zun 王遵 I [Jungong 君公]; Pingyuan. A scholar of the *Book of Changes* and a friend of Pang Meng, Wang Zun became a gentleman cadet in the time of Wang Mang. Disapproving of the new regime, however, and realising he could make no difference to the conduct of affairs, he had an affair with a government slave and left office in disgrace.

During the times of trouble at the beginning of Later Han Wang Zun maintained himself as a cattle dealer. -*HHS* 83/73:2760-61.

HHS 83/73 refers to this man by his style Jungong; the personal name Zun is given by *HHSJJ* 83/73:2040 Wang Xianqian quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi. One assumes this is not the same person as the official Wang Zun immediately below.

Wang Zun 王遵 II. In 30 Emperor Guangwu named Wang Zun Administrator of Lelang and sent him with an army to deal with the local rebel Wang Tiao. He and his men had travelled no further than Liaodong, however, when the local officers Wang Hong and Yang Yi killed Wang Tiao and welcomed the Han. -*HHS* 76/66:2464.

Wang Zun 王遵 III [Zichun 子春]; Jingzhao. A man of gentry family, whose father had been Administrator of Shang commandery, Wang Zun acted as a local knight-errant and had a strong sense of loyalty to Han. When Wei Ao and the men of Tianshui rose against Wang Mang in 23, Wang Zun joined them and became one of the leaders, taking title as a general at the time of their loyal oath and proclamation.

Wang Zun later accompanied Wei Ao to Chang'an, and when the Gengshi Emperor sent troops to arrest Wei Ao after the failed plot against him, Wang Zun was among those who prepared to defend his mansion. He escaped with Wei Ao to Tianshui, and was named a chief general.

In 30, when Emperor Guangwu's officer Lai Xi came on a final embassy, he became impatient and spoke firmly to Wei Ao. Wei Ao's general Wang Yuan wanted him to kill Lai Xi, but Wang Zun argued firmly against such a rash step, and Lai Xi was able to leave unmolested.

For his own part, Wang Zun wanted Wei Ao to support the restored Han dynasty, and he had encouraged him to send his son Wei Xun as hostage to Luoyang.

As Wei Ao prevaricated about his commitment, Wang Zun became increasingly uncertain of where his own loyalty lay. In 31 Lai Xi wrote and persuaded him to surrender. He came with his family and household to Luoyang, was appointed a Palace Counsellor and enfeoffed as a marquis.

In the following year, as the imperial offensive was launched against Wei Ao, Wang Zun was granted the Staff of Authority and accompanied one of the invading columns to provide local knowledge. Aware of the forces ranged against Wei Ao, Wang Zun wrote to his friend and former colleague Niu Han. Niu Han also changed sides and was rewarded, and thirteen other officers of Wei Ao followed his example. -HHS 13/3:513-29.

Wang Zun 王尊 IV [Boye 伯業]; Langye. *XTS* 72B:2601 says that Wang Zun was a son of Wang Chong 崇, an Excellency in the last years of Former Han [QH 519]. He became a Counsellor at the court of Emperor Guangwu and was granted a district marquisate. It is doubtful, however, whether a man of such low rank would have been able to merit a fief.

XTS mentions two sons of Wang Zun, Shi 𡗗 and Yin 音 [qq.v.], and four grandsons through Yin: Yi 誼, Rui 叡 [q.v.], Dian 典 and Rong 融 [q.v.], claiming that Rong was the father of Wang Xiang and Wang Lan [qq.v.], who became ministers of Jin. *JS* 33:987, however, differs: it says Wang Xiang and Wang Lan were indeed sons of Wang Rong, but that their grandfather was Wang Ren, and that they were descended from the Counsellor Wang Ji 吉. *XTS* has obviously missed some generations.

Wang Zun 王尊 V (d.108). In 107/108 Wang Zun was involved in the coup planned by the Excellency Zhou Zhang against the regent Dowager Deng and the new Emperor An. The plot was discovered and it is likely Wang Zun died at this time. -HHS 101/11:3238.

Wang Zun 王遵 VI; Guanghan. Son of Wang Bo, Wang Zun was the father of Wang Shang. It is not known what offices he may have held. -HYGZ 12:224.

Wang Zun 王遵 VI, wife of: see the Lady Zhang Shuji 張叔紀.

Wang Zun 王遵 VII was at some time Inspector of Yi province: see *sub* Yang Mang. -HYGZ 10B:156.

Wang Zun 王尊. A eunuch, in 168 Wang Zun was an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. When his colleague Zhu Yu learned that Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to arrest the senior eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu, Wang

Zun was one of the people he called for support. The group took an oath in blood to destroy Dou Wu, and their coup was successful. -HHS 69/59:2243, 78/68:2524; Ch'ü 72:491.

Wangren Zaigong 王人宰公 became Administrator of Dongping. -FSTY 5f:120.

Wangshi Yin 王史音 became a county magistrate in Jingzhao. -FSTY 5f:120.

Wayang Hong 鮭陽鴻 see Guiyang Hong 鮭陽鴻.

Wei 洼 [surname] see Gui 洼 *passim*.

Wei 韋 [personal name unknown]. *LS* 13:9b records a fragment of a stele from the Spirit Road 神道 of this man's tomb.

Wei Ao 隗囂 [Jimeng 季孟] (d.33); Tianshui. As a young man of family, Wei Ao was interested in the classics and histories. He became an officer in the commandery and provincial administrations, then joined the staff of Liu Xin 劉歆, a high minister under Wang Mang. Early in 23 Wei Ao was one of seventy-two officers sent to announce an amnesty for the empire after the Gengshi Emperor of Han claimed the throne. In the summer, however, Liu Xin killed himself after the failure of a plot against Wang Mang, and Wei Ao returned to his home country.

As news reached Tianshui of the proclamation of the Gengshi Emperor and the defeat of Wang Mang's armies, Wei Ao's uncles Wei Cui and Wei Yi joined Yang Guang and Zhou Zong, leaders of two neighbouring counties, to raise troops in support of the Han. Though Wei Ao objected that such warlike activity was of no advantage to the family, his kinsmen raised several thousand men, captured the commandery capital and killed Wang Mang's administrator Li Yu 李育 [but *cf.* also Li Yu II].

Seeking a leader to unify their cause, the insurgents chose Wei Ao, and gave him title as Supreme General 上將軍. Despite his initial opposition to the project, Wei Ao had education and a wide experience, and though his relatives may have expected him to serve as a figurehead in their interest, he was able to gather support among the group to establish a personal authority. One of his first actions was to invite Fang Wang of Youfufeng to become his senior adviser, and on Fang Wang's advice he committed himself to Han. He established a temple to Emperors Gao, Wen and Wu, gathered his followers for an oath of allegiance, and announced the reign title Hanfu 漢復 "Return of Han." Proud of his literary abilities, he also issued a

long proclamation proclaiming his loyalty. In itself, however, yjr establishment of a reign title was the prerogative of an independent ruler, and Wei Ao's commitment to the house of Liu did not necessarily extend to the Gengshi Emperor, nominal leader of the restored dynasty.

From his base in Tianshui, Wei Ao extended his power by defeating and killing Wang Mang's Governor of Yong 雍 province, Chen Qing 陳慶. Then, with an army numbered at a hundred thousand he moved against Wang Xiang 王向, a cousin of Wang Mang who was Administrator of Anding. Wei Ao invited Wang Xiang to surrender, but when he remained obdurate he attacked, captured, and beheaded him.

After Wang Mang was killed at Chang'an in the autumn of 23, Wei Ao sent troops to the northwest and gained ostensible allegiance from Longxi, Wudu, Jincheng, Zhangye, Jiuguan and Dunhuang, all the commanderies of present-day Gansu.

In the following year the Gengshi Emperor called Wei Ao and his uncles to his court at Chang'an, and though Fang Wang objected, they obeyed the summons. Wei Ao was named General of the Right, while Yi and Cui were confirmed in the titles they had taken. Later that year, rebellion broke out again in Tianshui, home base of the Wei family. Wei Cui and Wei Yi were probably involved, and they planned to go back and join the rising. Wei Ao, both to protect himself and also to free himself of two senior rivals, reported them to the throne. His kinsmen were executed and Wei Ao was promoted to Excellency rank as Imperial Secretary.

Wei Ao evidently hoped for a career at the imperial capital, but the Gengshi regime was already weak and confused, with rebellion and opposition across the greater part of the empire and the approaching threat of the Red Eyebrows from the east. In the autumn Wei Ao joined Shentu Jian and others in proposing that the Gengshi Emperor should abdicate in favour of Liu Liang, uncle of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, in the hope that Liu Xiu would then make common cause against the bandits. As the Gengshi Emperor refused, Wei Ao and his colleagues joined Zhang Ang and other leaders of the commoner Troops in a plan to plunder the court and abandon the city.

The emperor discovered the plot and called the conspirators to the palace. Wei Ao was worried and claimed to be ill, and other leaders also made their

escape, so only Shentu Jian was taken and killed. Wei Ao prepared to defend himself in his house, and the emperor sent troops to surround him, but then Wei Ao broke out during night-time and fled the city with his followers.

Wei Ao had evidently maintained good contacts in Tianshui, for he quickly re-established his leadership and took title as High General of the Western Provinces 西州上將軍. As Bielenstein remarks, the debacle at Chang'an had taught him to avoid any further involvement with the politics of the empire as a whole; henceforth Wei Ao's sole concern was to control the northwest as independently as possible from central power. His territory was not so great as it had been, for during his absence the commanderies of the Gansu corridor, from Jincheng northwest to Dunhuang, had accepted the leadership of Dou Rong, but Wei Ao was well established in the upper Wei valley. He controlled Tianshui and Anding, made terms with the Qiang tribes in Longxi and Jincheng, where the Yellow River formed the border with Dou Rong, and shared the loyalties of the non-Chinese in Wudu with Gongsun Shu of present-day Sichuan.

Wei Ao was well-known, and as the region about Chang'an fell into chaos many of the gentry, including such leaders as Ma Yuan and the historian Ban Biao, came west to enhance his court at Ji city. Making a point of his respect for gentlemen and scholars, Wei Ao gave them senior positions in his regime. Early in 26, when Feng Yin rebelled against Han and entered Anding he was attacked and defeated, and Deng Yu, general of Emperor Guangwu and former commander of Feng Yin, sent an envoy to grant Wei Ao title as Chief General [not High General] of the Western Provinces 西州大將軍, with special authority over Liang province and Shuofang.

Accepting this, Wei Ao became in theory an officer of the new Han regime, and also the nominal superior of his north-western rival Dou Rong. He provided Dou Rong with seals of his own manufacture in the name of Han, and he also appointed six chief generals of his own; in practice Wei Ao and Dou Rong were independent of Han and of each other. Later in 26 Wei Ao twice defeated a force of the Red Eyebrows, who had strayed into Anding on a desperate foraging expedition and, as the invaders blundered their way back towards Chang'an, they lost great numbers of people in autumn snowfalls on the Long Slope.

An ostensible supporter of Han, Wei Ao had in any case no wish to expand his territory east of the Long Slope, to challenge Emperor Guangwu in the lower Wei valley. He did send Ma Yuan to approach Gongsun Shu, but Ma Yuan was unhappy with his reception and recommended against an alliance. Wei Ao then assisted the imperial general Feng Yi to defeat Gongsun Shu's ally Lü You, and though Gongsun Shu offered him a royal title and office as an Excellency if he would recognise his claim to the empire, Wei Ao executed his messengers. Gongsun Shu sent expeditions over the mountains from Hanzhong, but Wei Ao drove them off and Gongsun Shu abandoned his campaign.

On the other hand, though Wei Ao gave tacit recognition to Guangwu, received his envoy Lai Xi, an old friend from Chang'an, and maintained an active and erudite correspondence, he made no substantial move to confirm his allegiance. In 27 he was ordered to attack Gongsun Shu on behalf of Han, but he pleaded the threat from Lu Fang in the north of Anding, and sent a senior official to argue against the offensive. He was clearly unwilling to serve as a loyal subordinate, and relations declined as Guangwu began to address Wei Ao with the formality of a ruler to his subject. Guangwu's position in the east was becoming stronger, moreover, so his attitude to Wei Ao became firmer and the powerful Ma Yuan became his secret agent. After a further embassy late in 28, Ma Yuan returned with Lai Xi in 29, and persuaded Wei Ao to send his son Wei Xun to court as a hostage.

Wang Yuan and other officers argued against the connection to Han, and urged their master to move east into the lower Wei, but Wei Ao was only interested in holding his territory, and he did not attempt to expand. For his part, Guangwu also approached Dou Rong, warlord of the far northwest, and had little difficulty in establishing an alliance, obtaining hostages, and ensuring his break with Wei Ao.

By 30, therefore, Wei Ao's policy was breaking down, and many of the gentlemen who had joined him now turned back east to Guangwu or, like Ban Biao, took service with Dou Rong. About the same time, the murder of Wei Ao's emissary Zhou You in a private vendetta, and the plunder of gifts being brought by Guangwu's envoy Yao Qi, brought a rift between the two camps. In the summer, after Gongsun Shu attacked down the Yangzi, Guangwu ordered Wei Ao to move against him from the north. Wei Ao claimed

that the trestle roads and passes were in bad repair, but the emperor brought his own armies forward and sent Lai Xi to demand passage through Wei Ao's territory and support for the campaign. When Wei Ao refused, the Han turned against him while Dou Rong brought troops to threaten Wei Ao from the northwest.

Contrary to expectations, Wei Ao's men defeated the initial attack and drove the invaders from the Long Slope. They advanced towards Chang'an, but the Han commanders Feng Yi and Zhai Zun defeated Wei Ao's officers Xing Xun and Wang Yuan, forcing them back onto the defensive.

A number of local leaders in Beidi and Anding now switched allegiance from Wei Ao to Guangwu, opening up a northern flank, and Dou Rong crossed the Yellow River into Jincheng to defeat Wei Ao's Qiang allies. Wei Ao tried to make terms, but Dou Rong killed his envoys and sent the "false" seals Wei Ao had issued in the name of Han to the court of Guangwu. Wei Ao also wrote a humble memorial to Guangwu, and Lai Xi was sent to one last meeting on the border to secure his surrender. Wei Ao was told to send his second son, Wei Chun, as an additional hostage, but he remained recalcitrant and negotiations ended. Soon afterwards Wei Ao sent messengers to recognise Gongsun Shu as emperor, and in early 31 Gongsun Shu granted Wei Ao the title King of Northern Peace 朔寧王 and sent troops to assist him.

In the autumn Wei Ao attempted to break the pressure by attacks into Anding and down the Long Slope. They were halted once more by Feng Yi and Zhai Zun, but bad weather prevented a counter-attack, and the activity brought a brief renewal of local support for Wei Ao. Guangwu now prepared a major offensive, and he also persuaded Wei Ao's general Wang Zun to change sides, granting him office and a fief.

In the spring of 32 Lai Xi struck across the Long Slope to seize Lueyang in Tianshui. The city was immediately besieged by Wei Ao, aided by troops from Gongsun Shu, but Lai Xi and his men held out, and though Wei Ao maintained defences in the north and on the Long Slope, the forlorn hope weakened his position from behind. At the end of summer Guangwu himself brought the army forward, guided by Ma Yuan and with the renegade Wang Zun to encourage further desertions. Outflanking Wei Ao on the north, they advanced through Anding to link up with Dou Rong, then turned south to relieve Lai Xi in Lueyang. Wei

Ao's position collapsed, his garrisons surrendered, and more of his officers changed sides.

Wei Ao took refuge with Yang Guang at Xi city in the south of Longxi commandery, while some of Gongsun Shu's troops held out in neighbouring Shanggui in Tianshui. Just at this time, however, news came of rebellion in Yingchuan, and Guangwu was obliged to take the bulk of the army back to the east. Wu Han and the other generals left behind had too few troops to complete the victory, while Wei Ao spread the news of Guangwu's troubles and leading clans turned back to him.

Wang Yuan, moreover, who had gone to seek aid from Gongsun Shu across the mountains, returned in the winter with reinforcements. Pretending that his troops were more numerous than they were, he broke the siege, rescued Wei Ao, and brought him to Ji city. Wu Han attempted to renew the attack, but supplies became short, soldiers deserted, and he was obliged to withdraw.

By the beginning of the new year, Ji city was also short of food, and Wei Ao and his men were obliged to scavenge for grain. It is said that Wei Ao was bitter at his misfortune, and he was no doubt affected by the privation and stress. He became ill, and died in the first month of 33. Wang Yuan and other officers proclaimed his son Wei Chun as his heir, but they could not restore the position, and Wei Chun surrendered to Han at the end of 34. -HHS 13/3:513-32*; Bn 54:123-126, Bn 59:110-115, 161-187.

Wei Ba 隗霸 [Qiaoqing 喬卿 or Yannian 延年]; Jiying. A man of distinguished family, Wei Ba was orphaned when he was young. He lived with his brothers, and neighbours admired the harmony of their household.

About 80 Wei Ba was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after a number of appointments he served as Administrator of Julu during the 90s. He governed gently, encouraging the abilities of his staff, and would always give a second chance to any junior officer who committed a fault. He was noted also for his humble circumstances, so that his wife and children were not allowed to use the official residence, they did not eat meat or fish, and his wife prepared silk while his sons worked in the fields. Everything, moreover, was shared with other members of the family. The people were impressed and sought to emulate his austerity.

In 104 Wei Ba was appointed Court Architect, and he prepared the tomb for Emperor He when he died in

the following year. The work was impeded by heavy winter frosts, but Wei Ba encouraged the workmen, took the blame upon himself, and inspired them to double their efforts.

In 106 Wei Ba became Minister of Ceremonies, but in the following year he asked to be relieved of that office because of ill health, and he was transferred to be a Household Counsellor. In 111 he was made Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the regent Dowager Deng, but again reverted to the Counsellor's post because of his health. He died in that office. -HHS 25/15:886*, DGHJ 19:4a, XC 1:4a-b.

Wei Bao 衛包/苞; Shanggu. A local officer under the Administrator Geng Kuang in 24, he was sent with Geng Kuang's son Geng Yan on a tribute mission to the new Gengshi Emperor. As the party was in Julu, however, the pretender Wang Lang proclaimed his rebellion. Wei Bao and his colleague Sun Cang decided to join Wang Lang, and though Geng Yan threatened them with a sword they went over to the rebels. -HHS 19/9:704.

Wei Bao 韋豹 [Jiming 季明]; Jingzhao. Son of Wei Jun *q.v.*, Wei Bao was elder brother of Wei Yi and younger brother of Wei Shun. All three were known for their scholarship.

Wei Bao was several times invited to positions in the offices of the Excellencies, but resigned each time, and on another occasion he left a county office in Jianwei in order to escort the body of his friend and neighbour Luo Ling back to his home country.

About 115 the Excellency Liu Kai offered him another post, but when he taxed Wei Bao about his frequent departures, Wei Bao replied that he was neither a dog nor a horse. He got up and left, refusing to turn when Liu Yi sought to call him back.

As Emperor An came on tour to the west in 124, Wei Bao accepted appointment as a Consultant. -HHS 26/16:920.

Wei Biao 韋彪 [Mengda 孟達] (d.89); Youfufeng. Descended from a leading official family which came originally from Jingzhao, Wei Biao was a keen Confucian scholar. When his mother died he camped by her tomb for the three-year mourning period, got consumption which affected his bones, and was ill for several years afterwards.

In the early 50s Wei Biao was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet, but left on

account of ill health. He returned home to teach, living contentedly in poverty, and was admired by all the local scholars.

Emperor Ming heard of Wei Biao's reputation, and in 63 he sent a carriage and special robes to invite him to court as an Internuncio. After further appointments, Wei Biao became Administrator of Wei commandery, but when Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 he again left office on grounds of illness.

Recalled once more, Wei Biao became a General of the Household, then Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Ma. He frequently gave advice, always arguing for a generous style of government. When he asked to retire once more, he was named Commandant of the Equipage, with substantial salary and additional rewards, and was treated with favour comparable to that of an imperial relative.

As Emperor Zhang went on tour to the west in 82, Wei Biao was named Acting Minister of Ceremonies. He was several times received in audience, and was asked about the history and customs of the region. He encouraged the emperor to recognise the great ministers of Former Han, and as the cortège came to Chang'an local officials were ordered to seek out the descendants of Xiao He 蕭何 and Huo Guang 霍光, great ministers of Former Han; no-one of the Huo family could be found, but Xiao He's descendant Xiao Xiong was granted a marquissate. Wei Biao was generously rewarded for his initiative. Appointed Minister Herald, he put forward proposals to strengthen the selection of good quality officials from the provinces.

In 85 Wei Biao accompanied an imperial tour to the east, acting as Excellency over the Masses, but on return, he asked to resign on account of illness. Emperor Zhang sent his personal attendants and a physician to enquire about his health, and provided him with special food. As his condition became steadily more serious, his resignation as Minister Herald was accepted in 87, but he lived two more years after that, regularly honoured by the emperor. When he did die there was a special eulogy and a grant of money and goods to his family.

Wei Biao was admired for his honesty and generosity, distributing his money to his kinsmen and keeping nothing for his immediate family. He left twenty *pian* of writings, including *Sanfu jiushi* 三輔舊事, an account of the region about Chang'an; his

collected works were known as *Wei qingzi* 韋卿子 "The Book of Minister Wei." -HHS 26/16:917-20*, XC 1:6a-b; Yao Zhenzong:2383.

Wei Biao 魏彪. A eunuch, in 168 Wei Biao was Prefect of the Yellow Gates. In preparation for his planned attack on the palace eunuchs, the General-in-Chief Dou Wu had his daughter the regent Dowager dismiss Wei Biao and replace him with his supporter Shan Bing. -HHS 69/59:2243.

Wei [Boyang] 魏伯陽; Kuaiji. In the time of Emperor Huan, Wei Boyang produced a great many works of medicine and magic, including commentaries to the *Book of Changes*. -Yao Zhenzong:2444-45.

Wei Cheng 衛承. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy in 85, Wei Cheng was one of the experts consulted by Jia Kui when he prepared his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar for Emperor Zhang. **Wei Cheng** was also involved with Huo Rong's work on the clepsydra in 102. -HHS 92/2:3027, 3032.

Wei Chong 魏种. When Cao Cao was in Yan province in the early 190s he had Wei Chong nominated Filial and Incorrupt. Even as Zhang Miao rebelled in 193, Cao Cao was confident Wei Chong would remain loyal, and when he heard that he had defected he swore vengeance against such treachery.

When he destroyed Sui Gu in 199, Wei Chong came into his hands, but Cao Cao still admired him and could not bear to kill him. He appointed Wei Chong as his Administrator of Henei, where he held the western flank against Yuan Shao. -SGZ 1:17.

Wei Chun 隗純 (d.42); Tianshui. Wei Chun was the younger son of Wei Ao. In 30 Emperor Guangwu demanded that he be sent to Luoyang to join his brother Wei Xun as hostage; Wei Ao refused.

When Wei Ao died early in 33 his generals Wang Yuan and others proclaimed Wei Chun as his successor, with the royal title awarded by Gongsun Shu. The power of Wei Ao, however, had largely disintegrated, and Wei Chun's territory extended little beyond the borders of Ji county in Tianshui. In the winter of 34 a final attack by the imperial forces compelled his surrender with most of his officers.

Wei Chun was sent to live on Hongnong, but in 42 he sought to escape to the non-Chinese of the west. He got as far as Wuwei, but was then captured and executed. -HHS 13/3:531-32; Bn 59:171, 178.

Wei Cui 隗崔 (d.24); Tianshui. As a young man of

the gentry Wei Cui was a local leader with retainers, and had experience in raising and handling a private army. When news came in 23 of the proclamation of Han under the Gengshi Emperor and the defeats inflicted upon Wang Mang's armies, Wei Cui and his elder brother Yi raised troops, joined the leaders of two neighbouring counties, and brought several thousand men to seize the commandery capital and kill Wang Mang's administrator.

Following this initial success, the insurgents chose Wei Cui's nephew Wei Ao as their leader, for though Wei Ao had initially opposed the rebellious venture he could boast some education and had held office at the imperial capital. Wei Cui and Wei Yi may have expected him to serve as a figurehead in their interest, but Wei Ao called upon wider support among the group and established a personal authority. In the summer of 23 Wei Ao had all his followers swear allegiance to Han and issued a proclamation against Wang Mang. Wei Cui took title as White Tiger General 白虎將軍, symbolising the west.

Support for the imperial house of Liu did not necessarily imply endorsement of the Gengshi Emperor, leader of the Han rebels, but when Wei Ao and his uncles were summoned to the new court at Chang'an they accepted the call, and Wei Cui was confirmed in his general's title. Later that year, very likely at the instigation of Wei Cui and Wei Yi, there was a new rebellion in Tianshui. The brothers planned to go back and take part, but in the winter, before they could leave Chang'an, they were reported by Wei Ao and were arrested and executed.

Wei Ao, who had thus rid himself of two senior rivals, was rewarded with rank as an Excellency. -HHS 13/3:513-20; Bn 54:123-126, Bn 59:86.

Wei Dan 韋誕 [Zhongjiang 仲將]; Jingzhao. Sons of Wei Duan, when they were young Wei Dan and his brother Kang were praised by Kong Rong. Celebrated for his literary and scholarly work, Wei Dan was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer for the commandery and became a Palace Attendant.

Wei Dan studied calligraphy under Handan Chun and Zhang Zhi, and though it was generally considered that he did not reach the standard of his masters his work was regarded as the finest of the Wei period. He was responsible for the greater part of the inscriptions on the palaces built by Cao Pi and Cao Rui.

Wei Dan also took part in the compilation of *Huang*

lan 皇覽 "Imperial Readings," a comprehensive edition of the classics and their commentaries commissioned by Cao Pi in 220. Following the death of Wang Xiang in 222, Wei Dan succeeded him as Custodian of the Private Library and convenor of that massive project, which was probably completed before the death of Cao Pi in 226. It contained over forty divisions 部, each with dozens of sections 篇, and a total of eight million characters. Great quantities were lost, however, over the following centuries, and by the time of the Tang dynasty only fragments remained.

Wei Dan also served as Administrator of Wudu. He died in retirement at the age of seventy-five. -SGZ 10:312-13, 21:620-621, 23:664, JS 36:1063; Mather 76:599.

Wei Dang 魏黨. A general of Gongsun Shu, early in 36 Wei Dang commanded an army defending a river crossing in Jianwei, but he was defeated by Guangwu's general Wu Han. -HHS 18/8:681; Bn 59:194.

Wei Duan 韋端 or Wei Rui 瑞 [Xiufu 休甫 or Fuxiu 甫休]; Jingzhao. A man of local reputation, he and Jin Shang and Diwu Xun were known as the "Three Xiu" from the common character in each man's style.

As Governor of Liang province in 199, Wei Duan sent Yang Fu to observe Cao Cao's control of the imperial regime. Yang Fu reported favourably, so Wei Duan became an ally and agent of Cao Cao in the west. In 208 he acted as peace-broker for Han Sui and Ma Teng, after which Ma Teng went to stay at the court of Han under Cao Cao.

Wei Duan soon afterwards also went to court as Minister Coachman. -SGZ 25:700, 7:223.

Wei Dun 尾敦. In 193, when Liu Yu was killed by Gongsun Zan, his head was sent to the capital. Wei Dun, a former officer of Liu Yu, stole the head from the couriers and gave it burial. -HHS 73/63:2357.

Wei Fan 衛汎. A student of Zhang Ji, Wei Fan excelled at medical science and composed a number of treatises. -Yao Zhenzong:2406 quoting *Taiping yulan* 722.

Wei Feng 魏諷 [Zijing 子京] (d.219); Pei or Jiyin. A brilliant young man, Wei Feng was appointed as a senior clerk by Zhong Yao the Chancellor of Wei, but in autumn 219 he formed a conspiracy for a coup at Ye city. The plot was betrayed by Chen Yi, and the Heir Cao Pi killed Wei Feng and many others. -SGZ 1:52.

Wei Fu 衛福 (d.106); Yuyang. In 106 Wei Fu was Registrar to the Administrator Zhang Xian when several hundred Xianbi horsemen came on a raid.

Zhang Xian took commandery levies in pursuit beyond the borders, but they fell into an ambush. The troops scattered, and while Zhang Xian was attempting to rally them he was struck by an enemy arrow. Seeing their master's difficulties, Wei Fu and his colleague Xu Xian came to his aid, and as Zhang Xian fell from his horse Wei Fu attempted to shield him with his own body. All three were killed.

When the regent Dowager Deng heard of this, she issued an edict in honour of Wei Fu and his comrades, granted their families 100,000 cash, and ordered that one of each officer's sons be appointed a gentleman cadet. Though Zhang Xian had been chiefly responsible for the disaster, his family received 600,000 cash and two cadet appointments. -HHS 81/71:2672, 90/80:2986.

Wei Gao 衛騫; Dai. Known for his scholarship in the time of Emperor Ming, Wei Gao was called to court, but died as he travelled through Hedong. The family took up residence there. -JS 36:1055.

Wei Gu 衛固 [Zhongjian 仲堅] (d.205); Hedong. Member of a leading family and Officer of Merit in the commandery, in 205 Wei Gu was a supporter of Gao Gan of the Yuan family. He and his associates attempted to resist Du Ji, the Administrator sent by Cao Cao, but Du Ji out-manoeuvred them, and as open fighting broke out Wei Gu was killed. -SGZ 16:494-95.

Wei Heng 衛衡 [Boliang 伯梁]; Hanzhong. Having studied with the scholar recluse Fan Ying, Wei Heng became well known and received many nominations and invitations to office, including special carriages. He rejected all of them, and though Dong Fu and Ren An, also distinguished scholars, expressed regret that he kept his light under a bushel, Wei Heng remarked that even Fan Ying had been of small value to the state; when a sage could do nothing, it was better not to try. -HYGZ 10C:163; Vervoor 90:294.

Wei Hong 衛宏 [Jingzhong 敬仲 or Zizhong 次仲]; Donghai. When Wei Hong was young he shared the enthusiasm of Zheng Xing for Old Text scholarship. He travelled to Jiujiang to receive instruction from Xie Manqing 謝曼卿, an expert in the Mao interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, and then composed a preface to the Mao recension 毛詩序. Highly regarded for its judgement of the Airs of the States and the Odes, this work established a tradition of interpretation.

Wei Hong later studied the Old Text of the *Classic of History* which had been acquired by Du Lin, and

composed an exposition of its meaning, *Gu Shangshu xunzhi* 古文尚書訓旨. With his sometime student Xu Xun he played a leading role in re-establishing the importance of Old Text learning at the beginning of Later Han. Though the Old Text did not receive imperial favour or position in the University, Wei Hong served as a Consultant under Emperor Guangwu.

Besides literary rhapsodies, hymns and eulogies, Wei Hong compiled the *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 in four *pian*, an account of the institutions of Former Han with additional remarks on Wang Mang and the early part of Later Han. Fragments of the work survive and are an important source for institutional history. -HHS 79/69B:2575-76*, 27/17:936-37; Bn 80:3.

Wei Huang 韋晃 [Dewei 德偉] (d.218); Jingzhao. An officer of the Censorate in the court of Han, in 218 Wei Huang joined the plot of Jin Wei and Geng Ji to take over Xu city and invite Guan Yu to come from the south. They attacked Cao Cao's agent Wang Pi and wounded him, but he made his escape and next morning gathered troops to destroy the rebels. Wei Huang and the others were executed. -SGZ 1:50; deC 89:518-519.

Wei Ji 衛覲 [Boru 伯儒]; Hedong. A precocious child, Wei Ji became known early for his scholarly ability. Expert on ancient script 古文, on the exotic "Bird Seal" 鳥篆 script, the official *li shu* 隸書 "Clerical Style" and the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style," Wei Ji probably compiled a first draft of the historical discussion *Siti shushi* 四體書勢 "Aspects of the Four Styles of Calligraphy," which was completed by his grandson Wei Heng 恒: JS 36:1061-66.

Wei Ji was first appointed to the offices of Cao Cao as an Excellency, then became a magistrate in Youfufeng and later returned to join the Secretariat.

As Cao Cao prepared to face Yuan Shao in 199, he was concerned that Liu Biao in Jing province might attack him from behind. He named Wei Ji an Imperial Clerk and sent him on embassy to Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province. Liu Zhang had an old quarrel with Liu Biao, and Wei Ji was to seek his support as a threat to keep Liu Biao occupied. As Wei Ji came to Chang'an, he found the road was blocked, and he was obliged to halt there.

As a measure of order had now been restored, many refugees from the civil war were now willing to return to their homes. Numbers of people had fled from the region about Chang'an into Jing province, and

wanted to go back, but there was limited employment for them. Wei Ji sent a message to Cao Cao's adviser Xun Yu that the old official salt monopoly should be restored and enforced, and the proceeds could be used to purchase cattle and farming equipment. Xun Yu put the proposal to Cao Cao, who accepted it and established a provincial salt administration.

Wei Ji returned to the Secretariat. In 211 the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao proposed an advance to the west towards Chang'an, ostensibly for operations against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, but in fact to establish a measure of control over the north-western warlords. Cao Cao had Xun Yu ask Wei Ji about it, and he replied that the chieftains were concerned only to hold their positions, and they could be won over by honours and rewards. Cao Cao eventually approved Zhong Yao's forward policy, but he was then compelled to bring his major army to deal with their allied forces at Huayin; when he counted the cost he regretted not having followed Wei Ji's advice.

When Cao Cao established his ducal state in 216 Wei Ji became a Palace Attendant, and was commissioned with Wang Can to review the administration. After Cao Pi succeeded his father, Wei Ji spent a short time at the puppet court of Han, and he was largely responsible for the edicts by which Emperor Xian ceded his position to the new dynasty of Wei. He then returned to the Secretariat of Wei and was enfeoffed by Cao Pi.

Raised further in rank by Cao Rui and granted enfeoffment, Wei Ji continued his concern with government process, expressing concern at imperial extravagance and putting forward recommendations on legal reform. He also compiled a *Weiguan yi* 魏官儀 "Ceremonial of the Offices of Wei," to follow the work of Ying Shao on the Han. -SGZ 21:610-12*; Yang 63:164, deC 96:257-258, Goodman 98:65-69.

Wei Ji 衛覲, wife of: see the Lady Chen 陳 IV.

Wei Jie 魏桀/傑 [Qiqing 齊卿] (d.195); Youfufeng. Listed on a stele as a former student of Liu Kuan, Wei Jie became a magistrate in Hedong. He was admired by the reformist students at Luoyang in the 160s for his fearless criticism of powerful men.

In 188, as the Liang province rebels under Wang Guo approached Chang'an, the Intendant He Xun persuaded Emperor Ling to commission private troops. Wei Jie is named as one of five leaders of local gentry who received title as commandants, to raise their own regiment and join the imperial forces under He Xun's

command. [XHS, quoted by HHS 58/48:1883 TC, describes him as a man from Guiyang commandery in the far south, but this is an error.]

In 195 Wei Jie was a colonel in the Northern Army. He accompanied the imperial party on its escape from Chang'an, but was killed in battle in Hongnong. -HHS 9:378, 67/57:2186 & JJ at 2394 Hui Dong, HHSJJ 58/48:2040 Hui Dong.

Wei Jin 委進 became Administrator of Taiyuan. -FSTY 5f:126.

Wei Jing 衛旌 [Ziqi 子旗]; Guangling. The same age as Bu Zhi, Wei Jing was a close friend and companion when they were refugees in Kuaiji in the 190s, and Bu Zhi later sent in a memorial to recommend him. Wei Jing became a member of the Secretariat of Wu and Administrator of Wuling, but was dismissed in 231 after he questioned Pan Jun's loyalty. -SGZ Wu 7: 1236-85, 16:1399.

Wei Jiu 隗久 or Wei Wen 文 (d.99). A retainer of Liu Jun, King of Chen, he was sent to kill the Lady Li Yi, widow of the former king Liu Xian, and members of her household. Wei Jiu was arrested, and Liu Jun, afraid he might be implicated, sent another client to kill him in prison. -HHS 50/40:1668.

Wei Ju 衛琚 or Wei Yao 瑤. In 144 Wei Ju was Deputy 領 to Zhao Chong the Protector of the Qiang when the officer Ma Xuan went over to the Qiang and sought to lead them outside the frontier. Wei Ju chased the fugitives, killed eight hundred of them, and captured 200,000 head of stock. -HHS 6:274 [as 琚], 87/77:2897 [as 瑤].

Wei Jun 韋浚; Jingzhao. XTS 74A:3045 says that Wei Jun, a great-grandson of Wei Xuancheng 玄成, Chancellor of Former Han [QHX 579-580], became Director of the Imperial Secretariat and was the father of Wei Bao.

HHSJJ 26/16:974 Hui Dong, notes that *Jingzhao jiushi* 京兆舊事 says Wei Wen'gao 文高, Administrator of Qinghe, was the father of Wei Shun, Wei Bao and Wei Yi. Hui Dong therefore suggests that Wen'gao was the style of Wei Jun.

This does not appear likely, however, for Wei Jun would have lived early the first century, while Wei Bao and Wei Yi were active a hundred years later. There must have been at least one intermediate generation, presumably represented by Wei Wen'gao, who was the son of Wei Jun and the father of Wei Bao and his brothers.

Wei Kai 衛開 (d.219). In the winter of 218 Wei Kai joined the garrison officer Hou Yin in raising a mutiny in Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery. At the beginning of the following year, however, Cao Ren brought an army and destroyed them. -SGZ 18:546.

Wei Kang 韋康 [Yuanjiang 元將] (d.213); Jingzhao. Sons of Wei Duan the Governor of Liang province, Wei Kang and his brother Dan were admired by Kong Rong.

Wei Duan was an ally of Cao Cao, and when he went to the capital as Minister Coachman of Han about 208, Xun Yu recommended that Wei Kang take his father's place; he was ranked, however, as Inspector, not as Governor.

Wei Kang was popular with his subjects, but in 213 Ma Chao attacked from the west and laid siege to his headquarters at Ji city, the capital of Hanyang. Though the city was defended strongly, no relief came, and as the people were starving Wei Kang and the Administrator of Hanyang were forced to surrender. They were killed by Ma Chao. -SGZ 10:311-13, 25:701-03.

Wei Kun 爲毘. About 140 Wei Kun was Administrator of Nan commandery. He and other officials were reported by the Inspector Li Gu for corruption, but they bribed the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and had Li Gu transferred. -HYGZ 10C:165.

Wei Lang 魏朗 [Shaoying 少英] (d.169); Kuaiji. As a young man Wei Lang held local office in his home county. He was known for his ability in composition, and in 151 he was asked to write a eulogistic inscription for Wang E, the filial and suicidal daughter of the shaman Cao Yu.

Wei Lang later served at the commandery headquarters. Punctilious about proper conduct, he made a great fuss when his colleague Gu Kan wore a fur coat. After his brother was killed, however, Wei Lang avenged him on his enemy in broad daylight at the local *yamen*.

Wei Lang then fled to Chen, studied the apocrypha under Xi Zhongxin, and later attended the University at Luoyang. Having served in the offices of the Excellencies, he became a county magistrate at the capital of Pengcheng. The Chancellor, a eunuch relative, regularly broke the law, and as Wei Lang sent in reports calling for his punishment he was marked an enemy of the eunuchs.

In 157 there was a rebellion in Jiuzhen in the

far south, and the Administrator Ni Shi was killed. Wei Lang was sent out as Commandant and drove the insurgents back into Rinan. Impressed by his success, Emperor Huan called him to the capital as a Consultant, and he then joined the Imperial Secretariat. He became Administrator of Henei, where he ran a model government, and was later brought back to the Secretariat by Chen Fan.

Wei Lang was praised by the reformers and students at the capital as a "hero" [俊 *jun*], second category in the major list of worthy men, but he was driven from office in the First Faction Incident of 166-167. Dou Wu praised him to Emperor Huan at that time, but when the Second Incident arose in 169, following the fall of Dou Wu Wei Lang was summonsed to the capital. He killed himself on the way.

Wei Lang's writings were collected under the title *Weizi* 魏子. -HHS 67/57:2200-01* & 2187-88, 84/74:2795, 86/76:2839, XC 4:6b.

Wei Li 衛颯 [Zichan 子產]; Henei. A man of humble family, Wei Li was fond of learning, and worked as a labourer in order to pay his teacher. He compiled a study on the *Shi ji* 史記 of Sima Qian 司馬遷, and during the time of Wang Mang he held local office in his commandery and in the provincial government.

In 26 Wei Li joined the offices of the Excellency Deng Yu. Noted for his good advice, he was appointed to the Imperial Censorate and then became a magistrate in Yingchuan. He governed well there, and was transferred to be Administrator of Guiyang.

That distant territory was strongly influenced by the barbarous customs of Jiaozi, but Wei Li immediately began to civilise the people by establishing schools and reforming marriage customs. The furthest regions had hitherto been accessible only by boats, moving with difficulty along the rivers, but Wei Li constructed a road of 500 *li* through the mountains to bring the people under the authority and influence of the government. He settled them in villages, collected taxes, and restored the Former Han office for iron in Leiyang: this last provided the needs of all southern Jing province and was a source of considerable annual profit.

After ten years of peaceful and popular government, in 49 Wei Li was recalled to the capital. The emperor wanted to appoint him Minister Steward, but he was not well enough and returned to his family in Guiyang. Two years later he retired into private life, with the

grant of a seal and cash, and died at home. He is classed by Fan Ye as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -HHS 76/66: 2458-60*; Miyakawa 60:30-31, deC 90:11 & 28 [both as Wei Sa].

Wei Liang 衛良. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in 169, Wei Liang joined the Director Liu Meng and the minister Zhang Huan in a petition that Wang Chang and Li Ying, known enemies of the eunuchs at court, should take part in the selection of Excellencies. Cao Jie and other eunuchs had an edict sent down to reprimand them, and the petitioners presented themselves in bonds at the imperial prison. They were released on payment of a fine equal to three months salary. -HHS 65/55:2141.

XC 8:1a-b tells of a Director of the Secretariat named Wei Liang, who left that office on grounds of ill health and returned to his humble home, where he received his guests with conversation and drinks of water under a mulberry tree. This probably relates to the Wei Liang described above.

Wei Man 魏滿 [Shuya 叔牙], Nanyang. A scholar and teacher of the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, during the reign of Emperor Ming Wei Man served as Administrator of Hongnong. -HHS 79/69A: 2554.

Wei Mao 隗茂; Tianshui. Some time after the death of his kinsman Wei Ao in 33, Wei Mao raised a rebellion in Wudu and killed the Han Administrator there. The Commandery Assistant Kong Fan, aided by non-Chinese Di people led by Qizhongliu, defeated Wei Mao and killed him. -HHS 86/76:2859-60; Bn 59: 180.

Wei Meng 魏猛. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Wei Meng took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquisate in Nan commandery.

After Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Wei Meng and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. Wei Meng died a few years later. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Wei Mi 衛密 see Wei Hong 衛宏.

Wei Mi 衛彌. Commandant in the north of Guangling about 200, Wei Mi and the magistrate Liang Xi were driven from their posts by rebels. They took refuge with the local officer Xu Xuan, and he sheltered them

and arranged their escape. -SGZ 22:645.

Wei Mou 隗茂 see Wei Mao 隗茂.

Wei Ping 魏騰. In 220 Wei Ping held command under Su Ze in the settlement of newly-restored Liang 涼 province in the far northwest. In 231 he accompanied Sima Yi against Zhuge Liang. He urged an attack, but the Wei forces were heavily defeated. -SGZ 16:492, SGZ Shu 5:925.

Wei Qi 衛覬 see Wei Ji 衛覲.

Wei [Qiqing] 魏齊卿 see Wei Jie 魏傑. -HHS 67/57: 2186 & JJ at 2394 Hui Dong.

Wei Rui 韋瑞 see Wei Duan 韋端.

Wei Sa 衛颯 see Wei Li 衛颯.

Wei Shao 魏紹; Julu. XTS 72B:2655 says that Wei Shao was a son of Wei Zhou.

Wei Shao 魏劭; Pingyuan. About 170 the Administrator of Hedong Shi Bi was falsely accused by the eunuch Hou Lan and was brought to the capital in a cage cart. Shi Bi had formerly been Chancellor of Pingyuan and had nominated Wei Shao as Filial and Incorrupt. Disguised as a servant, Wei Shao went to attend him in prison.

Then Shi Bi was sentenced to death, and Wei Shao gathered a group of colleagues from Pingyuan to sell the commandery residence in Luoyang, using the proceeds to bribe Hou Lan into arranging the reduction of Shi Bi's sentence to a spell of convict labour. [Commentators rightly observe that the residence was a public building, controlled by officials, and ask how Wei Shao and his group could sell it for their own purposes: unless the story is false, there must have been substantial sleight of hand and embezzlement.]

Some people criticised the men, but Taoqiu Hong praised their sense of honour, and his argument was widely accepted. -HHS 64/54:2111.

Wei [Shujian] 韋叔堅 or Li Shujian 李叔堅; Runan. An officer of the provincial government, Wei Shujian was for a few days accompanied by a dog which walked on its hind legs, put on his official cap, and tended the fire. Though others were terrified at such behaviour, Wei Shujian refused to see it as strange, and he resisted all attempts to have him kill the animal; it soon died of its own accord.

Wei Shujian later joined the offices of the Grand Commandant, served as magistrate in two counties, and was then Administrator of Guiyang. Both his sons also held office. -FSTY 9:72; Nylan 83:539-540.

Wei Shun 韋順 (d.24). Designated Administrator of

Shanggu by the Gengshi Emperor in 24, Wei Shun was sent to replace the incumbent Geng Kuang, an associate of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu. As he arrived, he was killed by Liu Xiu's officer Geng Yan, son of Geng Kuang. -HHS 19/9:705-06.

Wei Shun 韋順 [Shuwen 叔文]; Jingzhao. Son of Wei Jun, Wei Shun was the elder brother of Wei Bao and Wei Yi. He had a fine reputation, but refused invitations to the offices at the capital, and preferred to play music on the lute 琴.

Wei Shun did serve as a county magistrate in Dong commandery and in Runan, and in the latter place the people set up a shrine in his honour. -HHS 26/16:920 & JJ at 974 Hui Dong.

Wei Si 維汜 or Gou Si 緱汜; Henan. Claiming to be a spirit, Wei Si established a religious cult with several hundred followers. He was taken and secretly executed about 40, presumably to avoid widespread disturbance.

His followers now claimed Wei Si had not died but had undergone a spiritual transformation. In this belief, there was an uprising in Lujiang led by his disciple Li Guang in 41, and another in 43 in eastern Henan, Wei Si's home country, led by Dan Chen and Fu Zhen. After some difficulty, both rebellions were put down. -HHS 24/14:838, 18/8:695.

Wei Tan 魏譚 [Shaoxian 少閒]; Langye. During the troubles at the beginning of Later Han, Wei Tan and several dozen other people were captured by bandits, who tied them up and planned to eat them one after the other. Because Wei Tan appeared conscientious, he was unbound and put in charge of the cooking, but was tied up again each night.

One of the bandits, Yi Changgong, took pity on Wei Tan, unloosed his bonds and told him to flee. As Wei Tan refused to escape at the expense of the others, Yi Changgong helped them to get away too.

In the time of Emperor Ming Wei Tan became the head of the household of a princess. -HHS 39/29:1300*.

Wei [Tanquan] 衛譚勸 of Nanyang was head of his local chief district 都鄉正. -SJZ 29:18a.

LS 25:23b lists a damaged stele in the name of Jie Tan 街彈, who is also described as head of a chief district 都鄉正. It seems possible that this is a reference to the same piece.

Wei Teng 魏滕 [Zhoulin 周林]; Kuaiji. Grandson of Wei Lang, Wei Teng became Officer of Merit to Sun

Ce in Kuaiji. A man of strict morality, on one occasion he opposed Sun Ce, who wanted to kill him but was firmly dissuaded by the Lady Wu. Later he also fell foul of Sun Quan, and was saved only by intervention of his friend, the diviner Wu Fan.

Wei Teng was a magistrate in several counties, including in his home commandery of Kuaiji, and then became Administrator of Boyang. Despite the conflicts with his rulers, as a man of family he was important to the Sun clan and to the state of Wu. -SGZ Wu 5:1196, 18:1422-23; deC 90:504.

Wei Tiao 韋條 or Li Tiao 李條; Runan. Son of Wei Shujian, he became Commandant in Shu commandery. -FSTY 9:72; Nylan 83:540.

Wei Wei 衛爲 of Nanyang was head of his local chief district 都鄉正. -SJZ 31:3a.

Wei Weilong 韋威龍 or Li Weilong 李威龍; Runan. Son of Wei Shujian, he served in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses. -FSTY 9:72; Nylan 83:540.

Wei Wen 衛文; Henei. An adviser to Han Xin, Gengshi Administrator of Henei in 24, Wei Wen was an old friend of Guangwu's officer Feng Yi, and was persuaded to convince Han Xin that he should surrender. -HHJ 2:20.

A man from the same county as Wei Li/Sa, Wei Wen was no doubt a kinsman.

Wei Wen 隗文 see Wei Jiu 隗久.

Wei [Wen'gao] 韋文高; Jingzhao. Probably the son of Wei Jun, Wei Wen'gao became Administrator of Qinghe. He was the father of Wei Shun, Wei Bao and Wei Yi. See *sub* Wei Jun.

Wei Xi 隗禧 [Ziya 子牙]; Jingzhao. Though born of humble family, Wei Xi was fond of learning from the time he was young. As trouble developed in the region of Chang'an during the early 190s, he went south into Jing province. Taking his books with him, he would read even as he was gleaning food-plants in the wilderness, and he became an expert not only in the classics but also in astronomy.

When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he appointed Wei Xi to his staff.

In the early 220s Wei Xi became an officer at the royal court of Cao Cao's son, Cao Lin, with whom he shared his love of learning. Retiring in his eighties, he returned to his home country, where he received many students.

Wei Xi preferred the traditional classics, notably

the *Changes*, *Poetry* and *Ritual*, to *Zuo zhuan*, which was more popular at this time. He could recite them by heart, and also provided vast commentaries upon them, but all of it was spoken and none was written down. Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, knew Wei Xu, and praised him as one of the seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in time of disorder. -SGZ 13:422; Fang 52:170-171.

Wei Xiang 隗相. Wei Xiang became celebrated for the manner in which he served his mother with utmost filial piety, going to particular lengths to provide her with drinking water from the Yangzi. -YSS:21a-b.

Wei Xiao 隗囂 see Wei Ao 隗嚣.

Wei Xin 衛歆 [Zihu 子胡]: Wei>Julu. XTS 72B:2655 says that Wei Xin, descended from an ancient family, became Administrator of Julu and moved his family residence there. This was probably at the beginning of Later Han.

Wei Xin 衛訢. A eunuch, about 105 Wei Xin was Palace Tutor to Liu Qing the King of Qinghe, half-brother of Emperor He. When he was found to have embezzled vast quantities of cash, investigators were sent, and Liu Qing was asked why he had not reported the matter.

Liu Qing replied that his officials were appointed directly by the imperial government, and he was not entitled to question or investigate their activities. Pleased with the reply, the emperor awarded Liu Qing all of Wei Xin's ill-gotten gains. -HHS 55/45:1802.

Wei Xiu 衛修; Nanyang. About 70 Wei Xiu was accused of a capital crime. Through intervention by his former patron Chen Mao, then Inspector of Jing province, he was released, but was later executed for another offence. -FSTY 4:29 [this text is not entirely secure or clear.]

Wei Xu 魏續; Wuyuan. Wei Xu was a relative of Lü Bu, who made him peacetime commander of Gao Shun's troops. Gao Shun, a far superior commander, took them back for active service.

In 198, as Lü Bu was under siege by Cao Cao in Xiapi city, he accused his officer Hou Cheng of treachery, and implicated Wei Xu and others of his friends. Frightened and resentful, they went over to the enemy. -SGZ 7:227-28.

Wei Xuan 魏玄; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Wei Xuan was a senior member of

the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Wei Xun 隗恂 [Bochun 伯春] (d.32); Tianshui. Elder son of Wei Ao, in 29 he was sent as a hostage to the court of Emperor Guangwu, where he was appointed a colonel and enfeoffed as a marquis. Nonetheless Wei Ao had no commitment to the alliance, and he maintained his search for independence and his double-dealing with Gongsun Shu.

As the imperial armies moved against Wei Ao in 30, Guangwu attempted to force his submission by threatening to kill Wei Xun, and he demanded that his brother Wei Chun be sent to join him. Wei Ao did not respond, and as Guangwu embarked on his second campaign in 32 he killed Wei Xun. -HHS 13/3:524-30; Bn 59:166-175.

Wei Xun 衛恂; Chenliu. A common soldier in Cao Cao's service, about 210 Wei Xun was promoted and recommended by his commander Yang Jun. He became a county magistrate and was later an officer of the Imperial Censorate. -SGZ 23:664.

Wei Yan 韋顏 or Han Yan 韓顏. Former officers of the Gengshi Emperor, in 27 Wei/Han Yan and Zuo Fang controlled counties in Nanyang. As Guangwu's officers Zhai Zun and Zang Gong came to attack, they surrendered. -HHS 18/8:692.

Wei Yan 隗延 [Wenchang 文長] (d.234); Nanyang. In 211 Wei Yan followed Liu Bei into Yi province. He was at that time an ordinary soldier, but he did well in combat and was promoted to be a general. After Liu Bei had taken Hanzhong and proclaimed himself king there in 219, he withdrew to set up court at Chengdu. It was generally expected that Zhang Fei would hold command in the north, but Liu Bei named Wei Yan as Administrator of Hanzhong and Area Commander for that region.

Wei Yan was later enfeoffed, and when Zhuge Liang was engaged on his campaigns in the north from the late 220s Wei Yan was one of his chief subordinates. He was a bitter enemy of Zhuge Liang's chief of staff Yang Yi, and though Zhuge Liang was able to use both men, after his death in 234 Yang Yi had Wei Yan disgraced and executed with all his family. -SGZ Shu 10:1002-04*.

Wei Yao 衛瑤 see Wei Ju 衛据. -HHS 87/77:2897.

Wei Yao 韋曜 see Wei Zhao 韋昭 of Wu.

Wei Yi 隗義 (d.24); Tianshui. Elder brother of Wei Cui, in 23 he joined his rebel venture in the nominal cause of Han. Despite his seniority, Wei Yi accepted the lead of Wei Cui, who was evidently a more forceful personality. Both brothers, however, were then obliged to give chief position in the movement to their nephew Wei Ao, who had broader acceptance among their local associates. They may have expected that he would serve as a figurehead in their interest, but Wei Ao soon established his own authority.

In the summer of 23 Wei Ao had all his followers swear allegiance to Han and issued a proclamation against Wang Mang. Wei Yi took title as General on the Left. Support for the imperial house of Liu did not necessarily imply endorsement of the Gengshi Emperor, leader of the Han rebels, but when Wei Ao and his uncles were summoned to the new court at Chang'an they accepted the call, and Wei Yi was confirmed in his general's title.

Later that year, very likely at the instigation of Wei Cui and Wei Yi, there was a new rebellion in Tianshui. The brothers planned to go back and take part, but in the winter, before they could leave Chang'an, they were reported by Wei Ao and were arrested and executed. Wei Ao had thus rid himself of two senior rivals, and he was rewarded with rank as an Excellency. -HHS 13/3:513-20; Bn 54:123-126, Bn 59:86.

Wei Yi 韋義 [Jijie 季節]; Jingzhao. Son of Wei Jun and younger brother of Wei Shun and Wei Bao, when Wei Yi was young he already had the same high reputation as his brothers. Having held local office in both commandery and provincial administrations, about 140 he was appointed to the offices of the Grand Commandant Huan Yan and later became a magistrate in Shu, Ganling and Chen. He ruled so well in each place that the prisons were empty.

Wei Yi presented several memorials to Emperor Shun urging reforms and the recruitment of good Confucianists. They had no effect, and he later left office when his brother Shun died. He was invited again to the offices of the capital, but did not accept.

When Wei Yi died, his former subjects in Shu commandery set up a temple in his honour, and all three counties sent mourners to his funeral. -HHS 26/16:920-21*.

Wei Yi 韋毅 (d.166). Administrator of Kuaiji in the

150s, Wei Yi appointed Zhu Jun to his staff on the recommendation of the magistrate Du Shang.

Wei Yi later became Administrator of Chenliu, but in 166 he was found guilty of embezzlement and killed himself. -HHS 7:317, 71/61:2308.

Wei Yin 魏愷 (d.173). Formerly Chancellor to Liu Chong, King of Chen, in 173 he was Chancellor of Pei when his successor Shi Qian reported that Wei Yin and the king had held ceremonies asking the deities for inappropriate good fortune; this was Impiety.

Shi Qian and Wei Yin were brought to the capital by cage-cart and examined by the eunuch Wang Fu, the Imperial Secretariat and the Censorate. Wei Yin acknowledged that he and the king had held worship to Huang-Lao, but they had asked only for long life and good fortune, and had made no improper requests.

Wang Fu and his colleagues reported that Wei Yin's administration had been well carried out, and though the ceremonies had not been correct there was no question of Impiety: Shi Qian had thus laid false information against his king. Both men were executed, while an edict ordered there be no further investigation of Liu Chong. -HHS 50/40:1669, 8:334-35.

Wei Ying 魏應 [Junbo 君伯]; Rencheng. A scholar from an early age, about 30 Wei Ying went to Luoyang to study the Lu version of the *Classic of Poetry*, and he was noted for his concentration on the work. He went back to become a commandery officer, was nominated as Understanding the Classics and became a Literary Scholar in the kingdom of Ji Yin. Resigning on grounds of illness, he became a hermit in the wilderness but attracted hundreds of students.

About 60 Wei Ying came to the capital as an Academician. He served as a Palace Attendant to Emperor Ming, and in 70 he was made Minister Herald. He had a most imposing presence, and when an envoy of the Northern Xiongnu sought to call upon the celebrated scholar Cheng Gong, Wei Ying was chosen to impersonate him.

In 75 Wei Ying was appointed Minister of the Household, and under Emperor Zhang he became General of the Household for All Purposes and then tutor to the imperial son Liu Kang. He continued to have a great many students, and the emperor regularly asked his advice, admired him and rewarded him. When the great conference on Confucian philosophy was held at the White Tiger Hall in 79, Wei Ying decided the questions to be considered.

In 80 Wei Ying was appointed Administrator of Shangdang, and he was later a Commandant of Cavalry. He died in office. -HHS 79/69B:2571*; *Texts*: 347 [Loewe], Tjan 49:161-163.

Wei You 衛攸 (d.193); Youbeiping. A senior clerk to Liu Yu in 192, Wei You persuaded him it would be wiser to tolerate Gongsun Zan and not to attack him. In the following year, however, Wei You died and Liu Yu renewed his mistaken plans. -HHS 73/63:2356, *SGZ* 8:244.

Wei Yu 魏愉 [Yanchang 彥長]; Julu. *XTS* 72B:2655 says that Wei Yu, son of Wei Xin, became a Palace Attendant.

Wei Yu 衛羽. In 160 Wei Yu was an Assistant Officer in Yan province. The Inspector Diwu Zhong wanted to impeach Shan Kuang, the corrupt Administrator of Ji Yin who was a nephew of the powerful eunuch Shan Chao. He sent Wei Yu, who arrested many of Shan Kuang's family and retainers and recovered quantities of stolen goods. Shan Kuang sent Ren Fang to kill him, but Wei Yu arrested him too, and sent him to the capital.

Wei Yu later persuaded the bandit leader Shusun Wuji to a short-lived surrender. -HHS 41/31:1404; *deC* 89:22.

Wei [Yuanpi] 魏元丕 (d.181). Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Wei Yuanpi spent a period of probation as a gentleman cadet and then joined the Imperial Secretariat. He left office for a time after the death of his mother the Lady Tai, but returned to the Secretariat and was later appointed Inspector of Liang province. He evidently died in that office, and a distinguished group of sponsors set up a stele in his memory. -*LS* 10:17b-20a.

Wei Yue 魏悅; Julu. *XTS* 72B:2655 says that Wei Yue was a son of Wei Xin.

Wei Zhang 偉璋 see Xing Zhang 姓璋.

Wei Zhao 魏昭 [Degong 德公]; Chen. When he was a boy, Wei Zhao was accepted by Guo Tai as a servant-pupil. On one occasion Guo Tai was unwell and ordered Wei Zhao to prepare him some gruel. When he brought it, Guo Tai threw it on the floor, complaining that he had presented it with lack of respect, and without respect everything was valueless. This was repeated twice more, but Wei Zhao maintained his composure, and Guo Tai then praised him and accepted him as a friend. Wei Zhao became a most subtle scholar. -*HHJ* 23:275, *XC* 4:9b.

Wei Zhao 韋昭 [Hongsi 弘嗣]; Wu. The personal name frequently appears as Yao 曜; the change was made to avoid taboo on the personal name of Sima Zhao, a founder of the Jin dynasty in the third century.

A fine scholar, Wei Zhao held clerical posts at the court of Sun Quan and became a member of the suite of the Heir Sun He 孫和. In 252 he was commissioned to work with others on *Wu shu* 吳書, the official history of the state, and he also collated the imperial library.

About 272, the ruler Sun Hao 孫皓 asked Wei Zhao to place the biography of his father Sun He among the Annals 紀 of the official history. Wei Zhao refused, for Sun He had not reigned as a sovereign. On this and other grounds he was arrested and executed. -*SGZ* Wu 20:1460-64*; *deC* 90:550-554.

Wei Zhen 衛臻 [Gongzhen 公振]; Chenliu. Son of Wei Zi, the late loyal companion of Cao Cao, Wei Zhen was named Reporting Officer by Xiahou Dun, Administrator of Chenliu for Cao Cao, about 200. When he was supposed to bring his wife out for a feast, however, he refused to do so as it was inappropriate. Xiahou Dun was angry and briefly imprisoned him.

Wei Zhen was later a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates at the court of Han. A certain Zhu Yue had planned a coup against Cao Cao and when he was taken he sought to implicate Wei Zhen; Cao Cao refused to believe the accusation. Soon afterwards, in 213, as Cao Cao had three of his daughters made Honoured Ladies in the harem of the Han Emperor Xian, Wei Zhen acted as the formal messenger from the emperor to his future father-in-law. He then stayed with Cao Cao as a member of his staff, and in recognition of his father he was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis.

As Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220 he appointed Wei Zhen a Cavalier Regular Attendant. Wei Zhen took part in the process which brought the abdication of Han in favour of Wei, and he was rewarded with a full marquisate. Many courtiers at this time celebrated the glories of Wei, but Wei Zhen emphasised the achievement of Han and the generosity of its abdication and Cao Pi indeed undertook to respect the former emperor.

Wei Zhen became a Deputy Director of the Secretariat and accompanied Cao Pi on campaign. He later held administrative office under Cao Rui, was responsible for appointment to office, and commanded troops against Zhuge Liang of Shu. In 237 he was named an Excellency, and held that rank until 248.

When he died a short time later he was awarded posthumous honours. -SGZ 22:647-49*.

The Annals for 199 at HHS 9:381 describe how the Imperial Secretariat, now under the control of Cao Cao, was re-arranged to provide for two Deputy Directors, and the *Hanguanyi* of Ying Shao, cited by Hui Dong in HHSJJ at 354-55, says that Wei Zhen became Deputy Director on the Right. This statement, however, must refer to his position under Cao Pi twenty years later.

Wei Zheng 魏整 [Boyu 伯玉]; Hanzhong. A local officer, Wei Zheng was involved in repair work on the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. His contribution was recorded in a stele inscription of 148. -LS 4:5a.

Wei [Zhongda] 韋仲達. A gentleman from the region about Chang'an, he and Wei Biao and Gongsun Boda were celebrated scholars, and the local people referred to them as the three "intelligent ones," from the common character 達 in their styles.

Wei Zhongda became a county magistrate in Henei. -HHSJJ 26/16:970 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu juehu*.

Wei [Zhongdao] 衛仲道; Hedong. First husband of the Lady Cai Yan, he died about 190. The couple had no children, and the Lady returned to the home of her father, Cai Yong. -HHS 84/74:2800.

Wei Zhou 魏宙 [Huikai 惠開]; Julu. XTS 72B:2655 says that Wei Zhou, son of Wei Yu, became Administrator of Pingyuan.

Wei Zhu 韋著 [Xiuming 休明]; Jingzhao. Son of Wei Bao, Wei Zhu became known while he was young for his good conduct, for his scholarship on the *Book of Changes* and the Han school of *Poetry*, and for various arts and skills. He would not accept local office, and he refused an invitation from the General-in-Chief Liang Ji.

In 159, as Chen Fan became Director of the Imperial Secretariat under the new personal government of Emperor Huan, he recommended Wei Zhu as one of the five most worthy men of the empire. A special carriage was sent to invite him to office, but as they were on the road, Wei Zhu claimed to be ill. He went back home, then disappeared into the hills to live as a hermit. Officials at court argued that he should be punished, but the emperor forgave him. A second edict ordered the administrator of Jingzhao to approach him again, with utmost courtesy, but Wei Zhu still refused to take office.

In 168, after the destruction of Dou Wu and Chen

Fan, the victorious eunuchs sought worthy men to serve as figure-heads in order that their regime might be better accepted by the gentlemen of the empire. They persuaded Emperor Ling to appoint Wei Zhu as Chancellor of Donghai, and the edict was brought to his home and pressed so firmly that he felt obliged to go. [FSTY 5, perhaps unfairly, says that he was eager to accept.]

Wei Zhu had married a second time, and his new wife, arrogant and wilful, interfered in the local administration. At the same time, his rule was strict and he was accused of cruelty by a man he had punished. Wei Zhu lost his reputation, he was sentenced to a period of convict service, and as he was at last on his way home he was killed by bandits. Those recluse scholars who had refused their own invitations to take office felt ashamed, and Ying Shao contrasted his conduct unkindly with that of Jiang Gong. -HHS 26/16:921, XHS 3:21a, XTS 74A:3045, FSTY 5:40; Nylan 83:474-476, Vervoorn 90:165.

Wei Zi 衛茲 [Zixu 子許] (d.190); Chenliu. A man of principle, he refused several invitations to office at the capital, but in 189, as Cao Cao fled Dong Zhuo and came to Chenliu, Wei Zi met and admired him. He became a close friend and gave family property to raise troops.

In the following year, now an officer under the Administrator Zhang Miao, Wei Zi led a detachment to support Cao Cao's attack on Dong Zhuo's forces in Henei. They were heavily defeated, and Wei Zi was killed. Cao Cao always remembered his friendship and regularly paid respects at his tomb. -SGZ 1:6, 22:647-48.

Weibei 尉卑大 or Weibida 尉畢大. King of Nearer Jushi and an ally of Han, in 96 Weibei was attacked by King Zhuodi of Further Jushi, who believed he had spoken against him to the Chinese. Zhuodi captured Weibei's wife and children, but in the following year a Chinese army defeated Zhuodi and killed him. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Weibida 尉畢大 see Weibei 尉卑大.

Weichou[tai] 尉仇台 see Weiqiutai 尉仇台.

[**Weiming** (style)] 威明 [surname and personal name unknown]; Wudu. A local officer of the commandery, in 172 this man joined in setting up a stele to commemorate the road construction work of the Administrator Li Yu. -LS 4:12b.

Weiqiu 尉仇 see Weiqiutai 尉仇台.

Weiqiutai 尉仇台 [Wigutae] I; Fuyu. Son and Heir to the King of Fuyu in present-day central Manchuria, in 120 Weiqiutai was sent with tribute to the imperial court. He was rewarded by Emperor An with an official seal and some cloth embroidered with gold, and there were annual embassies for several years thereafter.

In the autumn of 121 raiders from Gaogouli [Koguryo], southern neighbours of Fuyu, attacked Xuantu commandery and besieged its capital. In the winter Weiqiutai was sent with twenty thousand men to assist the Chinese, and early in the following year their combined forces broke the siege and killed five hundred of the raiders.

From this entry and the one immediately following, it appears that Fuyu and Gaogouli were longstanding enemies, and the alliance with the Chinese was a policy created by that circumstance. More generally, Gaogouli had seceded from the original state of Fuyu. -*HHS* 5:234-35, 85/75:2815; Gardiner 69B:160.

Weiqiutai 尉仇台 [Wigutae] II; Fuyu. King of Fuyu at the end of the second century, his state was under pressure from Xianbi in the west and from Gaogouli [Koguryo] in the south. Weiqiutai accordingly submitted to the Chinese warlord Governor Gongsun Du, who granted him a woman of his own clan as wife. -*SGZ* 30:842.

The distance in time between the entries for Weiqiutai in *HHS* and in *SGZ*, and the record of an intervening King Futai in 167 makes it clear that there were two men of the same name in different generations. There may, however have been dittography in the texts.

Weiqiuzhi 尉仇治 see Weiqiutai 尉仇台.

Weishi 位侍 of Yutian [Khotan]. In the 50s the regional hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] transferred King Yulin of Yutian to be ruler of the state of Ligui; Yulin's younger brother Weishi took his place.

About a year later King Xian became doubtful of the loyalty of some of his subordinate rulers, including Weishi. He summoned them to his capital and killed them. -*HHS* 88/78:2925.

Wei Wang Bi 威王弼 was a gentleman cadet. -*FSTY* 5f:129.

Weiyang, Lady of 渭陽君 see the Lady Dong Bo 董白.

Wen Bu 文布 or Ai Bu 艾布; Nan. Local clan leaders in 219, Wen Bu and Deng Kai gathered non-Chinese people from the western hills to resist the invading

forces of Sun Quan. Defeated by Lu Xun's officer Xie Jing, they fled west into Yi province and received military appointment under Liu Bei.

Later, when Lu Xun invited them to surrender, Wen Bu changed sides and brought his people back. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1345.

Wen Chou 文醜 (d.200). A noted cavalry commander of Yuan Shao, Wen Chou was ambushed and killed by Cao Cao at the Yan Crossing of the Yellow River. -*SGZ* 1:19.

Wen Gong 溫貢 [Xianzong 顯宗]; Nanyang. A former Chancellor of Dongping, in 156 Wen Gong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16a.

Wen Hui 溫恢 [Manji 曼基]; Taiyuan. Son of Wen Ru, Wen Hui was fifteen when his father died as Administrator of Zhuo commandery, and he accompanied the funeral back to his home country. The family was reasonably well-to-do, but trouble was brewing and Wen Hui observed that wealth was of small use in such a time, so he distributed his property amongst his kinsmen. The local authorities were impressed and recommended Wen Hui as Filial and Incorrupt. He became a magistrate, then head of the commandery units Pengcheng and Lu; in each place he gained an excellent reputation.

About 210 Wen Hui was appointed as a clerk in Cao Cao's offices as Imperial Chancellor, and he was later sent out as Inspector of Yang province, with responsibility for defence of the frontier against Sun Quan. In 219, as Sun Quan attacked the key city of Hefei, the troops of several provinces gathered for the defence, but Wen Hui remarked to his colleague Pei Qian that the real threat was not on the Huai but on the Han River, where Liu Bei's general Guan Yu was facing Cao Ren. This was indeed correct.

When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 Wen Hui became a Palace Attendant at the capital and was then named Administrator of Wei commandery, the core of the Cao family fief. A few years later he was transferred to be Inspector of Liang 涼 province in the far northwest, with authority also as Protector of the Qiang. He died on the road to take up that position; he was aged forty-five *sui*.

Cao Pi issued an edict of eulogy for Wen Hui, and made his son Sheng 生 a secondary marquis. As the young man died soon afterwards, the fief was ended: see also *sub* Sheng [surname unknown]. -*SGZ* 15:478-

79*.

Wen Ji 文極 [Jijiang 季姜], the Lady; Guanghan. Second wife of Wang Tang, Administrator and later Court Architect, the Lady Wen cared for his son Wang Bo and his two daughters by his first marriage as well for as three sons and two daughters of her own. Learned in the *Poetry* and *Ritual*, she was admired, together with her daughter-in-law the Lady Yang Jin, wife of Wang Bo, and the Lady Zhang Shuji, wife of her grandson Wang Zun, for the training she gave in generous conduct.

The Lady accompanied her husband on all his postings until his death. When she herself died at the age of eighty-one all her children came to the funeral, and people were amazed at the number of officials who attended. Much of the credit for the prosperity of the family was attributed to her. -HYGZ 10C:177, 12:236.

Wen Kai 文愷; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Wen Kai joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Wen Long 文龍. According to HHS 6:256, Wen Long was Administrator of Guiyang in 129, and was enfeoffed for his fine administration. According to HHJ 18:211, an unnamed Commandant of Hanyang presented a large pearl at this time, and was enfeoffed as a reward. The recorded texts of the edicts are very similar, and probably refer to the same man, but it is not possible to judge whether Wen Long was the correct name, which office he may have held, nor the precise reason for his enfeoffment.

Wen Mu 文穆. As Protector of the Wuhuan, Wen Mu shared command with Lai Miao the Commandant of Cavalry in one column of the ambitious but unsuccessful campaign against the Northern Xiongnu in 73. Their troops included northern militia with Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries, and Wen Mu was presumably responsible for the non-Chinese contingent. -HHS 23/13:810.

Wen Mu 文穆; Runan. Three generations of Wen Mu's family had held high rank in the imperial service. After Wen Mu himself had served for a time as a commandery officer, he was called up for an examination and became an Academician at the Imperial University.

He was then Assistant to the Minister of Ceremonies, was appointed Palace Attendant and a General of the Household, and served later as Administrator of Jiujiang, Pengcheng and Chenliu. He died about 180, and his former students set up a stele in his honour. -S/JZ 23:8b-9a, *Cai* 8:2.

Wen Ping 文聘 [Zhongye 仲業]; Nanyang. A senior commander under Liu Biao, Wen Ping was stationed to defend the north of his territory. After Liu Biao's death in 208, his son Liu Zong took over his position but then surrendered the province to Cao Cao. He summoned Wen Ping, but Wen Ping replied, "Since I have not been able to keep the province intact, I can only wait for punishment," a formula of apology and refusal.

After Cao Cao crossed the Han, Wen Ping went to him. Asked the reason for his delay, he explained that he had hoped to maintain resistance in honour of his duty to Liu Biao, but now that the cause was clearly lost he had no alternative but to surrender. He wept as he spoke, and Cao Cao admired his sense of loyalty.

Wen Ping went with the army in pursuit of Liu Bei and was took part in the success at the Chang Slope in Nan commandery. After the defeat at the Red Cliffs, as the territory was still contested Cao Cao made Wen Ping his Administrator of Jiangxia, which was divided with Sun Quan, and enfeoffed him as a secondary marquis. Independently or in joint operations with Yue Jin, based at Xiangyang further up the Han, Wen Ping made a number of raids against Guan Yu, who controlled the greater part of Jing province on behalf of Liu Bei.

As Cao Pi took the throne in 220 he raised Wen Ping to a district marquisate and granted him the Staff of Authority. When Xiaohou Shang attacked Jiangling in 222 Wen Ping occupied the mouth of the Han to guard his left flank. He now received a county marquisate and was named General of the Rear. In 226 Jiangxia was heavily attacked by a large army of Wu, but Wen Ping maintained the defence for over three weeks, and when the enemy withdrew he pursued and attacked them with success. He received an addition of 19,000 households to his fief.

At this point in Wen Ping's biography the commentary of Pei Songzhi inserts an account from *Wei lue*, which says that on one occasion that Sun Quan came to attack Wen Ping, the fortifications of his city had been washed down by heavy rain and could

not be repaired because the people had scattered. Wen Ping ordered his followers to hide themselves, then set himself at ease on a couch in his residence. Concerned that there might be a trap, Sun Quan led his men away. This stratagem of the Empty City 空城計 is also attributed to Liu Bei's general Zhao Yun in Hanzhong in 219 and, most famously but without good authority, to Zhuge Liang: see deC 90:438 and 585, and Fang 52: 215-216.

Wen Ping governed Jiangxia and maintained the borders until his death during the 240s. -SGZ 18:539-40*.

Wen Qi 文齊 [Ziqi 子奇] (d.37); Guanghan. Colonel of the City Gates at Chang'an in the time of Emperor Ping, Wen Qi was appointed Commandant of the Dependent State of Jianwei by Wang Mang. He constructed an irrigation system which improved the yield of agriculture, and the people established a temple in his honour.

In 19 Wen Qi replaced Lian Dan 廉丹 as Administrator of Yizhou commandery. The territory was restless and rebellious, but Wen Qi again developed an irrigation system, extended colonisation and agriculture, organised a militia and established frontier posts. The non-Chinese submitted, and he was able to restore peace.

After the fall of Wang Mang, Wen Qi held himself aloof as Gongsun Shu established himself in Yi province, rejecting offers of enfeoffment and marriage alliance. Instead, he sent messengers to Emperor Guangwu by round-about routes, and after the Han armies destroyed Gongsun Shu in 36 Wen Qi was named a general and given title as Marquis Who Perfects Honour 成義侯.

Wen Qi died on his way to the capital, but the people of Yizhou also set up shrines to his memory. -HHS 86/76:2846, HYGZ 4:48 & 58, 10C:173; Bn 67: 61-62, QHX:582.

Wen Shou 溫壽; Taiyuan. Wen Shou was the eldest son of Wen Xu, who died a heroic death in 30 and was granted a special tomb at Luoyang. His sons were appointed gentlemen cadets. [On the number of sons, see *sub* Wen Yi.]

Wen Shou became a magistrate in Ji'nan. One night he dreamt that his father came to him and said he wished to lie in his home country. Wen Shou sent in a request to Emperor Guangwu, who gave approval for the body to be reburied in the family grave in Taiyuan.

-HHS 81/71:2673.

Wen Shu 溫恕; Taiyuan. During the reign of Emperor Ling Wen Shu became Administrator of Zhuo commandery, but died comparatively young. -SGZ 15: 478.

XTS 72B:2661 says that Wen Shu was a son of Wen Yi and a grandson of Wen Xu. Those two men were both active in the first half of the first century AD, however, so this man cannot have been so close a descendant.

Wen [Shuliang] 文叔良; Nanyang. Assistant to the Chancellor of Ganling about 200, Wen Shuliang dreamt he was by a river bank when he saw the spirit of a certain Lan Xiang, which asked him to arrange a proper burial. Next morning he went to the place, found a coffin washed up, and duly carried out the commission. -SJZ 5:18b.

Wen [Shuyang] 文叔陽 (d.144); Shanyang. Having held a number of local offices, including headman of his district, Officer of Merit and Literary Scholar of the commandery, Wen Shuyang was honoured with a memorial hall 食堂. -Nagata 94:94.

Wen Tun 文屯; Guanghan. Son of Wen Qi, Wen Tun became Administrator of Beihai. -HYGZ 10C:173.

Wen Xu 溫序 [Zifang 次房 or Gongzi 公次] (d.30); Taiyuan. Formerly an Assistant Officer in Bing province, in 26 Wen Xu was interviewed by the imperial official Gongli Xu, who recommended him to the court of Emperor Guangwu. He served in the Imperial Censorate and was later Commandant of Wuling, but became ill and left that office.

In 30 Wen Xu returned to office as an Internuncio, and was then appointed Protector of the Qiang. As Bielenstein observes, it was no doubt intended that he would contact the non-Chinese tribes on the frontier of Jincheng and Longxi and encourage them to attack the warlord Wei Ao who controlled the upper Wei valley about Tianshui. On his way, Wen Xu was captured by Wei Ao's officer Gou Yu. Gou Yu sought to persuade him to join his cause, but Wen Xu swore at him for seeking to corrupt an imperial officer, and used his Staff of Authority to kill several of his captors.

Wei Ao's men wanted to put him to death, but Gou Yu, admiring his courage, told them to give him a sword. Looking at those about him, Wen Xu exclaimed that even if he must die at the hands of such bandits he did not want his fine beard sullied by the ground. Stuffing his beard into his mouth, he fell on

the sword.

Wen Xu's officers Han Zun and Wang Zhong brought his body back, and told the emperor of his heroic death. Guangwu ordered Wang Zhong to escort his remains to Luoyang, and had a tomb-mound raised for him by the city wall. He gave rewards of grain and silk to the family, and appointed Wen Xu's sons as gentlemen cadets.

Some time later Wen Xu's son Shou saw his father in a dream, and the apparition said that he wished to be buried in his home country. Wen Shou reported this to the throne, and the emperor gave approval for the body to be reburied in the family grave in Taiyuan. -*HHS* 81/71:2672-73*; Bn 67:136.

Wen Yi 溫益 [Boqi 伯起]; Taiyuan. A son of Wen Xu, after his father's heroic death in 30 Wen Yi was made a gentleman cadet and later became Inspector of Yi province. -*XTS* 72B:2661 [*HHS* 81/71:2673 says that Wen Xu had three sons, but *XTS* mentions only two, Wen Yi and Wen Shou.]

Wen Yi 溫毅. In 190 the Administrator of Wuling, Cao Yin, had quarrelled with the Inspector Wang Rui. Cao Yin sent forged instructions for Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha, to execute Wang Rui. The document purported to come from the Palace Counsellor Wen Yi, acting on a special commission, but nothing more is recorded of Wen Yi, nor of this perhaps fictitious appointment. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1097.

Wen Yu 文預; Jingzhao. A military officer under the Intendant, Wen Yu was commemorated with a stele. -*SJZ* 8:24.

Wen Zi 文則. In 198, as Yuan Shao attacked his fortress at Yi in Hejian, Gongsun Zan sent his officer Wen Zi with a letter to his son Gongsun Xu, urging him to seek aid from Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits. -*SGZ* 8:246-47.

Wenba 文八 see Zuo Zizhangba 左髭丈八.

[**Wenjing**] 文經 [surname, personal name and origin unknown]. Early in the third century a man of this style was a leading follower of Liu Bei. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1085.

Wenren Tong 聞人統 [Wengong 文公]; Pei? A man of humble family, Wenren Tong was appointed Investigator in his native commandery. Too poor to afford a horse, he carried his belongings on his back, and with no proper coverings for his bed, he used the skins of small deer. He would accept nothing from anyone, not even a meal. -*XC* 7:10a.

The fragment of *XC* 7 preserved in *QJHHS* has

this man's personal name as Tong, but a quotation in *Taiping yulan* 253, cited by Hou Kang in *HHSJJ* 8:337 *jiaobu*, gives it as Xi 襲. This is the same as the Excellency below, though the styles are different. It is nonetheless likely that the two men were related and came from the same territory.

FSTY 6f:143 mentions a Wenren Tong 通, but this must be the same man as Wenren Tonghan 通漢 of Former Han: *QHX*:583.

Wenren Xi 聞人襲 [Dingqing 定卿]; Pei. In the winter of 168 Wenren Xi was appointed from Minister Coachman to be Grand Commandant under the government of Emperor Ling now dominated by the eunuchs. He left office six months later, in the summer of 161.

In the summer of 170 Wenren Xi again became Grand Commandant, leaving office in the spring of 171. -*HHS* 8:329-32.

Wenshu Liang 文叔良 see Wen Shuliang 文叔良.

White Sparrow 白雀 see Boque 白雀.

White Rider Zhang 張白騎 see Zhang Cheng 張晟.

White Tiger Yan 嚴白虎 see Yan, White Tiger 嚴白虎.

Wigutae [Korean] see Weiqutai/Weiqiuzhi 尉仇治 of Fuyu.

Wu 吳, the Lady I; Runan. An old woman, she was taken by a demon, which then killed the officer Zheng Qi. -*FSTY* 9:73; Nylan 83:544-545.

Wu 武, the Lady (d.145); Shanyang. After the Lady's death, her son Wu Liang and his three brothers had a family tomb prepared, and a stele to the Lady's memory was set up in 147. This was probably the first construction in the now celebrated complex of the Wu family tombs. -Wu 89:25-27 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu 吳, the Lady II (d.202 or possibly 207); Wu/Kuaiji. Wife of Sun Jian, the Lady came from a family of local distinction in Wu which had migrated to Qiantang in Kuaiji, present-day Hangzhou. Her parents died when she was young and she lived with her brother Wu Jing. She was attractive, and when she proposed to marry Sun Jian her relatives objected; she persuaded them, however, to take the gamble.

In 189, when Sun Jian left his position as Administrator of Changsha to join the war against Dong Zhuo, the Lady Wu went east with her children, staying first with the Zhou family of Lujiang, and moving to Guangling after her husband's death in 191. When Sun Ce made contact with Yuan Shu in 193, his

family was under threat from Tao Qian, Governor of Xu province, but they escaped south across the Yangzi, then joined him at Yuan Shu's headquarters in Jiujiang. After Sun Ce had established himself in Danyang in 196, he arranged for his mother and brothers to join him.

During the second half of the 190s, as Sun Ce developed a government in the south, his mother encouraged him to act humanely in order to gain a good reputation: she spoke on behalf of his clerk Wei Teng, and also pleaded successfully for the life of her old suitor Wang Sheng. Treated with great respect, she played a role in the succession of the youthful Sun Quan after his brother's death. It is said that she opposed sending hostages to Cao Cao, while she encouraged Sun Quan to accept advisers such as Zhou Yu and Zhang Hong. -SGZ Wu 5:1195-96*; deC 90:85, 223-224 [which last discusses the date of the Lady's death, ascribed by some to 207], C/C 99:122-124.

Wu 吳, the Lady III (d.245); Chenliu: Empress of Liu Bei, First Sovereign of Shu-Han. The Lady and her elder brother Wu Yi were orphaned when they were young, and because their father had been an old friend of Liu Yan, the family went to Yi province after he was appointed Governor there in 189. A physiognomist predicted that the Lady Wu would receive great honours, and so Liu Yan arranged for her to marry his son Liu Mao. It was hoped that Liu Mao would thus share in her good fortune, but he died about 210, and the Lady then lived alone.

After Liu Bei seized the province in 214, his chief wife the Lady Sun III returned to her brother the rival warlord Sun Quan. Liu Bei's followers recommended the Lady Wu as her replacement, and though Liu Bei was initially concerned at the possible kinship with Liu Mao, Fa Zheng reassured him of the propriety of the match and so he took the Lady as his formal wife.

When Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong in 219 he named the Lady as his queen, and when he claimed the imperial throne in 221 he proclaimed her as his empress. When Liu Bei died, his son and successor Liu Shan honoured her as Dowager and at her death she was given the posthumous title Mu 穆 "Serene." -SGZ Shu 4:906*; C/C 99:49, 116-117.

Wu Ba 吳霸; Runan. Leader of a group of Yellow Turbans about 184, Wu Ba was captured by the local warlord Li Tong, who took over his followers. -SGZ 18:535.

Wu Ban 武班 [Xuanzhang 宣張] (d.145); Shanyang. Eldest son of Wu Kaiming, Wu Ban was born a little before 120. When he was twenty-five he held some office in the neighbouring commandery of Jiying and was recommended Filial and Incorrupt by Administrator Cao.

Wu Ban became Chief Clerk of Dunhuang, but took ill and died in that office. An inscription in his memory was added to the stele of his grandmother, the Lady Wu, and a separate tablet was dedicated to him later. -LS 6:11a-13b, Nagata 94:100; Wu 89:25-27, HHSJJ 6:269 *jiaobu* Hou Kang.

Wu Ban 吳班 [Yuanxiong 元雄]; Chenliu. Son of Wu Kuang, after the breakdown of government at the capital in 189 Wu Ban acted for a time as a free-lance, then joined his kinsman Wu Yi in Yi province.

In 222 Wu Ban commanded a fleet in Liu Bei's ill-fated attack down the Yangzi against Sun Quan. Under Liu Shan he held senior military rank with the Staff of Authority and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -SGZ Shu 15:1084.

Wu Bin 吳斌; Yingchuan? Wu Bin admired Han Yan, a man born in the same year. During the reign of Emperor Shun, Han Yan became Administrator of Danyang, but was then arrested and sent to the capital in disgrace. At that time Wu Bin was a magistrate in Pei, and he went to attend Han Yan on his journey. -FSTY 7:56.

Wu Bo 武勃 (d.24). In 24 Feng Yi, general in the service of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came south of the Yellow River into the east of Henan. Wu Bo, Administrator of Henan for the Gengshi Emperor, left Luoyang to attack him. As the other commanders in the city failed to support him, he was defeated, and as the turn-coat Li Yi kept the gates of the city closed against him, Wu Bo was killed. -HHS 17/7:643.

Wu [Bowu] 吳伯武 of Taishan was the long-lost brother of Wu Wenchang q.v.

Wu Can 吳燾 [Gongxiu 公休]; Wu. Though a man of poor family, Wu Can was admired by the physiognomist Zheng Yu and was also befriended by Gu Shao, son of Gu Yong and a noted judge of character. In the late 190s he became a junior officer of his county. The magistrate Sun He admired him, and when he became a general in the early 200s he appointed Wu Can as his Chief Clerk.

Despite his humble background, Wu Can became a friend of Lu Xun and other leaders, and in 208 he was

appointed Registrar to Sun Quan. He served for a time as a magistrate in Kuaiji, then returned to headquarters as an adviser with rank as colonel.

In 222 Wu Can joined the defence against Cao Xiu on the lower Yangzi, and his flotilla rescued a great many men when a storm broke up the fleet. As Administrator of Kuaiji, he engaged in campaigns to settle the hills people, returning later to the court as a minister and then a tutor to the Heir Sun He. In 245 he was caught up in the intrigue about the succession and was executed. -SGZ Wu 12:1339-40*.

Wu Cang 吳蒼; Runan. A great admirer of the hermit Jiao Shen, Wu Cang wrote to him in eloquent fashion but received no reply. -HHS 83/73:2771-72.

Wu Chang 吳常 see Wu Tang 吳棠.

Wu Chen 吳琴 (d.95). A Chief Clerk in Command of Troops, Wu Chen was found guilty of some fault, sent to prison and executed. -HHS 101/11:3236.

Wu Cheng 吳成 (d.52); Nanyang. Son of Wu Han, he succeeded to his father's large fief in 44, but was later killed by a slave. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu Dan 吳旦; Nanyang. Wu Dan was a son of Wu Cheng and grandson of Wu Han. After his father's death in 52, the multi-county fief which had been granted to Wu Han was divided. Wu Dan was enfeoffed with a county in Runan, while other territories were awarded to his brother Wu Xu and his uncle Wu Guo.

Though Wu Dan had formally been entrusted with the duty of maintaining sacrifices to Wu Han, he had no sons. When he died about 83, his fief was ended and responsibility for the sacrifices was transferred to Wu Xu. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu Dang 吳瑒. Wu Dang was a magistrate in Changsha in 215 as Sun Quan took over the commandery. Still loyal to Guan Yu, he made a rising in his favour, but was attacked by Lu Su and fled. -SGZ Wu 15:1384.

Wu Dao 吳導; Runan. In 169 Wu Dao was a commandery Investigator. He received orders to arrest the man of Faction Fan Pang, but instead took himself to bed and wept. When Fan Pang heard of this, he went to the prison of his own accord. -HHS 67/57:2207; deC 89:111.

Wu Duan 武端 see *sub* Wu Zhou 武周.

Wu Dun 吳敦; Donghai? Leader of a bandit or clan self-defence group in the region of Mount Tai, he had the nickname of Annu 黯奴 "Black Slave." Cf. Yin Li, who was known as "Black Boy 盧兒."

About 194 Wu Dun and the other leaders of groups

in the region accepted the general authority of Zang Ba. They accompanied him in his attempt to aid Lü Bu against Cao Cao in 198, then followed his lead once more and accepted service under Cao Cao. Wu Dun and his fellows were given title as administrators of a series of small commanderies about Mount Tai, and Wu Dun received a territory in Donghai, probably his native place.

Wu Dun accompanied Zang Ba on his subsequent campaigns, guarding the eastern front against Yuan Shao in 199 and 200, defeating Yuan Tan in Bohai in 205, then settling the region of present-day Shandong. He and his colleagues were rewarded with minor enfeoffment, but there is no detailed account of Wu Dun's subsequent career. -SGZ 18:537-38.

Wu Fan 吳範 [Wenzi 文則] (d.226); Kuaiji. Celebrated for his skill in calendrical calculation and divination by the wind, Wu Fan was recommended as Knowing the Way, but remained in the south to avoid the troubles.

During the early 190s Wu Fan was a counsellor to Tao Qian, Governor of Xu province, and he later joined Sun Quan when he took power in 200. He gave accurate forecasts of the defeat of Huang Zu, the death of Liu Biao, Liu Bei's seizure of Yi province and the destruction of Guan Yu. He advised on alliances with Wei and Shu-Han, and foretold the royal status of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 18:1421-23*.

Wu Fang 五方. Nominated Abundant Talent by the Director of Retainers Yang Bopi, Wu Fang was Administrator of Guanghan about 170 and later transferred to Nan commandery. -HYGZ 10B:150 ff.

Wu Fen 吳奮; Wu. Son of Wu Jing and a cousin of Sun Quan, when his father died in 203 Wu Fen took over command of his troops. He was given title as a general and later enfeoffed as a marquis.

At the time of the attack on Guan Yu in Jing province in 219, Wu Fen was appointed Area Commander in Wu commandery so that he might keep the east of the Sun state under control. -SGZ Wu 5:1196.

Wu Feng 吳奉; Guangling. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Zhang Yi, Wu Feng wanted to offer his patron a present. Though Zhang Yi refused, Wu Feng left a quantity of gold in his courtyard as he departed for the capital. Zhang Yi insisted upon returning the gift to Wu Feng's household. -XC 7:7b.

Wu Feng 吳鳳 [Junya 君雅]; Chenliu. Son of Wu You, Wu Feng became Administrator of Lelang in present-day Korea. -HHS 64/54:2102.

Wu Fu 伍孚 [Deyu 德瑜] (d.190), Runan. As a young man Wu Fu had a reputation for bravery and a sense of honour. When he was a clerical officer in the commandery, the magistrate of his home county committed a crime. Wu Fu was ordered to investigate, but he explained to the Administrator that even if the magistrate had failed in his duties, as a citizen under his authority he could not act against him. The Administrator admired and accepted his argument.

Wu Fu later served in the offices of the General-in-Chief He Jin and became a Palace Attendant, Intendant of Henan and then a colonel in the Northern Army.

When Dong Zhuo seized power at the end of 189 all the officials were frightened of him, but Wu Fu concealed a dagger in his court robes and went to see him. As Dong Zhuo escorted him out after the meeting, he drew the dagger and attempted to stab him. Dong Zhuo managed to avoid the blow and had Wu Fu arrested. [One account says he over-powered Wu Fu; another that Wu Fu was a strong man and Dong Zhuo had to call urgently for his guards.]

Wu Fu was charged with treason, but cried out that he owed no loyalty to the man who had brought disorder to the state. He was executed. -*SGZ* 6:175-76, *HHS* 72/62:2331, *XC* 8:9b-10a.

The commentary of Pei Songzhi to *SGZ* 6, after quoting *XC* 8, notes that Wu Fu is said to have had the same style, Deyu 德瑜, as Wu Qiong, who also conspired against Dong Zhuo. Pei Songzhi wonders whether the two stories relate to the same man, but other commentators generally agree that they were separate, and that the identical style is either a textual error or simple coincidence: *SGZJJ* 6:11a-b.

Wu Gong 伍公. An officer under Tian Rong, warlord of Nan commandery, Wu Gong surrendered to the Han general Can Peng in 27. -*HHS* 17/7:658.

Wu Gong 吳恭; Henan?: see *sub* Wu Xiong. Son of Wu Xin and grandson of Wu Xiong, Wu Gong became Minister of Justice like his father and grandfather before him. -*HHS* 46/36:1546.

Wu Guang 巫光; Beihai. Yao Zhenzong:2386 presents evidence that in the time of Emperor Guangwu this man composed *Yangxing jing* 養性經, a treatise on cultivation of the spirit. The name Wu Guang looks like a sobriquet: "Splendour of Shamanism."

Wu Guo 吳國; Nanyang. Wu Guo was a son of Wu Han and younger brother of Wu Cheng. Wu Han had been awarded a fief comprising several counties, and

Wu Cheng succeeded to it, but it was divided after his death in 52. Wu Cheng's sons Dan and Xu received fiefs, while Wu Guo was granted a county marquissate in Nanyang. -*HHS* 18/8:684.

Wu Han 吳漢 [Zixian 子顏] (d.44); Nanyang. A man of humble background, Wu Han nonetheless became head of his village and gathered a group of followers. About 20, some of his men offended the law, and Wu Han was obliged to flee to the north with Peng Chong, a man from his native commandery who had contacts in Yuyang. Travelling as a horse trader, Wu Han acquired a network of friends among leaders of the region.

After the destruction of Wang Mang in 23, the Gengshi Emperor sent Han Hong as commissioner to the far north. Wu Han was recommended to him and was called for an interview; Han Hong made him a county magistrate in Yuyang, while Peng Chong became Acting Administrator of the commandery.

As Wang Lang claimed the imperial title in the winter of 23/24, many of the leading gentry wished to join him, but it is said that Wu Han had already heard of the qualities of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner for the restored Han dynasty on the North China plain. He urged Peng Chong to support the regime based upon their home territory of Nanyang, but though Peng Chong was willing, he explained that his officers were committed to Wang Lang, and he had no authority to raise troops for operations outside the commandery.

As he left Peng Chong's headquarters Wu Han met a wandering beggar scholar, who told him that Wang Lang's claim to membership of the imperial house of Han was false. Encouraged by this, Wu Han gave the man food, had him write out a call to arms as if from Liu Xiu, and deliver it to Peng Chong. Peng Chong was convinced, and when Wu Han returned he gave him command of the local troops.

Moving south, Wu Han joined a contingent from Shanggu led by Jing Dan, and their combined forces took over twenty counties, killing hundreds of Wang Lang's appointed officials and destroying his position in the north.

At the time they approached, Liu Xiu had been defeated by Wang Lang's forces, and had withdrawn to Julu. At first his party was afraid that Wu Han and Jing Dan were bringing further enemies against them, but the reinforcements restored the balance in favour of Han. Named a lieutenant-general, Wu Han led shock

cavalry to raid Wang Lang's capital at Handan, and after the fall of that city and the destruction of Wang Lang, he was rewarded with title as a marquis.

Though slow of speech and lacking in both education and culture, Wu Han was extremely strong and utterly fearless. Deng Yu and others recommended him to Liu Xiu, and he became a close attendant. He was noted for sustaining the morale of his men and for his ability to maintain military discipline even in time of tension. As Liu Xiu was planning to take over the far north Deng Yu recommended him, and Wu Han was appointed a chief general, with authority to raise horsemen from ten commanderies.

Miao Zen, Governor of You province for the Gengshi Emperor, with headquarters in Youbeiping, had called up his own troops and had no wish to support Liu Xiu. Wu Han arrived with an escort of only twenty men, and Miao Zen came out to receive him. Taking Miao Zen by surprise, Wu Han arrested him and cut his head off, then took over his army. All the north was impressed, every territory provided its quota of men, and Wu Han led them back to the south. He is said to have had Wuhuan horsemen under his command a few years later, and it is likely his recruitment at this time also gathered non-Chinese auxiliaries.

As he came to Liu Xiu's camp in Qinghe, other officers noted the size of his force and doubted his willingness to share his following, but Wu Han presented Liu Xiu with the muster rolls and gave up his personal claim to benefit the common cause. When his colleagues asked for men to increase their own troops, Liu Xiu criticised them for their earlier doubts and their present greed.

Soon afterwards Liu Xiu went south to attack the Red Eyebrows at Shequan in Henei, while Xie Gong, officer of the Gengshi Emperor at Ye city, undertook to attack the Youlai bandits and prevent them from joining the larger force. Xie Gong did as he promised, but was heavily defeated, and in the mean time Liu Xiu sent Wu Han and Cen Peng to occupy Ye. Wu Han persuaded Xie Gong's officer Chen Kang to change sides and let him in, and when Xie Gong returned with a small escort Wu Han trapped and killed him with his own hands.

As Liu Xiu attacked the various bandit groups in the north of the plain, Wu Han led five thousand cavalry which served as shock troops to break the enemy line. When victory was complete, he joined other officers in

urging Liu Xiu to claim the imperial throne, and when Emperor Guangwu did so in the autumn he enfeoffed Wu Han with a county in Yingchuan and named him Grand Marshal [Bn: Commander-in-Chief], highest military post in the empire. Wu Han held that office for almost twenty years, and though the Grand Marshal was formally a leader of the bureaucracy, he always acted as a military man.

In the spring of 26 Wu Han took command of a major force, including the Excellency of Works Wang Liang, the chief generals Zhu You and Du Mao, the Bearer of the Mace Jia Fu, and other generals and officers in an attack on the Tanxiang bandit group, then operating in the east of Wei commandery. The enemy were completely defeated and it was claimed that over a hundred thousand surrendered. Wu Han received a larger fief, with revenue from four counties in Guangping/Julu. Turning west against a group of hill bandits led by Li Boqing, then south into Henei, Wu Han again destroyed rebel camps and settlements. Guangwu came out in person to welcome him as he returned to Luoyang.

Wu Han was then sent south into Nanyang; his army was the third imperial force to enter the territory that year, following those led by Cen Peng and Jia Fu. He captured Wan, capital of the commandery, and defeated the local warlord Qin Feng further south. A fierce general, Wu Han gave his soldiers every licence, but his subordinate commander Deng Feng felt bitter at the way his homeland was ravaged by Wu Han's troops, and in the autumn he rebelled. Having driven Wu Han back in a surprise attack, Deng Feng achieved further success, and he was defeated only in the following year by the emperor himself.

Wu Han was recalled to the north soon after this trouble broke out, perhaps to prevent him making more enemies in the emperor's home commandery, and in the latter part of 26 he was sent with Feng Yi to put down the Five Towers bandit group in Ji province north of the Yellow River. They went on to eliminate the Bronze Horses and Five Banners groups, and early in 27, together with Geng Yan and He Yan, Wu Han destroyed a remnant of the Green Calf bandits in Henei.

Wu Han and his men were then called west into Hongnong, where they joined the imperial forces under Guangwu which faced the Red Eyebrows and forced their surrender. In the summer of 27 Wu Han was sent

back east to take command of operations against the pretender Liu Yong, who had been defeated in the previous year by He Yan but now staged a revival.

He Yan embarked on a new siege of Liu Yong's city of Suiyang, while Wu Han led the chief general Du Mao and the general Chen Jun against Liu Yong's officer Su Mao at Guangle in the north of Liang. As Su Mao's colleague Zhou Jian came to the relief, Wu Han was wounded and his men were driven back into camp. Wu Han bandaged himself, slaughtered oxen to feast his men, and urged them once more into battle – any who were slow to join the charge would be executed. Next morning a force of elite troops, supported by Wuhuan cavalry, broke the enemy lines, and the Han troops pursued them into Guangle. Su Mao and Zhou Jian fled, and Wu Han left Du Mao and Chen Jun to invest the fortress while he went to assist He Yan outside Suiyang. Liu Yong fled that city and was killed, and both places surrendered.

In 28 Wu Han led Chen Jun and the General of the Van Wang Liang to defeat the Wuxiao bandits in Julu, then pursued them south of the Yellow River into Dong commandery and defeated them once more. As the remnants fled to join Su Mao, Wu Han turned northeast to put down other groups in Qinghe and Pingyuan. Disordered and corrupt government in Pingyuan had inspired a brief rebellion among the leading gentry, but Wu Han, somewhat out of character, correctly judged the cause of the trouble: he punished the officials responsible and the insurgents returned to their allegiance.

In the winter he led Geng Yan and Wang Chang to deal with bandit groups in Pingyuan. Early in the spring, as the army suffered a night raid, there was some panic and confusion, but Wu Han kept to his bed until the attack was ended, then sent picked men to strike the enemy as they withdrew. Having chased them south across the Yellow River into Dongping, he turned north to settle Bohai, and the whole course of the Yellow River across the plain was now in the control of Han.

Rejoining the main army under Guangwu, Wu Han took part in campaigns against Zhang Bu and other leaders of the southern plain. In the spring of 30 Wu Han commanded the troops which captured Qu city in Donghai and drove Dong Xian and Pang Meng to their final, fatal, flight.

Returning to the capital, Wu Han was next sent to

Chang'an to face Wei Ao, warlord of the northwest, who had made a successful counter-attack to the imperial offensive of 30. In 32 Wu Han accompanied the emperor on a second campaign and in summer, as Wei Ao took refuge at Xi city in the south of Longxi, Wu Han was sent with Cen Peng to lay siege. At this point Guangwu was obliged to go back and deal with an uprising in the east, and in the winter Gongsun Shu's general Wang Yuan bluffed Wu Han with the appearance of much larger forces than he had, and was able to relieve Xi city. Wu Han pursued the enemy to Ji city, but he was isolated and short of supplies. Guangwu sent instructions that he should disband his troops and withdraw before his men deserted of their own accord, but Wu Han and his colleagues held together in hope of overwhelming the defence. As the situation continued to deteriorate, some men became ill and others ran away, and the Han commanders were eventually forced to burn their remaining stores and withdraw. By the end of the year all but one outpost of the imperial army had returned to Chang'an.

Wei Ao died early in 33, but the conquest of his territory was achieved without Wu Han, for the warlord Lu Fang and his Xiongnu allies were causing increasing trouble with raids against the northern frontier, and had forced the Han to withdraw from Dai, Wuyuan, Dingxiang and Yanmen. With the problem of Wei Ao largely solved, the emperor could afford to dispatch a major army, and in the summer Wu Han took command of Wang Chang, Zhu You, Wang Ba and Hou Jin, with fifty thousand men to attack Lu Fang's officers Jia Lan and Min Kan at Gaoliu in Dai commandery. Having encountered firm resistance, they were then defeated in a heavy rainstorm. The operation was abandoned and Wu Han returned to Luoyang. He left garrisons along the frontier, and two further attempts were made, one by Du Mao in the winter against Yanmen, and one more by Wu Han in the spring of 34 against Dai. Du Mao, however, was defeated, Wu Han's attack fizzled out, and later that year he went back south to command operations against Gongsun Shu in present-day Sichuan.

At this time the general Cen Peng had already gathered soldiers and sailors from the commanderies along the Yangzi and had boats prepared for an attack upstream through the Gorges. Wu Han, whose experience was fighting on land and whose men came from central China, had small understanding of naval

warfare: he wanted to send the boatmen home on the grounds that they wasted provisions. When Cen Peng wrote to protest, the emperor agreed and gave him full command of operations.

As a result, when the advance began in the summer of 35 Wu Han remained behind to raise more troops and supervise the building of further boats. By autumn Cen Peng was only a short distance from Gongsun Shu's capital of Chengdu, but early in the winter, before he could press a final attack, he was murdered in his camp, and the imperial forces were obliged to withdraw south to the Yangzi.

At the end of the year Wu Han brought a second wave of invaders and took command. Swiftly regaining lost ground, he attacked Wuyang city, forty kilometres south of Chengdu, killed Gongsun Shu's son-in-law Shi Xing, stormed Guangdu and raided Chengdu.

Despite such success, Guangwu was concerned at Wu Han's exposed position. He sent warning not to take the forces in Chengdu lightly, and ordered him to hold his ground, not to take the initiative, but to wait until the enemy attacked or until it was clear that they were exhausted. Wu Han paid no attention, but led his men forward on both sides of the Min River. As they came within ten *li* of the enemy, Wu Han was twenty *li*, eight kilometres, from his associate Liu Shang, and the two columns were connected only by a pontoon bridge. Informed of the situation, the emperor sent anxious orders for immediate retreat from such a vulnerable position.

In the autumn, before Guangwu's letter had arrived, two armies of Gongsun Shu led by Xie Feng and Yuan Ji attacked the Han troops. Wu Han was defeated and forced back into his camp. After feasting his soldiers and feeding their horses for three days, however, he placed flags upon the walls and took his men across the river by night to reunite with Liu Shang. In the morning the combined force took the enemy by surprise, routed them and killed both commanders. Having thus extricated himself, Wu Han left Liu Shang to face the enemy while he withdrew to Guangdu and sent a report and apologies to the emperor.

Guangwu ordered a new advance and Wu Han fought his way back, though he and his men were at one point taken by surprise by an attack from the rear; Wu Han was thrown into the water and saved himself only by grasping a horse's tail.

In the winter of 36 Wu Han was again outside the

walls of Chengdu, but he had supplies for only seven days and was preparing his boats for another retreat. The Internuncio Zhang Kan, who had just arrived with supplies, persuaded him to feign weakness but in fact hold firm. By good fortune, probably in the hope of turning the Han retreat into a rout, Gongsun Shu himself made a sortie, and he died in the battle which ensued.

On 25 December Gongsun Shu's ally Yan Cen surrendered Chengdu city. Two days later Wu Han killed Yan Cen and Gongsun Shu's family, and let his soldiers loose to plunder. The slaughter and looting had no approval from the emperor, Guangwu was furious, and he wrote to Liu Shang asking how he, as a member of the imperial clan, could have failed to prevent such an atrocity. This victory, however, marked the end of the civil war and the triumph of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. Wu Han returned down the Yangzi with the imperial insignia and court properties of Gongsun Shu, and in the summer he was received at Luoyang with splendid festivities.

Early in 39 Wu Han was sent north once more against the Xiongnu and their ally Lu Fang. This time, rather than a full attack, the main intention was to protect and enforce the withdrawal of Chinese subjects from Yanmen, Dai and Shanggu. An arc of territory was thus abandoned to the enemy, and the people were settled on the plain below the Juyong pass, north of present-day Beijing, and the Changshan pass near Laiyuan in Hebei, 150 kilometres to the southeast.

In 42 rebellion broke out in Shu, as the fighting man Shi Xin seized Chengdu city, drove out the Han administrator, and raised an army with support from Ba commandery. Shi Xin was a competent soldier, so Guangwu took the disturbance seriously and sent Wu Han with Liu Shang and Zang Gong to deal with it. They advanced through Wudu and raised local troops to invest Chengdu. The city fell after three months siege, and Shi Xin was executed.

Wu Han then went south to deal with dissidents in Ba. Two hundred leaders were killed and several hundred families were sent east through the Gorges to be resettled in Nan commandery and Changsha.

Though Wu Han had no hesitation in allowing his troops to plunder and ravage hostile or conquered territory, he was personally frugal and lived very simply in a plain house. His wife and sons bought property while he was away on campaign, but when

he returned he insisted that it be distributed to other kinsmen, and when his wife died he constructed only a simple tomb.

Wu Han was appointed Prefect of Luoyang, but in 44 he was taken ill. Guangwu went to call upon him and asked if he had any special request, and though Wu Han sought nothing for himself, he urged the emperor to rule strictly and avoid the mistaken leniency of amnesties. When he died soon afterwards the senior ministers recommended he receive the posthumous title "Martial" 武, but Guangwu awarded him the appellation "Loyal" 忠. The people mourned him, troops of the Northern Army escorted his funeral cortège, and he received the same honours as the great minister Huo Guang 霍光 of Former Han. -HHS 18/8: 675-85*; Bn 54:53, Bn 59:38, 78, 86, 119, 128-131, 138-150, 153-154, 188-197, 206-218, Bn 67:107-113, Bn 79:65, 81.

Wu Hao 吳昊 miswritten for Jiang Hao 姜昊. -HYGZ JBTZ:20.

Wu He 吳河. In 27 Wu He was a junior officer in the army of Wu Han on campaign against Liu Yong. Designated a "yellow-head" 黃頭, he wore a yellow cloth about his helmet and acted as a leader in attack.

As Wu Han besieged Liu Yong's officer Su Mao at Guangle in Liang, he suffered a reverse at the hands of Zhou Jian, who had come to the relief. On the following morning he sent Wu He and others, with four troops of elite soldiers supported by Wuhuan cavalry, to break the enemy lines. Su Mao and Zhou Jian were defeated and fled. -HHS 18/8:679.

Wu Hou 吳厚. A magistrate in Henan, Wu Hou was a suitor of the widowed Lady Zhou Du. -HYGZ 10B: 160.

Wu Hui 吳恢 or Wu Tan 憐; Chenliu. Administrator of Nanhai, he planned to compile a commentary to the *Classic of History*, but was persuaded by his son Wu You that such a project was not appropriate for someone in a distant, marginal region. -HHS 64/54:2099.

Wu Ji 吳几, the Lady; Shu. The Lady was noted for beauty and virtue, but there are no details of her life. -HYGZ 3:33.

Wu Jili 武季立; Shanyang. Son of Wu Liang, in the early 150s Wu Jili joined his brothers to create a shrine for their late father, now recognised as a masterpiece of Han classical art. -LS 6:14a; Wu 89:25 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu Jing 吳景 (d.203); Wu/Kuaiji. Younger brother

of the Lady Wu, wife of Sun Jian, Wu Jing was a successful officer under Sun Jian. After Sun Jian's death he gave his allegiance to Yuan Shu, who sent him as Administrator to Danyang, but in 194 Wu Jing and Sun Ben were expelled by Liu Yao, who then held the line of the Yangzi against them.

In 195, under the leadership of Wu Jing's young nephew Sun Ce, their army forced the crossing, defeated Liu Yao and drove him away into Yuzhang. In the following year Wu Jing returned to Yuan Shu, who named him Administrator of Guangling. As Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197, however, Wu Jing went back to Sun Ce, who restored his title as Administrator of Danyang. In the following year the Han court under Cao Cao confirmed the appointment and also gave him rank as a general.

Wu Jing died soon after Sun Quan succeeded to the leadership. -SGZ Wu 5:1195-96; C/C 99:122-124.

Wu [Jingxing] 武景興; Shanyang. In 147, following the death of their mother the Lady Wu two years earlier, Wu Jingxing and his brothers had a family tomb prepared. -Wu 89:25-27 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu [Jizhang] 武季章; Shanyang. Son of Wu Liang, in the early 150s Wu Jizhang joined his brothers to create a shrine for their late father, now recognised as a masterpiece of Han classical art. -LS 6:14a; Wu 89:25 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu Ju 吳巨 (d.211); Changsha. About 204 Wu Ju was sent by Liu Biao to take the place of the late Shi Huang, Administrator of Cangwu. Aggressive and warlike, he disapproved of the humane policy of his colleague Lai Gong the Governor of Jiao province, and drove him back to the north. He later made contact with Sun Quan, but when Bu Zhi arrived as Inspector in 211 and Wu Ju sought to maintain some independence, Bu Zhi killed him. -SGZ Wu 4:1192, 8:1252.

Wu [Jungao] 吳君高; Kuaiji. Author of the historical work *Yue niu lu* 越紐錄, Wu Jungao was praised by Wang Chong. -Lun heng 37; Forke 07:469, Yao Zhen-zong:2355.

Wu Kai 吳愷; Chenliu. Son of Wu You, he became a county magistrate in Runan. -HHS 64/54:2102.

Wu [Kaiming] 武開明 (92-148); Shanyang. In 137 Wu Kaiming was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and then joined the office of the Internuncios. In 143 he became Assistant to the Grand Prolonger of Autumn, head of the household of the Empress Liang of Emperor Shun, but left that appointment when his

mother died two years later. In 147 he and his brothers had a family tomb prepared, with a stele dedicated to her, and a further inscription for Wu Kaiming's son Wu Ban, who had also died in 145.

Returning to office, Wu Kaiming became Assistant in Wu commandery, but was taken ill and died; another tablet was prepared in his memory. -*LS* 24:10a-b; *Wu* 89:25-27 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu Kang 吳伉; Ganling. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in the time of Emperor Ling, Wu Kang was ambitious for the public good and was an expert in divination by the wind. Realising that someone of his qualities could not be used by the corrupted government of the day, he pleaded ill health, retired to his residence, and maintained the life of a hermit "nourishing his ideals" 從容養忠. -*HHS* 78/68:2533-34; Vervorn 90:287-288.

Wu Kuang 吳匡 [Bokang 伯康]; Hongnong. As a young man in office, Wu Kuang was noted for his ability. He became an Imperial Clerk about 145, and was among those who supported the candidacy of Liu Suan the King of Qinghe against those of the youthful Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi, and then of Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan, chosen as puppets by the Liang family of the Dowager and her brother Liang Ji.

Wu Kuang later became Chancellor of Ji'nan, served in the Imperial Secretariat, and was Administrator of Hongnong in 164. As he was on tour, he heard that his old associate the Excellency Huang Qiong had died; he immediately claimed to be ill, abandoned his journey and returned to his *yamen*. -*FSTY* 3:22. Ying Shao categorises this as Inappropriate 愆禮, on the grounds that the connection between the two men was too slight for such a show of mourning.

Wu Lan 吳蘭 (d.218). An officer of Liu Bei, in 217 Wu Lan was with Zhang Fei in the north of Yi province. He was defeated by Cao Cao's commander Cao Hong.

In the following year Liu Bei sent Wu Lan and Lei Tong on detachment into Wudu commandery, but they were defeated by Cao Cao's forces and then destroyed by the local Di people. -*SGZ* 1:50-51, *SGZ* Shu 2:884, 12:1020.

Wu Liang 吳良 [Dayi 太儀]; Qi. Ascholar of the *Classic of History* according to the Elder Xiahou tradition, about 57 Wu Liang was a clerk in the commandery. When his colleague Wang Wang proposed an effusive toast to the Administrator at an official function, Wu

Liang stood up and objected. Impressed by such outspoken honesty, the Administrator presented him with a hundred fine fish. He also invited him to become his Officer of Merit, but Wu Liang felt embarrassed to have gained advancement by such means, and would not accept.

Liu Qing, King of Dongping, General of Agile Cavalry and favoured brother of Emperor Ming, heard of this incident. He invited Wu Liang to join his staff and became increasingly impressed. He recommended Wu Liang to the emperor in the strongest terms, but then Wu Liang spoke out in favour of the official Xu Kuang, who had punished the driver of the imperial relative Yin Jiu when he offended regulations. Emperor Ming pardoned Xu Kuang, but he did not forgive Wu Liang, and sent him to be magistrate of a county in Donghai.

Wu Liang later became Chief Clerk to the Excellency over the Masses, and continued his straight speaking. Predictably, he was dismissed for some fault, but was then appointed as a Consultant. He died in that office. -*HHS* 27/17:942-44*.

Wu Liang 武梁 [Suizong 綏宗] (78-151); Shanyang. It is said that Wu Liang was able to teach the New Text Han tradition of the *Classic of Poetry* even before he had taken the cap of manhood, and that he was also an expert on the *Book of Changes* and on the histories. He refused invitations to local commandery and provincial office on grounds of ill health, and though he held courtesy title as an Attendant Officer he lived in contented and simple seclusion.

After the death of their mother in 145, Wu Liang and his brothers Shigong, Jingxing and Kaiming had a family tomb prepared. The stonework of the pillars cost 150,000 cash, and a pair of stone lions 40,000. The Western Pillar was erected in 147 in honour of the Lady Wu, and carried an additional inscription to Wu Liang's nephew Wu Ban, who had also died in 145. A further tablet was dedicated to Wu Kaiming, who died in 148.

When Wu Liang died in 151, his own three sons and a grandson spent vast amounts of family money to erect a shrine, splendidly decorated in classical style, expressing the disapproval of traditional Confucianist gentry for the perceived corruption at court; the material which has survived to the present day is among the finest examples of Han art. Though members of the family had already been buried in the complex, and

others were to follow, the Wu Liang Shrine 武梁祠 is the only one to be fully reconstructed. [There is some debate on the authenticity of the material as it appears at the present day.] -LS 6:13b-15a, LX 6; Ebrey 80:334-335, Wu 89:24-28, Powers 91:247-264 *et saepe*.

Wu Liang 五梁 [Deshan 德山]; Jianwei. A noted Confucian scholar, in 224 Wu Liang took service under Zhuge Liang and held position at the court of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 12:1019-20.

Wu Lin 吳琴 see Wu Chen 吳琴.

Wu Long 伍隆; Kuaiji. A former commandery Officer for Criminals 賊曹, in the early 190s Wu Long was listed by Yu Fan among those who had risked their lives in battle to protect their Administrator. -SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Wu Mian 吳免; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, Wu Mian and his associates were conquered by He Qi in 203. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Wu Ping 吳馮 [Zigao 子高]; Chenliu. Son of Wu Feng, Wu Ping held local office in his commandery and province and was known for his special attention to civic duties with the aged and ill, and those of filial piety. He became chancellor of a county fief in Runan. -HHS 64/54:2102, XC 8:7b.

Wu Pu 吳普; Guangling. A disciple of the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo, Wu Pu used his methods to obtain many remarkable cures. Together with his fellow-student Li Dangzhi, Wu Pu developed the pharmacological work of Hua Tuo, first prepared as the *Shen Nong bencao jing* 神農本草經. He compiled a collection of Hua Tuo's recipes, and also published his own work, *Wushi bencao* 吳氏本草. These and other texts provided the basis for the present-day *Bencao jing* 本草經.

Hua Tuo advised Wu Pu of the importance of physical exercise and Wu Pu followed his prescription. It is claimed that he lived to be over ninety, always in excellent health and condition. -HHS 82/72B:2739-40, SGZ 29:804; Ngo 76:123-126, DeWoskin 86:148-149, Needham 86:246-248.

Wu Qiong 伍瓊 [Deyu 德瑜] (d.190), Runan. Having been a magistrate in Jingzhao about 180, in 189 Wu Qiong was Colonel of the City Gates at Luoyang. As Dong Zhuo took power, Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi encouraged him to reform the government by appointing worthy men for office, and they were commissioned with Zheng Tai and He Yong to make suitable nominations. Though they were trusted by

Dong Zhuo, many of the men they recommended raised troops against him and, after they had arranged the appointment of Yuan Shao as Administrator of Bohai, Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi acted as agents for the eastern alliance.

The two men were later appointed as colonels, but in 190 they opposed Dong Zhuo's plan to shift the capital to Chang'an. Having lost his faith in them, he complained of their bad advice and had both of them killed. -SGZ 6:175-76, HHS 72/62:2326-27, HHJ 26:311-12. See also *sub* Wu Fu.

SGZ 10:321 lists Wu Qiong as a conspirator with Xun You against Dong Zhuo in 192, but this must be an error.

Wu Rong 武榮 [Hanhe 含和] (d.167); Shanyang. Second son of Wu Kaiming, Wu Rong was born in the 120s. Widely read in the classics and histories, he served as a clerk in the offices of Yan province and was also an Investigator, Registrar and Officer of Merit in the commandery. It is likely that he arranged the stele and inscriptions which commemorated his father and his elder brother Wu Ban in the late 140s.

At the age of thirty-six *sui*, probably in the early 160s, Wu Rong was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after probation as a gentleman cadet he became Assistant Bearer of the Mace, responsible for police at the capital. He became ill and died in that office at Luoyang. -LS 12:7b-8b, Nagata 94:160; Wu 89:25-27, HHSJJ 6:269 *jiaobu* Hou Kang.

Wu Sen 吳琴 see Wu Chen 吳琴.

Wu Sheng 吳勝; Nanyang. Son of Wu Xu, he succeeded to his father's fief with responsibility to maintain sacrifices to his ancestor Wu Han. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu Shi 吳碩 [Zilan 子蘭?] (d.200). A Consultant at Xu city, in 199 Wu Shi joined Dong Cheng's conspiracy against Cao Cao. Early in 200 the plot was discovered and Wu Shi and his family were destroyed. -HHS 72/62:2343.

SGZ Shu 2:875, describes the general Wu Zilan 吳子蘭 as one of the conspirators. It seems likely this refers to the same man, and that Zilan was his style.

Wu Shi 吳碩; Guangling. A refugee south of the Yangzi, Wu Shi was well-treated by Sun Jiao, Sun Quan's commander in the west about 215, and became his devoted officer. He later served Sun Jiao's brother Huan with similar commitment as an aide in command of troops, and after a successful campaign in 226 he

was rewarded with a secondary marquiseate. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1207-08.

Wu [Shigong] 五世公. About 140 Wu Shigong became Administrator of Guanghan. Duan Liaoshu, who was Chief Clerk to the Excellency over the Masses, was the same age, and Wu Shigong nominated his son Duan Jiu for office. Though local officers advised him that Duan Jiu had only limited ability and his brother Kun was far more promising, Wu Shigong angrily confirmed his decision, saying that to choose the younger man would harm the family.

Wu Shigong was then transferred to Nanyang, where he nominated the sons of his colleague Cai Boqi, with similar lack of justification. He was reported for his favouritism and was demoted. -*FSTY* 4:30-31 [the text is not entirely complete or clear].

At the beginning of this entry, *FSTY* describes Wu Shigong as a man from Nanyang, but then says that he became Administrator of that commandery. According to regulations, a man could not govern his home country. It seems probable that the initial reference to Nanyang should have indicated that he was Administrator there, and Wu Shigong's place of origin is unknown.

Wu [Shigong] 武始公; Shanyang. In 147, following the death of the Lady Wu their mother two years earlier, Wu Shigong and his brothers had a family tomb prepared. -Wu 89:25-27 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu Shu 吳樹; Xiapi. During the 150s Wu Shu was appointed magistrate of Wan, capital of Nanyang commandery. When he paid the obligatory courtesy call on the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, who dominated the government, Liang Ji urged him to protect his clients, who were influential in the territory. Wu Shu, replied that he was disappointed not to hear about virtuous men, but was only asked to favour criminals. As soon as he took office he executed a number of Liang Ji's followers.

Wu Shu was later appointed Inspector of Jing province. When he called on Liang Ji this time, he was given poisoned wine, and died as he left in his carriage. -*HHS* 34/24:1183; Ch'ü 72:473-474.

Wu Shun 吳順 [Shuhe 叔和]; Jianwei. Wu Shun served his mother with the utmost devotion, and his conduct attracted a flock of magical red birds and a fall of sweet dew 甘露. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became Administrator of Yongchang. -*HYGZ* 10B:157.

Wu Shuo 吳碩 see Wu Shi 吳碩.

Wu Si 吳汜. In 89 Wu Si was a major under Dou Xian in the great campaign against the Northern Xiongnu. After Yan Pan and his western detachment had defeated the Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain, Wu Si and Liang Feng were sent to present him with a gift of gold brocade and an invitation to surrender. The northern chieftain agreed, but as they were returning he heard that the Han troops had withdrawn, and decided to wait in the Altai mountains. -*HHS* 23/13:817.

Wu Tan 吳恢 Wu Hui 吳恢.

Wu Tang 吳棠/裳 also as Wu Chang 常. General of the Household in 65, Wu Tang was appointed Acting General on the Liao, an office established at this time to maintain the separation of the northern and southern Xiongnu. The headquarters of the new command were set at Manbo in Wuyuan, and his troops came initially from levies of reprieved prisoners; they were later drawn from the Tiger Tooth Camp near Chang'an and from the encampment at Liyang on the Yellow River in Wei commandery. The camp at Liyang had been set up by Emperor Guangwu as a training and recruitment depot for the North China plain, and it became a support base for this major frontier unit.

As trouble continued, Emperor Ming resolved on a major assault against the Northern Shanyu. When the expeditionary force set out in 73, Wu Tang was in the main column led by Zhai Tong. Given false information, they turned back before they had reached the agreed rendezvous in the steppe. Zhai Tong was disgraced and died in prison, while Wu Tang was dismissed and degraded to commoner rank.

In 76 Wu Tang returned to office as Protector of the Qiang. The post had been abolished in 59 after the failure of the diplomats Dou Lin and Guo Xiang, but it was now revived to control the Qiang on either side of the frontier by military means, in the same fashion as the General on the Liao was intended to deal with the Xiongnu. In the following year, as various tribes gathered to join the rebellion led by Miyu, Wu Tang was dismissed once more for his failure to keep control. -*HHS* 89/79:2949, 23/13:810, 87/77:2881; deC 84. 84-86, 252-260.

Wu Ti 武悌 see *sub* Wu Zhou 武周.

Wu Tong 吳彤; Nanyang. Son of Wu Wei and nephew of the Grand Marshal Wu Han, after his father's death in battle, Wu Tong was enfeoffed with a county in Runan. -*HHS* 18/8:684.

Wu Tong 吳銅 (d.138); Wu. In 138 Wu Tong joined the local rebellion of the non-Chinese brothers Yang Zhen and Yang She. They were defeated and killed by the Administrator Wang Heng. -HHS 6:267, 101/11:3245.
Wu Wei 吳尉; Nanyang. Elder brother of the Grand Marshal Wu Han, Wu Wei became a general but was killed in battle. In recognition, his son Wu Tong received a county fief. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu [Wenzhang] 吳文章; Taishan. After their parents died when they were young, Wu Wenzhang was separated from his elder brother Bowu. Twenty years later, not recognising one another, they quarrelled in a market in Xiapi. As each attempted to hit the other, he found he could not do so, and they then recognised each other.

Wu Wenzhang became Administrator of Chenliu. -FSTY 3f:104.

Wu Wu 吳五; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, Wu Wu was conquered by He Qi in 203. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Wu Wu 吳武. From Colonel of the City Gates at Luoyang, in 141 Wu Wu was appointed General on the Liao in succession to Ma Xu. -HHS 89/79:2962.

Wu Xi 吳翕; Nanyang. Wu Xi was a younger brother of the Grand Marshal Wu Han. In recognition of his brother's achievements, he received a marquisate of title. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu Xi 五習 or 伍習. In 195, as Emperor Xian was escaping from Chang'an, he stayed at Xinfeng in Jingzhao. Under orders from Guo Si, Wu Xi set fire to the emperor's lodgings.

About 197, after the emperor had reached the east and Guo Si had returned to his base west of Chang'an, Wu Xi killed him. -HHS 9:378, 72/62:2342, SGZ 6:187.

Wu Xin 吳訢; Henan?: see *sub* Wu Xiong. Son of Wu Xiong, Wu Xin became Minister of Justice like his father before him. -HHS 46/36:1546.

Wu Xiong 吳雄 [Jigao 季高]; Henan? A man of poor family, when his mother died Wu Xiong buried her in an open field, without concern for an auspicious day. The local diviners said this would bring ruin, but Wu Xiong paid no attention.

Having excellent knowledge of the law, Wu Xiong entered the imperial service, and in the early 140s he was Minister of Justice. In 143 he joined Li Gu in urging Emperor Shun to take action on the reports of Zhou Ju and the special commission set up in the

previous year.

Wu Xiong was later Minister of the Household under the regency of the Liang family for Emperor Huan, and in 151 he became Excellency over the Masses. In the following year he joined his colleague Zhao Jie to urge repairs to the Temple of Confucius in Lu. He left office in 153.

Despite the prophecies, Wu Xiong's son Xin and grandson Gong also became Ministers of Justice. -HHS 7:297-98, 46/36:1546, 63/53:2082, HQ 1:20a [which says that Wu Xiong was a man from Hejian], LS 21:19a-20a.

Wu Xiu 吳脩 or Wu Xun 循 (d.190). In 190 Wu Xiu held office as Court Architect. He was sent on embassy from Dong Zhuo to make peace with the eastern alliance, but under instructions from Yuan Shao, the Administrator of Henei Wang Kuang killed Wu Xiu and his colleagues. -HHS 9:370, 74/64A:2376, SGZ 6:192.

Wu Xu 吳盱; Nanyang. Wu Xu was a younger son of Wu Cheng and a grandson of Wu Han. After Wu Cheng died in 52 the multi-county fief which had originally been awarded to Wu Han was divided: Wu Xu's elder brother Wu Dan received a fief in Runan, with the duty to maintain sacrifices to the great general, while Wu Xu and his uncle Wu Guo each received a county in Nanyang. When Wu Dan died without sons, his fief was ended. Wu Xu took over the family responsibility for sacrifices; his fief was transferred into Jiangxia in 83. -HHS 18/8:684.

Wu Xuan 武宣. In 133 Wu Xuan was a major in the Northern Army. In a memorial to Emperor Shun, Li Gu complained that he had obtained his position without good cause, evidently on the basis of favouritism at court, and this was a danger to the integrity of the government. -HHS 63/53:2076.

Wu Xun 吳循 see Wu Xiu 吳脩.

Wu Yan 吳惔 see Wu Hui 吳恢.

Wu Yi 吳懿/壹 [Ziyuan 子遠] (d.237); Chenliu. Orphaned when he was young, about 190 Wu Yi went west with his family into Yi province, as his father had been a friend of the Governor Liu Yan. Because a physiognomist foretold that she would rise to high honours, Liu Yan had his son Liu Mao marry Wu Yi's younger sister.

As a General of the Household under Liu Zhang, Wu Yi defended Fu city in Guanghan against the first attack of Liu Bei in 213, but was then forced

to surrender. He was swiftly accepted into the new regime, and Liu Bei married his sister the Lady Wu, now the widow of Liu Mao. As Liu Bei took the imperial title in 220, he named the Lady Wu as his empress and enfeoffed Wu Yi as a secondary marquis.

Wu Yi served as an Area Commander and a general under Liu Shan, became a full marquis, and after the death of Zhuge Liang in 234 he held senior office in Hanzhong. -SGZ Shu 15:1083-84; C/C 99:209-210.

Wu You 吳祐/佑 [Jiying 季英]; Chenliu. As a boy, Wu You persuaded his father Wu Hui, Administrator of Nanhai, that it was inappropriate to compile a commentary to the *Classic of History* in such a distant region. After his father died when he was twenty, Wu You lived as a swineherd in the marshes of his native district, reciting the classics to himself. One of his father's former subordinates criticised him for not following Wu Hui's example of public service, but though Wu You apologised he did not change his ways.

Later, at the age of forty, Wu You accepted appointment as Literary Scholar to the commandery from the Administrator Leng Hong, who then nominated him Filial and Incorrupt. At the farewell ceremony Wu You preferred to spend time with the junior officer Huang Zhen and other friends rather than with the senior officials. The Officer of Merit wanted to punish him, but Leng Hong observed that Wu You was an excellent judge of character and Huang Zhen was evidently a worthy man; no more should be said about it. Huang Zhen was also nominated for office and became celebrated for his moral quality.

Similarly, when Wu You was at the capital, the impoverished student Gongsha Mu came to pound grain for him. When Wu You spoke with him, he was amazed at his quality and they became friends: the phrase 杵臼交 "pestle and mortar together" became a term for close friendship.

At the end of his probationary period Wu You was certified with the Four Types of Virtuous Conduct [simplicity, sincerity, generosity and good conduct] and became a magistrate in Hongnong. He encouraged good behaviour, so that men of bad character left the territory, sweet dew 甘露 fell from heaven and the people sang his praises.

He was then transferred to a county in Beihai, where he befriended Dai Hong, son of his Assistant, who later became a celebrated scholar. In government

Wu You emphasised reconciliation and good will, while his officers behaved kindly and did not cheat the people.

The petty officer Sun Xing embezzled a few hundred cash of tax revenue to buy a simple gown for his father, but when his father learnt how he had obtained the money, he was angry that his son had failed to match Wu You's example. He immediately came for punishment, while Sun Xing also went to the court to take the blame himself. Wu You held private audience with them. Noting that Sun Xing had offended the law for the sake of family affection, he cited Confucius's teaching that "By observing a man's faults, one may see his virtues" [*Analects* IV.7], and ordered only that he make restitution.

On another occasion, the peddler Guanqiu Chang from a neighbouring county, who was travelling with his mother, killed a drunken man who insulted her. Arrested and brought before Wu You, he confessed to open murder, which all agreed was an unpardonable crime even when mitigated by filial respect. Learning that although Guanqiu Chang was married he had no children, Wu You had his wife brought to him in jail and allowed his fetters to be removed so they could couple together. Before the execution was carried out that winter, the woman had become pregnant. In gratitude, as Guanqiu Chang went to his death he bit off his finger and swallowed it to make an oath, that if the child was a boy he should be named after Wu You.

After nine years of peaceful government, Wu You became Chancellor of Qi. He was later called to the capital as Chief Clerk to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, but in 147 he protested to Ma Rong as he drafted Liang Ji's attack on the Grand Commandant Li Gu. Liang Ji had Wu You sent away as Chancellor of Hejian, from which post he resigned.

Wu You never took office again, but lived in retirement, cultivating his own fruit and vegetables and giving instruction in the classics. He died at the age of ninety-eight. -HHS 64/54:2099-2102*, XC 3:14b-15a, XHS 4:16a-b.

Wu Yu 吳尉 see Wu Wei 吳碩.

Wu Zhi 吳祉 (d.112). Administrator of Dai commandery in 97, Wu Zhi was transferred to replace Shi Chong as Protector of the Qiang. In the following year the Qiang warlord Mitang surrendered. Wu Zhi gave him gold and silk so that he might collect grain,

buy cattle and settle peacefully outside the frontier, but Mitang turned to arms again in 100. Wu Zhi, with other senior officers, was then dismissed.

Wu Zhi later became Protector of the Wuhuan, but in 112 he was sent to prison for some offence and died there. -HHS 5:219, 87/77:2883-84.

Wu Zhi 吳質 [Jizhong 季重] (d.230); Jiyin. A man of wide learning, and an old acquaintance of Cao Xiu and Cao Zhen, Wu Zhi joined the suite of Cao Pi, became a close friend and adviser, and supported his claim to the succession against his brother Cao Zhi. On one occasion, at a farewell ceremony for Cao Cao, Cao Zhi spoke most eloquently but Wu Zhi advised Pi not to attempt to emulate his brother but to gain emotional advantage by weeping.

Wu Zhi served as a magistrate in Henei and in Wei, but when Cao Pi came to power he enfeoffed him, gave him military authority over the northeast, and treated him as one of his most trusted officers. One of Wu Zhi's last acts was to recommend Sima Yi to Cao Rui. -SGZ 21:607-10.

In 220 a colonel in the Northern Army, with the personal name Zhi 質 and enfeoffment as a secondary marquis, was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Goodman suggests this may have been Wu Zhi. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Wu [Zhongshan] 武仲山; Yingchuan. Though a man of common family, Wu Zhongshan was courteous and generous, treating his kinsmen well and assisting his neighbours with loans and gifts. Refusing offers of local appointment, he died poor, leaving nothing for his two sons. He was buried in a simple coffin, but in 172/173 a stele was set up to honour his fine conduct. -LS 9:3a-4a; Ebrely 80:335.

Wu [Zhongzhang] 武仲章; Shanyang. Son of Wu Liang, in the early 150s Wu Zhongzhang joined his brothers to create a shrine for their late father, now recognised as a masterpiece of Han classical art. -LS 6:14a; Wu 89:25 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu Zhou 武周 [Bonan 伯南]; Pei. As magistrate of Xiapi about 210, Wu Zhou was admired by the Inspector of Xu province Zang Ba, particularly for the firmness with which he punished one of Zang Ba's own subordinates who had offended the law.

A few years later Wu Zhou served as Protector of the Army, responsible for discipline under the general Zhang Liao. The two men quarrelled, but the clerical

officer Hu Zhi persuaded Zhang Liao to make his peace with Wu Zhou.

As an Imperial Clerk in 220, Wu Zhou joined Sima Yi and others in urging Cao Pi to take the imperial title. He later became Minister of the Guards and a Household Counsellor. -SGZ 18:537 [mistakenly as Gongwu Zhou 公武周], 27:741-42, 2:66; Goodman 98:111.

XTS 74A:3136 says that Wu Zhou's father Wu Duan 端 was Administrator of Jiuliang and received enfeoffment, and his grandfather Wu Ti 悌 had been Colonel of the Capital Encampment 中壘校尉 and Minister of Ceremonies. The colonelcy, however, had been abolished at the beginning of Later Han [Bn 80:117], so either there is anachronism or, more probably, some generations have been omitted.

Wu Zhu 吳柱. An Academician at the court of Gongsun Shu in 30, he opposed the strategy of Jing Han for a campaign to threaten Emperor Guangwu of Han on the northwest and the south. Citing the classic example of King Wu of Zhou 周武王, Wu Zhu argued, not unreasonably, that Gongsun Shu lacked widespread support and that there were no favourable signs to justify such a risky venture at long range. Other officials agreed, among them Gongsun Shu's brother Guang, so the project was shelved. -HHS 13/3:539-40; Bn 59:186-187.

Wu Zi 吳資 [Yuanyue 元約]; Taishan. In the late 120s Wu Zi was a successful and well-remembered Administrator of Ba commandery. -HYGZ 1:5.

Wu Zi 吳資. Administrator of Jiyin and a supporter of Lü Bu, Wu Zi was defeated by Cao Cao at the beginning of 195. -SGZ 1:12.

Wu [Zilan] 吳子蘭 see Wu Shi 吳碩.

Wu [Ziqiao] 武子僑; Shanyang. A grandson of Wu Liang, in the early 150s Wu Ziqiao joined his father and uncles to create a shrine for him, now recognised as a masterpiece of Han classical art. -LS 6:14a; Wu 89:25-27 and see *sub* Wu Liang.

Wu [Ziqing] 吳子卿. Wu Ziqing is described as an associate of Yuan Shao, He Yong and Zhang Miao about 170. His personal name is not known. -HHS 74/64A:2374, SGZ 6:188.

Wuche [Boqi] 毋車伯奇 of Le'an became Chancellor of Xiapi. -FSTY 5f:120. We are told that when Wuche Boqi was Chancellor of Xiapi his Registrar was named Bu Shaonan, and people joked about how the Chancellor had no carriage 毋車 and so the Registrar

went on foot 步.

Wuchendi 無臣氏 see Nengchendi[zh] 能臣抵之.

Wucheng Hei 武成黑 is mentioned in *FSTY* 5f:127.

Wudadihou 烏達鞬侯 (d.46); Xiongnu. Son of the Shanyu Yu, Wudadihou became Worthy King of the Left and was recognised as heir. When his father died in 46 Wudadihou succeeded him, but he died a few months later. Before his death Wudadihou named his younger brother Punu as his heir, with title as Worthy King of the Left, but this arrangement was fiercely resented by their cousin Bi, later Southern Shanyu, and led to the division of the Xiongnu state. -*HHS* 89/79:2942.

Wuhe 無何; Wuhuan. A chieftain of Yanmen in 109, at the time of the great Qiang rebellion Wuhe joined the Xianbi leader Qiulun and a group of Northern Xiongnu, and with a total of seven thousand men they raided Wuyuan commandery. They defeated the Administrator and killed several senior officers.

The Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry He Xi and the General on the Liao Liang Qin were sent against the raiders with 20,000 men, and in the following year Wuhe and his fellows were thoroughly defeated. While Wuhe asked to surrender, his Xianbi allies and some Wuhuan fled across the frontier. -*HHS* 90/80:2983; deC 84:390.

Wuheyun 無何允 miswritten for Wuhe 無何. -*HHS* 90/80:2983 & *JJ* at 3325.

Wuju 毋丘 [surname] see Wuche 毋丘.

Wujuzhan 烏居戰 (d.96); Xiongnu. A member of the royal house of the Southern Xiongnu, Wujuzhan held office as a secondary king. He was a friend of the Shanyu Anguo, and after Anguo's death in 94 his successor Shizi suspected he might be plotting against him. Shizi ordered Wujuzhan arrested and questioned, but Wujuzhan took a few thousand followers to take refuge in the hill country across the frontier. From there they raided Chinese-controlled territory in the Ordos.

In the autumn of 96 the General on the Liao Pang Fen and his colleague Feng Zhu led a major attack. They killed Wujuzhan and brought his people south to settle in Anding and Beidi commanderies. -*HHS* 89/79:2956-57; deC 84:282.

Wuke 勿柯; Wuhuan. A chieftain of his people, in 94 Wuke brought a force of cavalry to assist Ren Shang, the Protector of the Wuhuan, in pursuit of the renegade Xiongnu prince Fenghou. Their troops ambushed

Fenghou and inflicted a heavy defeat, but the main body of the enemy escaped across the frontier and the imperial army abandoned the chase. -*HHS* 89/79:2956.

Wuli 烏利; Xiongnu. -*XTS* 75B:3437 says that Wuli was a son of the Xiongnu king Shili, a grandson of the captured general Liu Jinbo and father of the chieftain Qubi. The story of Liu Jinbo, however, is doubtful: see *sub voce*.

Wulu 五鹿 [Five Deer] was the sobriquet of a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, *SGZ* 8:261.

Wulun 烏倫; Xianbi. In 120 Wulun and his colleague Qizhijian came to offer submission to Deng Zun the General on the Liao. Both received gifts, while Wulun was granted title as a king and Qizhijian was named a marquis. -*HHS* 90/80:2987.

Wuqiu 毋丘 [surname] see Guanqiu 毋丘 *passim*.

Wusi 吾斯 (d.143); Xiongnu. Chief of a clan of the Southern Xiongnu based in Yunzhong and Dingxiang, in the early summer of 140 Wusi and his colleague Che'niu led a rebellion. Moving west against Xihe, they attracted the support of Yiti the Worthy King of the Right, and eight thousand men then raided across the north of the Ordos region, killing officials in Dai and Shuofang and attacking the Shanyu's capital at Meiji in Xihe.

The General on the Liao Ma Xu brought twenty thousand men against the raiders, including Qiang, Wuhuan and Xianbi auxiliaries. The rebels were forced back, but they continued to plunder the countryside, and a few weeks later another rebellion broke out among the Qiang to the south. Under pressure from the official Chen Gui, moreover, the Southern Shanyu Xiuli committed suicide, together with his brother and heir the Worthy King of the Left, leaving the traditional leadership of the Xiongnu in limbo. In the autumn Che'niu claimed the vacant title, though Wusi was evidently dominant in their partnership.

On the arguments of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, orders were sent that Ma Xu should avoid direct combat but establish defences in the north, seek to divide the rebels and persuade them to surrender individually. Though the Worthy King Yiti returned to his allegiance, this was of small consequence, for the supporters of Wusi and Che'niu were now numbered in the tens of thousands, and they had links with the Qiang and the Wuhuan. Their forces defeated the local

troops of Shang commandery and raided south into the Wei valley, while their influence extended from Bing southwest to Liang province, east into You, and even across the Taihang ranges to the North China plain. The Han government was obliged to withdraw the administration of Xihe and Shang commanderies to the south, and to combine Shuofang into Wuyuan, where the remnant civilian regime could be guarded by the garrison under Ma Xu.

In the winter at the end of 140, the Emissary Zhang Dan, aided by militia from You province and Wuhuan auxiliaries, defeated the rebels in Yanmen and forced the surrender of Che'niu and his followers. Wusi escaped with his own party, and obtained the support of some dissident Wuhuan, but early in 141 Ma Xu with five thousand Xianbi defeated him in Xihe.

Once more making escape, Wusi gained further support and continued his depredations in Bing province, though on a smaller scale than before. In 143 he was killed by a member of his own tribe, suborned by the Emissary Ma Shi, and his head was sent to Luoyang.

The Chinese counter-attack in the north was thus comparatively successful, but in the spring of 141 the general Ma Xian had been disastrously defeated by rebel Qiang in Liang province, and with this collapse at the rear the Chinese position in the Ordos was left as little more than a facade. In the autumn of that year the capitals of Beidi and Anding were also shifted to the Wei valley, and none of the displaced commandery governments were restored. From that point of view, the rebellion of Wusi and Che'niu, combined with failure against the Qiang, marked the beginning of the end of imperial power in the north. -HHS 89/79:2960-63.

Wuyan 難樓 (d.207); Wuhuan. Chieftain in Youbeiping in the late 160s, commanding eight hundred tribal groups, he styled himself Hanlu King 汗魯王. In 187 he joined the rebellion of Zhang Chun, but later surrendered to the Governor Liu Yu.

In 195 he joined the rising against Gongsun Zan, and [as Hanluwei 汗魯維] was granted title as Shanyu by Yuan Shao.

In 207 Wuyan joined Tadun to support Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi. After the defeat at White Wolf Mountain, he fled with others to Gongsun Kang, who killed them. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 30:834-35; deC 84:396-411. See also *sub* Nengchendi[zhi].

Wuyang, Lady of 舞陽君, see the Lady Xing 興, mother of the Empress He of Emperor Ling.

Wuyin 舞陰, Princess of, see Liu Yiwang.

X

Xi 郤 [surname] see Chi 郤 *passim*.

Xi 鐔 [surname] see Tan 鐔 *passim*.

Xi 習, the Lady; Nan. Sister of Xi Zhen, she married Pang Lin. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Pang Lin and his elder brother Tong went with Liu Bei to the south, but Pang Lin's family could not follow him and remained in the north. They were separated for almost fifteen years, and the Lady brought up their children alone.

In 222 Pang Lin was with the army under Huang Quan on the northern flank of Liu Bei's expedition against Wu. When the main force was defeated, Huang Quan surrendered, and as Pang Lin went with him into Wei he was reunited with the Lady Xi. Cao Pi congratulated the couple with gifts of bed-clothing and robes of honour. -SGZ Shu 7:956-57.

Xi 歙 [surname unknown]. In 56 Xi was household assistant to the Excellency Zhang Chun. Zhang Chun held a hereditary marquisate but, believing he had failed to carry out the full responsibilities of his office as Excellency, he instructed Xi that the fief should not be maintained. This later caused problems for his son Zhang Fen. -HHS 35/25:1198.

Xi Feng 席封 or Yu Feng 虞封. A major in the service of Dou Rong, in 29 Xi Feng was sent through the hostile territory controlled by Wei Ao to take a letter to Emperor Guangwu, confirming Dou Rong's support of Han. -HHS 23/13:800 [as Xi Feng], DGHJ 10:5a, XHS 2:14a [both as Yu Feng].

Xi Guang 錫光 [Changchong 長沖]; Hanzhong. Towards the end of Former Han, Xi Guang became Inspector of the province of Jiaozhi, and in the time of Wang Mang he was Administrator of Jiaozhi commandery. With his colleague Ren Yan, Administrator of Jiuzhen, he was an energetic sponsor of Confucian values among the native peoples and a founder of Chinese civilisation in the south.

Xi Guang kept out of the civil war which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang, and maintained control within his borders. His local power was recognised by the restored Han government of the Gengshi

Emperor and he was confirmed in his position.

In 29 Guangwu's commander in the south, Cen Peng, wrote to urge Xi Guang to accept the new regime and, encouraged by the Governor of Jiaozhi province Deng Rang, Xi Guang sent tribute to Han. He was named a chief general and enfeoffed as a marquis with court privileges. -*HHS* 17/7:659, 76/66:2462, 86/76:2836, *HYGZ* 2:18, *SGZ* Wu 8:1251; Bn 59:157-158, Miyakawa 60:31.

Xi Guang 席廣. A Consultant in 47, he was admired by Yin Xing. As Yin Xing was dying, he recommended Xi Guang to Emperor Guangwu, who promoted him to be Minister of the Household. -*HHS* 32/22:1131-32.

Xi Jia 郤嘉. An associate of Wang Si and Xue Ti, Xi Jia rose to high office under Wei and was enfeoffed by Cao Pi. -*SGZ* 22:471.

Xi Jian 郤儉 see Que Jian 卻儉 and also *sub* Hao Mengjie 郝孟節.

Xi Jian 郤儉 see Hao Mengjie 郝孟節.

Xi Lü 郤慮 see Chi Lü 郤慮.

Xi She 奚涉. Formerly head of the Great Granary at Luoyang, in 44 Xi She was accused of a crime by the Excellency Dai She, but was then found innocent. Dai She and his colleague Dou Rong were dismissed, and Dai She died in prison. -*HHS* 1B:72; Bn 79:63.

Xi Shou 習授; Nan. When Lou Gui made an unguarded remark about Cao Cao and his sons, Xi Shou accused him of disrespect. Cao Cao had Lou Gui killed. -*SGZ* 12:374.

Xi Su 襲肅. An officer of Yi province in 208, he came to surrender to Sun Quan. His troops were allocated to Lü Meng, but Lü Meng said that Xi Su was worthy of command and should not suffer such loss. Xi Su's men were restored to him. -*SGZ* Wu 9:1374.

Xi Xiang 習響 became Chancellor of Chen. -*FSTY* 6f:137.

Xi Xun 郤巡 or 郤巡 [Zhongxin 仲信]; Chen. A disciple of the scholar Fan Ying, Xi Xun maintained his teachings of the classics and the arts of divination, and later became a Palace Attendant.

It is said that on one occasion when Xi Xun was travelling abroad, Fan Ying learned by his magical skills that he was in danger from bandits and miraculously went to save him. -*HHS* 82/72A:2724 & *JJ* at 2995; Ngo 76:104, DeWoskin 83:66.

Xi Yuan 奚延 see Yuan Yan 爰延. -*XC* 2:13a.

Xi Zhen 習禎 [Wenxiang 文祥]; Nan. Skilled in rhetoric 談論, and regarded as comparable to his

brother-in-law Pang Tong, Xi Zhen joined Liu Bei's service. He became a county magistrate and then a commandery Administrator in Yi province. [See also the Lady Xi his sister, wife of Pang Lin.] -*SGZ* Shu 15:1085 & *JJ* at 19b.

Xi Zheng 郤正; Henan: see Chi Zheng 郗正.

Xi [Zhongxin] 郤仲信; Chen. An Academician and scholar of the *Chunqiu* apocrypha, about 150 Xi Zhongxin was teacher to Wei Lang. -*HHS* 67/57:2201.

Xi Zhicai 戲志才; Yingchuan. Recommended by Xun Yu, Xi Zhicai became a valuable officer to Cao Cao. -*HHS* 70/60:2284.

Xi [Ziran] 戲子然; Beihai. In 169 Xi Ziran provided lodging for the reformist Zhang Jian as he made his escape across the northern frontier. -*HHJ* 22:262.

Xia 夏, the Lady; Hejian. The Lady was the wife of Liu Shu and mother of Liu Chang, successive marquises of Jiedu Village. When her grandson Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, was brought to the throne in 168, the Lady was awarded a posthumous imperial title. -*HHS* 9:328.

Xia Changsi 夏長思 see Xiachang Si 夏長思.

Xia Cheng 夏承 [Zhongyan 中兗] (106/116-170). Member of an official family, Xia Cheng studied the *Poetry* and the *History*. He held commandery office as Registrar, Investigator and Officer of Merit, was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer, acted as a county magistrate and then joined the staff of Ji province.

Invited to the offices of the Excellency Hu Guang, Xia Cheng received a high grading and was appointed a magistrate in Beihai. He maintained an excellent and influential government, and evidently died in office. A stele was set up in his honour. -*LS* 8:9b-11b, 27:27a-b, Nagata 94:184. [*LS* 8 and *LS* 27 give his age at death as fifty-six, but Nagata suggests that he was sixty-six; the text is difficult and there is some suspicion of the material transcribed by Nagata.]

Xia Fang 夏方; Jiuzhang. In 144 some thousand non-Chinese people of Rinan attacked local government offices, and they were joined by other groups in Jiuzhen commandery. As Inspector of Jiaozhi, Xia Fang made terms with the insurgents by a display of generosity, and they all returned to allegiance. The regent Dowager Liang was impressed by his achievement, and promoted Xia Fang to be Administrator of Guiyang.

After the trouble begun by Zhu Da in Jiuzhen had continued for three years, in 160 Xia Fang was re-appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi. He persuaded the

remnant rebels to surrender. -HHS 86/76:2839.

Xia Fang 夏方 [Boyang 伯陽]; Ganling. In 181 Xia Fang was Chief Clerk to Feng Xun, Chancellor of Changshan, and was associated in the setting up of a stele to a ridge of the Taihang Ranges known as Three Excellencies Mountain. It appears that he left his post soon afterwards and was succeeded by Shentu Xiong. -LS 3:17b.

Xia Fu 夏馥 [Zizhi 子治]; Chenliu. A scholar when he was young, Xia Fu was honest and straightforward, and gained local reputation by his refusal to recognise powerful families of his county. At the beginning of Emperor Huan's reign in 147 he was nominated as a man of Direct Speech, but he did not accept.

Xia Fu was numbered among the worthy men in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University at Luoyang, and though he had no direct contact with the palace eunuchs, they classified him with their known opponents such as Zhang Jian and Fan Pang. At the time of the Second Faction Incident in 169, orders were sent for his arrest but he took refuge in the Taihang ranges, where he shaved off his beard for disguise and became the servant of a family of ironworkers. After a few years of such labour he was so worn out that he was unrecognisable, and when his younger brother Jing came to find him he was able to recognise him only by his voice. Jing had brought presents, but Xia Fu turned him away lest he become involved in his misfortune. He died about 180.

When Xia Fu heard how Zhang Jian had fled in 169, he was angry at a leader who brought others to such disaster: those who had supported him at the time of action; and the families which had given him shelter during his escape and then paid a heavy penalty. -HHS 67/57:2201-02* & 2187, XC 4:6b; deC 89:114-115.

Xia Gong 夏恭 [Jinggong 敬公]; Liang. A scholar of the New Text schools of the Han interpretation of *Poetry* and the Meng interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, during the last years of Wang Mang Xia Gong taught great numbers of students. In the time of troubles at the beginning of Later Han there was constant threat from bandits, but the local people defended Xia Gong on account of his previous generosity and good faith, and so no harm came to him.

When Emperor Guangwu took the imperial title in 25, Xia Gong was called up to be a gentleman cadet, and he later became Commandant in Taishan. He treated the people there well and was extremely

popular.

Xia Gong was best known, however, for his literary works, which amounted to twenty *pian*, including rhapsodies, poetry and essays. Widely admired, he died at the age of 49. -HHS 80/70A:2610*.

Xia Jing 夏靜; Chenliu. Younger brother of Xia Fu, Xia Jing took him presents of silk when he was a fugitive in the mountains in the 170s. Xia Fu turned him away lest he be involved in his misfortune. -HHS 67/57:2202.

Xia Jun 夏駿. A major under the general Ma Fang, in the spring of 78 he was sent with five thousand men in a direct advance against the Qiang of Longxi, while his colleagues Ma Peng and Li Tiao led two other columns in oblique approaches to surprise the enemy. Attacking together, they killed or captured over a thousand men and seized more than a hundred thousand cattle and sheep.

As Xia Jun sought to pursue the fleeing Qiang, he was defeated in a rear-guard action, but Ma Fang resumed the advance and by autumn the Qiang were again under control. -HHS 24/14:856.

Xia Kan 夏堪 [Shude 叔德]. Xia Kan was a junior clerk in one of the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang. It is not known when he died, but a stele was set up to his memory. -LS 12:14b-15b.

Xia Meng 夏猛. About 91 Xia Meng was a staff officer to the Bearer of the Mace Dou Jing, brother of the regent Dowager. As the result of a report by Zheng Ju, Dou Jing was briefly dismissed for misconduct, and when he returned to office he sought vengeance.

Zheng Ju came from Wei commandery, so Dou Jing sent Xia Meng to see the Administrator Zhang Pu. Claiming that Zheng Ju's elder brother, who led local office in the commandery, was behaving badly, he urged Zhang Pu to make an example of him. Zhang Pu was furious at such interference in his government and at the attempt to involve him in a private vendetta. He arrested Xia Meng and imprisoned him, but then reported the matter to Dou Jing's office, claiming he was concerned that Xia Meng might be harmed by members of the Zheng family. Soon afterwards it was ordered that Xia Meng should be released on payment of a fine. -HHS 45/35:1531.

Xia Mi 夏密. Xia Mi was a bandit leader in Jing province during the late 130s, but when the new Inspector Li Gu arrived he and six hundred of his senior followers came with bound hands to surrender.

Li Gu pardoned them and had them travel through the region, urging others to trust in his good will. Within six months the troubles were ended. -HHS 63/53:2080.

Xia Mou 夏牟. A Counsellor Remonstrant in 188, Xia Mou was appointed a colonel of the Western Garden, in the personal army established by Emperor Ling. -HHS 8:356, 74/64A:2374.

Xia Qin 夏勤 [Bozong 伯宗]; Jiujiang. Xia Qin was initially very poor. He made sandals for a living, but if a pair was faulty he would refuse to sell them. On one occasion when he was out his wife sold a bad pair in order to get some rice, but when Xia Qin learnt of this he refused to eat.

A student of the New Text Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* under Fan Shu in the early 60s, Xia Qin later served as a county magistrate in Henan and Nanyang and then became Administrator of Lingling. He was celebrated for his excellent administration.

In the time of Emperor An, Xia Qin became Minister Herald, and in 109 he was named Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 115. -HHS 5:212, 224, 32/22:1125.

XC 8:10b has a biography of Liu Qin 劉勤 from Jiangxia, also with the style Bozong, and with a similar story about the sandals. HHSJJ 32/22:1188 Hui Dong identifies him with Xia Qin.

Xia Rong 夏榮. When the adept Wang Heping died at Luoyang about 180, his follower Sun Yong buried more than a hundred manuscripts and a quantity of medicines in his tomb. Xia Rong, another disciple of Wang Heping, later claimed that their master had arranged a false death 尸解 and had reached the world of the immortals. Sun Yong then regretted that he had neither read the texts nor taken the potions for his own use. -HHS 82/72B:2751, SGZ 29:805; Ngo 76:146-147, DeWoskin 83:88.

Xia Wen 夏文; Yingchuan. A senior official in Pei, Xia Wen mourned the death of the Attendant Officer Huang Yu and joined in setting up a stele to his memory. -SJZ 24:7b.

Xia Xi 夏熹; Jiangxia. Xia Xi was a leader of bandits about 35. The new Administrator Dong Xuan attacked the group, scattered them, and brought them to surrender. -HHS 77/67:2489.

Xia Ya 夏牙; Liang. Son of Xia Gong, Xia Ya was also admired for his literary work. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, but died young, leaving nonetheless some forty *pian* of rhapsodies, poetry and eulogies. -

HHS 80/70A:2610.

Xia Yu 夏育; Xiapi. During Duan Jiong's many campaigns against the Qiang, Xia Yu and his colleague Tian Yan were among his most trusted and effective officers. In 159 they led a small advance troop to entice an attack from the Qiang of Longxi, leading to Duan Jiong's successful campaign across the frontier, and they took leading roles in his operations to destroy the Eastern Qiang in 168 and 169.

As Administrator of Beidi in 174, aided by a contingent of Xiongnu, Xia Yu defeated a raiding party of the Xianbi. He was then transferred to be Protector of the Wuhuan, with responsibility for both Wuhuan and Xianbi.

In 177 Xia Yu recommended a great offensive against the Xianbi warlord Tanshihuai. Many at court had reservations, and Cai Yong argued strongly against it, but the project was supported by the eunuch Wang Fu, an old ally of Duan Jiong; there is no record of Duan Jiong's own opinion, and he may have been away from Luoyang at the time. In any case, the expedition was approved and Xia Yu, Tian Yan and Zang Min led three columns of provincial levies and auxiliary cavalry from the Xiongnu, a total of some 30,000 men, into Xianbi territory. They were defeated with heavy losses, and the disaster caused critical damage to Chinese prestige and position in the north. Xia Yu and his fellow-commanders were brought back in cage carts, paid a ransom and were reduced to commoner status.

Xia Yu was later restored to office, and in 184 he was appointed Protector of the Qiang in place of Ling Zheng, who had been killed at the outbreak of the rebellion in Liang province. The rebels attacked Xia Yu and besieged him in the *yamen* of a horse park in Hanyang. A relief force led by He Xun came to grief, but Xia Yu and his men held out successfully.

As a partisan of the general Guo Si in 195, Xia Yu tried unsuccessfully to prevent Emperor Xian from making his escape east from Chang'an. -HHS 90/80: 2990-94, HHJ 28:339; deC 84:127, 137, 160, 338-342.

Xia Yun 夏惲. A eunuch, Xia Yun became a Regular Attendant under Emperor Ling and was enfeoffed as a marquis. A close associate of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of the emperor, he arranged that tax money from the provinces was sent to her residence.

When the maverick eunuch Lü Qiang called for

reforms at the time of the Yellow Turban uprising in 184, Xia Yun joined Zhao Zhong and others to accuse him of treason and force him to kill himself.

Xia Yun probably died before the death of Emperor Ling in 189. -*HHS* 78/68:2533-34; *deC* 96:5.

Xia Zhangsi 夏長思. see Xiachang Si 夏長思.

Xia Zhao 夏昭. Officers of Gao Gan in 206, Xia Zhao and Deng Sheng were left to guard his base in Shangdang as he sought aid from the Xiongnu. They presumably surrendered to Cao Cao after Gao Gan was taken and killed. -*SGZ* 6:206,

Xia Zhen 夏珍. A eunuch, in 124 Xia Zhen was an officer in the household of the Empress Yan, responsible for medicines. He and others were evidently regarded as supporters of the Heir Liu Bao, for after Emperor An had been persuaded to dismiss Liu Bao they were falsely accused and sent to exile in Shuofang.

At the end of the following year Liu Bao was placed upon the throne by the coup of Sun Cheng; Xia Zhen and his fellows were called back to the capital and made Regular Attendants. -*HHS* 78/68:2518.

Xiachang Si 夏長思; Beihai. Head of a leading local family, during the period of disorder at the beginning of Later Han Xiachang Si gathered a private army, and about 30 he attacked and captured Guangwu's Administrator Ju Xing. Li Zhang, Administrator of neighbouring Langye, brought a thousand men to attack the rebel stronghold. They killed Xiachang Si and restored Ju Xing to his position. -*HHS* 77/67:2493.

Xiahou 夏侯, the Lady I. The Lady was married to Huang Yun, but about 172 her husband proposed to divorce her so that he might marry the niece of the Excellency Yuan Wei. She concealed her resentment and arranged a formal ceremony of farewell, but then, before a crowd of his kinsmen and clients she read out a catalogue of his faults, including most intimate matters, then called up her carriage and left. Huang Yun was utterly shamed. -*HHS* 68/58:2230, *HHJ* 23:276.

Xiahou 夏侯, the Lady II; Pei. Daughter of Xiahou Yuan, in 200 she was captured from her home by Zhang Fei, who made her his wife. Two of their daughters became empresses to Liu Shan, sovereign of Shu. -*SGZ* 9:273, *SGZ* Shu 4:907; *Fang* 65:61.

Xiahou Ba 夏侯霸 [Zhongquan 仲權]; Pei. Second son of Xiahou Yuan, Xiahou Ba served as a general against Shu-Han, but fled to join the enemy after the fall of Cao Shuang in 249. -*SGZ* 9:272-73.

Xiahou Bo 夏侯博. An officer under Liu Bei, Xiahou Bo was captured by Cao Cao in 200. -*SGZ* 1:18.

Xiahou Cheng 夏侯稱 [Shuquan 叔權]; Pei. Son of Xiahou Yuan, he was talented but died young. -*SGZ* 9:273.

Xiahou Cheng 夏侯承. About 229 Xiahou Cheng held territorial appointment in Jing province for Sun Quan. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1239.

Xiahou Chong 夏侯充; Pei. Eldest son of Xiahou Dun, he succeeded to his father's fief at his death in 220. -*SGZ* 9:268.

Xiahou Dun 夏侯惇 [Yuanrang 元讓] (d.220); Pei. According to some sources, Xiahou Dun was a cousin of Cao Cao, as his father was an elder brother of Cao Cao's father Cao Song, who was adopted by the eunuch Cao Teng [*SGZ* 1:2].

At the age of fourteen Xiahou Dun killed a man for abusing his teacher, and he went to join Cao Cao when he first raised troops in the 180s. When Cao Cao became Governor of Yan in 192, he had Xiahou Dun take his place as Administrator of Dong commandery. Xiahou Dun remained in that office as Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian in Xu province, and when Zhang Miao and Lü Bu attempted to take over Yan province in 194 he was taken prisoner by mutineers. He was rescued by his officer Han Hao, and he was able to save Cao Cao's family, but he lost an eye in the fighting.

In 198 Xiahou Dun was sent to help Liu Bei against Lü Bu, but he was defeated by Lü Bu's general Gao Shun. After Lü Bu was destroyed later that year, he was appointed Administrator of Chenliu and then of Jiying, where he carried out irrigation work and established agriculture. In 202 he commanded an army against Liu Bei in Nanyang, but suffered another defeat, and it appears that his abilities were rather administrative than military; as Cao Cao was engaged in the north, Xiahou Dun had charge of his lines of communication.

Xiahou Dun became Intendant of Henan, and in 213 he was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. He later encouraged him also to royal and imperial titles.

Following the campaign against Sun Quan in 217, Xiahou Dun was left in position on the Huai as Area Commander over twenty-six garrisons; this military threat forced Sun Quan to a formal surrender.

Generous and a patron of scholars, Xiahou Dun was one of Cao Cao's closest followers, well-treated

884 Xiahou Gong

and enfeoffed. After Cao Cao's death Cao Pi named him a chief general; he died a few months later. -SGZ 9:267-68*.

Xiahou Gong 夏侯恭 see Xiahou Zuan 夏侯纂. -HYGZ 3:37.

Xiahou He 夏侯和 [Yiquan 義權]; Pei. Son of Xiahou Yuan, Xiahou He became a minister under Wei. -SGZ 9:272-73.

Xiahou Heng 夏侯衡; Pei. Eldest son of Xiahou Yuan and a nephew of Cao Cao, Xiahou Heng married the Lady Cao VII, a daughter of Cao Cao's younger brother the late marquis of Haiyang, and was enfeoffed as a marquis. -SGZ 9:272.

Xiahou Hui 夏侯會 [Zhiquan 稚權]; Pei. Son of Xiahou Yuan and a noted scholar, Xiahou Hui held court and provincial office under Wei. -SGZ 9:272-73.

Xiahou Lan 夏侯蘭; Changshan. Though he bore the Xiahou surname, we are told that Xiahou Lan was a man from the same district as Zhao Yun of Changshan; he must have come from a different branch of the clan.

In 202 Xiahou Lan was with Cao Cao's army led by Xiahou Dun. They were defeated in Nanyang by the troops of Liu Bei, and Xiahou Lan was captured by Liu Bei's officer Zhao Yun. Xiahou Lan and Zhao Yun had known and disliked one another long before, but Zhao Yun knew that Xiahou Lan had a good understanding of law. He recommended him to Liu Bei and Xiahou Lan became a legal officer for his army 軍正. -SGZ Shu 6:949.

Xiahou Lian 夏侯廉; Pei. Younger brother of Xiahou Dun, he was enfeoffed by Cao Cao. -SGZ 9:268.

Xiahou Mao 夏侯楙 [Zilin 子林]; Pei. Second son of Xiahou Dun, Xiahou Mao was a boyhood friend of Cao Pi. He married the Lady Cao II, eldest daughter of Cao Cao, received enfeoffment, and held office in the Secretariat of Wei.

When Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220 Xiahou Mao was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele, and he later served as Area Commander in the west. His wife the Lady Cao objected to his adulteries, while his younger brothers were angry at the way he criticised their own conduct, and about 230 they accused him of treason. He was in danger of execution, but then the accusers' motives were questioned and their claims were found to be false. -SGZ 9:268-69, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Xiahou Rong 夏侯榮 [Youquan 幼權] (207-219);

Pei. Son of Xiahou Yuan, he was killed in the defeat at Dingjun Mountain in Hanzhong. -SGZ 9:273-74.

Xiahou Ru 夏侯儒 [Junlin 俊林]; Pei. A cousin of Xiahou Shang, he was a major of cavalry under Cao Zhang in the north in 218. He later held command in the northwest and in Jing province, and became a minister of Wei. -SGZ 15:477.

Xiahou Shang 夏侯尚 [Boren 伯仁] (d.225); Pei. Nephew of Xiahou Yuan and a close friend of Cao Pi, he served on Cao Cao's staff and was adviser to Cao Zhang in the north in 218. When Cao Cao died in 220, Xiahou Shang was responsible for the funeral procession from Luoyang to Ye city, and when Cao Pi took the imperial title he was among the sponsors of a commemorative stele.

Cao Pi enfeoffed Xiahou Shang and gave him high court and military appointments. He served as a chief general in Jing province, where he opposed the forces of Sun Quan and of Liu Bei and obtained the allegiance of many non-Chinese people. -SGZ 9:293-94, LS 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Xiahou Wei 夏侯威 [Jiquan 季權]; Pei. Son of Xiahou Yuan, Xiahou Wei was a provincial Inspector under Wei. -SGZ 9:272-73.

Xiahou Yuan 夏侯淵 [Miaocai 妙才] (d.219); Pei. A kinsman of Xiahou Dun, Xiahou Yuan joined Cao Cao early in his military ventures and married his sister. He was Administrator in Chenliu and Yingchuan, served as a colonel in the army against Yuan Shao at Guandu in 200, then held charge of food supplies from Yan, Yu and Xu provinces.

In 206 Xiahou Yuan joined Yu Jin to put down the rebel Chang Xi, and he led local commandery troops to deal with the Yellow Turban Xu He in Qing province. In 209 he destroyed the local leader Lei Xu in Lujiang and put down banditry in Taiyuan.

Xiahou Yuan took part in the north-western campaign of 211, and after the victory at Huayin he was left in command at Chang'an. After some set-backs, by 214 Ma Chao had been driven to the south, and Xiahou Yuan then settled the Wei valley, the Xining valley and the Yellow River west of Long Mountain, eliminating Han Sui and Song Jian and pacifying the Qiang and the Di. He was rewarded with enfeoffment.

An energetic but impetuous general, in 215 Xiahou Yuan accompanied Cao Cao to the conquest of Zhang Lu, and was then left in charge of Hanzhong. In 217 Liu Bei came to attack, and early in 219 Xiahou

Yuan was defeated and killed at Dingjun Mountain. Hanzhong was thus lost to Cao Cao. -SGZ 9:270-72*.

Xiahou Zuan 夏侯纂. As Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he named Xiahou Zuan Administrator of Guanghan. Xiahou Zuan invited the scholar recluse Qin Mi to join his staff, but was discountenanced in conversation with him and had no further contact. -SGZ Shu 8:974-75.

Xian, Emperor 獻帝 (*reg.* 189-220) see Liu Xie 劉協.

Xian 賢 of Suoju [Yarkand] (d.61). Son of King Yan 延 of Suoju in the west of the Tarim basin, Xian succeeded his elder brother Kang in 33. Soon afterwards he attacked and annexed the neighbouring states of Jumi [present-day Yutian] and Xiye [south of present-day Yarkand], placing his nephews, Kang's two sons, on their thrones. It is said that he now dominated all the territory east of the Pamirs.

Yan and Kang had been staunchly pro-Chinese, and at first Xian followed their example. In 38 he joined the state of Shanshan in sending a tribute mission, and in 41 he sent an embassy of his own, asking that a Protector-General be appointed to represent the power of China as in Former Han. On the advice of Dou Rong, and no doubt in accordance with Xian's hopes, Guangwu him Grand Protector-General of the Western Regions 西域大都護.

At this point, however, Pei Zun the Administrator of Dunhuang protested that no barbarian should be given such great authority, and Guangwu changed his mind. Pei Zun intercepted the messenger and forcibly changed the seal for that of a Chief General 大將軍. Predictably angry, Xian reclaimed his brother's title as Grand Chief Commandant 大都尉 and embarked on his own policy of aggrandisement.

In 45 a joint embassy from eighteen states, including Shanshan, Yanqi [Karashar] and Nearer Jushi in Turfan, brought hostages and gifts to Luoyang and asked for a Chinese Protector-General to save them from Xian. Guangwu gave presents in reply, but he had no intention of making an appointment or becoming involved in the region, and he sent the hostages back. The suppliant kings nonetheless asked that the hostages remain at Dunhuang, so it would seem a Protector-General might be sent; Guangwu agreed to this.

Within a few months, Xian had recognised the bluff. He ordered King An of Shanshan to block the

road to China, and when he refused he attacked him, drove him away and sacked his city. He then attacked Qiuzi [Kuqa] and annexed that state. The new ruler of Shanshan again appealed to Guangwu, but was told that Han would not intervene and the peoples of central Asia should make their own arrangements. As the would-be hostages then left Dunhuang, Shanshan and the Jushi states sought protection from the Xiongnu.

Despite Xiongnu involvement, Xian maintained his hegemony through the 50s, and extended his authority across the Pamirs to Dayuan [Ferghana] and beyond. His government, however, was erratic: he replaced the rulers of several states, either with his own officers or with other princes, and at one point, becoming suspicious of some of these men's loyalty, he summoned them to his capital and killed them. At the same time, his increasing demands for taxes and tribute turned the people of the subordinate states against him.

In 60 Xian's oppressive local governor at Yutian [Khotan] was assassinated and the local chieftain Xiumoba seized power. Supported by troops from neighbouring Jumi, Xiumoba defeated three armies of Xian and his confederates, then besieged Suoju city. He was killed by an arrow and his troops withdrew, but his successor Guangde returned soon afterwards, this time with support from the Northern Xiongnu. Pressing a marriage alliance and a claim of kinship, Xian persuaded Guangde to withdraw, and he gave hostages to keep peace with the Xiongnu.

There was now discontent within Xian's capital about his harsh and evidently unsuccessful rule, and in 61 Guangde returned with his army. Falsely reassured by his chief minister Juyun, Xian went to negotiate with him and was promptly taken prisoner. The city fell, the state was annexed by Yutian, and Xian was killed a year later. -HHS 88/78:2923-26; Chavannes 07:171-172, 197-198, Bn 67:131-132, Yü 86:413-414.

Xian Luo 先絡, the Lady (103-127); Jianwei. After the Lady's father Xian Nihe was drowned in the Yangzi in the winter at the end of 126, her brother Xian Xian searched for his body without success. Xian Luo wept day and night, and though she had a young son and daughter she could not bear to go on living. Her family kept watch, but on the fifteenth day of the second month she managed to evade them and put out onto the river in a small boat. When she reached the

place where her father had disappeared, she jumped overboard and drowned.

That night the Lady appeared to her brother in a dream, and told him to look for her and their father in six days time. At the appointed time the bodies of the Lady and of Xian Nihe both came to the surface. The county office reported this and the Administrator Xie Deng admired such devotion. He informed the court and had a stele with the Lady's portrait erected at the site. -HYGZ 3:40-41, SJZ 33:14a-b.

Fan Ye included a biography of Xian Luo in his Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳, HHS 84/74:2799-2800, though the surname appears there as Shuxian 叔先 and the personal name as Xiong 雄; this is probably mistaken: see JJ at 3085. A similar story was told about the Lady Huang Bo of the same commandery.

Xian Ni 鮮尼; Ba. Xian Ni was the son of a Lady Jiang, but nothing more is known of him. -HYGZ 12:222.

Xian Nihe 先泥和/尼和 also as Xian Jianghe 江和 and as Xian Shenhe 沈和 (d.126); Jianwei. In the winter of 126 the county magistrate Zhao Zhi sent his Officer of Merit Xian Nihe with a message to Ba commandery. On the way down the Yangzi, his boat overturned in rapids and Xian Nihe was drowned. His body was lost but was later recovered through the self-sacrifice of his daughter Xian Luo. -HYGZ 3:40, 12:238, SJZ 33:14a-b, HHS 84/74:2799-2800 [where the surname appears, probably mistakenly, as Shuxian 叔先].

Xian Xian 先賢; Jianwei. Son of Xian Nihe, after his father was drowned in the Yangzi Xian Xian searched for his body without success. Then his suicidal sister Luo appeared in a dream and told him where and when to look. -HYGZ 3:40-41, SJZ 33:14a-b, HHS 84/74:2800.

Xian Zhi 縣芝 of Ganling is mentioned by FSTY 6f:145.

Xiang 香 [surname unknown]. Minister Coachman and Palace Counsellor, Xiang presented a memorial which proposed a new system of ribbons for imperial officials and nobility, and severe penalties for those who infringed the rules. The regent Dowager approved. [The Dowager is not specifically identified, but was probably the Lady Deng, who governed from 106 to 121]. -HHS 120/30:3675; MBeck 90:265-266, Hulsewé 55:185.

Xiang Bao 向豹 [Boyin 伯尹]; Runan? Administrator of Henei, about 134 Xiang Bao took part in the major project, led by Wang Hui and then by Sima Deng, to

dredge and reconstruct the channel of the Yellow River and its tributaries near Rongyang. -SJZ 7:9a.

Xiang [Bonan] 薊伯南; Dong. Eldest son of Xiang Tuo and brother of Xiang Wuhuan and Xiang Fengzong, Xiang Bonan commenced a promising career as a local officer, but died at the age of only twenty-two. -Nagata 94:118 [this text is of doubtful provenance].

Xiang Chang 向長 or Shang Chang 尚長 [Ziping 子平]; Henei. A scholar of the *Book of Changes* and *Laozi*, Xiang Chang was very poor. His followers gave him food, but he would only take enough for one meal, and would return anything left over. He served for a time as Officer of Merit at the end of Former Han, but then retired, and he refused appointment under Wang Mang.

At the beginning of Later Han, after his children were married, Xiang Chang left his family and went on pilgrimage to the five sacred mountains with his friend Qin Qing. He was not seen again. -HHS 83/73:2758-59*.

Xiang Deng 相登; Jianwei. Though Xiang Deng died young, his widow the Lady Zhou Du remained faithful to his memory. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Xiang [Fengzong] 薊奉宗; Dong. Sons of Xiang Tuo, in 154 Xiang Fengzong and his elder brother Wuhuan had a funerary temple contracted for their father and mother. -Nagata 94:118 [this text is of doubtful provenance].

Xiang Ju 向舉. Successor to a marquisate, following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in 220, Xiang Ju joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, to claim the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 2:887.

Xiang Kai 襄楷 [Gongzhi 公知]; Pingyuan. Widely read in the classics and histories, Xiang Kai was also expert in astrology, divination and the interpretation of portents.

Under the personal government of Emperor Huan and his eunuch associates, many omens and disasters were reported, and in 166 Xiang Kai came to Luoyang and presented a memorial. He wrote at length on the movements of the planets, but referred also to a smorgasbord of incidents on earth and among men, including the recent fierce winter, flurries of panic among the people at the capital, avalanches, the collapse of the gates at the Imperial University, a dead dragon in Henei and the Yellow River running clear; though the Yellow River ran through Xiang Kai's

home territory, and reports of the last two events are recorded in *HHS* annals, it seems doubtful they are accurate.

On the basis of these phenomena, Xiang Kai pressed the claims of the reformers at court, and spoke particularly in support of Liu Zhi and Cheng Jin, who had been sentenced for their attacks on eunuch pretensions. He also criticised the haste with which executions were carried out, and the size of the imperial harem. Finally, Xiang Kai referred to a sacred book which had earlier been presented to Emperor Shun but which had not met with approval; he now offered to expound its teachings in fuller detail. [On this work, described as an early version of *Taiping jing* 太平經, see *sub* Gan/Yu Ji. It is possible that Xiang Kai had been involved in its original presentation to the throne.]

After some days, when no reply had been received to his first memorial, Xiang Kai sent in a second. This time he used the movements of Venus and Mars to foreshadow trouble on the frontier and a secret plot at home, relating it all to the harsh treatment of worthy officials. He urged that Liu Zhi and Cheng Jin be pardoned, and Li Yun and Du Cheng granted posthumous honours for their loyalty.

Still more outspokenly, Xiang Kai again criticised the eunuchs, and even suggested that the emperor's lack of male children was a sympathetic result of his surrounding himself with such emasculated creatures. Finally, he referred to the recent sacrifices which Emperor Huan had held to Huang-Lao 黃老 and the Buddha 浮圖/屠. Showing some knowledge of Buddhist doctrines, he spoke of how the ascetic Buddha despised women as merely "bags of skin, filled with blood;" in contrast, the emperor revelled in beautiful women, with splendid wine and food. How could he expect to equal the sages?

This time the ruler did take notice, and Xiang Kai was ordered to explain himself before the Imperial Secretariat. He repeated his arguments against the eunuchs, linking them again to the ruler's lack of male heirs. The matter was referred to senior officials, who predictably found Xiang Kai's arguments tendentious and false. Emperor Huan, however, intervened on his behalf, noting that he had at least sought to base his discussion upon real portents. So Xiang Kai escaped execution and was sentenced only to two years convict service, one of the lightest penalties in the code of

Han.

Two years later, as the reformists dominated the new government of Emperor Ling, the Grand Tutor Chen Fan recommended Xiang Kai as Sincere and Upright. He did not accept, but returned to his own district, where he was treated with honour and visited with respect by each Administrator. In 188 he was invited to the capital as an Academician, but again refused.

Also in 188, it is said that Xiang Kai met with Chen Yi, son of the former Grand Tutor Chen Fan, at the residence of Wang Fen the Inspector of Ji province. From his reading of the stars Xiang Kai foretold that the eunuchs would be destroyed, and Wang Fen, with mistaken enthusiasm, planned to kidnap Emperor Ling and raise a coup d'état. The conspirators were discovered and punished, but Xiang Kai does not appear to have been personally involved. The eunuchs were indeed destroyed in the following year, but Xiang Kai died at home. -*HHS* 30/20B:1075-85*; deC 76, deC 80:65-67, Vervoor 90:192-193.

Xiang Lang 向朗 [Juda 巨達] (d.247); Nan. A student of Sima Hui, Xiang Lang was a friend of Xu Shu, Han Song and Pang Tong. He became a county magistrate under Liu Biao, and when he died in 208 he transferred allegiance to Liu Bei. Following the victory of the Red Cliffs Xiang Lang was given charge of the counties at the entrance to the Yangzi Gorges.

After Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 Xiang Lang served as Administrator of Badong, of Zangke, and then of Fangling on the Han River facing Wei. Following the death of Wang Lian about 223 he was appointed senior assistant to the Chancellor Zhuge Liang. He was disgraced for a time, but later became a minister and a general and was enfeoffed. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1010*.

Xiang Miao 向苗. Chancellor of Pei about 150, Xiang Mao recommended the scholar Huan Luan as Filial and Incorrupt. Huan Luan had rejected previous nominations because he did not wish to be beholden to men of poor quality, but Xiang Miao was a man of good reputation and he accepted his patronage. As Xiang Miao died soon afterwards, Huan Luan immediately resigned his official post in order to attend the funeral, and he carried out three years mourning before returning to his duties. -*HHS* 37/27:1259.

Xiang Song 項誦 [Shuhe 叔和]; Yuzhang. Xiang Song was Registrar of his commandery when his Admin-

istrator suffered false accusation from a subordinate magistrate. Convinced of his master's innocence, Xiang Song went to the prison and beat himself until the blood flowed and his teeth fell out. The Administrator was released. -*XC* 7:13b [and *cf.* Che Zhang].

Xiang Tuo 薊他 or Xiang Da (65-154); Dong. Xiang Tuo served as a local officer in the county, commandery and province. He and his wife died within a few months of each other, and their sons Wuhuan and Fengzong honoured their memory with an expensive funerary temple. -Nagata 94:118 [this text is of doubtful provenance].

Xiang Tuo 薊他, wife of (69-154); Dong: see *sub* Xiang Tuo above.

Xiang Xu 向栩 or Shang Xu 尙翽 [Fuxing 甫興/輔興] (d.184); Henei. A descendant of the celebrated hermit Xiang Chang in the time of Guangwu, Xiang Xu studied the *Laozi* and affected the mannerisms of a free spirit. Clothed in rags and with dishevelled hair down to his shoulders, he led a Spartan life of erratic conduct, chanting rather than speaking and hiding when anyone came to call. On occasion he would ride an ass to market and beg, but he might also give everything away to another beggar, and he acquired a number of disciples whom he named after those of Confucius.

People regarded Xiang Xu as a remarkable man, and the commandery authorities treated him courteously. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and also as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright and as Knowing the Way, and he was invited to the offices of the Excellencies. Though he refused all such requests, he eventually accepted a special summons to become Chancellor of Zhao.

There were great expectations of the good influence Xiang Xu might bring to that region, but the results were disappointing. Rather than paying attention to his duties, he rode about in a carriage with fine horses; there was some suspicion he was a charlatan.

Despite this, by the late 180s Xiang Xu was a Palace Attendant at court, making himself unpopular with aggressive criticisms and simplistic proposals. When the Yellow Turban uprising broke out he sent in a memorial making two points: he blamed the palace eunuchs; and he claimed that the rebellion could be dealt with if a single officer was sent to the banks of the Yellow River to face to the north and read the *Book of Filial Piety* at the enemy [faced with trouble in Liang

province a few months later, the Inspector Song Nie had shown similar faith in the efficacy of this work].

This combination of naivety and aggression reaped its reward. The Regular Attendant Zhang Rang accused Xiang Xu of seeking to delay the military response of the imperial authorities and of supporting the rebels. Xiang Xu was sent to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, controlled by the eunuchs, and was killed there. -*HHS* 81/71:2693-94*; Vervorn 90:184.

ZZTJ 58:1867 presents Xiang Xu as a courageous opponent of the eunuchs unfairly slandered and put to death; *deC* 89:179. Sima Guang, however, cites only his attack on the eunuchs and Zhang Rang's counter. Vervorn's more cynical interpretation appears more convincing: Xiang Xu was something of a public nuisance, and one may doubt whether many people regretted his disappearance.

Xiang Wu 相烏, the Lady; Guanghan. Married to Yuan Zhi at the age of fifteen, the Lady was widowed five years later. When her parents wanted her to marry again, she killed herself. -*HYGZ* 10B:154.

Xiang [Wuhuan] 薊無患; Dong. Sons of Xiang Tuo, in 154 Xiang Wuhuan and his brother Fengzong had a funerary temple contracted for their father and mother. -Nagata 94:118 [this text, however, is of doubtful provenance].

Xiang [Zhonghua] 相仲華; Chen. During the troubles of the early 190s Xiang Zhonghua went to Xu province. At first the Inspector Tao Qian treated the refugees well, but he later turned on them and had Xiang Zhonghua and his colleague Shi Jianyuan arrested. -*HHJ* 27:329.

Xiang Zun 向遵. A magistrate in Guanghan in 187, Xiang Zun had a portrait painted to honour the Lady Yang Jingyang, who had killed her father's murderer Sheng in 142. -*HYGZ* 10C:178.

Xiang Zun 向存 (d.213). As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in 213, Liu Zhang's generals Xiang Zun and Fu Jin attacked his base at Jiameng in Guanghan. Though heavily out-numbered, the garrison commanded by Huo Jun held out for several months and eventually drove the enemy away with a sortie, killing Xiang Zun. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1007.

Xiangcheng, Lady of 襄城君 see the Lady Sun Shou 孫壽.

Xiangshancheng 相單程 (d.49?); non-Chinese. A "wise man" 精夫 noted for his cleverness, Xiangshancheng was a leader of the non-Chinese people

of Wuling. In 47 he raided Chinese positions in the territory, and the general Liu Shang was sent to deal with him. With ten thousand levies from Nan commandery, Changsha and Wuling, Liu Shang attacked up the Yuan River, tributary of the Dongting Lake, but as they entered the gorges of the Wu Stream Xiangshancheng cut their supply lines, surrounded and destroyed the Han army, and killed Liu Shang.

In the summer of 48 the non-Chinese attacked again, sacking Linyuan by the Dongting Lake. The general Ma Cheng was sent against them, but had no success and resigned, while the non-Chinese evidently occupied the greater part of the commandery.

The elderly general Ma Yuan now volunteered, and he was sent with some 40,000 commandery troops, including convicts released for the occasion. In the spring of 49 Ma Yuan advanced along the south of the Dongting Lake, defeated the tribesmen and occupied Hutou Mountain on the Yuan River. Through summer and autumn his forces held the enemy from his heartland and after seven months Xiangshancheng's people were hungry and distressed and sought to surrender.

Ma Yuan's army had also suffered, and Ma Yuan died before he could take the submission, but in the winter his adjutant Zong Jun took authority to make the settlement.

Zong Jun's biography says that the tribespeople killed the leaders who had brought them to such a pass, but *HHS* 86/76 seems to suggest that Xiangshancheng survived and held position under the new regime. - *HHS* 86/76:2831-32, 41/31:1412; Bn 67:68-72.

Xianli 賢栗 [or Huli 扈栗]; non-Chinese. A ruler of the Ailao in the far southwest of China, in 47 Xianli sent an army down the Mekong to raid the Luduo people, who were tributary to China on the frontier of Yizhou commandery. Though the attack was successful, a storm destroyed the Ailao ships and many were drowned. A subsequent attack was defeated by the Luduo, and it is claimed that Xianli was appropriately impressed by the power of the virtue of Emperor Guangwu, patron of the Luduo.

In 51 King Xianli sent messengers of submission to Zheng Hong the Administrator of Yuxi; the number of his people was given as 17,659 individuals. Guangwu formally enfeoffed him as a chieftain, and an annual exchange of tribute and gifts was initiated.

This first contact of the Ailao people with Han, was

followed by the massive further accession of Xianli's colleague and successor Liumiao. - *HHS* 86/76:2848; Bn 67:77.

Xiantang 鮮堂; Xiongnu. In the autumn of 88 the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe sent a memorial to the Han court with an account of turmoil amongst the Northern Xiongnu and a proposal for a campaign to take over the steppe. In doing so, he cited information obtained from Xiantang, a northern king who had just surrendered, and who told how the Northern people would welcome an army from the South and the opportunity to change allegiance. - *HHS* 89/79:2952.

Xianyu Bao 鮮于褒 or Xianyu Pou 裒; Shanggu. Recommended for office by Yin Xing, although they did not like one another, Xianyu Bao became Intendant of Jingzhao about 27. Demoted for some fault, he became a magistrate in Pingyuan, but later returned as an Internuncio. On a journey to Chang'an with the court, he commended his former officer Diwu Lun to his successor as Intendant, Yan Xing.

During the 30s Xianyu Bao was Administrator of Zuopingyi. He was not an effective ruler, however, and was again dismissed about 36. The retired general He Yan had to clear up the disorder he left. - *HHS* 32/22: 1130-31, 41/31:1395-96, *HQ* 1:4a.

Xianyu Dan 鮮于丹. An officer of Sun Quan, in 215 Xianyu Dan accompanied Lü Meng to seize the southern commanderies of Jing province from Guan Yu and Liu Bei.

During the 220s Xianyu Dan took part in several campaigns north of the Yangzi, and he served under Lu Xun in the defeat of Liu Bei in 222. - *SGZ* Wu 2:1119.

Xianyu Ding 鮮于定. Having served as Administrator of Guanghan, Xianyu Ding rose to higher office. - *HYZG* 3:36.

Xianyu Fang 鮮于魴 [Cangjiu 倉九]; Yuyang? In 165 Xianyu Fang gathered subscribers for an inscription in honour of his grandfather Xianyu Huang. - *Nagata* 94:156-58.

Xianyu Fu 鮮于輔; Yuyang. A former Assistant Officer to Liu Yu the Governor of You province, in 195 Xianyu Fu led a rising against Gongsun Zan. He defeated his army, killed his officials and drove him to refuge in his fortress of Yi in Hejian. Xianyu Fu then took title as Administrator of Yuyang.

After the destruction of Gongsun Zan in 199 Xianyu Fu was persuaded by Tian Yu that he should offer allegiance to distant Cao Cao rather than to the

victorious Yuan Shao. Cao Cao gave him general command in the northeast, and in 200 Xianyu Fu joined him at Guandu. He was later enfeoffed and named General Who Crosses the Liao on the Left.

In 205 Xianyu Fu was attacked by Wuhuan allies of the Yuan family, but he held his position. He took part in the campaign to defeat Tadun at White Wolf Mountain in 207, and later maintained diplomacy with the Xianbi and Wuhuan.

In 213 Xianyu Fu was one of the officials who petitioned Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and in 220 he was a sponsor of the stele which commemorated Cao Pi's accession to the imperial throne. He achieved high rank at court, and during the 220s he was sent on embassy to Shu-Han. -SGZ 8:243, 247, LS 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Xianyu Huang 鮮于璜 [Boqian 伯謙] (d.125); Yuyang? A man of local family, Xianyu Huang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served probation as a gentleman cadet, and then became a major under the General on the Liao. He left office when his father died, but was later appointed to the office of the Grand Commandant.

In 106 Xianyu Huang was sent as Commissioner to the Frontier 安邊節使, supervising two northern provinces, and in the following year he became Administrator of Yanmen, where he dealt with some troublesome Wuhuan. Having served there several years, he retired and died at home.

In 165 Xianyu Huang's grandson Xianyu Fang gathered sponsors for a stele in his honour. -Nagata 94:156-158.

Xianyu Ji 鮮于冀; Xihe. Administrator of Qinghe in 26, Xianyu Ji planned to construct a new *yamen*, but he died before it was finished. It appears he had fallen foul of the new Emperor Guangwu, for his family property was also confiscated.

His successor as Administrator, Zhao Gao, intended to complete the work, but while he estimated the cost at two million cash, his senior assistants Huang Bing and Liu Shang claimed it would be four million. At this point, the ghost of Xianyu Ji appeared, joined in the calculations, and claimed that Huang Bing and Liu Shang were planning to embezzle the funds. In the face of this apparition, Huang Bing and Liu Shang fell to the floor and died.

The ghost also sent a letter to the throne, saying that Zhao Gao was unworthy to succeed him. Though the

couriers miraculously disappeared, Zhao Gao reported the matter and the emperor sought to make amends to the angry spirit. Orders were given that all Xianyu Ji's property should be restored to his family. -SJZ 9:27b-28a.

Xianyu Pou 鮮于褒 *i.e.* Xianyu Bao 鮮于褒. -HHS 32/22:1130.

Xianyu Yin 鮮于銀; Yuyang? About 191 Xianyu Yin was an Assistant Officer to Liu Yu, Governor of You province, who sent him with a report to Chang'an.

In 195, with title as Commandant of Cavalry, Xianyu Yin joined the rising of Xianyu Fu against Gongsun Zan. -HHS 73/63:2355, SGZ 8:243.

Xianyu Zhou 鮮于舟 see Xianyu Dan 鮮于丹.

Xiao 孝 "Filial" was prefixed to the posthumous title of all emperors of Former and Later Han other than the two founders Gao and Guangwu, and the Gengshi Emperor. See *sub voce*.

Xiao Bao 蕭苞 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Bing 蕭冰 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Chan 蕭闡 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Deng 蕭登. Administrator of Jianwei in 127, Xiao Deng admired the filial devotion of the suicidal Lady Xian Luo. He informed the court of her conduct and had a stele with the Lady's portrait erected at the scene of her death. -HYGZ 3:41.

Xiao Guang 蕭廣. About 26 Xiao Guang was a general under Guangwu stationed at Luoyang. Though his troops were undisciplined and terrorised the people, he took no action. The censorial officer Du Shi arrested Xiao Guang and executed him. -HHS 31/21:1094.

Xiao Hao 蕭皓 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Hong 蕭閔 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Jian 蕭建; Donghai. Xiao Jian and Zhu Zhi served as local officers under the Chancellor Zhao Zi. Later, as Zhao Zi was dying he asked them to arrange a simple funeral. The two men escorted his body home and carried out his wishes, despite the protest of Zhao Zi's son Yin.

In 197 Xiao Jian was head of Langye, with headquarters at Ju city. Lü Bu, who had driven Yuan Shu from Xu province, wrote with thinly-veiled threats to persuade Xiao Jian to acknowledge him, and Xiao Jian sent tribute of five fine horses.

Soon afterwards Zang Ba, the leader of the Taishan bandits, came to attack Xiao Jian, defeated him and captured his treasury and supplies. Lü Bu regarded Xiao Jian as having been under his protection, while

it appears that Zang Ba had made some form of an undertaking to turn over the captured goods. Zang Ba, however, refused Lü Bu's demand, and defended himself successfully even when Lü Bu came himself. -HHS 39/29:1314-15, SGZ 7:226; deC 89:220.

Xiao Jiao 蕭矯 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiao Xiong 蕭熊. When Emperor Zhang went on tour to Chang'an in 82, he had the local officials search for kinsmen of the great ministers of Former Han, Xiao He 蕭何 and Huo Guang 霍光. No-one of the Huo family could be found, but Xiao Xiong, a distant descendant of Xiao He, was enfeoffed as marquis of a county in Nanyang. -HHS 26/16:917.

Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之. Xiao Wangzhi was a noted statesman of the first century BC [QH:606-608]. XTS 71B:2177, however, says that he was a son of Xiao Hao 皓, son of Xiao Yang 仰, the son of Xiao Zhang 章, who died in 6 AD [QH:609]. XTS is obviously mistaken, and Loewe observes further that, while Xiao Zhang claimed descent from Xiao He, the great minister of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han, Xiao Wangzhi did not come from that family.

XTS 71B then tells of Xiao Yu 育, son of Xiao Wangzhi and also a man of Former Han, who died in the last years BC [QH:609], and next mentions Xiao Shao 紹, son of Xiao Yu, who became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk and returned the family from the region of Chang'an to its former homeland in Donghai.

XTS is obviously confused, there appears no independent support for its statements, and one cannot tell whether Xiao Shao was indeed the son of Xiao Yu, or the connection was invented. Since XTS continues with a line of descent, listing individuals who should have lived under Later Han, I give it below:

Xiao Hong 閔, son of Xiao Shao, became Minister of the Household;

Xiao Chan 闡, son of Xiao Hong, was Administrator of Jiying;

Xiao Bing 冰, son of Xiao Chan, was Administrator of Wu commandery; this must have been after 129, when Wu was separated from Kuaiji;

Xiao Bao 苞, son of Xiao Bing, became Chancellor of Zhongshan;

Xiao Zhou 周, son of Xiao Bao, was an Academician;

Xiao Jiao 矯, son of Xiao Zhou, was a county magistrate, either at the end of Han or under the Wei dynasty.

None of these names appear elsewhere, but the

genealogy continues through later dynasties, a tribute to the record-keeping – or the imagination – of the Xiao family of Tang.

Xiao Yuan 蕭援. In 179 the Banshun people of Ba commandery rebelled, and the disturbance spread through the north of Yi province. Xiao Yuan, Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk and head of the Censorate, was sent to take command of the provincial forces against them, but he gained no success and the rebellion continued for several years. -HHS 86/76:2843; deC 89:163.

Xiao Zhou 蕭周 see *sub* Xiao Wangzhi.

Xiaowei Hui 校尉麾 [Colonel Hui]; Wuhuan. In 94 Ren Shang the Protector of the Wuhuan took part in pursuit of the renegade Southern Xiongnu prince Fenghou. The *Wei shu* of Wang Shen says that this leader of the Wuhuan gave assistance at that time, and he was rewarded with title as a king.

The appellation *Xiaowei*hui, however, looks rather like the sobriquet "Colonel Hui", based partly on a [courtesy] Chinese military title and partly on the residual character of a Wuhuan name: cf. Rongzhuhui in the time of Emperor Shun. The full and proper name of this chieftain is uncertain. -SGZ 30:837.

Xiazhang Si 夏長思 see Xiachang Si 夏長思.

Xie 薛 [surname] see Xue 薛 *passim*.

Xie 謝, the Lady; Kuaiji. Daughter of Xie Jiong, she was married to Sun Quan through the instrumentality of his mother the Lady Wu, and she was at first greatly favoured.

Later, when Sun Quan took the Lady Xu V into his household, he wanted the Lady Xie to give her precedence. The Lady was unwilling, and she died soon afterwards, officially of depression. -SGZ Wu 5: 1196*; C/C 99:124.

Xie 謝 of the Great Yuezhi 大月氏 [Kushans]. A deputy king 副王 of the Yuezhi, based in the north of present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, in 90 Xie led an army of 70,000 against the Chinese agent Ban Chao in Shule [Kashgar]. Ban Chao, however, defended himself with scorched earth, Xie's lines of communication across the mountains were limited, and his men began to run out of food.

Then Xie sought to purchase supplies from Qiuzi [Kuqa], but Ban Chao laid an ambush, killed the messengers and displayed their heads. Xie now sought only to be allowed to retreat without harassment, and the Yuezhi were subdued hereafter. -HHS 47/37:1580.

Xie An 謝安; Xiapi. In 145, after the major rebel forces of the southeast had been defeated by Teng Fu and the provincial army, the surviving chieftain Xu Feng of Jiujiang fled east into Xiapi with his remnant troops. The local leader Xie An gathered kinsmen and retainers to destroy them, and he was rewarded with enfeoffment. -HHS 38/28:1279.

Xie Bao 謝褒 see Xie Pou 謝裒.

Xie Ben 謝本; Ba. In 201 Xie Ben persuaded the warlord Governor Liu Zhang to set up a Dependent State in the southern part of Ba commandery, his native territory, and to give him charge of it. -HYGZ 1:8.

Xie Bi 謝弼 [Fuxuan 輔宣 or Fuluan 輔鸞] (d.169); Dong. A local leader, celebrated for his honesty, in 169 Xie Bi was nominated as Knowing the Way. He came to court, responded to questions, and was appointed a gentleman cadet.

In the summer of that year there was a great storm which uprooted trees, and a dark snake appeared above the imperial throne. An edict invited officials to send in sealed memorials on the significance of these phenomena. Xie Bi strongly criticised the eunuch-dominated government of Emperor Ling, and urged the rehabilitation of the Dowager Dou and the restoration of Li Ying and other reformists.

Xie Bi's comments were not well received, and he was sent out to be Assistant Administrator of Guangling. He soon resigned from that post, but as he returned to his home country the Administrator Cao Shao, a nephew of the eunuch Wang Jie, took revenge for the political attack. He found a pretext to arrest Xie Bi and had him tortured. To general dismay, Xie Bi died in prison. -HHS 57/47:1858-60*, XC 3:8b; deC 89:105-106.

Xie Bu 解步. A eunuch, in 181 Xie Bu was a Regular Attendant. In the summer of that year a man nine feet tall [210 cm], dressed in plain clothing, appeared in the offices of the Yellow Gates of the Southern Palace. When Xie Bu accosted him, he said that he was a descendant of Liang Boxia [i.e. the late General-in-Chief Liang Shang], and that Heaven had sent him to become emperor. As Xie Bu sought to arrest him, the man disappeared. -HHS 107/17:3347; Bn 76:12 note 186. Cf. *sub* Huan Jian.

Xie Cheng 謝承 [Weiping 偉平] (fl. 220); Kuaiji. Son of Xie Jiong and younger brother of the Lady Xie, first wife of Sun Quan, Xie Cheng was a General of the Household at the court of Sun Quan about 210. He was

later Commandant of the eastern region of Changsha, presumably after the settlement with Liu Bei in 215, and then, following the destruction of Guang Yu and the conquest of Jing province in 219, he became Administrator of Wuling.

Very likely aided by material collected by his father when he was in the Secretariat at Luoyang, Xie Cheng compiled a *Hou Han shu* in 130 *juan*. The work survives in 8 *juan* of fragments, and is cited here as XC. -SGZ Wu 5:1196-97; Bn 54:12-13.

Xie Cheng 謝盛 see Xie Sheng 謝盛.

Xie Du 謝篤 [Jizhou 季周]. Younger brother of Xie Yun, Xie Du benefited from his intrigues in the early 120s and became a Palace Attendant. In 125, however, the regent Dowager Yan and her brother Yan Xian turned against their former allies and accused them of factionalism. As their party was destroyed, Xie Du was exiled to the far south. -HHS 10B:437.

Xie Feng 謝豐 (d.36). An Excellency in the imperial government of Gongsun Shu, in the autumn of 36 he was sent with Yuan Ji to attack the Han forces outside Chengdu. After brief success they were defeated and killed by Wu Han. -HHS 13/3:543, 18/8:682; Bn 59:194.

Xie Gai 謝該 [Wenyi 文儀]; Nanyang. Expert on *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, Xie Gai was one of the celebrated scholars of his time and attracted hundreds of students. He held appointment as Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages at the imperial court under Cao Cao in Xu city. About 200 the junior scholar Yue Xiang came to seek his opinion on a number of difficult points, and then compiled *Xieshi shi* 謝氏釋 "Explanations by Mr Xie," also known as *Zuo zhuan wen qishier shi* 左傳問七十二事 "Questions on Seventy-two Matters in *Zuo zhuan*."

Because his parents were growing old, Xie Gai left office on grounds of ill health, but he was unable to return home because of the conflict between Cao Cao and Liu Biao. The minister Kong Chou wrote that such a man added distinction to the court and should not be allowed to leave, so Cao Cao had him recalled and appointed a Consultant. He died of old age. -HHS79/69B:2584-85*.

Xie Gao 謝髡 or She/Ye Gao 射髡 (d.147). In 147 Xie Gao was Chancellor of the state of Qinghe. The local leader Liu Wen planned a coup to set the king Liu Suan upon the imperial throne in place of the young Emperor Huan. When the conspiracy was discovered,

Liu Wen seized Xie Gao and sought to force him to join a last-minute attempt. Xie Gao refused, so Liu Wen killed him. -HHS 55/45:1805-06.

Xie Gong 謝躬 [Zizhang 子張] (d.24); Nanyang. In the spring of 24 Xie Gong was Director of the Imperial Secretariat for the Gengshi Emperor, but despite this notionally clerical appointment he was sent north with a large army to attack the pretender Wang Lang. Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, then regional commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor, was already moving against Wang Lang's capital at Handan, but a counter-attack by Wang Lang captured his base in Xindu. Xie Gong's troops restored the situation and recaptured Xindu, and in summer the allied forces of Han captured Handan and killed Wang Lang.

There followed a period of joint government in Handan, during which Liu Xiu pretended goodwill but planned against Xie Gong and sought to subvert his officers. Primarily concerned with administrative matters, Xie Gong was apparently unsuspecting, but he later moved his headquarters to Ye city in Wei.

In the autumn of 24 Liu Xiu moved south against the Red Eyebrows and their allies by the Yellow River. It was agreed that if he was successful Xie Gong would attack the Youlai bandits. Liu Xiu was indeed victorious and Xie Gong carried out his promise, but he was heavily defeated.

In the mean time, moreover, Liu Xiu sent his general Wu Han to occupy Ye, claiming that Xie Gong's ill-disciplined troops had plundered the people and aroused resentment. Several of Xie Gong's officers went over to Liu Xiu, and as he returned with a small party he was taken and killed. -HHS 12/2:784, 17/7:655, 18/8:677-78; Bn 59:74-86.

Xie Gong 謝躬, wife of. In 24 the Lady warned her husband that he should not trust Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. Xie Gong did not accept her advice; he was later trapped and killed. -HHS 18/8:678.

Xie Hong 解閔; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Wang Xin became warlord in his home county of Qian. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu. In 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -HHS 17/7:647.

Xie Hong 謝弘; Guiyang. About 100 Xie Hong failed to care for his parents, but as a result of the teaching

of the Administrator Xu Jing his kinsmen objected and killed him. -HHS 76/66:2472.

Xie Huan 謝奐. A senior clerical officer in 213, Xie Huan was one of the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei.

After Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 Xie Huan became Minister Steward. He and other loyal officers were granted the right to have one of their sons appointed as a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 1:40, 2:58.

Xie Ji 謝姬, the Lady; Jianwei. Wife of Yi Cheng, when her husband died she was ashamed that she had borne him no children. As his coffin was placed in the tomb, she took poison, and was buried with him.

This affair was reported by the county to the commandery office, then to the Imperial Secretariat, and then to the throne. It was ordered that each time an amnesty was issued the Lady's family should receive a donation of silk and grain. -HYGZ 10B:160-61.

Xie Ji 謝奇 see Xie Qi 謝奇.

Xie Jing 謝旌. In 219 Xie Jing commanded the land forces under Lu Xun in the attack on Liu Bei's positions along the Yangzi. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Xie Jiong 謝兕 also as Xie Ying 嬰; Kuaiji. Respected for his moral quality when he was young, towards the end of the second century Xie Jiong became a member of the Imperial Secretariat and was then a county magistrate in Xiapi. He was the father of the Lady Xie, first wife of Sun Quan, and of the historian Xie Cheng. It is possible that he collected imperial archive material when he was in the Secretariat and that this aided his son's work. -SGZ Wu 5:1196-97, XC 8:12b; C/C 99:124.

Xie [Jixiao] 謝季孝; Runan. A neighbour of Dai Liang, he asked him whom he would compare himself to. Dai Liang named Confucius and the sage Emperor Yu 禹. -HHS 83/73:2773.

Xie Lian 謝廉; Runan. Having mastered one of the Confucian classics by the age of twelve, Xie Lian was nominated by Zuo Xiong, Director of the Secretariat, and was named a Junior Gentleman, giving him early entrance to the University and probation for a commissioned post in the civil service. -HHS 61/51:2020-21.

Xie Lu 謝祿 [Ziqi 子奇] (d.27); Donghai. About 15 Xie Lu was head of a group of local bandits in a region which had suffered seriously from flooding of the Yellow River over the previous ten years. He later brought his men to join Fan Chong in the Tai

Shan massif and, with other leaders, they formed the confederation known as the Red Eyebrows 赤眉.

The general account of this bandit horde is given *sub* Fan Chong. Xie Lu and two other men from Donghai, Xu Xuan and Yang Yin, however, evidently maintained an association: in 24 they led the column which went through southern Henan to the Luhun Pass into Hongnong and the capital region, while Fan Chong and his fellow-countryman Pang An took a southern route.

As the Red Eyebrows set up their nominal imperial regime in 25, Xie Lu took title as Grand Marshal on the Right, and when Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor surrendered, he was placed in Xie Lu's entourage. Liu Xuan's loyal follower Liu Gong sought to protect him, but Zhang Ang and other former chieftains of the Troops from the Lower Yangzi persuaded Xie Lu to have him killed.

Early in 27, having at last abandoned the capital region, the Red Eyebrows were forced to surrender to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. The leaders' lives were spared and they were ordered to settle in the neighbourhood of the new capital, Luoyang, where they could be kept under observation. Xie Lu was soon afterwards killed by Liu Gong, in vengeance for the death of Liu Xuan. -HHS 11/1:478-86.

Xie Mi 謝宓 [Zhongzhou 仲周]. Younger brother of Xie Yun, Xie Mi benefited from his intrigues in the early 120s and became senior assistant to the General-in-Chief Geng Bao. In 125 the regent Dowager Yan and her brother Yan Xian turned against their former allies and accused them of factionalism. As their party was destroyed, Xie Mi escaped death by one degree but was sentenced to convict service. -HHS 10B:437.

Xie Nugu 解奴辜. The magician Xie Nugu and his colleague Zhang Diao could make themselves invisible and could travel through walls. Xie Nugu was also able to change the appearance of things. -HHS 82/72B:2749*; Ngo 76:140, DeWoskin 83:86-87.

Xie Pou 謝褒 or Xie Bao 褒; Jianwei. A teacher, Xie Pou was well served by his student Zhang Qian. -HYGZ 10B:150, 12:230.

Xie Qi 謝奇; Lujiang. An officer of Cao Cao, about 210 Xie Qi was sent to set up military colonies in the region of Qichun, north of the Yangzi opposite the position held for Sun Quan by Lü Meng. From there he made a number of raids southwards, refusing an invitation to surrender from Lü Meng. As Lü Meng

then made a surprise attack, Xie Qi was driven away, and several of his lower officers brought their followers and changed sides. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Xie Quan 謝泉 [?chao ?朝]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Xie Quan was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Xie Sheng 解勝; Yanmen. In 36 Xie Sheng was a conscript officer under Lu Fang's general Yin You, holding Yanmen commandery against Guangwu's forces under Du Mao. Lu Fang, however, was driven to flight and his position in China collapsed. Xie Sheng then joined his colleagues Huo Kuang and Jia Dan to kill Yin You and surrender to Guangwu's Administrator of Yanmen, Guo Liang. On Guo Liang's recommendation all three men were enfeoffed as marquises. -HHS 22/12:777.

Xie Sheng 謝盛; Ba. A local commandery officer, Xie Sheng was killed by brigands about 150. -HYGZ 1:6.

Xie Wenqing 解文卿. Xie Wenqing was a member of the Secretariat of Gongsun Shu when Emperor Guangwu of Han invited him to surrender. Xie Wenqing and the court officer Zheng Wenbo encouraged him to agree, but Gongsun Shu was furious and sent them to prison. Refusing to change their opinion, they died there; their example discouraged anyone from offering such advice again. -HYGZ 5:69, 10A:138, HYGZJBTZ: 335.

The dating is uncertain. HYGZ says the discussion took place in 35, after Guangwu had begun his final campaign and sent a letter calling on Gongsun Shu to surrender, but the text is corrupt. The incident probably took place in 30, when it appears Lai Xi and Ma Yuan came on an embassy. See also *sub* Chang Shao.

Xie Xian 謝暹; Zangke. Officer of Merit of the commandery in the middle 20s, Xie Xian persuaded the chieftains of the non-Chinese clans in the south to reject the imperial pretensions of Gongsun Shu, who held dominant authority in Yi province, and to maintain their allegiance to Han. They sent tribute missions by the south-eastern route through present-day Guangdong; Guangwu praised them and granted them ceremonial robes. -HHS 86/76:2845, HYGZ 4: 54.

Xie Yan 謝弇. Brother-in-law to Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang, in 73 Xie Yan was arrested and executed for alleged involvement in a conspiracy of witchcraft with the king. -HHS 42/32:1444.

Xie Yi 謝姬, the Lady; see the Lady Xie Ji 謝姬.

Xie Yi 謝翊 see Liu Yi 劉翊 II [Zixiang 子相]. -XC 6:3b.

Xie Ying 謝嬰 see Xie Jiong 謝嬰. -XC 8:12b.

Xie Yiwu 謝夷吾 [Yaoqing 堯卿]; Kuaiji. As a young man Xie Yiwu studied the art of divination by the wind and the weather. He became a junior commandery officer, and about 55 the Administrator Diwu Lun appointed him as an Investigator. Sent to check the mis-government of a county magistrate, Xie Yiwu took no action, but wept and then reported that the man was indeed corrupt, but he would die a fearful death within a few weeks; there was no point in punishing him. This indeed came to pass.

Xie Yiwu became Registrar of the commandery and the tutor of Diwu Lun's son. He was later nominated as Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Dongping. In 72 his magical arts or virtues protected his territory from a plague of locusts.

Transferred to be Inspector of Jing province, Xie Yiwu demonstrated an excellent understanding of men's characters and made accurate decisions in the most complex legal cases. When Emperor Zhang came on tour in 84 he invited Xie Yiwu to join him in deciding some hundreds of local criminal charges, and in each case Xie Yiwu's judgement agreed with that of the emperor. All those present were amazed.

Xie Yiwu then became Administrator of Julu. In each place where he served he had been noted for his generosity to the people and his care of the land, and his old patron Diwu Lun, now Excellency of Works, had the scholar Ban Gu write an encomium for him, pointing out his ability in the most abstruse fields of scholarship while praising his practical achievements in government. The emperor awarded him a carriage, horses and a sword. Xie Yiwu was also a friend of the scholar Wang Chong, whom he recommended to the throne in the warmest tones. Emperor Zhang sent a special summons, but Wang Chong was too ill to travel.

Diwu Lun recommended that Xie Yiwu be appointed to succeed him as Excellency, but soon afterwards Xie Yiwu went on the spring tour of inspection in an open cart with just two attendants. The Inspector of Ji province reported this lack of decorum, and Xie Yiwu was demoted to a county magistracy in Xiapi.

Xie Yiwu foretold the day of his death and also prophesied the disasters of the end of Han. He

asked to be buried deep in an unmarked grave, so his bones would not be disturbed in any future turmoil. -HHS 82/72A:2713-15*, XC 6:4a-5a; Ngo 76:87-92, DeWoskin 83:53-56.

Xie Yun 解惲. When the Red Eyebrows occupied Chang'an in 25, Xie Yun was Intendant of Jingzhao. As Liu Gong was escaping to look for the Gengshi Emperor Liu Xuan, Xie Yun told him where to find him. -XC 1:2a-2b.

Xie Yun 謝惲 [Bozhou 伯周] (d.125). Palace Attendants in 124, Xie Yun and Zhou Guang joined Geng Bao and the eunuchs Fan Feng and Li Run in their accusations against the Excellency Yang Zhen, who was dismissed and killed himself. In protest, the minister Lai Li and the Imperial Clerk Yu Xu refused further dealing with them.

As Xie Yun and Zhou Guang continued their association with Geng Bao, Fan Feng and Emperor An's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng, Xie Yun became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, while his brothers Xie Mi and Xie Du also held official posts. In 125, however, following the death of Emperor An and the enthronement of the Little Emperor Liu Yi, the Dowager Yan and her brother Yan Xian turned against their former allies and accused them of factionalism. Xie Yun died in prison. -HHS 5:242, 15/5:590.

Xie Zhen 謝甄 [Ziwei 子微]; Runan. Xie Zhen was a close friend of Bian Rang, both celebrated for their brilliant conversation, while Xie Zhen was even more skilled than Guo Tai in judging social conduct. Guo Tai criticised them, however, for a lack of true morality, and Xie Zhen's reputation later suffered through his failure to attend to details. His highest appointment was that of a local officer in Yu province. -HHS 68/58:2230-31; Mather 76:526.

Xie Zhen 謝貞; Kuaiji. Younger brother of Xie Jiong, and uncle of Sun Quan's consort the Lady Xie, Xie Zhen was known for his good conduct and his concern for scholarship. He was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate, but died in that office. -SGZ Wu 5:1197; C/C 99:124.

Xie Zhu 謝著; Zhongshan? When Xie Zhu was a magistrate in Wei his old friend Zhu Tian received a special invitation to the imperial capital, and as he passed by he attempted to meet him. For some reason, however, Xie Zhu refused to make contact.

Xie Zhu later left his position, but he had acquired a reputation for mean-spirited conduct, and he never

held a substantial post again. -*FSTY* 7:55.

Xie Zong 謝綜; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Xie Zong was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -*LS* 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Xieguini 泄歸泥; Xianbi. When Xieguini's father, the chieftain Fuluohan, was murdered by his rival Kebineng at an oath ceremony in 218, Xieguini, presumably under pressure at the time, accepted Kebineng as his chief and brought his people over with him.

Kebineng treated Xieguini extremely well, but his uncle Budugen, brother of Fuluohan, later recalled him to family loyalty, and Xieguini joined him in alliance with the Chinese. In 233, however, Kebineng persuaded Budugen to join him in raiding China. Xieguini followed, but soon afterwards broke with the other two chieftains and returned to Wei. He was given title as a king and resettled in Bing province. -*SGZ* 30:638; Fang 52:180-181, 404-405.

Xieyang Hong 鮒陽鴻 see Guiyang Hong 鮒陽鴻.

Xiku 犀苦; Qiang. Son of Donghao, in 123 he took over from his elder brother Manu as recognised chief of the Shadang tribe. Because his predecessors had often caused trouble, Xiku was held hostage at the headquarters of the Protector, Lianju in Jincheng. -*HHS* 87/77:2892-94.

Xin 尋 [surname] see Xun 尋 *passim*

Xin 辛, the Lady. Younger sister of Xin Chen, in 27 she was married to Tian Rong. -*HHS* 17/7:658; Bn 59:156.

Xin 信; Xiongnu. Worthy King of the Left under the Southern Shanyu Chang in 73, Xin was sent with Zhai Tong in the main central column of a great punitive attack on the north. It was intended that they would link up with an eastern column at Zhuoye Mountain. Xin, however, quarrelled with Zhai Tong, and after they had travelled six hundred kilometres from the frontier he indicated the wrong ridge of high ground. As a result Zhai Tong and his men missed the rendezvous and the enemy were able to avoid the attack.

As Worthy King of the Left, Xin was also the heir to the Shanyu, but have no account of his parentage; he evidently died before the Shanyu Chang in 85. -*HHS* 89/79:2949, 20/10:746; deC 84:260.

Xin [Bozhen] 辛伯眞; Longxi. *XTS* 73A:2880 says that Xin Bozhen, a descendant of the general Xin Mao of Former Han [*QHX*:613], was a colonel in the

Northern Army. Other kinsmen are listed, but only by name, and the dates are uncertain; I have therefore not provided entries for them.

Xin Can 鐔粲; Guanghan. Described as a youthful friend and colleague of the future Excellency Zhang Hao, this is probably the same person as Xin Xian 鐔顯. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1073.

Xin Chen 辛臣. Brother-in-law of the warlord Tian Rong of Nan commandery, when Tian Rong's ally Qin Feng was besieged in his fortress of Liqui by the forces of Emperor Guangwu in 27, Xin Chen urged Tian Rong to make terms with the Han. Drawing a map of the empire, he showed the positions of the rival warlords, and demonstrated the dominant position of the restored regime. Tian Rong agreed and, leaving Xin Chen in charge of his capital Yiling, he went by ship down the Yangzi and up the Han to join the Han army outside Liqui.

As he did so, however, Xin Chen plundered Tian Rong's treasury and went by the direct land route to surrender first. He then sent a letter urging Tian Rong to join him, but Tian Rong was now concerned at his likely reception and changed his mind. -*HHS* 17/7:658; Bn 59:156.

Xin Du 辛都; Longxi. Local officers under the Administrator Liu Xu in 56, Xin Du and Li Bao were sent with five thousand men to assist the local forces of Wudu against a raid by the Shenlang tribe of the Qiang. They defeated the enemy, killing their leaders and taking over a thousand heads. The Wudu troops then rallied, also heavily defeating the raiders, and forcing them to surrender. -*HHS* 87/77:2879.

Xin Ji 辛機. In 220 Xin Ji was named Administrator of Jiuquan, but the local leader Huang Hua refused to allow him into the commandery. After the successes of Su Ze, Xin Ji was able to take up his position. -*SGZ* 16:492.

Xin Pi 辛毗 [Zuozhi 佐治]; Yingchuan [the family was originally from Longxi, but moved early in Later Han]. Younger brother of Xin Ping, Xin Pi served Yuan Shao and then Yuan Tan. In 203 Yuan Tan was under attack from his brother Shang, and on the advice of Guo Tu he sent Xin Pi to ask aid from Cao Cao. Cao Cao had earlier invited Xin Pi to join him, and though Xin Pi urged him to alliance with Yuan Tan his prime concern was now for Cao Cao's interests. He was at the capture of Ye city in the following year, but failed to prevent Shen Pei murdering the family of Xin Ping.

Xin Pi then became a Consultant, served as a member of staff on campaign in the west in 215, and was later Chief Clerk to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor of Han. A confidant of Cao Pi, when he came to the throne Xin Pi took part in the process which brought the abdication of Han in favour of the Wei. He was appointed a Palace Attendant and was enfeoffed.

Always an influential adviser and trusted envoy, Xin Pi became a senior minister. He died about 235. -SGZ 25:695-99*; Mather 76:530-531.

Xin Ping 辛評 [Zhongzhi 仲治]; Yingchuan. An associate of Han Fu, in 191 Xin Ping persuaded him to yield Ji province to Yuan Shao he then became a Counsellor to Yuan Shao. In the early 200s, he and Guo Tu supported the claim of Yuan Tan to succeed his father, and in 203 he urged Tan to fight his brother Shang.

Xin Ping appears to have died about this time, but when his brother Xin Pi went over to Cao Cao Xin Ping's family was arrested, and as Ye city fell in 204 Shen Pei had them killed. -SGZ 6:201-06, 25:695.

Xin Si 辛巳. Administrator of Changsha in the early 140s, Xin Si was commended by the Inspector Li Gu. -HYGZ 10C:165 [surname mistakenly written Zu 卒].

Xin Tao 辛韜; Yingchuan. A cousin of Xun You, and presumably a kinsman of Xin Pi, Xin Tao asked Xun You about the negotiations which accompanied the notional alliance with Yuan Tan in 203 and the subsequent destruction of the Yuan family. Xun You, however, refused to reveal any details of such confidential military planning. -SGZ 10:325.

Xin Tong 辛彤 or Xin Yong 彤 [Dafang 大房]. When Dou Rong was appointed to the northwest of Liang province in 23, he established a good relationship with Xin Tong, Commandant of Dunhuang. As the Gengshi regime collapsed at Chang'an in 25, Xin Tong and his fellows accepted Dou Rong's leadership, and Xin Tong was named Administrator of the commandery.

In 31 Xin Tong's colleague Zhu Zeng left his position as Administrator of Jiuquan and Xin Tong took his place. When Dou Rong brought his army east to assist Emperor Guangwu's attack on Wei Ao in the following year, Xin Tong and his fellows were granted titles as marquises. -HHS 23/13:796-97, 805-06.

Xin [Tongda] 辛通達. Commandant of the Dependent State of Shu commandery, in 164 he was responsible for the construction of an important bridge. -LS 15:4b-

7b.

Xin Xian 鐔顯 [Zisong 子誦]; Guanghan. Having studied the *Classic of Poetry* and the *History* at Luoyang, Xin Xian became Registrar to the Administrator Chen Chong about 90, and was then recommended Filial and Incorrupt.

Some twenty years later Xin Xian was appointed Inspector of Yu province. There was famine at the time, and banditry was rife, but Xin Xian recognised the desperate straits of the people and pardoned those who were captured. His policy was accepted by the court, and he later became a Household Counsellor, Palace Attendant and Minister of the Guards.

As Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager Deng, Xin Xian was one of the officials who argued against a forward policy in central Asia in 119. -HHS 76/66:2468-70, 47/37:1588, HYGZ 10B:146. See also Xin Can.

Xin Xianying 辛憲英, the Lady (191-269); Yingchuan. Daughter of Xin Pi, in 217 her father told her of Cao Pi's delight at being named Heir to Cao Cao. She pointed out that when his father died he must take control of the state; with such sad and heavy responsibility waiting, it was no good omen for the dynasty if Cao Pi was pleased at his appointment.

The Lady later married Yang Dan 羊丹 of Taishan, and was noted for the wise advice she gave her kinsmen. -SGZ 25:699-700; Fang 65:52-53.

Xin Yong 辛彤 see Xin Tong 辛彤.

Xin Zeng 辛曾. At the beginning of the great rebellion in Liang province in 184, the Attendant Officers Xin Zeng and Kong Chang were stationed with their colleague He Xun at an outpost in Hanyang. The Inspector Zuo Chang was attacked in the capital of the commandery and called for help. Xin Zeng and Kong Chang were reluctant to respond, but He Xun threatened to execute them by military law if they failed in their duty, so they went with their men and Zuo Chang was saved. -HHS 58/48:1880.

Xing 興, the Lady, see the Lady [He] Xing 何興.

Xing 興 of Jumi [present-day Yutian] (d.129). In 129 King Fangqian of Yutian [Khotan] conquered his neighbouring state of Jumi, killed its king, Xing, and placed one of his own sons on the throne. -HHS 88/78:2915.

Xing Hong 行弘. A General of the Household in 119, Xing Hong supported the proposal of the Excellency Li He that worship of the Sixth Venerable One 六宗

be restored to the rituals at the Altar of Heaven in the south of the capital, as they had been during Former Han.

Later that year, Xing Gong became Chancellor of Rencheng. He urged the dismissal of the king Liu An on account of his erratic and greedy conduct. The proposal was not approved, but Liu An was fined. -*HHS* 98/8:3184, 42/32:1443.

Xing Ji 邢紀 (d.188). Administrator of Xihe in 187, Xing Ji was killed by the rebel Xiuchuge clan of the Xiongnu. -*HHS* 8:355.

Xing Ju 邢舉 (d.195). Protector of the Wuhuan, Xing Ju was killed by Yan Rou. -*HHS* 90/80:2984, *SGZ* 30: 835.

Xing Mu 邢穆 [Suigong 綏公] (d.73); Nanyang. Administrator of Julu, Xing Mu was appointed Excellency over the Masses in 71, but two years later he was accused of involvement in the alleged witchcraft conspiracy of Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang. He was executed. -*HHS* 2:118-120.

Xing Qu 興渠. In 125 Xing Qu was a member of the staff of Liu Bao, son of Emperor An and future Emperor Shun, who had at that time been deposed as Heir and was King of Jiyin. In the winter, as the Little Emperor Liu Yi was seriously ill, the eunuch Sun Cheng confided his plans for a coup to restore Liu Bao to the succession, and Xing Qu evidently acted as liaison between the royal court and the eunuchs who took action. Some years later he received a minor marquisate as reward for his role in the affair. -*HHS* 78/68:2515-18.

Xing Xun 行巡; Tianshui. In 25, as Wei Ao re-established himself in Tianshui after his return from Chang'an, he appointed Xing Xun as a chief general.

In 30, after Wang Yuan had driven the imperial army back from the Long Slope, Wei Ao ordered Xing Xun to join him in a counter-attack towards Chang'an. As Xing Xun advanced on the northern flank, however, Feng Yi concealed his men within a disputed city, took him by surprise and defeated him. Wang Yuan was likewise driven back by Zhai Zun.

As Guangwu renewed his campaign in 32, Xing Xun commanded defences on the Long Slope. As the enemy out-flanked him on the north, Wei Ao's position disintegrated. Many of his officers sought terms from the emperor, and Wei Ao was besieged at Xi city in the south of Longxi, but Xing Xun remained loyal. In the winter he and Zhou Zong came to the rescue with

troops from Gongsun Shu brought by Wang Yuan. They broke the siege, escorted Wei Ao to his capital at Ji city, and led a brief revival of his fortunes.

When Wei Ao died at the beginning of 33 Xing Xun and his colleagues proclaimed his son Wei Chun as king in his stead, but at the end of 34, as the Han armies came against them in force, they surrendered to the commander Lai Xi. Xing Xun and other leaders and members of the Wei clan were obliged to settle in Hongnong. -*HHS* 13/3:522-31.

Xing Yong 邢顒 [Zi'ang 子昂] (d.223); Hejian. During the 190s Xing Yong received nominations and invitations to take office at court, but he refused, changed his name and fled to the north. He later joined Tian Chou in the north, but in 207 he took service with Cao Cao and became an Assistant Officer in Ji province.

Noted for his virtue, Xing Yong held county and commandery posts, and was then head of household to Cao Zhi, who found him, however, too strict. In 217, when Cao Cao thought he might make Cao Zhi his heir rather than Cao Pi, Xing Yong argued against it.

Xing Yong served as Tutor to Cao Pi, and was enfeoffed when he came to the throne. He held several high offices, culminating in a ministry. -*SGZ* 12:382-83*.

Xing Zhang 姓璋. Minister of the Household in 178, Xing Zhang was described by Cai Yong as being greedy and corrupt. -*HHS* 60/50B:1999.

HHS TC confirms that Xing was the unusual surname of this man, and refers to a certain Xing Wei 姓偉 of Qi in Former Han [*QHX*:615]. The matter is confused by the fact that the character *xing* also means "surname" and one edition of *HHS* has miswritten the text, while *ZZTJ* compounds the error by calling this man Wei Zhang 偉璋. Zhou Shouzhang, in *HHSJJ* 60/50B:2161, discusses and clarifies the problem.

Xing Zhen 邢貞. About 217 Xing Zhen was Commandant of the Capital, formally responsible for military matters relating to Cao Cao's state of Wei. Cheng Yu, who held parallel office as Minister of the Guards, quarrelled with him over precedence and was dismissed.

When Cao Pi assumed the imperial title, Xing Zhen was Minister of Ceremonies, and he was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. In 221 he was sent on embassy to enfeoff Sun Quan as King of Wu. -*SGZ* 14:429, 2:78, *LS* 19:4a; Fang 52. 82.

Xing Zhong 星重; Jibei. A daughter of Xing Zhong married Yang Xu of Taishan. -*HHSJJ* 31/21:1169 Hui Dong quoting a fragment from a family history of the Yang clan 羊氏家傳; Hui Dong notes that this is the only record of the surname Xing.

Xiong 熊 [personal name unknown; style Zi-? 子?] (146-216). Having held offices under Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, in 194 he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt to the chaotic court at Chang'an. An imperial letter appointed him a county magistrate in Guiyang, while Liu Biao gave him concurrent title as Colonel Who Comforts the People 綏民校尉.

Since we are told that Xiong held that office for twenty-one years, he evidently served also under Liu Bei, and he probably left his post as Sun Quan took over the territory in 215. He died at the age of seventy-one and was commemorated with a stele. -*LS* 11:14a-18a.

Xinye, Lady of 新野君 see the Lady Yin 陰 III, mother of the regent Dowager Deng of Emperor He.

Xinzhiben 欽志賁 or Qinzhiben 欽志賁 (d.58); Wuhuan. A leader of the Red Mountain group in Yuyang, Xinzhiben and his followers caused trouble in that commandery and also raided Shanggu. In 58 the Administrator of Liaodong, Zhai Tong, sent his Xianbi ally Pianhe to deal with them. Xinzhiben was killed, his followers submitted, and the borders became peaceful. -*HHS* 20/10:745, 90/80:2985, *SGZ* 30:833, 837; deC 84:385.

Xiu 宿 [surname] see Su 宿 *passim*.

Xiu 修 [personal name, surname unknown]. As Court Astronomer in 179, Xiu advised that the system of the private scholar Wang Han for calculating lunar eclipses was not worth adoption.

In the same year Xiu accepted the method of the officer Feng Xun [or Zhang Xun *qq.v.*] in that field, and recommended that the recently-established system of Zong Cheng should be abandoned.

Next year, however, in 180, Zong Cheng's elder brother Zheng complained that the bureau had preferred a system which had been shown to be wrong. A ministerial enquiry found Zong Cheng's method was indeed slightly better, and it was restored, but Feng Xun and the brothers Zong were punished for their contumacy. -*HHS* 92/2:3041-43.

Xiuli 休利 (d.140); Xiongnu. Son of the Southern Shanyu Chang, he succeeded his elder brother Ba in 128, taking the title Qute ruoshijiu 去犛若尸就

Shanyu.

In the summer of 140 the chieftains Wusi and Che'niu led a rising in Yunzhong and Dingxiang. Moving west against Xihe, they attracted the support of the Worthy King of the Right Yiti, then raided across the north of the Ordos region and attacked the Shanyu's capital at Meiji in Xihe. The General on the Liao Ma Xu raised garrison troops, local levies and non-Chinese auxiliaries to force the rebels back, but they continued to plunder the countryside.

The court sent a reprimand to the Shanyu for his failure to maintain order among his people. It seems clear that the elderly Xiuli had no involvement with the rebellion, and the writ of the Shanyu was now of small consequence to his nominal subjects. Xiuli paid a formal visit of apology to the Emissary Liang Bing, but Liang Bing left office soon afterwards and his successor Chen Gui took a stronger line. Presumably seeking to force the Xiongnu leadership to play a more active role against the rebels, he bullied and threatened the Shanyu.

Humiliated, and squeezed between the demands of the Chinese and his own weakness and lack of authority, Xiuli committed suicide, accompanied by his younger brother and heir the Worthy King of the Left. The leadership of the Xiongnu thus fell into limbo, and in autumn the rebel Che'niu claimed the vacant title. -*HHS* 89/79:2960; deC 84:307-308.

Xiumoba 休莫霸 [or Xiumo the Hegemon] of Yutian [Khotan] (d.60). In 60 the nobleman Dumo and his kinsmen assassinated Junde, the oppressive governor of Yutian who had been appointed by the hegemon King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand]. Soon afterwards the local chieftain Xiumoba, aided by the Chinese Han Rong, killed Dumo and his associates.

Xiumoba now proclaimed himself as king anad, supported by the neighbouring state of Jumi, he defeated an army of Suoju. He then withdrew to defend the city of Yutian against a counter-attack by Xian's eldest son and his chief minister. The confederate army was numbered at twenty thousand, but Xiumoba and his allies heavily defeated them, and they followed this with victory over a still larger force led by Xian himself.

Seeking to take advantage of his success, Xiumoba brought his men forward to besiege the city of Suoju, but he was killed by an arrow and the attack was abandoned. -*HHS* 88/78:2925.

Xiwei 喜爲; Xiongnu. A follower of the Southern Shanyu Anguo, in 94 Xiwei accompanied his attack on his rival, prince Shizi, at the headquarters of the General on the Liao. They were unsuccessful, and Chinese troops came to the rescue. Xiwei and others then killed Anguo and surrendered. -*HHS* 89/79:2955.
Xizhi 細致 of Further Jushi, evidently a prince favourable to Han, had been awarded an honorary title. In 96 the Chinese officer Suo Jun planned to depose King Zhuodi and place Xizhi on the throne. Zhuodi, however, then attacked Nearer Jushi, and a large army had to be called up to defeat him. Xizhi is not heard of again. -*HHS* 88/78:2930.

Xu 鄒 [surname] see Chu 鄒 *passim*.

Xu 許, the Lady (d.86). Concubine of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, she held the rank of Beauty and bore his son Liu Ying, but later lost favour. Liu Ying then became King of Chu, the Lady Xu was named Dowager Queen, and they resided at Pengcheng. Though Liu Ying was accused and disgraced in 70, the Lady was permitted to retain her seal and status, and she was granted funerary honours when she died. -*HHS* 42/32:1428-29.

Xu 徐, the Lady I. Concubine of Liu Yan the King of Zhongshan, during the funeral assembly after his death in 90 she was seduced by Liu Zheng the King of Donghai. -*HHS* 42/32:1425.

Xu 徐, the Lady II. Born about 118, in 151 the Lady married Jin Yuan [style Jiben] of Ba, and bore him a son, Jin Gong. Jin Gong died young, and the couple adopted Jin Guangyan. Jin Guangyan married another woman of the same surname [the Lady Xu III below] and had children, but then also died.

The bulk of Jin Yuan's property was transferred to Jin Yongzhi, his son by a concubine, who showed small sympathy or affection for the Lady Xu or for Jin Guangyan's relicts, and who put pressure on the Lady after her husband's death to obtain the rest of the family estate. The Lady Xu was upset at this, because the adopted Jin Guangyan and his wife had treated her and Jin Yuan with true filial piety, but she felt she had no option, and in 178 she set up a stele to say so. -*LS* 15:10b-13a.

Xu 徐, the Lady III. The Lady married Jin Guangyan of Ba, adoptive son of Jin Yuan and the Lady Xu II [she probably came from the same family as her mother-in-law]. The couple had children, but then Guangyan died. Though he and the Lady had shown

great filial piety towards his adoptive parents, the bulk of the family property was transferred to Jin Yongzhi, Jin Yuan's son by a concubine.

Xu 徐, the Lady IV. In 204 the Lady was wife to Sun Yi the Administrator of Danyang. As he was planning a banquet for his officers she divined that there was danger and warned him. Sun Yi was indeed murdered, and Gui Lan and Dai Yuan seized power in the commandery.

Gui Lan also took over Sun Yi's harem, and tried to compel the Lady to marry him. She pretended to agree, but arranged for family loyalists to trap and kill him. As the Sun regained control, the Lady Xu offered the heads of the two rebels at her husband's tomb. -*SGZ* Wu 6:1214-15; deC 90:232-234.

Xu 徐, the Lady V; Kuaiji. The Lady's grandfather Xu Zhen had been a close friend of Sun Jian and had married his sister, the Lady Sun II; her father Xu Kun was thus a cousin of Sun Quan. The Lady was first married to Lu Shang, but after his death, about 200, she entered the harem of Sun Quan and became his favourite, displacing the Lady Xie. The mother of Sun Quan's first son, Sun Deng, born in 209, was a woman of poor family, so he had the Lady care for him.

The Lady later irritated Sun Quan by her jealousy, so he left her in Wu commandery and took up with the Lady Bu.

When Sun Quan gained the royal title in 221 he appointed Sun Deng as his Heir. Many argued that he should name the Lady Xu as his queen, but he always refused. The Lady probably died in the 230s. -*SGZ* Wu 5:1197-98*; C/C 99:125-126.

Xu 徐, the Lady VI. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore him a son, Cao Li 禮. -*SGZ* 20:590.

Xu/Ying 許/應, the Lady. The Lady was originally the wife of Ying Shun, who was a close friend of Xu Jing 敬, a man of impoverished family. Xu Jing's wife was old and had borne no children, so Ying Shun divorced the Lady and gave her as a second consort to Xu Jing. Presumably through her Xu Jing had his son Xu Xun, born early in the second century. -*DGHJ* 19:4b.

Xu 許 [personal name unknown]. A magistrate in Chen, his virtues were commemorated with a stele. -*SJZ* 23:4b.

Xu Aqu 許阿瞿 (167-170); Nanyang. An illustrated stele found in 1973 mourns the death of this boy. -*Nagata* 94:184.

Xu Bing 許冰 or Xu Yong 永 or Xu Shui 水. Director

of Retainers in 178, Xu Bing was recommended to Emperor Ling by Yang Zhi, Director of the Secretariat, as an honest official who was worthy of advancement. -HHS 67/57:2209.

XC8:5a-b has a biography of Xu Yong 永, recording how he controlled the capital province with a firm hand, so that ill-doers were afraid to meet his eye and eunuch associates who had been ruling as magistrates resigned from their posts. Because of this, he made enemies in high places who laid charges against him. Ordered to attend the Ministry of Justice, he observed to his friends that he was now seventy years old, that he had hitherto served without any complaint against him, but that he saw no good result from the false accusations. He therefore took poison.

Xu Bo 徐伯; Henan. About 80 Xu Bo was engaged in litigation over a land-holding. All parties were intransigent, and neither county nor commandery officials could resolve the dispute. The new magistrate Lu Gong, however, applied such virtue and charm that both sides abandoned their positions and each yielded land to the other. -HHS 25/15:874.

Xu Bo 徐白 see Xu You 徐由. -HHS 101/11:3244.

Xu Can 徐參 or Xu Shen; Xiapi. Xu Can was a brother of the eunuch favourite Xu Huang. He became Administrator of Wu commandery about 160, but was then reported by the Inspector of Yang province, Chen Xiang, for greed and corruption. He was sent to prison. -HHS 67/57:2212.

Xu Chang 許昌. Nephew of Emperor Guangwu's concubine the Beauty Xu, and thus cousin to Liu Ying the King of Chu, in 58 Xu Chang was granted a marquisate in Lujiang as a compliment from Emperor Ming to his half-brother Liu Ying. -HHS 42/32:1428.

Xu Chang 徐常. Protector of the Wuhuan in 121, Xu Chang was besieged in Dai commandery by Xianbi raiders led by Qizhijian. Geng Kui the General on the Liao and the Inspector of You province Pang Can brought troops in two columns, Xu Chang escaped by night to join them, and the siege was broken. -HHS 19/9:719, 90/80:2987-88; deC 84:299-300.

Xu Chang 許昌 (d.174); Kuaiji. In 172 Xu Chang raised a religious rebellion in Kuaiji, styling himself as Emperor of the Brightness of Yang 陽明皇帝. His followers ravaged the commandery, and it required the intervention of provincial forces under Zang Min before they were put down in 174. -SGZ Wu 1:1093-94; deC 90:80-81.

The texts disagree on the leadership of this rebellion. According to the Annals of HHS 8:334, Xu Sheng was the head, but SGZ Wu 1:1093 and Lingdi ji at 1094PC say that the leader was Xu Sheng's son Chang, who gave him the title. DGHJ 3:5b, HHS 58/48:1884 and HHS 102/12:3258 say that the leader was Xu Sheng's son Zhao 昭. SGZ Wu 1:1093 refers to Xu Shao 韶 as a son of Xu Chang, associated with him in the leadership [the position is further confused by the fact that the character Shao 韶 evidently appears in this text in order to avoid taboo on the personal name of Sima Zhao 司馬昭, founder of the Jin dynasty; it was probably written originally as Zhao 昭]. A certain Xu Zhao from this region opposed Sun Ce in the late 190s, but it is doubtful if there was any direct connection: see *sub voce*.

One may observe that the characters *chang* and *zhao* both have the meaning of "brightness", and given the imperial title which Xu Chang is said to have awarded himself it is likely that both were held as personal names by leaders of the rebellion. It is not possible to decide, however, whether Xu Chang and Xu Shao were father and son [as SGZ Wu 1], whether they were both sons of Xu Sheng [as DGHJ, HHS and Lingdi ji], or even whether they are two names for the same man, a single son of Xu Sheng.

We may note in any case that it is probably at this time and in association with this rebel sect that there appeared the prophecy recorded in the apocryphal work *Chunqiu zuozhu qi* 春秋佐助期 "Helpful Forecasts from the Spring and Autumn Annals" which claimed that the Han dynasty would lose the empire on account of *xu chang* 許昌. This was later used as a reason for Cao Pi to change the name of his capital from Xu city to Xuchang in 221, soon after he had forced the Han Emperor Xian to abdicate in his favour. See Tjan 49: 117, deC 89:474-475, and Goodman 98:102.

Xu Chao 徐兆 see Xu Xun 許巡.

Xu Chao 徐超 see *sub* Xu Feng 徐豐. XTS 76B: 3420.

Xu Chen 許耽 see Xu Dan 許耽.

Xu Cheng 徐盛 see Xu Sheng 徐盛.

Xu Chong 徐崇. Younger son of Xu Fang, after the death of their father about 110 his elder brother Heng ceded Xu Chong the succession to the fief. -HHS 44/34:1502.

Xu Heng later received the fief, presumably after the death of Xu Chong; see *sub voce*. It is unlikely this

Xu Chong is the same as the one below, who held a low-ranking guard post at the capital ten years later.

Xu Chong 許冲; Runan. Son of Xu Shen, in 121 he presented his father's dictionary, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, to the throne of Emperor An. -HHS 79/69B:2588; *Texts*:429 [Boltz].

Xu Chong 徐崇. A major at one of the city gates of the capital in 124, Xu Chong joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne at the end of 125, Xu Chong and his colleagues were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Xu Chu 許褚 [Zhongkang 仲康]; Pei. Xu Chu came from the same county as Cao Cao. More than eight feet tall [185 cm] and strongly built, he recruited clansmen and others as a self-defence force to repel bandits, then joined Cao Cao when he took over the region in 197. Cao Cao appointed Xu Chu and his followers to be his personal guard, presumably as replacement for Dian Wei, who had been killed in the beginning of that year.

In 199 Xu Tuo and some others planned to assassinate Cao Cao at a time that Xu Chu was off duty. Feeling uneasy, however, Xu Chu went back. He found Xu Tuo and his fellows and saw from their expressions that they planned some treachery. He killed them.

Xu Chu took part in the campaigns against Zhang Xiu and in the defence of Guandu against Yuan Shao, and after the capture of Ye city in 204 he was granted a fief.

During the manoeuvres leading to the battle of Huayin in 211, Cao Cao met the rebel Ma Chao face-to-face with only Xu Chu as his escort. Ma Chao was going to attack but Xu Chu faced him down and Ma Chao did not dare make a move. Later, Xu Chu commanded the rear-guard which saved Cao Cao from pursuit, and at one point, in a traditional cliché, he chopped the hands of men who tried to climb into Cao Cao's boat to save themselves; the severed fingers filled the bottom of the vessel.

In 215 Xu Chu's troops broke Zhang Lu's defence lines in the confused engagement at the Yangping Pass.

Taciturn and fiercely loyal, Xu Chu was admired by Cao Cao and promoted a general, while his elite Tiger Warriors 虎士 served as Cao Cao's bodyguard and many were honoured and promoted. When Cao Cao died, Xu Chu wept until he vomited blood.

After Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220, Xu Chu was among the sponsors of a commemorative stele. He received further honours from Cao Pi and Cao Rui, and died about 230. -SGZ 18:542-43*, LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Xu Ci 許慈 [Rendu 仁篤]; Nanyang. A student of Liu Xi, Xu Ci became expert in the teachings of Zheng Xuan, and was widely read in the Confucian classics. During the 190s he took refuge in the far south and about 208 he went with Xu Jing to join Liu Zhang in Yi province.

When Liu Bei took over in 214 he had Xu Ci join a group of scholars to work on ancient texts and establish a set of rituals and procedures which would reform the disordered customs of the region. This was no doubt intended to enhance the new ruler's authority by demonstrating his devotion to scholarship and public morality, but Xu Ci quarrelled bitterly with his maverick colleague Hu Qian, and the project failed completely.

Xu Ci later held charge of the harem of Liu Shan, Later Sovereign of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 12:1022-23*.

Xu Dan 許耽; Danyang. In 196 Xu Dan was an officer of Liu Bei, Inspector of Yu province. He had title as a General of the Household and was stationed with the garrison at Liu Bei's headquarters in Xiapi city. After Liu Bei's commander Zhang Fei quarrelled with the Chancellor Cao Bao and killed him, Xu Dan sent his subordinate Zhang Kuang to Lü Bu, inviting him to attack and promising him support. As Lü Bu came forward, Xu Dan's men opened the gates to him. Zhang Fei was driven away, and Lü Bu seized the heart of Liu Bei's position and captured his family. -SGZ 7:223-24.

Xu De 許德; Danyang. In 26 Xu De commanded the garrison at Xiangyi in Chenliu for the pretender Liu Yong. Guangwu's general He Yan attacked, and the city was taken by storm. -HHS 18/8:686-87.

Xu De 許德 [Borao 伯饒]; Hejian. Son of Xu Pi, in the late second century Xu De was Administrator of Anding and of Runan. -XTS 73A:2875 and see Fang 65:32.

Xu Deng 徐登; Kuaiji. A man from Minzhong 閩中,

on the edge of the empire in present-day Fujian, Xu Deng was expert in the arts of shamanism. He claimed to have been born a woman but to have changed his sex.

During the time of war and pestilence in the late second century Xu Deng and Zhao Bing agreed to devote themselves to curing illness, and they sealed their bond by a display of spells in the tradition of local Yue magic 越方. Xu Deng halted the flow of a river, and Zhao Bing made a dead tree sprout again.

Xu Deng was older than Zhao Bing, who therefore treated him as his master. They lived extremely simply, so that even their offerings to the spirits were no more than river water and mulberry bark, and they used only chants and spells to treat disease. They were nonetheless very successful. -HHS 82/72B:2741-42*; Ngo 76:127-128, DeWoskin 83:76-77.

Xu Ding 許定; Pei. Elder brother of Xu Chu, he also held command of personal troops for Cao Cao, was enfeoffed and made a general. -SGZ 18:543.

Xu Fang 徐房; Beihai. Friends of Pang Meng and scholars of *Yinyang* 陰陽, during the troubles of the 20s and 30s Xu Fang and Li Tan cared for some thousand refugees. -HHS 83/73:2760.

Xu Fang 徐防 [Yeqing 謁卿]; Pei. Son of Xu Xian, when he was young Xu Fang followed the teachings of his father and of his grandfather Xu Xuan 宣 on the *Book of Changes*. During the reign of Emperor Ming he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. A good-looking man with presence, he presented some prognostications which proved correct, and the emperor admired his ability. He arranged for Xu Fang to join the Imperial Secretariat, where he served with distinction under both Emperor Ming and his successor Emperor Zhang.

In the time of Emperor He, Xu Fang was appointed Director of Retainers and then Administrator of Wei commandery. In 98 he became Minister Steward and then Minister of Finance. He was successful in all his appointments and in 102 he became Excellency of Works.

Xu Fang was concerned that the traditional meanings of the Confucian classics were being lost among a plethora of new interpretations, and the confusion was reflected at the Imperial University and its examinations. He urged that more attention should be paid to the literal meaning of the texts, and candidates who failed to follow authority should

be penalised. This was agreed and duly ordered. Xu Fang was seeking to entrench the position of the New Text, which had been confirmed by the conference in the White Tiger Hall in 79, but despite its official endorsement the New Text had lost authority among leading scholars, and Xu Fang's policy meant that government scholarship was bound ever more closely to a discredited tradition.

In 104 Xu Fang was transferred to be Excellency over the Masses, and in 105 he joined the Grand Commandant Zhang Yu in recommending the posthumous enfeoffment of Deng Xun, father of the Empress. When Emperor He died in the following year, the Lady Deng, now regent Dowager, appointed Xu Fang as Grand Commandant with control of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal authority over the government, and granted him gifts and rewards. In 107, after the death of Liu Long and the accession of Emperor An, Xu Fang was enfeoffed for his part in the selection of the new ruler.

That same year, however, because of flooding and outbreaks of banditry Xu Fang was required to leave office and go to his fief in Taishan. This was the first time an Excellency had been dismissed on account of unfavourable omens. -HHS 44/34:1500-02*, XC 2:8a; Loewe 86C:298.

Xu Feng 徐豐 [Zhongdu 仲都]; Xiapi? In a detailed genealogy, XTS 75B:3420 identifies Xu Fang and his brother Xu Ba as sires of the northern and southern Xu clans. None of the people mentioned, however, either ancestors or descendants of Xu Feng, appear in other records. The dating of the generations is thus extremely difficult, while nothing more is mentioned of Xu Ba and his lineage. It would seem that the family was based on Xiapi or Linhuai, but that presumption is made questionable by the fact that two members are said to have been Administrators of that territory [one evidently in Former Han, when it was called Linhuai]. Based on the assumption that the division into two lineages took place at the time of Wang Mang or in early Later Han, I summarise below the information from XTS 76B:

Xu Feng was a clerk in the officer of the Excellency of Works. He begat

Xu Ming, who became a Palace Attendant. He begat

Xu Qian, also a Palace Attendant. He begat

Xu Xuan, who had two sons Xu Lin and Xu Rui.

Xu Rui became Administrator of Xiapi. He had two sons, Xu Mo and Xu Shijian.

Xu Shijian [Shijie] was Intendant of Jingzhao. He had two sons, Xu Shu and Xu Chao.

Xu Zhao was a Cavalier Attendant under Wei.

Xu Feng 徐鳳 (d.145); Jiujiang. In 144, after the initial success of the insurrection led by Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng, Xu Feng and his fellow-countryman Ma Mian also rebelled and ravaged the commandery. Dressed in crimson robes with a black sash, Xu Feng styled himself General Supreme 無上將軍, while Ma Mian called himself the Yellow Emperor.

Despite further successes, in the following year the rebel forces were heavily defeated by Teng Fu and a provincial army. As his colleagues were killed, Xu Feng fled to the east, but he and his remnant followers were destroyed by levies under the local leader Xie An of Xiapi. -HHS 6:276-77, 38/28:1279.

Xu Feng 徐奉 (d.184). Though they were favoured palace eunuchs, the Regular Attendants Xu Feng and Feng Xu became members of the religious sect led by Zhang Jue. In the early 180s they joined Zhang Jue's agent Ma Yuanyi in plans for a coup at the capital to coincide with rebellion throughout the empire.

When the renegade disciple Tang Zhou warned the court, Ma Yuanyi was killed and there was a purge of Zhang Jue's followers in Luoyang. Despite the fury of Emperor Ling at the disloyalty of his attendants, however, Zhang Rang and Wang Fu managed to reconcile him. -HHS 71/61:2299-2300, 78/68:2535.

Xu Fu 徐福 see Xu Shu 徐庶.

Xu Gan 徐幹 [Bozhang 伯張]; Youfufeng. A friend of Ban Gu and Ban Chao, Xu Gan volunteered to assist Ban Chao in the Western Regions, and was sent with reinforcements in 80. He joined the attack on Panchen in Shule [Kashgar] and received tenure as a major. When Ban Chao was named Protector-General in 91, Xu Gan became Chief Clerk in command of the garrison at Shule. -HHS 47/37:1576-81.

Xu Gan 徐幹 [Weichang 偉長] (170-217); Beihai. Writer and philosopher, Xu Gan was noted for his free poetic style. Though he had small interest in official position, he joined Cao Cao's staff, became literary adviser at the court of Cao Pi, and was a friend of Cao Zhi. He died during the epidemic of 217.

Zhong lun 中論 "Discussions of the Mean," a collection of Xu Gan's philosophical essays, is still extant, and in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature"

Cao Pi honoured Xu Gan as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -SGZ 21:599-602*; *Texts*:88 [Makeham].

Xu Gan 許乾. In 199 Xu Gan was a local gang leader south of the Huai. -SGZ 14:443.

Xu Gong 許貢 (d.200). Xu Gong took over as Administrator of Wu about 193, possibly by force against his predecessor Sheng Xian. In 196 he attempted to resist Sun Ce but was betrayed by his Commandant Zhu Zhi and driven to take refuge with the hills bandit White Tiger Yan.

In 200 Xu Gong joined Cao Cao's agent Chen Deng in an alliance against Sun Ce, but he was defeated and captured. At some stage, probably in 196, Xu Gong had sent a memorial to the Han court claiming that Sun Ce was a threat to the empire and that he should be summoned and kept under control. As a copy of the document came into Sun Ce's hands, he confronted Xu Gong, and killed him when he sought to deny it.

Soon afterwards a group of Xu Gong's retainers ambushed Sun Ce while he was hunting and fatally wounded him. -SGZ Wu 11:1303, 1:1109-11.

Xu Gu 徐顧. An officer of Sun Quan, about 210 Xu Gu was stationed on the frontier of Jing and Yang provinces. He died about this time, and Sun Quan proposed to transfer his troops to Lü Meng, who held a position close by. Lü Meng objected, arguing that Xu Gu had given good service to the state, and his troop should pass to his male heir, even though he was still young. Sun Quan eventually accepted the argument, and Lü Meng sent an officer to guide the young successor in the management of this human inheritance. -SGZ Wu 9:1275.

Xu Guan 徐灌 (d.184). Intendant of Henan, he was arrested and died in prison, possibly on account of some connection to the Yellow Turbans. -HHS 8:350.

Xu Gui 徐珪. Administrator of Kuaiji about 175, Xu Gui nominated Zhu Jun as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHS 71/61:2308.

Xu Han 許邯; Nanyang. A local warlord in Fuyang county, in the autumn of 26 Xu Han was attacked and forced to surrender by Cen Peng, general of Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 17/7:656.

Xu He 徐和 (d.206); Ji'nan. Leader of a group of Yellow Turbans in Qing province, Xu He and his associate Sima Ju attacked a number of cities and killed several officials in his home commandery and in neighbouring Le'an.

Towards the end of 206 Cao Cao sent Xiahou Yuan with a large force of local troops from Taishan, Qi and Pingyuan, supported by Zang Ba and Lü Qian. After several engagements, with fierce fighting and heavy casualties, the rebels were defeated and Xu He was killed. -SGZ 9:270, 18:540, 537.

Xu Heng 徐衡. Elder son of Xu Fang, after his father died about 110, Xu Heng ceded his fief to his younger brother Xu Chong. Later, presumably after the death of his brother, Xu Heng received the marquisate and was sent out to his fief in Taishan. -HHS 44/34:1502.

Xu Huang 徐璜 (d.164); Xiapi. A eunuch, in 159 Xu Huang was a Regular Attendant when Emperor Huan asked Tang Heng who might help him get rid of Liang Ji. Tang Heng recommended Xu Huang and Ju Yuan, for they had spoken privately against the dominance of the Liang family. They accordingly joined the conspiracy with Zuo Guan and Shan Chao, and after the coup was successful [see *sub* Ju Yuan] the five leaders were granted county marquisates and a donation of cash.

Shan Chao died a few months later, but the four other eunuchs presumed on their favour and influence to live in luxury, building great mansions and taking women of good family as [decorative and titular?] concubines. They adopted unrelated children and even slaves to maintain their lineages, while their kinsmen held high office. Xu Huang's brother Sheng ruled badly in Henei, and his nephew Xu Xuan became notorious.

Despite such scandals, when Xu Huang died he was granted special honours for his funeral and his tomb-ground. -HHS 78/68:2520-22*; Ch'ü 72:476-480, Bn 76:94-95, deC 89:12-14.

Xu Huang 徐晃 [Gongming 公明] (d.227); Hedong. A successful officer under the former bandit Yang Feng, in 195 Xu Huang persuaded him to assist Emperor Xian in his escape to the east. He was rewarded with enfeoffment, and in the following year he again persuaded Yang Feng to accept Cao Cao's advances. When Cao Cao later attacked Yang Feng, Xu Huang went over to join him.

Appointed a major-general, he was sent against bandits and served on the campaigns against Lü Bu and Liu Bei. At Guandu in 200, Xu Huang and Shi Huan defeated Han Meng and destroyed one of Yuan Shao's supply trains.

As Cao Cao attacked the Yuan family at Ye city in 204, he sent Xu Huang against Han Fan, magistrate

of Yiyang county in Zhao. He persuaded Han Fan to surrender, then urged Cao Cao to treat him generously so as to encourage others.

In 208 Xu Huang accompanied the army into Jing province, and after the defeat at the Red Cliffs he stayed with Cao Ren to defend Jiangling on the Yangzi, with rank as a general.

Xu Huang later accompanied Xiahou Yuan against bandits in Taiyuan, and in 211 he joined the campaign against the warlords of the northwest. As Cao Cao faced the main force of the enemy at the Tong Pass, he sent Xu Huang and Zhu Ling into Hedong to establish a bridgehead at the Puban Crossing of the Yellow River, opening the way for his oblique attack from the north.

In 215 Xu Huang was with Xiahou Yuan against Liu Bei in Hanzhong, and in 218 he led a force to defend the line of communications against a raid from Liu Bei's officer Chen Shi. In 219, after the defeat of Xiahou Yuan and Cao Cao's withdrawal from Hanzhong, Xu Huang was sent east to relieve Cao Ren, besieged at Fan city on the Han River in Jing province. He drove Guan Yu's advance guard back and moved forward to the perimeter of the siege. Though he was at first not strong enough to break through, he was reinforced from Cao Cao's main army and eventually defeated Guan Yu in open battle. Guan Yu's fleet still isolated Fan city, but he was now attacked from behind and utterly destroyed by Sun Quan's forces under Lü Meng.

Appointed General of the Right by Cao Pi in 220, Xu Huang joined the campaign to drive Liu Feng from Shangyong commandery west of Nanyang. He was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele set up after Cao Pi took the imperial title, and in 222 he commanded an army in the attack on Nan commandery against Sun Quan. At the beginning of the reign of Cao Rui in 227 he faced the Wu general Zhuge Jin in Xiangyang, but left his command due to illness, and died soon afterwards.

Xu Huang was a reserved, careful man of the utmost loyalty. As a commander, he made careful plans, and he was relentless in pursuit. -SGZ 17:527-30*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Xu Hun 許惔; Runan. Son of Xun Shao, he accompanied him in seeking refuge in the south about 190, but later returned to the north and became a member of the Secretariat of Wei. -SGZ 23:658.

Xu [Jichang] 許季長. When Xu Jichang was a magistrate in Hongnong, the whole province suffered from locusts, but his county was spared. -*XC* 7:7a.

Xu Jian 徐儉. Administrator of Lingling, Xu Jian set up a stele at the temple of Shun 舜廟 by Jiuyi Mountain 九疑山. -*SJZ* 38:5a.

Xu Jing 許荊 [Shaoyang 少張 or Zizhang 子張]; Kuaiji. Xu Jing was a grandson of Xu Wu. After his father died when he was young, the family was poor and Xu Jing cared for his mother, but he later gained appointment in the commandery. When his cousin Xu Shi killed a man in a vendetta, the rival kinsmen came to seek vengeance, but Xu Jing offered his own life instead and the enemies were so impressed that they abandoned the pursuit. Xu Jing's name thus became known, and the Administrator Huang Jing nominated him as Filial and Incorrupt.

In the time of Emperor He, Xu Jing became Administrator of Guiyang. The customs of the region were rude and the people paid small attention to learning, but Xu Jing taught proper conduct and made regulations for marriage and funerals. On one occasion a certain Jiang Jun came to him concerning a dispute with his brothers about property. Xu Jing was ashamed his teaching had had so little effect, and he presented a report seeking punishment for his failure. Jiang Jun and his brothers abandoned their case and asked that they might suffer instead.

On the other hand, when a certain Xie Hong failed to care for his aged parents his brothers killed him, and the example of his fate inspired many others to behave in a more filial fashion.

After twelve years in Guiyang, Xu Jing asked to retire on grounds of illness. He was appointed a Counsellor Remonstrant at the court in Luoyang, and died in that office. The elders of Guiyang praised him with hymns, and a stele and a temple were erected in his honour. Fan Ye classified him as a Benevolent Official 循吏. -*HHS* 76/66:2471-72*, *XC* 5:3a; Miyakawa 60:32.

Xu Jing 許敬 [Hongqing 鴻卿]; Runan. A man of humble family but strong morality, Xu Jing was a close friend of Zhou Boling. As Zhou Boling died young, Xu Jing cared for his family.

On one occasion Xu Jing was in attendance on the county magistrate when one of his colleagues presented a false accusation. Xu Jing cut their mat in two, observing that he refused to share with a

criminal.

Xu Jing rose to be Minister of the Household, and in 127 he was promoted Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 129. -*HHS* 6:254.

Xu Jing 許敬, wives of: see *sub* the Lady Xu/Ying.

Xu Jing 許靖 [Wenxiu 文休] (d.222); Runan. As young men, Xu Jing and his cousin Xu Shao were noted for their objective judgements of their fellow-countrymen. Later, they fell out, and when Xu Shao became Officer of Merit in the commandery he refused to give Xu Jing any grading. A new Administrator, Liu Yi, nonetheless made Xu Jing his Reporting Officer; he was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt and later joined the Imperial Secretariat.

As Dong Zhuo took power in 189, he had Xu Jing join Zhou Bi and others to recommend men for office, and Xu Jing became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate. When the new appointees in the provinces formed an alliance against him, however, Dong Zhuo executed Zhou Bi, while Xu Jing took refuge with Kong Zhou the Inspector of Yu province.

Kong Zhou died soon afterwards, and Xu Jing went to Chen Wen in Yang province. After Chen Wen died in 193, Xu Jing went south of the Yangzi, where Xu Gong in Wu commandery and Wang Lang in Kuaiji were old friends. He established a settlement for people in distress and treated them most generously.

As Sun Ce conquered Kuaiji in 196, Xu Jing fled with his people by sea south along the coast to Jiao province: he was admired for the manner in which he waited to ensure all the other refugees were on board before he embarked himself. Welcomed by Shi Xie, Administrator of Jiaozhi and dominant warlord of the south, he was again praised for his generous conduct to the distressed. He was invited to join Cao Cao in the north, but wrote an eloquent and courteous letter to refuse, notably because of the distances and dangers of the journey.

About 208, Xu Jing accepted an invitation from Liu Zhang in Yi province, and he was successively Administrator of Ba, of Guanghan and, in 211, of Shu. When Liu Bei besieged Chengdu in 214, Xu Jing prepared to escape across the wall and join the enemy; Liu Zhang found out, but as he too intended to surrender, he took no action. Liu Bei was not impressed, but Fa Zheng argued that Xu Jing was too well-respected not to be granted some office, even if he did not deserve it. So Xu Jing was appointed Chief

Clerk to Liu Bei as General of the Left.

When the kingdom of Hanzhong was proclaimed in 219, Xu Jing was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. He was named Grand Tutor to the kingdom, and was then chief signatory of the memorial urging Liu Bei to take the imperial title. When Liu Bei did this in 221, however, Xu Jing became only Excellency over the Masses in the new regime. The Imperial Chancellor Zhuge Liang, however, always bowed to him in respect.

Xu Jing died in 222, aged over seventy, admired for his generous nature and his delight in Pure Conversation 清談; he had been in regular correspondence with old friends who were now leading scholars and officials at the court of Wei. -SGZ Shu 8:963-67*.

Xu Jiu 徐璆 see Xu Qiu 徐璆.

Xu [Jizhang] 許季長 see Xu Jichang 許季長.

Xu Jun 許峻 [Jishan 季山]; Runan. As a young man About 100, Xu Jun was afflicted by a serious illness, and after three years of suffering he went to Mount Tai to beg the spirits of that sacred place to save his life. He claimed to have met the Taoist sage 道士 Zhang Jujun on that journey, and learnt magical arts from him.

Xu Jun became an expert in divination by the cracks of oracle bones, and he compiled *Yi lin* 易林 and several other studies of the *Book of Changes*. His predictions were so numerous and so accurate that he was compared to the great Jing Fang 京房 of Former Han. On one occasion he advised the official Zang Zhongying how to rid himself of a poltergeist. -HHS 82/72B:2731, *FSTY* 9:73; Ngo 76:111, DeWoskin 83:70, Nylan 83:542-543.

Xu Junran 許君然. A county magistrate in Hedong about 88, when his colleague Kong Xi, head of a neighbouring county, died, Xu Junran urged Kong Xi's young sons Changchan and Jichan to go back to their home country in Lu. The boys refused his advice, and stayed to care for their father's tomb. -HHS 79/69A:2563.

Xu Kuang 徐匡. About 58, Xu Kuang was Prefect of the Coach-houses as Emperor Ming was on tour. When the emperor's uncle Yin Jiu attempted to drive his carriage through the imperial escort, Xu Kuang stopped him. He did not touch Yin Jiu, but had his driver sent to prison.

Emperor Ming was angry and reprimanded Xu Kuang. Xu Kuang duly presented himself for punishment, but the clerical officer Wu Liang spoke in his

favour, pointing out that the real fault lay with Yin Jiu's arrogant and unseemly conduct. Though the emperor pardoned Xu Kuang, Wu Liang was sent away as magistrate of a distant county. -HHS 27/17:943-44.

Xu Kun 徐琨 (d.199); Wu. Son of Xu Zhen and Sun Jian's sister the Lady Sun II, Xu Kun held local office and was then a successful commander under his uncle Sun Jian. In 195 he followed his cousin Sun Ce across the Yangzi. On the advice of his mother he proposed hastening the attack by building rafts for the army from rushes and reeds rather than waiting for ships. The plan was carried out, the crossing was successful and, as Wu Jing returned to Yuan Shu, Xu Kun was named Administrator of Danyang.

In 197 Yuan Shu claimed the imperial title and Sun Ce broke off with him. Yuan Shu sent his cousin Yuan Yin as Administrator of Danyang, but Xu Kun drove him away. Sun Ce was becoming concerned about the number of men under Xu Kun's command, and when his uncle Wu Jing left Yuan Shu's service and came back across the Yangzi, he gave Danyang to Wu Jing. Xu Kun continued to command troops, but he now had title as a General of the Household and was probably kept at headquarters.

After Sun Quan came to power in 200, Xu Kun joined the attack which destroyed Li Shu in Lujiang in 200; he was named a general and enfeoffed as a marquis. While fighting Huang Zu, probably in the attack of 203, Xu Kun was shot by an arrow and died.

One of Xu Kun's daughters, the Lady Xu V, became a favoured concubine of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 5:1197-98.

Xu Kun 徐混; Runan. Son of Xu Shao, after his father's death in Yuzhang in 195 he went to the north. About 230 he became a member of the Secretariat of Wei. -SGZ 23:658.

Xu Lin 徐琳 see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -XTS 76B:3420.

Xu Ling 徐陵 [Yuanda 元大]; Kuaiji. Having been a magistrate in three counties for Sun Quan, about 220 Xu Ling became Administrator of Lingling. He was a friend of Yu Fan, who recognised his quality and recommended him to Sun Quan for ministerial appointment. -SGZ Wu 12:1323.

Xu Man 許曼 [Ningfang 寧方]; Runan. Grandson of Xu Jun, Xu Man maintained his teachings and made many successful forecasts of the future.

In particular, as Feng Gun took up appointment as Administrator of Longxi in 155, he opened his new

seal-case and two red snakes emerged. One went off to the north and the other to the south. Feng Gun had Xu Man cast the omen with yarrow-stalks, and Xu Man reported that after three years Feng Gun would become a general in the northeast, and five years after that he would hold a general's command in the south. This came true. -HHS 82/72B:2731-32*, *FSTY* 9:75; Ngo 76:111-112, DeWoskin 83:70-71; Nylan 83:548-549.

Xu Meng 徐蒙. Xu Meng was Officer of Merit under the Chancellor of Beihai, Jiang Chong, who sent him throughout the territory as his "eyes and ears." -*XC* 7: 12b.

Xu Miao 徐邈 [Jingshan 景山] (172-249); Guangyang. As Cao Cao took over the north in 205, he called Xu Miao to serve in his Imperial Chancellor's office. Xu Miao was briefly a magistrate, then returned to Cao Cao's staff, and when the state of Wei was established in 213 he joined the Secretariat.

Though wine was forbidden under the sumptuary laws, Xu Miao frequently drank privately, and often became very drunk. The censor Zhao Ta reported him, and Cao Cao was extremely angry, but the general Xianyu Fu spoke on his behalf and though Xu Miao was dismissed he suffered no further penalty.

Xu Miao later became Administrator of Longxi and then of Nan'an commandery, set up in the eastern part of Hanyang. He served Cao Pi also in a series of commanderies and was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. A successful Governor of Liang province for Cao Rui, he later held ministerial positions at the imperial capital. He declined appointment as an Excellency, but received high posthumous honours.

Noted for his fine morality, about 210 Xu Miao scolded Li Xin, the son of Li Min of Liaodong because, although he had sought his father for twenty years, he had failed to marry and maintain the family line: the young man then performed his true filial duty. -*SGZ* 27:739-41*, 8:253.

Xu Ming 徐明 [Xuantong 玄通] see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -*XTS* 76B:3420.

Xu Mo 徐謨 see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -*XTS* 76B:3420.

Xu Mo 徐邈 see Xu Miao 徐邈.

Xu Pi 許毗; Hejian. *XTS* 73A:2875 describes Xu Pi as a Palace Attendant and Minister of Ceremonies.

Xu Pu 許普; Kuaiji. Younger brother of Xu Wu, Xu Pu benefited from his generous public relations. -*HHS* 76/66:2471.

Xu Qian 許虔 [Zizheng 子政]; Runan. Elder brother of Xu Shao, Xu Qian was a man of distinguished appearance. He was admired by Xie Zhen and local people described the brothers as two dragons. When Officer of Merit in the commandery, he was noted for the strictness with which he recommended men for official positions or dismissed those who were unworthy.

Though Xu Qian was initially more admired than Xu Shao, he died at the age of thirty-five *sui*, and Xu Shao later became celebrated as a judge of character. -*HHS* 68/58:2235; Mather 76:530.

Xu Qian 徐乾; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xu Qian was a senior member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Xu Qian 徐遷 [Shaoqing 少卿] see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -*XTS* 76B:3420.

Xu Qin 許欽; Runan. Son of Xu Jing, Xu Qin died in the early 200s, before his father. -*SGZ* Shu 8:967.

Xu Qing 許慶 [Zibo 子伯]. Xu Qing was appointed Investigator of his commandery, but his family was poor he rode in an ox-cart, and was laughed at for doing so. On another occasion, as he was talking with a friend, he beat the ground and wept as he contemplated the failing dynasty of Han; for such *Weltschmerz* he received another sobriquet, Kushi 哭世. -*XC* 6:9b-10a.

Xu Qiu 徐璆 or Xu Jiu [Mengyu 孟玉 or Mengben 孟本 or Mengping 孟平]; Guangling. Son of Xu Shu, Xu Qiu was a fine scholar and a man of utmost honesty. Joining the offices of the Excellencies, he was graded First Class and became Inspector of Jing province. Despite pressure from senior eunuchs on behalf of the Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, he reported on the wealth accumulated by her nephew Zhang Zhong, Administrator of Nanyang, and against local officials.

In 184 Xu Qiu led his provincial troops to support Zhu Jun against the Yellow Turbans in Wan city, capital of Nanyang. Zhang Zhong impeached him, but because of his good work against the rebels he

was only dismissed from office. He was later recalled and became Administrator of Runan and of Donghai, governing each with success. In 192 he joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an; nothing came of the proposal.

As Emperor Xian set his court at Xu city under Cao Cao in 196, Xu Qiu was called to be Minister of Justice. As he was on his way there, he was intercepted by Yuan Shu, who offered him high office in his self-proclaimed imperial government. Xu Qiu said he would rather die; Yuan Shu dared not take the matter so far, but he held Xu Qiu at his court.

When Yuan Shu died in 199, Xu Qiu took the imperial Seal of State 傳國璽 which had come into Yuan Shu's possession, and brought it to Luoyang, surrendering also his own seals from Runan and Donglai as token of his shame at having remained in the traitor's company.

Xu Qiu became Minister of the Guards and Minister of Ceremonies, and in 208 he presented Cao Cao with his insignia as Imperial Chancellor. He died in office. -HHS 48/38:1620-22*, SGZ 1:30.

Xu Rong 徐容 (d.42); Ba. In 42 the fighting man Shi Xin mutinied in Chengdu, capital of Shu commandery. He took title as a Grand Marshal and sent out a summons of recruitment. Xu Rong and Yang Wei raised several thousand men in Ba commandery to support him.

Emperor Guangwu's general Wu Han came with ten thousand men, recaptured Chengdu after a three months siege, then went by river to attack Xu Rong and Yang Wei. As their troops scattered in fear, the leaders were executed, and several hundred families were transferred down the Yangzi to Changsha and Nan commandery. -HHS 18/8:683.

Xu Rong 徐榮 (d.192); Liaodong or Xuantu. A General of the Household under Dong Zhuo in 189, Xu Rong recommended his fellow-countryman Gongsun Du as Administrator of Liaodong.

Xu Rong became one of Dong Zhuo's leading commanders against the eastern alliance, defeating Cao Cao at Rongyang in 190 and Sun Jian south of Luoyang in 191.

After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192, Xu Rong evidently accepted the new government of Wang Yun. He was sent with Hu Zhen against Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo, but they were

defeated and Xu Rong was killed. -SGZ 8:252, 1:7, SGZ Wu 1:1096, HHS 72/62:2333.

Xu Rui 徐瑞 [Yuanguai 元珪] see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -XTS 76B:3420.

Xu Shao 徐少 [Yiqing 異卿?]; Pingyuan. In 24 Xu Shao was a leader of the Fuping bandits in Pingyuan, by the new course of the Yellow River. At the end of 26 they received some remnants of the Huosuo group from the Shandong peninsula, and in 27 they formed an alliance with Peng Chong.

As the various bandit forces were defeated by Wu Han in 29, Xu Shao and his followers withdrew to their home county, and later that year they surrendered to the Excellency Fu Zhan, former Administrator of Pingyuan, and were sent to Luoyang. [The leader of the Fuping group appears both as Xu Shao and as Xu Yiqing; Yiqing was perhaps his style.] -HHS 1A:16, 18/8:680, 26/16:895; Bn 59:80, 127-131.

Xu Shao 許韶 or Xu Zhao 昭 see *sub* Xu Chang.

Xu Shao 許劭 [Zijiang 子將] (150-195); Runan. Admired by Xie Zhen, and celebrated for his sense of morality and judgement, as a young man Xu Shao joined his cousin Xu Jing in issuing monthly critiques of local conduct. Never allowing personal feeling to influence their opinions, they gained great authority and could make or destroy reputations.

Xu Shao succeeded his brother Xu Qian as commandery Officer of Merit, but his reputation suffered after he quarrelled with Xu Jing and refused to give him an official grading. He did, however, promote excellent men from obscure or unusual surroundings, and even the arrogant Yuan Shao was embarrassed to display his prestige and wealth before him.

Xu Shao's status as a judge of character came to rival that of Guo Tai in the previous generation, and when he received Cao Cao, then twenty years old, he made him well known. Cao Cao pressed Xu Shao for a judgement, but there are differing accounts of what he said: "a good servant in time of peace, a dangerous chieftain in time of trouble" [SGZ 1:3], or "a rebel against good government, a hero in time of trouble" [HHS 68/58:2234]. Xu Shao may not have intended a compliment, but Cao Cao was pleased.

Xu Shao was kin to the Excellencies Xu Xun and Xu Xiang, but he disapproved of them and rejected all contact, while he likewise refused invitations and recommendations to office, remarking that men of poor quality held control of affairs and trouble was

coming.

In the early 190s Xu Shao went to the south. Though he was generously received by Tao Qian, he distrusted him and left, and Tao Qian indeed turned later against the refugee gentlemen. Xu Shao joined Liu Yao, and when Liu Yao was defeated by Sun Ce in 195 he persuaded him not to retreat eastwards into Kuaiji but to go up the Yangzi to Yuzhang. He died soon afterwards, but left a warning for Liu Yao against the treacherous Zhai Rong. -HHS 68/58:2234-35*, XC 4:10b-11a, HHJ 27:329, SGZ 23:658; Mather 76:531. **Xu Shen** 徐愼; Guangling. Father of Xu Shu, he travelled to the capital, presumably for some official duty. -XC 2:13b.

Xu Shen 許愼 [Shuzhong 叔重]; Runan. A scholar in the Old Text tradition of Jia Kui, Xu Shen was a man of wide learning, and though somewhat of a maverick he was praised by Ma Rong and his contemporaries as unmatched in his knowledge of the Confucian classics. Having served as Officer of Merit in his commandery, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a Libationer in the offices of the Grand Commandant, and then a county magistrate in Pei. He retired and died at home some time after 120, probably in his nineties.

Xu Shen compiled *Wujing yiyi* 五經異義 "Different Meanings of the Five Classics," which discussed variant interpretations of the Old Text and New Text, and whose fragments remain an important source for the thought of the period [van Ess 93 and 99], but he is most celebrated for his *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, the first comprehensive dictionary of Chinese.

Based upon the "small seal" 小篆 script attributed to Li Si 李斯 of Qin 秦, the dictionary contained almost ten thousand characters, with more than a thousand variants. Its arrangement by 540 "radicals" 部 marked the first instance of this approach to the Chinese writing system, and Xu Shen's style of classification, later abbreviated to 214 groups, became the foundation for almost all later compilations. The declared intent of the work was to establish understanding of the written language in order to clarify the meaning of the classics and so to assist the government establish moral order. At the same time, Xu Shen's codification reflected the tradition of rationalising and systematisation noted in the Old Text and Qin, and maintained in much of the scientific work of Han.

Shuowen jiezi was completed about 100, but we are told that the government of the time was not interested,

possibly because he failed to endorse interpretations of the official New Text, so the work was not offered to the throne until 121, after the beginning of the personal rule of Emperor An. Xu Shen was still alive, but he was old and ill, and his son Xu Chong prepared the memorial of presentation. -HHS 79/69B:2588*, XC 5:10b; *Texts*:429-442 [Boltz].

Xu Shen 徐參 see Xu Can 徐參.

Xu Sheng 許聖 [non-Chinese] see Xusheng 許聖.

Xu Sheng 許升/昇; Wu. An immoral man and a gambler, Xu Sheng was eventually reformed by his wife the Lady Lü Rong and became a reputable scholar. About 140 he was called to local appointment in the province, but was killed by a brigand on the road. -HHS 84/74:2795; Ch'ü 72:308.

Xu Sheng 許升/昇, wife of, see the Lady Lü Rong.

Xu Sheng 徐盛 or Xu Cheng; Xiapi. A younger brother of the eunuch Xu Huang, Xu Sheng became Administrator of Henei. He governed badly. -HHS 78/68:2521.

Xu Sheng 許生 (d.174); Kuaiji. In 172, with the title King of Yue 越王, Xu Sheng had a leading role in religious rebellion in Kuaiji, ravaging the commandery until 174. -deC 90:80-81. See also *sub* Xu Chang.

Xu Sheng 徐盛 or Xu Cheng [Wenxiang 文嚮]; Langye. During the troubles of the 190s Xu Sheng moved south to Wu. He became a retainer to a local family, and was known for his courage. When Sun Quan took over in 200 he appointed him a senior major with command of five hundred men. He was then a magistrate in the frontier territory of Yuzhang, on the western flank against Huang Zu, and he defeated a heavy raid down the Yangzi by Huang Zu's son She.

Xu Sheng later became a colonel and a magistrate in Danyang, took part in campaigns against the non-Chinese of the southern hills, and was promoted General of the Household with a colonel's command.

In 215 Xu Sheng accompanied the unfortunate attack on Hefei, and his troops were heavily defeated, but he distinguished himself as Cao Cao attacked Ruxu in 216, defeating the enemy on land after his ship was driven ashore by a storm.

In 222 Xu Sheng was made a general, enfeoffed and given title as Administrator of Lujiang. He joined the defence against Liu Bei in Jing province, then commanded a rear-guard action to hold off Cao Xiu at Ruxu, and in 224 he built false walls to deceive and halt another attack by Cao Pi on Jianye. When he died

about 225, his son Kai 楷 succeeded to his fief and to his command of troops. -SGZ Wu 10:1298-99*.

Xu Shi 許世; Kuaiji. A grandson of Xu Wu, Xu Shi killed a man in a vendetta but was saved by the intervention of his cousin Xu Jing. -HHS 76/66:2472.

Xu Shijian 徐師儉 [Shijie 世節] see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -XTS 76B:3420.

Xu Shu 許淑, the Lady; Longxi. Wife of Qin Jia, she had a literary correspondence with her husband; some of her letters were preserved. -Yao Zhenzong:2425.

Xu Shu 許淑 [Huiqing 惠卿]; Wei. A Counsellor at the court of Emperor Guangwu, in 28 Xu Shu argued against the Academician Fan Sheng and in favour of establishing a chair for *Zuo zhuan* studies at the Imperial University.

In 32 Xu Shu joined the minister Zhu Fu in urging reform of the calendar, which was now incorrect. The emperor felt that the time was premature, however, and took no action. -HHS 36/26:1228, 92/2:3025; Yao Zhenzong:2325, Bn 79:191.

Xu Shu 徐淑 [Bojin 伯進 or Boda 伯達]; Guangling. Son of Xu Shen, Xu Shu was learned in the Confucian classics and a keen musician. He accompanied his father to the capital, where he mastered the *Mencius*, the *Book of Changes*, *Chunqiu* and the Gongyang commentary, *Ritual* and *Zhou li*. An ambitious man, he was physically brave and studied military writings.

In 133 Xu Shu received his commandery nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. In the previous year Zuo Xiong, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, had brought in a regulation that required such candidates to be at least forty years old. Though Xu Shu had not yet reached that age, when he was questioned he pointed out that there was exemption for men of extraordinary ability, and that was why he had been chosen. Zuo Xiong challenged Xu Shu to match Confucius' celebrated disciple Yan Hui 顏回, who was said to have been able to hear one idea and understand ten. Xu Shu could make no effective reply, and his candidacy was rejected.

Despite this inauspicious beginning, Xu Shu became a magistrate in Bohai and then Commandant of Langye, where he distinguished himself against the local bandits. Later, as General on the Liao, he was celebrated on the northern frontier. -HHS 48/38:1620-21, 61/51:2020, XC 2:13b.

Xu Shu 徐庶 [Yuanzhi 元直]; Yingchuan. A man of humble family, his original personal name was Fu 福.

When he was young Xu Shu was a fighting man, but about 188 he was involved in a feud and was compelled to flee in disguise. Arrested by a local police officer, he refused to give his name. The officer had him tied to a post set up on a cart in the local market, and beat a drum so that people would come and identify him. No-one dared do so, and Xu Shu's comrades were later able to make a raid and rescue him.

Following this narrow escape Xu Shu abandoned his former ways and took up the pursuit of scholarship. Because of his past, other students would at first have nothing to do with him, but Xu Shu was eventually able to show that he had fully reformed and he acquired several close friends.

During the 190s Xu Shu and his fellow-countryman Shi Tao took refuge in Jing province, where they studied under Sima Hui. Among their fellow-students were Pang Tong and Zhuge Liang, and Sima Hui spoke highly of them to Xu Shu, who was also greatly impressed.

Some time in the early 200s Xu Shu went to call upon Liu Bei, who was at that time in semi-retirement in Nanyang. He was well received and joined his staff. He recommended Zhuge Liang to Liu Bei and arranged their initial meeting.

As Liu Bei fled south to escape from Cao Cao in 208, Xu Shu accompanied him, but when his mother was captured at the Chang Slope he explained sadly to Liu Bei that he could no longer give him good service, and he went back north to join Cao Cao.

Xu Shu became head of the Censorate under Wei. He was always remembered with affection by Zhuge Liang, and when he died a stele was erected in his honour at Pengcheng. -SGZ Shu 5:911-12, 914.

Xu Shu 徐庶, mother of; Yingchuan. The Lady followed her son into Jing province in the 190s. In 208 they accompanied Liu Bei on his flight south from Cao Cao. The Lady was captured, however, in the rout at the Chang Slope.

Apologising and explaining to Liu Bei that he could not give good service when his mother was in the hands of the enemy, Xu Shen went back north to join Cao Cao. -SGZ Shu 5:914; deC 89:135, 382.

Xu Shu 徐述 see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -XTS 76B:3420.

Xu Shui 許水 see Xu Bing 許冰.

Xu [Shulong] 許叔龍; Runan. About 215 Xu Shulong was a well-respected young man in Yi province. Nothing more is heard of him, though he was surely a

kinsman of Xu Jing and he may have been the unnamed son who died about that time. -SGZ Shu 14:1060.

Xu [Shutai] 許叔壹; Liang? Sometime a magistrate in Yingchuan, Xu Shutai died about 180. -LS 27:4b.

Xu [Shuzhong] 許叔種; Chen. Formerly a magistrate in Julu, about 180 Xu Shuzhong was commemorated with a stele. -SJZ 23:4b.

Xu Si 許汜. A member of Cao Cao's staff in 194, he joined Zhang Miao and Chen Gong in inviting Lü Bu to seize Yan province, then entered his service.

As Lü Bu was besieged by Cao Cao in Xiapi in 198, Xu Si was sent to Yuan Shu and persuaded him to send assistance. After Lü Bu had been taken and killed, Xu Si fled to Liu Biao in Jing province. -SGZ 7:221-30.

Xu Tuo 徐他 or Xu Ta (d.199). An officer of Cao Cao, Xu Tuo led a group which planned his assassination. They were discovered by his bodyguard Xu Chu, who killed them. -SGZ 18:542.

Xu [Weikang] 許偉康. Formerly a man of low-caste occupation, a butcher or a wine-seller, Xu Weikang was taken up by Guo Tai and became well known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Xu Wu 許武; Kuaiji. Some time in the 50s Xu Wu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Diwu Lun, but he was concerned that his two younger brothers, Xu Yan and Xu Pu, had not yet acquired any reputation. He therefore forced an unfair division of the family property, so that he gained the greater part; his brothers became known for their apparent generosity and were duly nominated for office. Xu Wu then revealed his true intentions and gave everything over to his brothers. Those who had formerly criticised him now joined in praise.

Xu Wu rose to become Steward of the Changle Palace, head of household for the Dowager. -HHS 76/66:2471; Ch'ü 72:299.

Xu Xi 徐翕. When Cao Cao was in Yan province in the early 190s he appointed Xu Xi and his colleague Mao Jun as local military officers. As Lü Bu came to take over the province in 194, Xu Xi and Mao Jun changed to support him, and when Cao Cao recaptured the territory in the following year they fled to take refuge with Zang Ba in Langye.

After the destruction of Lü Bu in 198, Zang Ba gave his allegiance to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao sent Liu Bei with a demand that he send him the heads of the two renegades. Zang Ba explained that it was a matter

of honour that he should not behave in such a way to men who had come to him as refugees. He felt obliged to obey Cao Cao's orders, but in turn he asked Cao Cao to be magnanimous, as befitted a true national leader. So Cao Cao pardoned the two men, and appointed each of them as commandery administrators. -SGZ 8:537.

Xu Xi 鄱熙 see Chu Xi 鄱熙.

Xu Xian 徐憲; Pei. Son of Xu Xuan 宣, who tutored Wang Mang on the *Book of Changes*, Xu Xian maintained his father's teaching. -HHS 44/34:1500.

Xu Xian 徐咸 (d.106); Yuyang. In 106 Xu Xian was Officer of Merit to the Administrator Zhang Xian. When several hundred Xianbi horsemen came on a raiding party, Zhang Xian took commandery levies in pursuit beyond the borders. They fell into an ambush, the troops scattered, and as Zhang Xian sought to rally them he was struck by an enemy arrow. Seeing their master's difficulties, Xu Xian and his colleague Wei Fu went to his aid, but all three were killed.

When the regent Dowager Deng heard of this, she issued an edict to honour Xu Xian and his comrades, granted their families 100,000 cash, and ordered that one son of each officer be appointed a gentleman cadet. Though Zhang Xian had been chiefly responsible for the disaster, his family received 600,000 cash and two cadet appointments. -HHS 81/71:2672, 90/80:2986.

Xu Xiang 許相 [Gongbi 公弼] (d.189); Runan. Son of Xu Xun, Xu Xiang was an associate of the eunuchs and became a Palace Attendant. As a Household Counsellor in 185, he paid cash to become Excellency of Works and was enfeoffed. In 187 he was promoted Excellency over the Masses, but left office in the following year.

In 189 Xu Xiang was Minister Steward. When the eunuchs killed He Jin, they named him Intendant of Henan for their attempted new government, but he was killed by Yuan Shao and Yuan Wei. -HHS 8:355, 69/59:2251-52, 78/68:2528.

Xu Xiang 徐詳 [Ziming 子明]; Wu. From about 211 Xu Xiang, Hu Zong and Shi Yi served as Sun Quan's confidential clerks. In 217 Cao Cao left a substantial force in the region of the Huai to threaten Sun Quan's frontier on the Yangzi. Sun Quan sent Xu Xiang to negotiate a formal surrender, and this was agreed.

After Sun Quan became King of Wu he enfeoffed Xu Xiang and appointed him to a special office responsible for the armies' grain supplies, with rank as a lieutenant-general. When he took the imperial title in

230 he named Xu Xiang a Palace Attendant and raised his fief. -SGZ Wu 17:1413, 1419, 19:1434; deC 90:384.

Xu Xiang 徐相 see Xu Xu 徐栩.

Xu Xu 徐栩 also as Xu Xiang 相; Wu. When Xu Xu was a magistrate in Chenliu, a flock of locusts ravaged the commandery but spared his county. Soon afterwards the provincial Inspector came on tour and found fault with his government. Xu Xu left office, but as soon as he did the locusts arrived. The people implored the Inspector to bring Xu Xu back, and the moment he took up residence again the locusts went away.

Xu Xu was later Administrator of Changsha, where he lived very simply. He died in office, leaving nothing except a horse, which was sold to pay for his coffin. -XC 7:11b

Xu Xu 許栩 [Jique 季闕]; Yingchuan. In 163 Xu Xu was promoted from Minister of the Guards to Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 166, but in 168 he was promoted from Minister Herald to Excellency of Works. He left that office in 169, but was again Excellency over the Masses in 171 and 172. -HHS 7:311-17, 8:327-30 and 333-34.

Xu Xu does not appear elsewhere in the histories, so he had evidently shown no previous distinction. It may be significant that he came from the same county as the eunuch Tang Heng, and his brief periods of tenure were at a time the court was influenced by the eunuchs. -deC 89:460-461.

Xu Xu 許續 [Sigong 嗣公]; Chen. Recommended Worthy and Good, Xu Xu became a Consultant and was then appointed magistrate of Wen in Henei. He evidently died in that office, and a memorial stele was set up in his homeland in 164. -SJJ 23:3a.

Xu Xuan 徐宣 [Qiaozhi 驕稚]; Donghai. Formerly the keeper of a county jail, about 15 Xu Xuan was leader of a group of bandits in a region which had suffered from flooding of the Yellow River for the previous ten years. He later brought his men to join Fan Chong in the Tai Shan massif and with other chieftains they formed the confederation known as the Red Eyebrows 赤眉.

The general account of this bandit horde is given *sub* Fan Chong. Xu Xuan and two other men from Donghai, Xie Lu and Yang Yin, evidently maintained an association: in 24 they led the column which went through Henan into Hongnong and the capital region,

while Fan Chong and his fellow-countryman Pang An took a southern route through Nanyang.

Xu Xuan, who had held minor local office and had some knowledge of the *Book of Changes*, was one of the few leaders of the Red Eyebrows with any pretensions to literacy, and when they set up their nominal imperial regime in 25, he took title as Chancellor. There was in fact no proper court or government, and the bandits plundered Chang'an and its territory until they had exhausted it.

Early in 27, having at last abandoned the capital region, the Red Eyebrows were compelled to surrender to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. The leaders' lives were spared and they were ordered to settle in the neighbourhood of the new capital, Luoyang, where they could be kept under observation. Xu Xuan was later allowed to return to his native district, and he died at home. -HHS 11/1:478-86.

Xu Xuan 徐宣 [Xiuqing 休敬] see *sub* Xu Feng 豐. -XTS 76B:3420.

Xu Xuan 徐宣; Xiapi. Son of an elder brother of the eunuch Xu Huang, about 165 Xu Xuan was magistrate of Xiapi county, where he ruled with the utmost ferocity. He asked to marry the daughter of the former official Li Gao, but Li Gao refused. Xu Xuan led official troops to his house, took the young woman, and shot arrows at her for sport until she died.

Though the county of Xiapi had been the capital of the commandery of that name, we are told that it was currently subject to the authority of Donghai. Huang Fu the Chancellor of Donghai heard of the affair; he arrested Xu Xuan and all his household and had them examined by torture regardless of their age. His officers objected, but Huang Fu replied that Xu Xuan was a public menace. He had Xu Xuan executed and displayed the corpse.

The eunuchs made formal complaint to Emperor Huan, and the case aroused great interest among the reform party at the capital. Despite arguments from the Grand Commandant Chen Fan, Huang Fu was sent to convict labour.

Such incidents are evidence of the general lack of order in the provinces at this time, and they intensified the divisions between the imperial court and the officials of the empire at large. -HHS 78/68:2521-22; deC 89:71-72.

Xu Xuan 徐宣 [Baojian 堅寶] (d.236); Guangling. During the 190s Xu Xuan moved south of the Yangzi

to avoid the troubles of the civil war. After Sun Ce took power in that region about 195, he called Xu Xuan to take service with him, but Xu Xuan refused and returned north to his home country. There he became a senior member of the local staff of the Administrator Chen Deng. Xu Xuan was in constant disagreement with his close colleague Chen Jiao, but they were united in their loyalty to Chen Deng and to Cao Cao.

As rebellion broke out in the north of the commandery, home country of Xu Xuan, the local officials were driven away and took refuge with him. Xu Xuan evidently held local authority and had a fortified manor house, for he was able to protect the fugitives and arrange their escape. Cao Cao sent his officer Hu Zhi to deal with the disturbance, but Hu Zhi believed that his men were too few and would not advance. Xu Xuan went in to see him, urged him to action, and advised him of the lie of the land. So Hu Zhi went forward and put down the rebellion.

Cao Cao appointed Xu Xuan to his own staff, then sent him out as a county magistrate. He later became Administrator of Qi commandery, then returned to headquarters to take command of Cao Cao's personal guard. When Cao Cao went to deal with the warlords of the northwest in 211, he left his eldest son Cao Pi in nominal command at Ye city but named Xu Xuan as Protector of the Army on the Left, with authority over military forces there.

In the following year Xu Xuan accompanied the army on campaign to the south. He was appointed to Cao Cao's staff in his capacity as Imperial Chancellor, and then became Administrator of Wei: the capital of the commandery was at Ye city, and its territory had been expanded to serve as Cao Cao's fief.

When Cao Cao died at Luoyang in 220, some officials at Ye proposed that all regional officials should be replaced by men from Qiao and Pei, the home country of the Cao family. Xu Xuan argued strongly against such a plan, which would demoralise all the other loyal followers. The proposal was rejected, and Cao Pi described Xu Xuan as a true servant of the state.

Under Cao Pi, Xu Xuan was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. He served as head of the Censorate, Director of Retainers and Cavalier Regular Attendant, and was appointed to the Secretariat. Under Cao Rui, he held high court and ministerial office, and while the emperor was on tour in 230 he was entrusted with

all state affairs. He died a few years later, aged over seventy, and Cao Rui issued a special edict in his honour. -SGZ 22:645-46*.

Xu Xun 徐巡; Ji'nan. A student of Wei Hong and then of Du Lin, Xu Xun became a leading scholar of the Old Text *Classic of History*. Though Emperor Guangwu did not endorse the Old Text, Xu Xun became a Consultant. -HHS 27/17:936-37, 79/69B:2576.

Xu Xun 徐循. Prefect of Luoyang about 175, Xu Xun joined in the erection of a stele at the temple of the ancient and worthy hermits Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 at Shouyang Mountain. -SJZ 5:3a

Xu Xun 許訓 [Jishi 季師]; Runan. Son of Xu Jing 敬, he was probably a half-brother of Ying Feng [see *sub* the Lady Xu/Ying]. During the 140s he accompanied Ying Feng to the capital to present the annual report of the commandery. As he did so he made secret note of every person they met, and when they returned home he tested Ying Feng on his memory. Ying Feng recalled even the name of the non-Chinese slave Lu, owned by a village headman, and asked why Xu Xun appeared to have no record of him.

In 169 Xu Xun was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 171 and became Steward at the Yongle Palace, head of household to the Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling. He was Excellency of Works in 174 and Grand Commandant for two months in 176. -HHS 8:330, 48/38:1609.

Xu Yan 許晏; Kuaiji. Younger brother of Xu Wu, Xu Yan benefited from his generous public relations. -HHS 76/66:2471.

Xu Yan 徐儁. Xu Yan was Protector of the Wuhuan in 92, when his predecessor Deng Xun died in the post of Protector of the Qiang. Deng Xun had been extremely popular, and many officers of Xu Yan's command sought leave to attend the mourning for him, so many that some garrison posts would be left unmanned. When the problem was reported to Xu Yan, he expressed his admiration at such display of respect for a man of honour and gave his permission. -HHS 16/6:612.

Xu Yan 徐衍; Xiapi. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates under Emperor Ling, Xu Yan was respected for his honesty and loyalty and for the fact that, unlike Zhang Rang and others, he did not contend for power. -HHS 78/68:2533.

Xu Yang 許楊/陽 [Weijun 偉君]; Runan. As a

young man Xu Yang studied magical arts. He was a gentleman cadet at the end of Former Han and became Commandant of Jiuquan during the final regency of Wang Mang about 8 AD. As Wang Mang took the imperial title, Xu Yang left his post. He changed his name and practised as a shaman doctor, returning home and resuming his true identity only after the fall of Wang Mang in 23.

About 10 BC the Imperial Chancellor Zhai Fangjin 翟方進 had persuaded Emperor Cheng of Former Han to destroy the ancient Hongxi/Hongqi dam on the northern tributaries of the Huai. Emperor Guangwu's Administrator of Runan, Deng Chen, now reconsidered the policy and asked the opinion of Xu Yang, who was also known as an expert on water control. Xu Yang strongly urged the reconstruction, and recounted a dream in which the Emperor of Heaven told him of his anger that the dam had been destroyed. Deng Chen put Xu Yang in charge of the program, and he carried it out with a feel for the topography and natural drainage. The dam lasted many years, with great benefit to local agriculture.

In the course of the work, Xu Yang came under pressure from powerful local families which sought to embezzle the funds, and when he refused they slandered him to Deng Chen. Xu Yang was arrested, but as chains were applied they promptly fell off, and the doors of the prison opened to let him out. Suitably impressed, Deng Chen released Xu Yang that night, and a magical light accompanied him as he made his way home.

Xu Yang fell ill and died soon afterwards. Deng Chen had a temple constructed at the commandery capital, decorated with his portrait, and the people held sacrifices in memory of his work. -HHS 82/72A:2710-11*, XC 6:3b-4a; Ngo 76:83-85, DeWoskin 83:49-51. **Xu Yang** 許陽; Runan. A cousin of Xu Jing, Xu Yang became Chancellor of Chen and joined Kong Zhuo in the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190. -SGZ Shu 8: 963.

Xu Ye 徐業; Langye. A noted Confucian, Xu Ye became Administrator of Youfufeng under Emperor Guangwu. When the scholar Zhang Xuan was only an assistant magistrate, Xu Ye knew of his teaching and invited him to call. Vastly impressed, he treated Zhang Xuan with great respect and kept him in conversation all day. -HHS 79/69:1581.

Xu Yi 徐龔. A clerk in the offices of the Grand

Commandant Song You in the early 90s, Xu Yi was a partisan of Dou Xian. He warned his rival Zhou Rong that he was in danger from members of the Dou faction, but Zhou Rong defied the threat. -HHS 45/35:1536.

Xu Yi 徐毅. A commandery Investigator in the late second century, Xu Yi was taken ill and the celebrated doctor Hua Tuo went to treat him. He told Hua Tuo that on the previous day the local medical officer Liu Zu had applied acupuncture to his stomach, but he now had a constant cough and could get no rest.

Acupuncture at that time was deep and direct, not the modern sub-cutaneous style. Hua Tuo told Xu Yi that the needle had been inserted in the wrong place and had hit the liver instead of the stomach. There was nothing to be done: he would steadily lose appetite and would be dead in five days. The result was just as he foretold. -SGZ 29:800.

Xu Yi 徐奕 [Jicai 季纔]; Langye. During the 190s Xu Yi took refuge south of the Yangzi, but avoided service with Sun Ce and returned home under a false name. Joining Cao Cao, he accompanied the north-western campaign of 211, stayed in the region to govern Chang'an and later became Inspector of Yong 雍 province.

In 213 Xu Yi entered the Secretariat of the duchy of Wei, but in 216 he was slandered by Ding Yi, who was in Cao Cao's favour but whom Xu Yi had refused to acknowledge. Huan Jie interceded for him and Xu Yi was transferred from the central government to be Administrator of Wei commandery. This was the territory surrounding the important city of Ye, and when Cao Cao went south against Sun Quan later that year he left the city under Xu Yi's command.

After the uprising of Wei Feng in 219, Xu Yi was recommended by Huan Jie as a man of loyalty and was made Commandant of the Capital to the kingdom of Wei. Leaving office because of illness, he was given court rank but died soon afterwards.

As Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, in recognition of his past loyal service a son or grandson of Xu Yi was granted the right to appointment as a gentleman cadet. -SGZ 12:377-78*, 2:59.

Xu Yi 徐揖. Administrator of Jiuquan about 210, Xu Yi attacked and slaughtered the local Huang clan. One member of the family, Huang Ang, escaped the massacre. He raised a thousand men, attacked Xu Yi's capital, and killed him. -SGZ 18:552, 547.

Xu Yin 徐胤 [Jideng 季登]; Yuzhang. Son of Xu Zhi,

he was celebrated for his filial piety and care for his family. Though his father lived to be seventy-two, Xu Yin was evidently a child of his old age, for we are told that both his parents died when he was young.

Taking his father's ideals even further, Xu Yin became a hermit in the forest, growing his own food and reading the classics. He refused all offers of charity and rejected official appointment, and when the Administrator Hua Xin sought to meet him, he made excuses of ill health. During the disorders at the end of Han, even the most lawless men respected Xu Yin's fine conduct, and all agreed he should be left in peace. He died about 200. -*HHS* 53/43:1748; Vervorn 90:193.

Xu Ying 徐英 [Boji 伯濟]; Zuopingyi. Member of a leading local family, and a man of strong principles, Xu Ying became commandery Officer of Merit about 190, and on one occasion he whipped the junior officer Zhang Ji with thirty strokes. Xu Ying later became a magistrate in Hedong.

When Zhang Ji held authority in the region under Cao Cao, he sought always to recommend good men for the imperial service. He wanted to befriend and promote Xu Ying, but Xu Ying regarded his own family background as superior to that of Zhang Ji, and he recalled the earlier occasion when he had beaten him. He refused to respond to Zhang Ji's overtures, and so gained no advancement. Zhang Ji was admired for not holding the old grudge, while Xu Ying was criticised for his intransigence. -*SGZ* 15:477.

Xu Ying 許嬰 [Yuqing 虞卿]; Chen. Son of a Director of Retainers, Xu Ying joined the offices of the Excellencies and was later a magistrate in Lecheng. He was remembered with a stele in his home country, set up about 170. -*SJZ* 23:4b, *LS* 27:5a.

Xu [Yiqing] 徐異卿 see Xu Shao 徐少.

Xu Yong 許詠. During the 160s Xu Yong was an associate of the eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang. He became Minister of Ceremonies. -*HHS* 103/13:3283.

Xu Yong 許永. About 188 Xu Yong was an officer of the guards of the Feathered Forest. Emperor Ling dreamt that his predecessor Emperor Huan upbraided him for causing the deaths of Emperor Huan's brother Liu Kui the King of Bohai and of his own Empress Song. He asked Xu Yong about the meaning of the dream, and Xu Yong replied that both Liu Kui and the Lady Song had been innocent; their spirits would not be at rest until their tombs were changed and were

treated with proper respect. This should be done to avoid misfortune.

Emperor Ling rejected this advice; he died soon afterwards. -*HHS* 10B:448-49; Goodrich 66.

HHSJJ 10B:445-46 *jiaobu* has a long discussion on the identity of this man, canvassing the possibility that he was the same person as the Minister of Ceremonies Xu Yong 許詠, or the Director of Retainers Xu Yong 許永 [also as Xu Bing 許冰 *q.v.*], both discussed in entries above. The problem is that neither a minister holding office in the 160s, nor a Director of Retainers of 178, is likely to have been reduced to the rank of a guards officer in 188. It appears, therefore, that this is a third person.

Xu Yong 許永 see also Xu Bing 許冰. -*XC* 8:5a-b.

Xu You 徐由 or Xu Bo 白. Administrator of Dunhuang in 131, Xu You persuaded the court not to approve the conquest of Jumi [present-day Yutian] by King Fangqian of Yutian [Khotan]. When Fangqian refused to hand back the territory, Xu You had King Chenpan of Shule [Kashgar] attack him. Yutian was defeated and Jumi regained its independence. -*HHS* 88/78:2915.

Xu You 許攸 [Ziyuan 子遠]; Nanyang. In 188 Xu You approved of Wang Fen's plot to kidnap and depose Emperor Ling, but he wisely avoided any direct involvement.

Xu You was a friend of both Cao Cao and Yuan Shao, but as civil war began in 190 he became an adviser to Yuan Shao. When Yuan Shao moved against Cao Cao in 199, Xu You recommended that he should attack Xu city rather than face Cao Cao at Guandu. His advice was rejected.

During the campaign a member of Xu You's family was arrested by Yuan Shao's officer Shen Pei in Ye city. Angry and resentful, Xu You went over to Cao Cao and told him of the approach of a major supply train. Cao Cao's attack upon the convoy destroyed Yuan Shao's army.

Later, however, Xu You addressed Cao Cao in public by his childhood name. Cao Cao smiled, but soon afterwards had him executed. -*SGZ* 12:373, *HHS* 74/64A:2400-01.

Xu You 許攸. A leader of the northwest in 219, he defied Cao Cao with insults. Cao Cao was going to attack him, but was persuaded by Du Xi to treat him generously. Xu You then submitted. -*SGZ* 23:667.

Xu Yu 許馥/郁; Kuaiji. Grandson of Xu Jing, Xu Yu became Minister of Finance and then Minister of the

Guards under Emperor Ling. In 181 he became Grand Commandant.

Early in 182 an edict was issued that common songs and rhymes among the people should be checked in order to discover which officials were being criticised for abusing their trust. Xu Yu's colleague Chen Dan tried to make an honest report, but Xu Yu and the other Excellency Zhang Ji were influenced by the palace eunuchs. Taking bribes to protect eunuch relatives, they instead reported unfavourably against twenty-six worthy officials from distant and frontier commanderies. When these men came to the capital to protest, however, Chen Dan supported their claims and they were all appointed as Consultants.

Xu Yu was reprimanded and left office towards the end of that year, but Chen Dan departed even sooner; he was later slandered by the eunuchs and died in prison. -HHS 8:345-47, 57/47:1851, 76/66:2472.

Xu Yu 許馡/郁, wife of: see the Lady Liu IX.

Xu Yuan 許遠; Nan. He Yang, the father of Xu Yuan's wife Shi, was frequently drunk. He would ask Xu Yuan for wine, and when he didn't provide any he was abusive and swore at him. Eventually Xu Yuan told his wife that if her father behaved like that again he would hit him. The Lady argued that since they were married, her father was the same as his own, and that if he hit He Yang she would hit his aunt.

Then Xu Yuan did beat He Yang, and his wife hit his aunt several times. The case came before the Excellency Bao Yu, who found that the Lady had no right to attack an innocent party; she was sentenced to death reduced by one degree. -FSTY 3f:107.

Xu Yuan 徐原; Wu. Xu Yuan moved to Kuaiji about 200, and became mortally ill some years later. Though he had never met Lu Mao, a leading man of Wu, he wrote to ask him to care for his family. Lu Mao took in Xu Yuan's children, and also erected a tomb for him. -SGZ Wu 12:1337.

Xu Yuan 徐元. In 204 Xu Yuan was an officer under Sun Yi, Administrator of Danyang. When Sun Yi was murdered and Gui Lan and Dai Yuan seized power, Sun Yi's widow the Lady Xu IV arranged for Xu Yuan and twenty other loyalists to kill the mutineers and retake control. -SGZ Wu 6:1214; deC 90:232-234.

Xu Yuanxian 徐元賢. At the end of the second century Xu Yuanxian and Xi Jing were refugees in the far south. They attempted to return to the north, but their way was blocked by rebel non-Chinese. Xu Yuanxian

was old, and he died at this time. -SGZ Shu 8:964.

Xu Yue 徐岳. Probably a student of Liu Hong 洪, Xu Yue was the author of *Shushu ji yi* 數術記遺, "Memoir on some Traditions of Mathematical Art" which, despite its title, was largely concerned with magic and divination. In the early 220s he was among the sponsors of the *Huangchu* 黃初 [Yellow Beginning] calendar, named after the first reign period of the new dynasty. -JS 17:498; Needham 59:29-30 [as Hsü Yo].

Xu Yun 徐惲 (d.28). Palace Counsellor to Emperor Guangwu, Xu Yun killed Liu Du the Administrator of Linhuai without authority, presumably in a private feud. He was executed. -HHS 1A:37; Hulsewé 55:292.

Xu Zeng 徐曾; Xiapi. A brother of the eunuch favourite Xu Huang, Xu Zeng was Chancellor of Pingyuan in the 150s. -HHS 63/53:2283.

Xu Zhang 許章; Runan. In the mid-second century, Xu Zhang was a celebrated judge of character. -HHS 62/52:2050, SGZ 1:31 PC citing the *Gaoshi zhuan* of Huangfu Mi.

Xu Zhao 許昭 or Xu Shao 韶 see *sub* Xu Chang 許昌.

Xu Zhao 許昭; Wu. During the early 190s, Xu Zhao established himself as leader of an encampment in the south of Wu commandery near present-day Hangzhou. About 193, through the influence of the scholar Guo Tai, he took the former Administrator Sheng Xian under his protection.

In 197 Xu Zhao gave refuge to the defeated insurgent White Tiger Yan, and Sun Ce's commander Cheng Pu wanted to attack him. Sun Ce observed, however, that Xu Zhao was showing loyalty to his former master Sheng Xian, and to his old friend White Tiger Yan. He left him alone.

It appears likely that Xu Zhao and his group were destroyed by Sun Quan in 200: see *sub* White Tiger Yan. -SGZ Wu 1:1105, 1109; deC 96:267.

Xu Zhen 徐震. Though he held only probationary appointment as a member of the Suite of the Heir, Xu Zhen was known as an expert on calendrical studies and was evidently attached to the Bureau of Astronomy. In 85, as Jia Kui was preparing his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar for Emperor Zhang, he consulted Xu Zhen. -HHS 92/2:3027.

Xu Zhen 徐真; Wu. A close companion of Sun Jian, Xu Zhen was given his younger sister in marriage. He became the father of Xu Kun. -SGZ Wu 5:1197.

Xu Zhen 徐真, wife of: see the Lady Sun 孫 II.

Xu Zhi 徐稚 [Ruzi 孺子] (97-168); Yuzhang. A man of humble family, Xu Zhi supported himself by farming, and would eat only what he had produced himself. When he was young, he studied under Huang Qiong in Jiangxia, acquired great knowledge of *Chunqiu*, the *Book of Changes* and the *Classic of History*, and became celebrated as a scholar of divination and apocrypha. Repeatedly recommended and invited to office, four times by the commandery, thrice by the province, and five times by ministers at the capital, he refused each time.

When Chen Fan came as Administrator to Yuzhang about 156, before he had even entered his office he insisted on paying respects to Xu Zhi. He invited him to become his Officer of Merit, but though Xu Zhi formally accepted, he attended only once and then returned home. Chen Fan kept a special couch for him, and hung it away when he left: *cf.* also *sub* Zhou Qiu.

Later, when Chen Fan was Director of the Imperial Secretariat under the new personal government of Emperor Huan, he recommended Xu Zhi as finest of all recluse scholars. A special carriage was sent to bring him to Luoyang, he was nominated as Knowing the Way and appointed Administrator of Taiyuan. He continued, however, to refuse office.

On the other hand, Xu Zhi felt a personal loyalty to those officials who had recommended him, and he went to pay his respects when they died, no matter how far he had to travel. He would roast a chicken, then wrap it in floss silk steeped in wine and dried in the sun. At the time of each funeral he went to the outer entrance of the tomb, soaked the cloth in water so the fragrance of the wine came out, and left his offering with a measure of rice and some white reeds spread underneath. He made no contact with other mourners.

As scholars gathered to pay their respects at the funeral of Huang Qiong in 164, Xu Zhi came with his offering to his former teacher and patron. At first no-one knew who he was, but then they realised it was Xu Zhi, and Mao Rong, who was known for his skill in conversation, was sent after him. He offered Xu Zhi food, which he accepted, but Xu Zhi would talk only about farming. There was feeling about this, but Guo Tai defended Xu Zhi's policy of withdrawal: he showed courtesy to Mao Rong by eating and speaking with him at all; anything more would be inappropriate.

Later, Xu Zhi became concerned about the risks Guo Tai ran through his opposition to the eunuch

favourites of Emperor Huan, and he wrote to him that "When a great tree is about to fall, a single rope will not sustain it. Why scurry about? It is better to remain quiet and at ease." Guo Tai appreciated the warning and admired Xu Zhi as a master, but he could not follow his advice.

In 168, as Chen Fan returned to power at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, the government once more sent gifts and a carriage to invite Xu Zhi to the capital, but he died at this time aged seventy-two. His tomb in Yuzhang was honoured by successive Administrators of the state of Wu and a stele was erected there. -HHS 53/43:1746-48*, HHJ 22:253-54, XC 3:1b-2b, FSTY 3:25; Vervoornt 90:181-183, deC 89:16, 44-45, Mather 76:530.

Xu Zhi 許芝. Skilled in calendrical matters and literary composition, Xu Zhi became Assistant to the Court Astronomer. In 220 he presented a memorial to Cao Pi, King of Wei, with lengthy justification based upon portents and the apocrypha, for Wei to take imperial power from Han.

As Court Astronomer of Wei, Xu Zhi was involved in the adoption of the *Huangchu* 黃初 [Yellow Beginning] calendar, named after the first reign period of the new dynasty. -SGZ 2:63-66, JS 17:499; Fang 52: 10, 38, Leban.78:328-329, Goodman 98:100-105.

Xu Zhong 徐忠. An officer of Sun Quan, in 215 Xu Zhong went with Lü Meng to seize the south of Jing province from Guan Yu and Liu Bei. -SGZ Wu 2: 1119.

Xu [Zisheng/Zicheng] 徐子盛; Langye. A teacher of *Chunqiu* at the beginning of Later Han, he had hundreds of students. -HHS 27/17:944.

Xuan 宣, the Lady. First married to Deng Xiang, to whom she bore two daughters and a son, she was later widowed and then married Liang Ji/Gi, maternal uncle to the Lady Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji [her new husband was not directly related to the General-in-Chief, and I use the variant transcription Gi to distinguish him].

Xuan and her children by Deng Xiang shared in the prosperity of the imperial relatives by marriage, and they took the surname Liang. In 153 or 154 the Lady Xuan's daughter Mengnü entered the imperial harem. First appointed as a Chosen Woman, lowest of the three ranks of imperial concubines, Mengnü attracted the attention and favours of the emperor, and was swiftly promoted to be an Honoured Lady.

Liang Gi died about 155, so Mengnü's connection with the Liang group was weakened, and when his sister the Empress Liang died in the autumn of 159, Liang Ji no longer had any direct connection to the imperial harem. As a means to regain his influence, he proposed to adopt Mengnü as his daughter and have her established as empress. Though he resented Liang Ji's dominance at court, Emperor Huan had no personal objection, but Xuan wanted to be recognised as imperial mother-in-law, and she and her immediate relatives realised they would lose a great deal if Mengnü came under Liang Ji's control. Xuan therefore refused her consent to the adoption.

Within a few days Liang Ji had sent a group of retainers to kill Xuan's son-in-law Bing Zun, who had encouraged her decision, and when Xuan still refused to change her mind he sent his men against her too. The Lady's mansion in the capital was next door to that of the eunuch Regular Attendant Yuan She, and like other great houses of the time it was surrounded by a high wall. As Liang Ji's men broke into Yuan She's compound seeking entry to Xuan's, Yuan She discovered them, beat on a drum and called out in warning. Xuan fled to the palace and told the emperor.

If Liang Ji could act so directly, Emperor Huan too was now in danger of his life. He had little time before Liang Ji re-established control within the harem, but he made good use of the moment: with a trusted group of eunuchs, he sent a mixed force of eunuchs and palace gentlemen to take their insignia from Liang Ji and Sun Shou, and order them into exile in the far south. Husband and wife committed suicide, and the Liang clan was destroyed.

When her daughter became Empress in September 159, Xuan was enfeoffed as Lady of Chang'an. All the family renounced their connection with the Liang, and the emperor insisted that his new consort adopt the surname Bo 薄 [also as 亳]. We are told that the Lady's cousin Deng Wanshi had been a childhood friend of Emperor Huan, so it may be assumed that her original name was well known: it is possible the Bo surname was chosen because it had been Xuan's maiden name before her marriage to Deng Xiang; more likely that it was a reminder of the good example of the modest Lady Bo 薄, mother of Emperor Wen of Former Han. In 161 senior officials argued that it was inappropriate for the empress to avoid the name of her true father,

and an edict restored her surname to Deng.

Deng Xiang was granted posthumous title as a marquis and a chief general, while Xuan was granted the prosperous county of Kunyang in Yingchuan to provide her pension income. She died about 163, and her funeral was carried out with rituals appropriate to the mother of an emperor. Her estate was transferred as a marquisate to her grandson Deng Tong. -HHS 10B: 444-45.

Xuan 宣 (d.88); Xiongnu. Son of the former Southern Shanyu Han, he succeeded his cousin Chang in 85, taking the title Yituyulü di 伊屠於閼鞬 Shanyu. Soon after his accession, Xuan sent a thousand horsemen in a raid towards Zhuoye Mountain, in the Gurvan Sayhan Uul range in the south of Outer Mongolia, which the Northern Xiongnu were attempting to resettle. Encountering a king of the north, they took his head in battle and returned. At the same time, despite an imperial agreement with the Northern Shanyu, the southerners continued to attack traders coming from the north.

In the winter of that year Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei, who had negotiated the agreement in the previous year, reported the situation, adding that the northern court was threatening to resume raiding along the borders. After debate, Emperor Zhang ordered that those who had been seized by the southerners should be ransomed and restored to their own people, while blood-money would be paid for any who had been killed. The peace party was thus formally successful, but the supporters of the Southern Xiongnu had long-term advantage, for the ransoms meant their aggression was rewarded.

The Shanyu now sent the energetic king Shizi to harass the caravans, and as the Northern Xiongnu saw how the southerners were tolerated and given tacit support by the Han, thousands more came to the frontier to surrender each year. In 87, the Youliu Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu was defeated and killed in an attack by the Xianbi from the east. The northern government fell into utter disorder, and almost sixty tribal groups, with a total population of 200,000 including eight thousand fighting men, came to surrender at the frontiers of Wuyuan, Shuofang and Beidi, north and west of the Ordos loop of the Yellow River.

In the following year the Shanyu Xuan died, and it was in the reign of his successor Tuntuhe that the

Northern Xiongnu state received its death-blow. -*HHS* 89/79:2950-51.

Xuan 玄 [personal name, surname unknown]. Court Astronomer under Emperor Zhang, from 85 to 89 he and members of his staff tracked the course of the sun to check the new version of the recently-adopted *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar. -*HHS* 92/2:3028.

Xuan Bao 宣褒; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xuan Bao was a member of the group, and it is likely he was a kinsman of Xuan Jing below. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Xuan Biao 宣彪; Zuopingyi. Son of Xuan Bing, when his father died in 30 Emperor Guangwu made him a gentleman cadet. He became Administrator of Xuantu. -*HHS* 27/17:928.

Xuan Bing 宣秉 [Jugong 巨公] (d.30); Zuopingyi. As a young man at the end of Former Han, Xuan Bing was celebrated in the capital region for his high moral principles. Observing the weakness of Emperors Ai and Bing and the growing power of the Wang family, he took refuge in the mountains. The commandery and provincial governments invited him to office several times, but he refused on plea of ill health.

When the Gengshi Emperor took the throne in 23 Xuan Bing accepted appointment as a Palace Attendant, and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Guangwu in 25 he became head of the Imperial Censorate. Emphasising their close relationship to the throne, he and the Director of Retainers and the Director of the Secretariat were given separate status at court, and they were known as the Three Special Seats 三獨坐. In 26 Xuan Bing was transferred to be Director of Retainers.

Widely respected for his detailed attention to proper conduct in government, Xuan Bing was a man of strict morality, who wore simple clothes and ate from earthenware dishes. On one occasion the emperor visited his office and residence, admired his manner of life and, remarking that he rivalled the two Gong of Chu 楚國二龔, awarded him silken screens and curtains. [On the hermit scholars and occasional

officials Gong Sheng 龔勝 and Gong She 龔舍 in the last years of Former Han, see Vervorn 90:123, and *QHX*:119.]

In 28 Xuan Bing became Guardian of Honesty, a censorial post under the Excellency over the Masses. He used all his salary to support his kinsmen, shared his landed property with those who were orphaned or weak, and kept nothing for himself. When he died in office Emperor Guangwu mourned him, and he appointed his son Xuan Biao as a gentleman cadet. -*HHS* 27/17:927-28*; Vervorn 90:133, Bn 79:70, deC 81:68.

Xuan Bo 宣播 see Xuan Fan 宣璠.

Xuan Du 宣度; Dunhuang. A staff officer under a General-in-Chief [He Jin?], when his former teacher Zhang Wenming died Xuan Du bore a mourning staff in his honour. -*FSTY* 3:21; Ying Shao categorises this as Inappropriate 愆禮, arguing that such behaviour denigrates the true loyalty owed to one's own family, and is no more than an ostentatious attempt to curry political favour and advancement.

[Wenming 文明 is possibly a miswriting for Ranming 然明, the style of Zhang Huan, who retired as Minister of Ceremonies and died in 181. There was no General-in-Chief at this time, however, until He Jin was appointed in 184, so there is a problem with dates.]

Xuan Fan 宣璠 or Xuan Bo 播 (d.195). Director of Retainers under the regime of Dong Zhuo at Luoyang in 190, Xuan Fan was sent with orders for the dismissal of the Excellencies Yang Biao and Huang Wan.

As Minister of the Household in 191, Xuan Fan bore the Staff of Authority from the court at Chang'an to award Dong Zhuo, then at Luoyang, the exceptional title of Grand Master 太師.

Minister of Justice in 195, Xuan Fan accompanied the emperor in his flight from Chang'an, but was killed by Li Jue's troops during one of the battles along the road. -*HHS* 9:378, 54/44:1787, 72/62:2329.

Xuan Feng 宣豐; Kuaiji. About the middle of the second century Xuan Feng was Minister of the Guards. There was a vacancy for the position of an Excellency, and he was interested in the promotion, but withdrew in embarrassment when Chen Qian, influential head of the Censorate, observed that anyone ambitious for such a responsible post was in fact unworthy of it. -*XC* 7:12a-b.

Xuan Feng 宣豐 [Boying 伯應]; Runan. In the

autumn of 166 Xuan Feng was promoted Minister of the Household, and three months later he was named Excellency of Works and was granted a fief. In the summer of 168, after the death of Emperor Huan and the accession of Emperor Ling under the regency of the Dou family, he left office. -HHS 7:318, 8:328.

In *FSTY* 2:19 Ying Shao describes how, when he was appointed as a magistrate in Pei in the mid-180s, he called upon Xuan Feng in his retirement; Nylan 83:407.

Xuan He 玆何, the Lady: see the Lady He Xuan 何玆. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Xuan He 玄賀 [Wenhe 文和 or Wenhong 文宏]; Ba. An assistant officer in his district about 65, Xuan He was brought to notice by the county magistrate Diwu Lun and rose to be Administrator of Jiujiang and of Pei. Praised for his honesty and excellent influence, he later became Minister of Finance. -HHS 41/31:1397; HYGZ 12:218, DGHJ 18:6a.

Xuan He 軒和 was a Counsellor Remonstrant. -*FSTY* 5f:133.

Xuan Jing 宣靖; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xuan Jing was a member of the group, and it is likely he was a kinsman of Xuan Bao above. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210, ZF:16a [in *SGZ* 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Xuan Meng 宣孟; Shanyang. Xuan Meng was a friend of Feng Yan 馮衍, who wrote to him in the 50s about his family troubles. -HHS 28/18B:1004-05.

Xuan Zhong 宣仲. As magistrate of a county in Anding, it is said that Xuan Zhong was so popular among his people that they refused to allow him to leave his post. In a play upon his personal name, they styled themselves the "Rightful People" 宣民. -XC 8:5b.

Xubu 須卜 [personal name unknown] (d.189); Xiongnu. In 188 the Xiuchuge group and the Xiluo clan of the Southern Xiongnu combined to kill the Shanyu Qiangqu, who was a supporter of Han. Qiangqu's son Yufuluo inherited the title, but the same faction drove him from his territory and set up a marquis of the

collateral Xubu clan to take his place.

When the pretender died in the following year, the dissidents did not replace him. They named an elderly king to hold the nominal headship of the state, without the authority which the title Shanyu might imply. -HHS 89/79:2965; deC 84:347.

Xuchen 須沈 see Xushen 須沈.

Xue 薛, the Lady; Shanyang. About 160 the Lady Xue became the wife of Shi Bi, who was at that time Administrator of Shanyang. The *San-hu* 三互 regulations provided that men could not hold office in a province to which they were connected by marriage, so Shi Bi sent in a report asking for transfer. He was appointed Chancellor of Pingyuan. -HHS 60/50B:1991; XC 4:1b.

Xue 薛 [personal name unknown] (d.163). A magistrate in Runan, he died in office and was commemorated with a stele. -LS 24:20b-21a, LX 1:2b-4b.

Xue 薛 [personal name unknown]. Formerly Inspector of Yi province and Chancellor of Zhongshan, he was honoured with a stele set up jointly with a former Minister of the Imperial Clan. Most of the inscription is lost. -LX 1:9b-10b, LS 26:9b.

Xue An 薛安. In the time of Emperor Huan, Xue An was an Assistant Officer under Ouyang Can, Inspector of Jing province. He was sent to investigate a charge of embezzlement in Kuaiji, but as the commandery officer Dai Jiu maintained his innocence despite ferocious torture, Xue An cleared the charges. -HHS 81/71:2691.

Xue Anqi 薛安期; Huaiyang. *XTS* 73B:2990 says that Xue Anqi, son of Xue Biao, became an Imperial Clerk.

Xue Bao 薛包/苞 [Mengchang 孟嘗/常]; Runan. Xue Bao became known for the great piety with which he mourned his mother, defying his father and his step-mother, and later for the generosity and tolerance with which he treated his kinsmen.

In 121, as Emperor An came to authority after the death of the Dowager Deng, he sent an official carriage to bring Xue Bao to court. He was appointed a Palace Attendant, but claimed to be ill and remained in seclusion. He was eventually permitted to return home, accompanied by generous gifts, and he died aged over eighty.

As a "hermit at court," it was hoped that Xue Bao would add prestige to the regime, but in a letter to Huang Qiong in 127 Lu Gu observed that he had

achieved little of note. -HHS 39/29:1294-95; Vervoor 90:162.

Xue Biao 薛彪 [Fuguo 輔國]; Huaiyang. XTS 73B:2990 says that Xue Biao, son of Xue Han, became a senior clerk in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses.

Xue Cheng 薛丞 [Junzhuo 君卓]; Nanyang. A clerk officer in the commandery office about 160, when his colleague Liu Zu refused to serve as charioteer in an official ceremony because it was beneath his dignity, Xue Cheng volunteered to take his place. The Administrator Gongsun Qing was grateful, and nominated him Filial and Incorrupt.

Xue Cheng later became a colonel of cavalry. -FSTY 5:39; Nylan 83:471-472.

Xue Dun 薛惇 [Zili 子禮]; Runan. Though he was chief assistant to the Administrator of Beihai, Xie Dun's family lived very poorly. When his wife complained, he destroyed a seating mat to show his contempt for such possessions. -XC 7:11b.

Xue Dun 薛敦; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xue Dun was a member of the group, and it is likely that he was a kinsman of Xue Lan and Xue Yu below. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Xue Fang 薛方; Dong. A local clan leader in 184, he helped Cheng Yu defeat the rebel Wang Du. -SGZ 14:425.

Xue Gongzu 薛公祖. About 160, when Guo Tai visited Runan he stayed only briefly with Yuan Lang but several days with Huang Xian. Xue Gongzu asked him why, and Guo Tai explained that Yuan Lang's quality was pure, but ultimately superficial, while the capacity of Huang Xian was vast and unfathomable. -HHS 53/43:1744-45.

Xue Gu 薛固; Chen>Shanyang. XTS 73B:2990 says that Xue Gu, son of Xue Shantu, became Administrator of Shanyang. As Xie Gu's great-grandson Lan is identified as a native of Shanyang, it seems the family shifted residence there about this time.

Xue Han 薛漢 [Gongzi 公子]; Huaiyang. Member of a scholarly family specialising in the Han school of the

Classic of Poetry according to the New Text tradition, Xue Han followed his father from the time he was young, and acquired particular expertise in portents and in the apocryphal books. [XTS 73B:2990 says that Xue Han's father was named Fangqiu 方丘, and the family claimed a long lineage.]

At first Xue Han taught privately, with several hundred students, but Emperor Guangwu was impressed by the apocryphal works, and early in his reign he made Xue Han an Academician at the University. Respected as the senior scholar of the Han tradition of *Poetry*, Xue Han compiled a commentary to that work, and he also undertook a new edition of the apocrypha after his colleague Yin Min refused the commission.

During the reign of Emperor Ming Xue Han served with distinction as Administrator of Qiansheng, but about 71 he was accused of involvement in the crimes of Liu Ying the King of Chu, and died in prison.

Among Xue Han's students, Du Fu, Tantai Jingbo and Han Bogao became most celebrated, but Lian Fan was the only one who came to care for his corpse after his disgrace and death. -HHS 79/69B:2573*; Tjan 49:15, Bn 79:188, 197.

Xue Hao 薛嶠. Court Architect in 124, Xue Hao joined the demonstration led by Lai Li to the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. When Emperor An sent a senior eunuch to claim that this was a matter between father and son, and ordering the protesters to withdraw, Xue Hao bowed to the authority of the edict and urged his colleagues to obey. Lai Li turned on him in anger and publicly criticised his lack of will, but the group gradually dispersed.

Though the demonstrators achieved no success, after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125 many were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. It is uncertain whether Xue Hao shared in this favour. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Xue Hong 薛鴻. Administrator of Guanghan, Xue Hong had a portrait of the worthy widow Yin Jipei painted on a wall of his court. -HYGZ 10B:153.

Xue Hong 薛洪. Xue Hong was a senior staff officer under Zhang Yang the Administrator of Henei. When Zhang Yang was killed in 198, Xue Hong and Miao Shang formally took over his command, but the sometime bandit Sui Gu, who had been a military

officer under Zhang Yang, held effective power in the region.

An old enemy of Cao Cao, in the following year Sui Gu left Xue Hong and Miao Shang to hold Shequan city while he went north to seek help from Yuan Shao. He was defeated and killed by Cao Cao's forces, however, and Cao Cao then besieged Shequan. Before any assault was launched, Cao Cao's agent Dong Zhao persuaded Xue Hong and Miao Shang to surrender, and both men were rewarded with enfeoffment.

In 213 Xue Hong was among the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei. -*SGZ* 1:17, 40, 14:438.

Xue [Jixiang] 薛季像; Hedong. Having served probation as a cadet gentleman, Xue Jixiang became a magistrate in Kuaiji, where sweet dew 甘露 fell in the courtyard of his residence. In 175 he was appointed Inspector of Yan province, and in the following year there was a further manifestation of this auspicious sign. His officers Feng Xun and Hua Cao set up a stele in his honour. -*SJZ* 8:22a.

Xue Lan 薛蘭 (d.195); Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xue Lan was a senior member of the group, and it is likely that he was a kinsman of Xue Dun above and Xue Yu below. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription.

As Lü Bu seized Yan province from Cao Cao in 194, Li Feng and Xue Lan joined him. They captured Cao Cao's officer Li Qian, killing him when he refused to change sides, but in the following year they were attacked by Cao Cao. Lü Bu could not assist them, and both men were killed. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210, *SGZ* 18:533, 1:12; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

XTS 73B:2990 says that Xue Lan came from a long lineage; his father was Yan.

Xue Li 薛禮. Chancellor of Pengcheng driven out by Tao Qian, he joined Liu Yao south of the Yangzi. In 195 he was defeated by Sun Ce at Moling, present-day Nanjing, and he was later killed by Zhai Rong. -*SGZ* Wu 14:1185.

Xue Qin 薛勤 [Zigong 子恭 or Gongzu 恭祖]; Runan. A friend of Chen Fan's father, about 104 Xue Qin

visited Chen Fan's grandfather, who was Administrator of Hedong. He spoke with the youthful Chen Fan and was deeply impressed.

In 130 the marquis Ban Shi murdered his adulterous wife, who was an aunt of Emperor Shun. The emperor had Ban Shi cut in two at the waist, and he wanted to exterminate the family by killing his brothers and sisters. Xue Qin, however, was able to arrange remission of the latter decision.

Xue Qin was Administrator of Shanyang when his wife died. He did not weep for her, but as he stood by her coffin he observed in classical Taoist style that this was the natural end of humankind, there was no reason to resent the fates, and he was only glad that they had shared forty years together and that she had lived to see her children grown up.

Ying Shao criticised Xue Qin's failure to show proper respect to the woman who was his equal 齊 and who was essential to the life of the family. -*HHS* 66/56:2159, *HHSJJ* 47/37:1704 Hui Dong quoting *Runan xianxian zhuan*, *SGZ* 21:597, *FSTY* 3:1b-2a [style as Gongzu 恭祖]; Nylan 83:24-25.

Xue Shantu 薛山塗; Chen. *XTS* 73B:2990 says that Xue Shantu, son of Xue Xiu, was a local commandant.

Xue Ti 薛悌 [Xiaowei 孝威]; Dong. In 194 Xue Ti was an Assistant Officer of Yan province for Cao Cao. As Lü Bu attacked the territory, Xue Ti joined Cheng Yu and Xun Yu in maintaining a defence.

As Cao Cao took over Ji province in 205, Xue Ti became a senior clerical officer there. His loyalty and honesty were recognised, and he was appointed Administrator of Taishan. Distinguished for his Confucian virtues, he ruled by example rather than by action. [*Wei-Jin shiyu*, quoted by *SGZ* 22:645 PC, says that Xue Ti was only twenty-two when he was appointed to Taishan. Given his active role more than ten years earlier in Yan province, this does not appear possible.]

In 215 Xue Ti was Protector of the Army in Jiujiang, responsible for discipline, when Sun Quan attacked the fortress city of Hefei. Cao Cao had sent instructions that he should not engage in combat, but Zhang Liao and other generals should oppose the enemy. The defence was completely successful.

Before this, while Xue Ti was Administrator in Taishan, Chen Jiao, Officer of Merit under Chen Deng the Administrator of Guangling, had been sent on

several missions to Cao Cao, and as his way led past Taishan the two men met and became close friends. Xue Ti joked about their difference in rank, but forecast that Chen Jiao would match him. In later years Chen Jiao became Administrator of Wei commandery and Director of the Secretariat, and he was succeeded in each of those offices by Xue Ti.

Xue Ti was enfeoffed by Cao Pi. -*SGZ* 22:645, 14:427, 15:471, 17:518.

Xue [Wenbo] 薛文伯; Shanyang. *XTS* 73B:2990 says that Xue Wenbo, son of Gu, became a county magistrate.

Xue Xia 薛夏 [Xuansheng 宣聲]; Hanyang. In Xue Xia's home commandery there were four leading families, the Jiang 姜, the Yan 閻, the Ren 任 and the Zhao 趙, which had long been dominant. Though Xue Xia was only a commoner, he was a talented man of wide learning and he refused to submit to their authority. The great families planned to deal with him, but he left about 200 and went east to the imperial capital where Cao Cao controlled the government.

Cao Cao had heard of Xue Xia's reputation, and received him with courtesy, but his enemies in Hanyang sent after him, and they had Xue Xia arrested and held in prison in Yingchuan. Cao Cao was at that time in Ji province, but when he heard of the affair he sent orders that Xue Xia be released, then appointed him to his own staff.

Xue Xia was appointed to the staff of the imperial library by Cao Pi, who admired his academic ability. He died in the 230s, leaving instructions to his son that he should never go back to Hanyang.

Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, identified Xue Xia as one of seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in time of disorder. -*SGZ* 13:421-22; Fang 52:170-171.

Xue Xiu 薛脩/修; Huaiyang. In 60 the Grand Commandant Zhao Xi was dismissed for having failed to fully investigate [坐考... 事不實] the affair of Xue Xiu, Chancellor of Zhongshan, which was the kingdom held by Emperor Ming's half-brother Liu Yan 焉. No further details are given of the incident. -*HHS* 26/16:915.

XTS 73B:2990 mentions Xue Xiu as the son of Xue Anqi and the father of Xue Shantu.

Xue Yan 薛衍; Shanyang. *XTS* 73B:2990 says that Xue Yan, son of Wenbo, was Attendant Officer of Yan province.

Xue Yin 薛愔. A protégé of Yin Shi, brother-in-law of Emperor Guangwu, Xue Yin rose to high rank. -*HHS* 32/22:1130.

Xue Yong 薛永 [Maochang 茂長]; Shanyang. *XTS* 73B:2990 says that Xue Yong, son of Lan, followed Liu Bei into Yi province and became Administrator of Shu commandery.

Xue Yu 薛郁; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Xue Yu was a member of the group, and it is likely that he was a kinsman of Xue Dun and Xue Lan above. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -*HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210, *ZF*:16a [in *SGZ* 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Xue Zhao 薛昭 (d.70). Intendant of Henan under Emperor Ming, he was sent to prison for some fault and died there. -*HHS* 2:116.

Xue Zhou 薛州 see Xuezhou 薛州.

Xue Zong 薛綜 [Jingwen 敬文] (d.243); Pei. Of an old local family, when he was a young man in the 190s Xue Zong went with kinsmen to take refuge in the far south, studying there under Liu Xi.

About 211, after Shi Xie acknowledged Sun Quan and his Inspector of Jiao province Bu Zhi, Xue Zong was called north and appointed a General of the Household. He was sent back to the south as Administrator of Hepu and then of Jiaozhi, and he took part in Lü Dai's conquest of Vietnam from 226.

Returning to the north, Xue Zong served as Supervisor of Internuncios and then joined the royal Secretariat. He was noted for his sensible advice and his skill in debate and composition; it is claimed that on one occasion he left an envoy from Shu-Han speechless with his riddling ability. He died as a Tutor to the Heir, leaving a large collection of poems, rhapsodies and scholarly works.

In 231, when Lü Dai was called back from Jiao province, Xue Zong had been concerned that Sun Quan might not appreciate the problems of the region. He presented a long memorial on the customs of the people and on its early and recent history, giving examples of Chinese officials who had behaved well or badly and met varying fortunes, and he argued

strongly for encouraging the reform of sexual mores and the extension of education. -*SGZ* Wu 8:1250-54*; Miyakawa 60:31-32.

Xuezhou 薛州; Guangling. A pirate on the coast about 197, with thousands of followers, he was brought to surrender by the good government of Chen Deng. -*SGZ* 7:230.

Xun 郇 [personal name unknown] (d.36); Yanmen. As Guangwu's Administrator Guo Liang took over Yanmen commandery after the flight of the northern pretender Lu Fang, he executed this man, head of a powerful local family, together with his retainers. -*HHS* 22/12:777.

Xun 巡 [surname unknown]. Court Astronomer in 90, he endorsed the calendrical calculations of the private scholar Zong Gan. -*HHS* 92/2:3040.

Xun Cai 荀采 [Nüxun 女荀], the Lady; Yingchuan. A daughter of Xun Shuang, intelligent and accomplished, at the age of seventeen the Lady was married to Yin Yu of Nanyang and bore him a daughter two years later. Yin Yu died soon afterwards.

The Lady was still young and suitable for remarriage, but she strongly opposed the idea, and she kept away from her family because she was afraid they would try to force her into another union.

Her father Xun Shuang had promised her to Guo Yi, and in order to get her to come home he pretended to be ill. The Lady was morally obliged to answer his call, and though she carried a knife at her bosom to defend her virtue, her father had his slaves disarm her, then took her into his carriage. Still concerned at her attitude, he ordered she be closely guarded.

As she was taken to Guo Yi's house, the Lady pretended to accept her fate and to have given up the idea of being buried with her husband. Dressing herself in her richest finery, she invited Guo Yi to visit her, but then talked interminably. Guo Yi was too embarrassed to make any sexual advances, and eventually left. Then the Lady had her attendants prepare a bath, and when it was ready, she told them to leave her. Once she was alone she began to write with powder on the door of the bath: "Corpse to be returned to the Yin [family]." Before she had completed the character *Yin*, she thought she heard someone coming, so she hanged herself with the sash of her dress, and by the time her attendants reached her she was dead. [Another account says that the Lady actually entered the marriage bed, but got up in the middle of the night, arranged four

lamps, composed herself and died.]

People of the time felt sorry for her, and Fan Ye included her biography in his Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -*HHS* 84/74:2798-99; Ch'ü 72:309-310.

HHS 84/74 TC identifies the Guo Yi of this story with Guo Yi the son of Guo Jia (170-207), but that Guo Yi can only have been available for marriage about 210. Xun Shuang, on the other hand, was born in 128 and died in 190. Modern commentators therefore reject the identification with Guo Yi.

Chen Jingyun in *HHSJ* 84/74:3083, moreover, noting that Xun Shuang was a scholar-official of high moral reputation, questions whether he would have behaved in such a way, and suggests that both identifications, of Guo Jia and of Xun Shuang, are wrong. [In Xun Shuang's memorial of 166 he describes the relationship between husband and wife as the basis of morality: see *HHS* 62/52:2052, *JJ* at 2229.]

Xun Can 荀粲 [Fengqing 奉倩]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yu 彧, he was an associate of He Yan. -*SGZ* 10:319-20.

Xun Chen 荀諝 see Xun Shen 荀諝.

Xun Fei 荀敷; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Shuang, Xun Fei became a colonel in the Northern Army. -*JS* 39:1152.

Xun Fu 荀敷 of Yingchuan was the eighth son of Xun Shu. -*HHS* 62/52:2049.

Xun Gun 荀緄 see Xun Kun 荀緄.

Xun Hong 荀闕 [Zhongmao 仲茂]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Shen, Xun Hong became a member of the suite of Cao Pi. -*SGZ* 10:316.

Xun Ji 荀緄; Yingchuan. Son of Xun You, he died young. -*SGZ* 10:325.

Xun Jian 荀儉; Yingchuan. Eldest son of Xun Shu, he died young. -*HHS* 62/52:2058.

Xun Jing 荀靖 [Shici 叔慈]; Yingchuan. Third son of Xun Shu, he was admired for his learning and conduct. Though nominated as Extremely Filial, he lived in retirement.

When Xun Jing died in his fifties he was widely mourned by scholars, and twenty-eight men composed eulogies for him. The local magistrate Qiu Zhen and the Administrator Wang Huai both awarded him posthumous titles of honour. -*HHS* 62/52:2050; Mather 76:531.

Xun [Jubo] 荀巨伯. *SSXY* has the story that in the time of Emperor Huan Xun Jubo was visiting a sick friend when there was a raid by non-Chinese. Though

his friend urged him to escape, Xun Jubo refused to leave. Impressed by this display of loyalty, the raiders abandoned their attack. -Mather 76:6.

Xun Kun 荀綰 [Boshu 伯篠]; Yingchuan. Second son of Xun Shu, Xun Kun became an Assistant Officer to Zhou Jing, Inspector of Yu province, and later joined the Imperial Secretariat. He was respected for his clear thinking and honesty, and at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166/167 he was commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu.

It is said that Xun Kun was awed by the power of the eunuchs, and married his infant son Yu 彧 to an adoptive daughter of Tang Heng. As Tang Heng died in 164, however, and Xun Yu was born only in 163, there is some doubt over the story.

Xun Kun became Chancellor of Ji'nan -HHS 69/59:2240, XC 3:12a, SGZ 10:309, SGZ Wu 9:1259.

Xun Liang 荀梁. In 29 Xun Liang was an officer under Geng Yan in the attack on the warlord Zhang Bu. He objected to Geng Yan's plan to attack the important city of Linzi in Qi, rather than the smaller Xi'an. Geng Yan explained that Xi'an was strongly garrisoned, while the capture of Linzi would force the enemy to withdraw; his strategy was successful. -HHS 19/9:710; Bn 59:148.

Xun Liang 郇凉 see Guo Liang 郭凉/凉: the variant surname appears in one version of HHS 22/12.

Xun Mu 尋穆. A member of the Imperial Secretariat during the 160s, Xun Mu was an associate of the palace eunuchs Guan Ba and Su Kang. -HHS 103/13:3283.

Xun Nen 荀恁 see Xun Ren 荀恁.

Xun Pei 荀裴 of Yingchuan was a son of Xun Shuang.

Xun Qi 荀祈 [Boqi 伯旗]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Qu, he became Administrator of Ji'nan. He discussed the castration penalty with Kong Rong. -SGZ 10:321.

Xun Qi 荀緝 see Xun Ji 荀緝.

Xun Qian 荀遷. In 121 Xun Qian was Minister Steward under Emperor An. -HHS 39/29:1308.

Xun Qu 荀衢 of Yingchuan was a son of Xun Tan. -SGZ 10:321.

Xun Ren 郇/荀恁 [Junda 君大]; Taiyuan. Son of the distinguished scholar Xun Yue 越, Xun Ren was known as a man of high moral principles. It is said that his household was wealthy, but Xun Ren gave all his property to his kinsmen after his father's death. HS 72:3095; QHX:629-630, however, says that it was Xun Yue who had given the property away, and that he

then lived as a recluse. *Han shu* has the surname as 郇, *Hou Han shu* as 荀; the personal name is sometimes miswritten as 任.

During the last years of Wang Mang there were raids from the Xiongnu, but the barbarians knew of Xun Ren's qualities and spared the family estates. Xun Ren was invited to office by Emperor Guangwu but excused himself on grounds of ill health.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming, Zhongli Yi of the Imperial Secretariat put forward the names of Xun Ren and other gentlemen aged over seventy who had great influence for good in their local communities, and the emperor's brother Liu Cang summoned him to court. When Emperor Ming asked why he had come now, and not previously for his father, Xun Ren explained unkindly that Guangwu had been kind and virtuous, so he had been able to refuse; Liu Cang had used the force of law, so he was obliged to accept.

Xun Ren left office a few days later. He died at home. -HHS 53/43:1740-41, 39/29:1297; Vervorm 90:147.

Xun Shao 荀紹; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yan, Xun Shao held ministerial office under Han/Wei. -SGZ 10:316.

Xun Shen 荀諶 [Youruo 攸若]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Kun and an elder brother of Xun Yu, in 191 he persuaded Han Fu to yield his position in Ji province to Yuan Shao, and he became an adviser in the new regime. -HHS 74/64A:2377, SGZ 6:191, 195; deC 96:71-72.

Xun Shi 荀適; Yingchuan. Son of Xun You, he succeeded to his father's fief but died young. -SGZ 10:325.

Xun Shu 荀淑 [Jihe 季和] (83-149 or c.100-c.167?); Yingchuan. Claiming distant descent from the philosopher Xun Qing 荀卿, author of *Xunzi* 荀子, Xun Shu was a local magnate and one of the leaders of his commandery. He was known for scholarship, but had no interest in traditional detailed commentaries; many orthodox Confucianists disapproved of him.

Probably about 120, Xun Shu became a gentleman cadet and then served as a county magistrate in Jiujiang. He retired home, but was nonetheless celebrated as a worthy man comparable to Li Gu and Li Ying. About 150, as the regent Dowager Liang was concerned at a combination of eclipse and earthquakes, the ministers Du Qiao and Fang Zhi nominated Xun Shu as Worthy

and Good, Sincere and Upright; his political comments, however, were not well received by the General-in-Chief Liang Ji.

Xun Shu was re-appointed to a county magistracy in Runan. Zhang Fan says that he died in that office, while *HHS* 62/62 says that he retired but died soon afterwards at the age of sixty-seven. *Ch'en* 75:185 discusses the confusion over the dates of his birth and death: *HHS* 62/52 says that he died in 149, but since we are told that he was an associate of Li Ying and Chen Shi, the latter being born in 104, the later pair of approximate dates above appears more likely.

Xun Shu was a man of wide reputation, and despite his comparatively short service it is said that both the counties he had ruled set up shrines in his honour. All his eight sons were men of ability. They were known as the Eight Dragons 八龍, and the local magistrate Yuan Kang changed the name of the family village to Gaoyang 高陽, after a legendary sage who also had eight talented sons. -*HHS* 62/52:2049*, *ZF*:8b-9a, *SGZ* 10:307; *Ch'en* 75, Mather 76:532.

Xun Shuang 荀爽 or Xun Xu 諡 [Ciming 慈明] (128-190); Yingchuan. Sixth son of Xun Shu, Xun Shuang was distinguished for his learning when still young: by the age of twelve he had mastered the *Analects* and *Chunqiu* and was also knowledgeable on the *Book of Changes*. He studied under Chen Shi, was praised by the Excellencies Qiao Xuan and Du Qiao, and was received by Li Ying. He was considered the best of all his brothers.

Having earlier refused invitations to office, in 166 Xun Shuang was nominated as Extremely Filial. He became a gentleman cadet, but after presenting a substantial memorial against corruption at court and the numbers of the imperial harem, he left the court in the following year.

During the Great Proscription from 169 to 184 Xun Shuang lived in voluntary exile, first by the sea and later in the Han valley. As the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, and the Proscription was ended, Xun Shuang joined the staff of Wang Yun, and later received several invitations to office, notably from the Excellency Yuan Feng, who nominated him as Knowing the Way. He refused all of them, but when Yuan Feng died he carried out three years mourning for him.

In 188 an official carriage was sent to bring Xun Shuang to the capital as Palace Attendant and a senior

staff officer to the General-in-Chief He Jin, but he left after He Jin's assassination in 189. Later that year he was called to office in the new regime of Dong Zhuo: though reluctant, he was forced to accept. First named Chancellor of Pingyuan, while still on the road he was named Minister of the Household, and three days later he became Excellency of Works.

Xun Shuang accompanied the court in the move from Luoyang to Chang'an. He supported Wang Yun's plans to overthrow Dong Zhuo, but died some time before the coup in 192.

Xun Shuang composed commentaries to the *Changes*, *History*, *Poetry*, *Chunqiu* and *Ritual*, together with *Han yu* 漢語, a collection of moral tales from the history of the dynasty, and an essay of advice for women 女誡 *Nü jie*. His total work, known as *Xin shu* 新書, amounted to over a hundred *pian*, but much was lost soon after his death. -*HHS* 62/52:2050-57*; *Ch'en* 75, Mather 76:532.

In his moral teachings, Xun Shuang emphasised personal and family values against the evils of government. For an anecdote of doubtful authenticity concerning him, see *sub* the Lady Xun Cai.

Xun Su 荀肅 of Yingchuan was the seventh son of Xun Shu. -*HHS* 62/52:2049.

Xun Sui 荀遂 of Yingchuan was the father of Xun Shu. -*Ch'en* 75:24.

Xun Tan 荀曇 [Yuanzhi 元智]; Yingchuan. Younger brother of Xun Yu 昱, Yuan Tan became Administrator of Guangling, where he firmly repressed groups of family retainers or partisans. A strong opponent of the eunuch party, Xun Tan was proscribed from office in 169. -*HHS* 62/52:2050.

Xun Tao 荀燾 of Yingchuan was the fourth son of Xun Shu. -*HHS* 62/52:2049.

Xun Wang 荀汪 of Yingchuan was the fifth son of Xun Shu. -*HHS* 62/52:2049.

Xun Wei 荀緯 [Gonggao 公高] (182-223); Henei. A man of literary ability, Xun Wei served on Cao Cao's staff and later joined the suite of the Heir Cao Pi. He was the author of a number of books, including *Jizhou ji* 冀州記, a local history of Ji province.

In 220, as Cao Pi took the imperial throne, he gave orders for the compilation of *Huang lan* 皇覽 "Imperial Readings," a comprehensive edition of the classics and their commentaries. With title as a Cavalier Regular Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army, Xun Wei assisted his colleague and fellow-countryman

Wang Xiang to work on this massive project in the Imperial library. In 222 he joined Wang Xiang in unsuccessful pleading for the disgraced Administrator of Nanyang, Yang Jun. -SGZ 21:604, 23:664.

Xun Wu 荀僕 [Shuqing 叔倩]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yu 彧, he was a senior officer of the Censorate under Han/Wei, but died young. -SGZ 10:319.

Xun Xian 荀詵 miswritten for **Xun Wang** 荀汪, the son of Xun Shu. -SGZ 10:307.

Xun Xian 荀詵 [Manqing 曼倩]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yu 彧, in 228 he assisted in redrafting the legal code of Wei. -SGZ 21:618.

Xun Xu 荀諝 see Xun Shuang 荀爽.

Xun Yan 荀衍 [Xiuruo 休若]; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Kun, in 205 he was a colonel guarding Ye while Cao Cao was in the north. Gao Gan sent men to surprise the city, but Xun Yan caught and killed them. He was enfeoffed. -SGZ 10:316.

Xun Yi 荀顗. In the time of Emperor Shun, Xun Yi addressed a memorial to the throne about rainfall. -ZF:17a.

Xun Yi 荀彧; Yingchuan. Son of Xun Tan, he became a local officer in Ji province, but died young. -SGZ 10:321.

Xun Yi 荀翊/翌 see Xun Yu 荀昱.

Xun Yi 荀顗 [Jingqing 景倩] (d.274); Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yu 彧, he became an Excellency of the Jin dynasty. -SGZ 10:320-21, JS 39:1150-52.

Xun Yin 荀愔; Yingchuan. A cousin of Xun Qu and Xun Yi, Xun Yin held office at the court of Cao Cao. He debated the qualities of a sage with Kong Rong. -SGZ 10:321.

Xun You 荀攸 [Gongda 公達] (157-214); Yingchuan. Son of Xun Yi 彧, as a child Xun You showed intelligence and character. He was one of a group recruited to the imperial government by He Jin in 189, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates.

In 192 Xun You joined the conspiracy of Zheng Tai and others against Dong Zhuo. The plot was discovered and Xun You was arrested, but he was released after Dong Zhuo was assassinated. He was restored to office, but left Chang'an and took refuge in Jing province.

As Cao Cao brought the imperial court to Xu city in 196, Xun Yu persuaded him to invite Xun You, and he appointed him Master of the Army, in which position he accompanied him on his campaigns. Xun You advised Cao Cao against Zhang Xiu and Lü Bu,

and took an active role in the campaign at Guandu in 200: it was on his recommendation that Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shao's supply trains, while Xun You defended the base-camp against the enemy's assault. In 202 he followed the campaign against Yuan Shao's sons in Ji province, and when Yuan Tan sought help in 203 he urged Cao Cao to take advantage of the family quarrel. After the final victory he was rewarded with enfeoffment.

In 213 Xun You was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei, and he became Director of the Secretariat for the new state. He died while accompanying the campaign against Sun Quan. -SGZ 10:321-25*.

Xun Yu 荀昱 also as Xun Yi 翊/翌 [Botiao 伯條 mistakenly also as Boxiu 修 and Boyou 儵] (d.169); Yingchuan. Son of an elder brother of Xun Shu, Xun Yu became Chancellor of Pei and then Administrator of Yuexi. He was a strict ruler, putting down local groups of family retainers or partisans.

During the 160s Xun Yu was also known as a fierce opponent of the eunuchs at court. He was listed by the reformist students at the University as one of the Eight Heroes 俊, second rank of their ideal hierarchy, and the General-in-Chief Dou Wu appointed him to his staff. After Dou Wu and Chen Fan were destroyed in 169, Xun Yu was killed. -HHS 62/52:2050, 67/57:2187-88, 69/59:2242.

HHS 62/52 gives the style of Xun Yu as Botiao 伯條, but other texts suggest Boxiu 修 and Boyou 儵. Botiao is confirmed, however, by a seven-character couplet recorded as having been chanted by students at the Imperial University, where the rhyming line ends with 交 *jiao*.

Xun Yu 荀彧/郁 [Wenruo 文若] (163-212); Yingchuan. Xun Yu was a son of Xun Kun, who may have married him as an infant to a [presumably adoptive] daughter of the palace eunuch Tang Heng [see *sub* Xun Kun].

A handsome man, in 189 Xun Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Yin Xiu. He took a clerical appointment at the capital and was then a county magistrate in Liang. As Dong Zhuo seized power at Luoyang, Xun Yu left his post and returned to Yingchuan, warning his kinsmen of the threat from civil war. Most were unwilling to leave their homes, but about this time Xun Yu was invited by Han Fu, Governor of Ji province, and he took his family with him; many of those who stayed behind were killed by

Dong Zhuo's troops on a raid against the rebels of the east.

Soon after Xun Yu arrived in Ji province, Han Fu was compelled to cede his position to Yuan Shao. Yuan Shao treated Xun Yu well, but when Cao Cao took over Dong commandery in 191, Xun Yu saw him as the more likely victor in a civil war. In the following year, therefore, he went over to Cao Cao and became one of his chief advisers.

As Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian in 194, he left Xun Yu in charge of his headquarters at Juancheng city in Jiyin, and when Lü Bu invaded Yan province Xun Yu took command of the defence and held three cities for Cao Cao. There was a famine, and Cao Cao planned to renew the attack on Xu province, but Xun Yu urged him to concentrate his forces against Lü Bu. Cao Cao accepted his advice, gathered grain, and recovered Yan province.

In 196 Xun Yu encouraged Cao Cao to bring the emperor to Xu city, and he became Palace Attendant and Director of the nominal Imperial Secretariat at the puppet Han court. He remained one of Cao Cao's most influential and trusted counsellors, and the men he recommended for office, such as Zhong Yao, Guo Jia and Sima Yi, served Cao Cao with distinction. He advised him on strategy, notably that he should deal with Lü Bu in the southeast before turning against Yuan Shao in the north, and later, after the defeat of Yuan Shao, that he should complete the conquest of the north before turning south against Liu Biao.

During Yuan Shao's great offensive in 199 and 200, Xun Yu was in charge at Xu city, ensuring the loyalty or neutrality of leaders on the south and west, and encouraging Cao Cao to hold his defence line. Cao Cao later linked their families by marrying one of his daughters to Xun Yu's eldest son Xun Yun, and Xun Yu was awarded a marquisate. The fief was later advanced in value, but when it was proposed that he should rank with the Excellencies Xun Yu firmly refused.

In 212, however, when it was proposed that Cao Cao should be raised in fief as a Duke and receive the Nine Distinctions, Xun Yu argued that the time was not ripe. Cao Cao became resentful and suspicious. He ordered Xun Yu to join him on campaign to the south and kept him under close control. Humiliated and anxious for his family, as the army came to Shouchun in Jiujiang Xun Yu either died of illness or killed himself. He was mourned by both Cao Cao and by Emperor Xian, but

in the following year Cao Cao took the ducal title and the Distinctions.

Xun Yu was honoured as a loyalist of Han, and there is question as to whether he gave his chief concern to Cao Cao or to the dying dynasty. Cao Cao, however, remained grateful for his services, and remarked that "The two Directors Xun [Xun Yu, Director of the Imperial Secretariat of Han and Xun You, Director of the Imperial Secretariat of Wei] grew ever more reliable in their judgement of men. As long as I live I shall never forget them." -HHS 70/60:2280-90*, SGZ 10:307-19*; Ch'en 75, Mather 76:533, deC 2002.

Xun Yue 荀悅 [Zhongyu 仲豫] (148-209); Yingchuan. Son of Xun Jian, Xun Yue may have been brought up by his uncle Xun Shuang. Though the family was locally influential, it is claimed that it was poor and had few books, so Xun Yue had difficulty gaining access; he was nonetheless able to grasp the meaning of a text at a single reading, and by the age of twelve he was particularly skilled in *Chunqiu*: this appears very much as a traditional cliché.

As the eunuchs dominated the court of Emperor Ling, Xun Yue pleaded illness and took no official position, but in 196, as Cao Cao brought the emperor to Yingchuan, Xun Yue was appointed to his staff. Soon afterwards he joined the imperial court in Xu city as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and then became Custodian of the Private Library. Emperor Xian was interested in scholarship, and Xun Yue, with his cousin Xun Yu 彧 and the scholar Kong Rong, had permission to enter the private apartments day and night, where they held many academic discussions. On the other hand, though Xun Yue may have sought to advise the emperor on more general matters of politics, the court was firmly under Cao Cao's control and his ideas were ignored.

In 198 Xun Yue was commissioned to prepare a chronicle of Former Han, *Hanji* 漢紀. He had evidently been working privately on the project for some time, for he completed and presented the work in 200. As well as being a study of history, *Hanji* sought to demonstrate how imperial virtue had accumulated over generations: it is implied that the process had continued under Later Han, and that one should look to a restoration of the dynasty rather than usurpation by a subject, no matter how powerful.

In 205, moreover, Xun Yue presented *Shenjian* 申監 "Extended Reflections" to the throne. Among other

matters, he discussed the importance of teaching and custom, of the balance of rewards and punishment, and the requirements of social justice—including a proposal for the restoration of the legendary but egalitarian "well-field system" and opposing the excesses of local magnates. More generally, Xun Yue sought to defend the tradition of Han, even in its time of weakness, by arguing that ideals of government should be preserved and striven for, despite the reality of human failing, and as he urged the need to rely upon good officials rather than the vagaries of individual rulers, he may almost be seen as approaching a view of constitutional monarchy: certainly he endorsed the ideal of the ruler who sits with hands folded, concentrating upon etiquette and propriety, while the world is at peace around him. Ch'en Ch'i-yün describes Xun Yue as "Confucianist in his approach to scholarship, Taoist in his relativistic view of reality, and Legalist in his pragmatic approach towards politics."

Xun Yue compiled a number of other works of philosophy and scholarship, amounting to several dozen *pian*. He died in 209 at the age of sixty-two. -HHS 62/52:2058-63*; Ch'en 75 & 80, Vervoor 90: 166-167, deC 96:344-346, MBeck 86:354, Nishijima 86:558, Ch'en 86:804-806.

Xun Yun 荀惲 [Changqing 長倩]; Yingchuan. Eldest son of Xun Yu 馯, he inherited his father's fief and was married to the Princess of Anyang, a daughter of Cao Cao. He was a close friend of Cao Zhi, and Cao Pi resented this. He died comparatively young. -SGZ 10: 319.

Xun Zhi 荀緝 see Xun Ji 荀緝.

Xuqu 虛渠; Xiongnu. In the autumn of 88 the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe sent a memorial to the Han court with an account of turmoil among the Northern Xiongnu and a proposal for a campaign to take over the steppe. In doing so, he cited information from Xuqu, a northern chieftain who had lately surrendered, telling how the Shanyu had withdrawn to the west and a group of nobles had set up one of his half-brothers as a rival claimant to the throne. -HHS 89/79:2952.

Xushen 須沈; Xiongnu. A king of the Xiongnu, in 116 Xushen accompanied the Southern Shanyu Tan in an expedition led by the General on the Liao Deng Zun against the rebel Qiang in Beidi. They raided the headquarters to the Qiang leader Lianchang, at Lingzhou by the Yellow River, and killed eight hundred of his people. Xushen was rewarded with

the Chinese title Marquis Who Destroys the Qiang 破羌侯, with a gold seal and purple ribbon, while his followers received gold and silk. -HHS 87/77:2890. [We are told that the same title was also awarded to the Qiang tribesman Yugui.]

Xusheng 許聖; non-Chinese. In the time of Emperor He Xusheng and other tribesmen in Nan commandery by the Yangzi Gorges became angry at the unfairness of the local taxation and levies, and in 101 they formed self-defence groups to defy the government.

In the following year a provincial army of ten thousand men was sent against the dissidents, but they withdrew into the wilderness and defied attacks. Then a number of different forces were sent by different routes from each direction, including downstream from Ba commandery. As the tribespeople scattered and fled, a number of their leaders were killed.

Following up this success, the Han forces defeated Xusheng and forced his submission, and he and his followers were then shifted east into Jiangxia. -HHS 86/76:2841.

Xuzi 須訾; Xiongnu. A member of the Huyan 呼衍 clan, in 88 Xuzi was a king of the Southern Xiongnu. In the autumn of that year the Southern Shanyu Tuntuhe sent a memorial to the Han court with an account of turmoil among the Northern Xiongnu. He put forward plans for a joint campaign with China to take over the steppe, and proposed that Xuzi and the prince Shizi should lead a force of ten thousand horsemen out from the Shuofang frontier on the northwest of the Ordos.

In 89 Shizi and Xuzi did indeed accompany the western expedition led by Yan Pan, Geng Kui and Geng Tan which defeated the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain. -HHS 89/79:2952, 23/13:814.

Y

Yan 嚴 [surname] see also Zhuang 莊. The original surname Zhuang was replaced by Yan in many texts in order to avoid taboo on the adopted personal name of Emperor Ming of Later Han: e.g. Bn 59:112 note.

Yan 閭, Empress of Emperor An, see the Lady Yan Ji.

Yan 閭, the Lady I; Henan. Younger sister of Yan Zhang, she was an Honoured Lady of Emperor Ming. -HHS 10B:435.

Yan 閭, the Lady II; Henan. Younger sister of Yan Zhang, she was an Honoured Lady of Emperor Ming.

-HHS 10B:435.

Yan 嬪, the Lady, mother of Emperor Huan, see the Lady Yan Ming.

Yan Bao 延褒; Yingchuan. A local bandit, Yan Bao joined the general uprising in 32 and captured the county city held by Feng Fang.

When the imperial army arrived soon afterwards, Yan Bao and his fellows cut off their hair to surrender and returned the property they had stolen. Through the good offices of Feng Fang, even the leaders of the insurgents received a pardon, and Yan Bao encouraged others to submit. -HHS 33/23:1148.

Yan Bao 嚴苞 [Wentong 文通]; Zuopingyi. About 200 Yan Bao was a member of the provincial staff under the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao. Among all the local officers only he and Jia Hong were scholars of any quality.

Having acted as magistrate in two counties, Yan Bao was appointed to the staff of the imperial library under Cao Pi, whom he impressed with his literary work. He was then sent to the west as an Administrator, but died in office about 225. -SGZ 13:421.

Yan Ben 嚴本 see Zhuang Ben 莊本.

Yan Bin 燕邠 [Yuanhou 元侯] (d.188); Hanzhong. In 188 Yan Bin was an Assistant Officer under Que Jian the Inspector of Yi province. With two other officers, Dong Fu and Zhang Yin, he was on detachment in Guanghan when Que Jian was killed by Yellow Turbans at his headquarters nearby.

Yan Bin sought to persuade his colleagues that they should turn against the enemy, but Dong Fu and Zhang Yin refused. Claiming there was no purpose to life if his master was dead, Yan Bin faced the rebels and was killed. When Liu Yan arrived as Governor he executed Dong Fu and Zhang Yin for their cowardice, and recognised Yan Bin's heroism by having his portrait displayed on the walls of all local schools. -HYGZ 10C:170.

Yan Cai 嚴才. About 216 Yan Cai raised an unsuccessful mutiny against Cao Cao in Ye city. -SGZ 11:347.

Yan Cen 延岑 [Shuya 叔牙] (d.36); Nanyang. His family background is unknown, but Yan Cen became one of the most energetic soldiers of fortune in the troubled period at the beginning of Later Han.

In 23, as the Han rose against Wang Mang, Yan Cen rebelled in his homeland, the southwest of Nanyang. Defeated by Liu Jia, general of Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor, he paid homage to the new regime, but soon

rebelled again, probably in the following year, and moved west into Hanzhong.

In 26, as the Gengshi regime at Chang'an collapsed, Yan Cen attacked Liu Jia, now King of Hanzhong. Capturing his capital Nanzheng, he took the royal title for himself and pursued Liu Jia into Wudu. Li Bao, an officer of the Gengshi Emperor, came to Liu Jia's aid, and Yan Cen was defeated; he retreated north across the Qin Ling mountains into Tianshui. In the mean time Gongsun Shu's general Hou Dan had occupied Hanzhong, and when Liu Jia and Liu Bao tried to regain the territory they were driven back into Wudu.

Yan Cen took the opportunity to return, but Liu Jia attacked him again, and he was forced to flee once more over the mountains to the north, this time into Youfufeng. Liu Jia pursued him and defeated him again, but then went north of the Wei. Taking occasion to plunder the tomb of Emperor Wu at Maoling, west of Chang'an, Yan Cen then camped in Duling, to the southeast.

At the end of autumn, the Red Eyebrows leader Pang/Feng An brought a large army against him. Defeated in a first engagement, Yan Cen recovered to rout the enemy [*cf. sub* Li Bao], then also occupied Lantian county, where he drove off an attack from Guangwu's general Deng Yu.

Hoping to establish a position in the region, he named various subordinates as provincial governors and commandery administrators, but after the Red Eyebrows surrendered to Emperor Guangwu early in 27 the imperial general Feng Yi was sent to establish authority in the territory of Chang'an. In the summer Yan Cen combined with local warlords to attack him, but they were heavily defeated and he was compelled to abandon his territory.

Retiring southeast into Hongnong, Yan Cen was again defeated by Feng Yi's subordinate generals Deng Ye and Yu Kuang, and was driven back across the Wu pass into his home commandery of Nanyang. He gained initial success, capturing a number of cities and receiving support from the local leader Du Hong, but was then defeated by the imperial general Geng Yan.

Yan Cen now joined Zhang Cheng, an officer of the local warlord Qin Feng, but their army was destroyed by Guangwu's general Zhu You. Zhang Cheng was killed and Yan Cen's treasury was taken, but he escaped again to join Qin Feng and married one of

his daughters. The imperial armies next turned against Qin Feng, driving him back to his home district in Nan commandery, where he was besieged until his surrender in the summer of 29. Yan Cen and others maintained resistance outside, but early in 28 Yan Cen was defeated by a major army under Deng Yu, and his remnant following was eliminated.

Yan Cen and a fellow-fugitive, Tian Rong, now joined Gongsun Shu, who welcomed them with title as kings. He appointed Yan Cen as his Grand Marshal and gave him his younger sister in marriage: this was at least the second time Yan Cen had allied himself to a patron in this way.

In 30 Gongsun Shu's adviser Jing Han suggested that Yan Cen should be sent to seize the upper Wei valley while Tian Rong moved down the Yangzi. Yan Cen pressed for the opportunity, but Gongsun Shu remained on the defensive. In the summer, Guangwu's general Li Tong was sent with a strong force west from Nanyang into Hanzhong. Gongsun Shu sent Yan Cen to bring assistance, but he was defeated, and although the Han troops withdrew they established military colonies to hold the line.

In the summer of 35, as Guangwu's forces advanced through the Yangzi Gorges and up the Fu River, Yan Cen and other generals were sent to guard Guanghan commandery. The Han general Zang Gong, however, destroyed their army in battle outside Guanghan city and Yan Cen fled to Gongsun Shu's capital Chengdu. In the winter the city came under siege from Guangwu's forces commanded by Zang Gong and Wu Han. In counter-attack, Yan Cen led a force of five thousand volunteers, all of whom had been rewarded in advance from the treasury: he attracted Wu Han's attention, then sent a separate force to take the enemy in the rear. Wu Han was defeated and almost drowned.

Despite such success, and the difficulties faced by the Han troops in obtaining supplies, the siege was maintained for over a month until, on 24 December, Gongsun Shu and Yan Cen embarked on a sortie. Yan Cen defeated Zang Gong in three engagements, but after half a day's fighting his men were hungry and exhausted. At the critical moment Wu Han sent in a reserve troop and Gongsun Shu's men were thrown into confusion. Gongsun Shu himself was wounded and died that night.

On 25 December Yan Cen surrendered the city. Two days later, as Wu Han let his soldiers loose to loot,

Yan Cen and his family were killed. -HHS 13/3: 537, 14/4:568, 17/7:647, 22/12:770, HYGZ 5:68-69 [miswritten as Yan Ya 牙]; Bn 59:117, 154-157, 183-196.

Yan Chang 閻暢 (d.117); Henan. Son of Yan Zhang, Yan Chang was the father of the Lady Yan Yi, who became an Honoured Lady to Emperor An in 114. When she was made empress in 115 Yan Chang was appointed as a Palace Attendant, and in 116 he became a colonel of the Northern Army and received a marquissate. He died in the following year. -HHS 10B: 435.

Yan Chang 閻暢, wife of: see the Lady Yan Zong 閻宗.

Yan Cheng 晏稱. When Yan Cheng was Director of Retainers in 100, the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu remarked to him privately that many of the clerks in the offices of the Excellencies were unworthy of their positions [非其人 *fei qiren*]. Yan Cheng proposed a check on the suitability of these officers.

Zhang Pu was annoyed that his casual comment had been taken up with such energy, and he upbraided Yan Cheng in a public gathering. When Yan Cheng answered back, Zhang Pu took the matter to court, and each accused the other of abusive and improper conduct. Since Zhang Pu was a most senior minister, and had been Tutor to his predecessor, Emperor He called a full court assembly to resolve the affair.

The Excellency Lü Gai argued that just because he was a minister of such experience, Zhang Pu should have known better than to attack the Director of Retainers, who was fully entitled to carry out an investigation: he had set a poor example to the empire. Zhang Pu was dismissed. -HHS 45/35, 1533.

Yan Chong 嚴崇 or Yan Song 嵩. In 84 the officer of the pitchpipes 律 Yin Tong reported that no-one in the office knew how to tune the sacred instruments. The former officer Yan Chong was said to have known the art and to have taught it to his son Xuan, and Emperor Zhang agreed that Yan Xuan should be given a trial. His method proved quite unsuccessful and he was dismissed. -HHS 91/1:3015.

Yan Chong 閻崇 (d.125?); Henan? Presumably a kinsman of the Dowager Yan and her brothers, in 125 Yan Chong commanded the palace guards Rapid as Tigers. As Sun Cheng led a coup against the Yan, Yan Xian called Yan Chong and the colonel Feng Shi to support them against the insurgents. Feng Shi, however, deserted and went back to his own camp, and

Yan Xian and Yan Chong took no further action. On the following day Yan Xian was arrested and killed, and it is likely Yan Chong shared his fate. -HHS 78/68: 2515.

Yan Chun 嚴春 see Zhuang Chun 莊春.

Yan Du 延篤 [Shujian 叔堅 or Shugu 叔固] (d.167); Nanyang. When he was young, Yan Du studied *Zuo zhuan*, amazing his teacher by the speed with which he learnt the text; it is probable that his teacher was Jia Bosheng q.v. He then went to Ma Rong for a broad education in the classics, the histories and the various schools of philosophy. Skilled in composing detailed commentaries, he acquired a reputation at the capital.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Yan Du became chancellor of a county marquisate in Shanyang, where he set up a stele and altar for worship at the tomb of the local worthy Gong Sui 龔遂 of Former Han, and established an estate for his descendants. He resigned in mourning for the death of one of his teachers, and though he was invited to office by the General-in-Chief Liang Ji and all the Excellencies at the capital, he refused them.

About 151 Yan Du received an imperial summons as a scholar and was appointed a Consultant. Through the 150s and early 160s he worked on the third instalment of the official history of Later Han, later known as *Dongguan Hanji*. The compilation included annals, tables of marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, with biographies of empresses and other individuals, including the eunuchs Cai Lun and Sun Cheng.

Appointed a Palace Attendant, Yan Du was frequently consulted by Emperor Huan on questions of government, and his advice was always based upon morality and good precedent. He was later Administrator of Zuopingyi and then Intendant of Jingzhao, ruling humanely in each place, making special use of local elders and encouraging agriculture. All about Chang'an admired his rule, and it is said that population increased through migration to this pleasant country, while a local proverb joined him and his predecessor Bian Feng with the finest rulers of the region in the time of Former Han.

Later Yan Du killed a retainer of Liang Ji who was seeking to obtain a monopoly of cow bezoar 牛黃 or gall-stones, a medicine required for one of the emperor's children. Senior officials launched an investigation, but Yan Du appears to have been protected from Liang Ji's

full revenge by his connection to the eunuch Zhou Fu: in 156 he was a leading sponsor of Zhou Fu's funerary stele. Yan Du nonetheless left office on grounds of ill health and returned to his former teaching of classical morality. An essay on the relationship of humanity [仁 *ren*] and filial piety [孝 *xiao*] is preserved in HHS 64/54, and a letter to his friend Li Wende, who had argued that he should be recalled to office, extols the pleasures of private life and scholarship.

In 166 Yan Du was implicated in the First Faction Incident and was proscribed from office. When he died at home in 167, the people of his district painted his portrait upon the wall of the local temple to Qu Yuan 屈原, the legendary loyal but unappreciated servant of ancient Chu 楚.

Yan Du compiled twenty *pian* of discussions, commentaries and text criticisms to classics and histories, including the *Shi ji* 史記 of Sima Qian 司馬遷, together with poetry, essays, inscriptions and other compositions. Much of his work on the classics was summarised and edited by Fu Qian and other scholars. -HHS 64/54:2103-08*, XC 4:1a-b, YSS:15b; Bn 54: 11.

Yan Fa 嚴發; Pengcheng? A private gentleman 處士, after his death Yan Fa was honoured by his friends with a stele. -LX 1:11a-12b.

Yan Fang 顏方. A man of letters in the late first century, Yan Fang was praised by Wang Chong. -Lun heng 37; Forke 07:469.

Yan Fei 顏斐 [Wenlin 文林]; Jibei. Initially a member of the suite of Cao Pi as Heir, when Cao Pi took the imperial title Yan Fei was named a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and then Administrator of Jingzhao, where he restored good and popular government after the turmoil of civil war. Chen Shou names him as one of the creditable Administrators of Wei -SGZ 16:513-14.

Yan Feng 嚴豐 [Menghou 孟侯]; Yuzhang. In 23 the Administrator Jia Meng was proposing to join the rebels against Wang Mang. As he led out his army, however, a swarm of bees settled on the yoke of his chariot. His Registrar Yan Feng warned him that this was an ill omen, and though Jia Meng paid no attention, he was indeed killed. -XC 6:9b. Neither HS nor HHS have any mention of this man, while the details of Jia Meng's activities for or against Wang Mang are confused: see QHX:185.

Yan Fu 閻符; Runan. Yan Fu was an Assistant Officer

of Yu province when Han Yan the Administrator of Danyang was arrested and sent to the capital. Unperturbed by such disgrace, Yan Fu went to welcome Han Yan, released his bonds and provided him with official lodgings. -*FSTY* 7:56.

Yan Fu 閻甫 see Yan Pu 閻圃.

Yan Gan 嚴幹 [Gongzhong 公仲]; Zuopingyi. Yan Gan and his colleague Li Yi came from the east of the commandery, which had never produced an imperial official, but although they were commoners they were generous men of high ability. At the end of the 180s, when both were about twenty years old, Yan Gan was known to the leading clans of the region for his skill in swordsmanship, while Li Yi was celebrated for his knowledge of ritual.

Many people fled when the capital region fell into disorder in the 190s, but Yan Gan and Li Yi stayed behind and maintained a self-defence group for those who were otherwise lost. In the late 190s, as a measure of control was restored under Cao Cao's Director of Retainers Zhong Yao, the western part of the commandery was separated from the east to form Zuoneishi 左内史; the east remained as Zuopingyi. Li Yi's home country was in the west, but because of their close association he stayed with Yan Gan in the east, and both men rose to high local rank in the new commandery.

Yan Gan was invited to join the provincial administration, but did not go. He was then recommended Filial and Incorrupt by the commandery and appointed a magistrate in Hedong. He left that office on account of ill health, but was again recommended and became an officer of the guard at the imperial palace, then a Consultant, before returning to his home province as an adviser.

In 202 Yan Gan took part in the campaign which destroyed Guo Yuan in Henei, and in 206 he advised on the strategy which brought the capture and death of the Yuan clan commander Gao Gan. He was awarded a district marquissate and appointed Administrator of Hongnong. When the warlord Ma Chao turned fully against Cao Cao in 211, Hongnong contained a number of his sympathisers and was troublesome and unruly, but after Ma Chao had finally been driven off in 214, Yan Gan was transferred further west again to be Administrator of Hanyang.

Despite his background as a fighting man, Yan Gan was fond of learning and he was particularly

enthusiastic about the Gongyang commentary of *Chunqiu*. His sometime patron Zhong Yao, former Director of Retainers, was a devotee of *Zuo zhuan*, and the two men would often amuse themselves with fierce academic debate.

Yan Gan was later named Inspector of Yi province, but after 219 it was impossible to establish an administration there, so the title was rather a statement of intent than of reality. Yan Gan held offices at the capital under Cao Pi and Cao Rui, and he died about 230. -*SGZ* 23:674-75.

Yan Gang 嚴綱 (d.192). Named as Inspector of Ji province by Gongsun Zan in 191, Yan Gang was killed in battle by Yuan Shao's general Qu Yi at the Jie Bridge on the Qing River in the following year. -*SGZ* 8:242, 6:193.

Yan Gao 炎高. Known as the Master of Huali 華里先生, Yan Gao was a teacher of the diviner Yang Tong, and foretold his importance as an interpreter of the apocrypha. -*HYGZ* 10B, 143.

Yan Gu 延固; Nanyang. In the mid-second century Yan Gu was sponsored by the palace eunuch Cao Teng and became well known. -*HHS* 78/68:2419.

Yan Guang 嚴光 or Yan Zun 遵 [Ziling 子陵]. *HHS* 83/73 says that Yang Guang came from Kuaiji, but the biography of Ren Yan in *HHS* 76/66:2461 mentions Yan Ziling as a scholar from the north who had avoided the civil war and taken refuge in the southeast, and another source suggests that he came from Xinye in Nanyang [*HHSJ* 83/73:2042-43].

We are told that Yan Guang was already well known when he was young, that he studied at Chang'an at the same time as Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and that the two men were friends. [This seems slightly more likely if they came from the same commandery: see above.] Yan Guang was evidently older than Liu Xiu: it is said that he died at the age of eighty while Liu Xiu was still alive, and Liu Xiu was just over sixty at the time of his death; it appears, moreover, that Yan Guang refused appointment in the time of Wang Mang: see *sub* Yan Zun 2 below.

As Guangwu took the imperial title in 25, Yan Guang changed his name and went into hiding, but the new ruler circulated his description, and in 30 the government of Qi identified him. After repeated invitations, he came to court in an official carriage, but despite appeals from his old friend Hou Ba, now an Excellency, and even from the emperor himself, he

refused to involve himself in government.

Guangwu accepted Yan Guang's refusal and continued to treat him in most friendly fashion. On one occasion he invited him to the palace to talk of old times, and as the two men fell asleep Yan Guang rested his feet on the emperor's stomach. Next day the Court Astronomer reported that a "guest star" 客星 [a nova: Needham 59:425] had appeared in the imperial constellation, but Guangwu laughed and explained that it was just his old friend making himself comfortable. Vervorn suggests the incident may be true, demonstrating the ruler's informality with close companions, and the disapproval of more staid officialdom. On the other hand, surviving astronomical records of the period have no mention of a "guest star" in that area of the sky until the eve of Guangwu's death many years later.

Refusing an advisory position at court, Yan Guang retired to farm in the south of Kuaiji near present-day Hangzhou, where people named the place after him. Though invited again to court in 41, he would not go, and he died at home at the age of eighty. Guangwu mourned him and made a donation to his memory. - *HHS* 83/73:2763-64*, *Anon.*:1a-b; Vervorn 90:146-147, 283, 285.

Yan Guang 燕廣. A member of staff of Liu Ying, King of Chu, in 70 Yan Guang reported that the king and his associates Wang Ping and Yan Zhong had cast omens and were planning rebellion. Liu Ying was deposed and killed himself, and there followed a long persecution of the alleged conspirators, with many deaths. Yan Guang was enfeoffed as Marquis Who Cuts Off Treason 折姦侯. - *HHS* 42/32:1428-29; Bn 67:33.

Yan Hao 嚴皓. A Han agent in Further Jushi in 153, he quarrelled with King Aluoduo, who then attacked the Chinese military colony. - *HHS* 88/78:2931.

Yan Ji 閭姬, the Lady (d.126); Henan: Empress of Emperor An. A daughter of Yan Chang, the Lady was brought into the harem of Emperor An by common selection in 114. Talented and good-looking, she attracted the emperor's favour, was appointed an Honoured Lady, and became empress in 115. Jealously defending her position, Yan Yi poisoned her rival the Lady Li, who had given birth to the imperial son Liu Bao in that same year.

Following the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121, Emperor An established his personal rule, but he was strongly influenced by the Lady Yan, while

her brothers, led by Yan Xian, acquired ministerial and military posts, commanded the palace guards, and dominated the court and the government. In 124, moreover, aided by the eunuchs Jiang Jing and Fan Feng, Yan Yi slandered Liu Bao, and towards the end of the year he was dismissed as Heir. The decision was fiercely opposed by the Minister Coachman Lai Li and many of the senior officials, who came in a noted demonstration before the gates of the palace.

Six months later, in the spring of 125, as Emperor An was on tour to the south he was taken seriously ill. The cortège returned in haste, for the Yan group were anxious to forestall any move at the capital to restore Liu Bao to the succession, and when the emperor did die in Nanyang, his demise was concealed until the invalid's carriage had reached the palace. Only then was it announced that the ruler was dead.

Liu Bao was held under close guard, and within a few days the Empress, now Dowager, and her brother Yan Xian had selected the five-year-old Liu Yi, Marquis of Beixiang, as emperor. Brought to the throne on 18 May, it was planned that he should serve as a minority ruler for several years while the Dowager held power as regent. Within a short time the Yan group had eliminated their short-term allies the General-in-Chief Geng Bao, the eunuchs Fan Feng and others, and the Lady Wang Sheng. About the same time, however, soon after his accession, the young emperor became ill, and it was increasingly clear that the problem was serious. Though it had been proposed that other members of the imperial lineage be brought to the capital for a further selection, nothing had been done before Liu Yi died on 10 December 125.

The Lady Yan and her brothers attempted once more to keep the death a secret and carry out a new appointment, but despite their official positions they had no decisive authority over the military forces at the capital. On 14 December a group of eunuchs led by Sun Cheng swore an oath against the Yan, and on 16 December they carried out a successful coup. Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, was placed upon the throne, while the Yan brothers and their eunuch allies were killed. The Dowager was placed under arrest and the remnants of her family were exiled to the far south.

It was proposed at court that the Dowager should be removed to separate quarters and no longer received in audience, on grounds that she had failed to show proper respect for her role as titular mother to

the Heir. The Excellency Li He was persuaded by his officer Zhou Ju that the proposal showed comparable lack of respect for the responsibility of son to mother, and it could affect the moral authority of the new ruler if the Lady Yan suffered ill-treatment. Early in 126, therefore, the Lady was received in audience.

The Dowager died a few weeks later, aged about twenty-five. Her death was convenient, and perhaps not due to natural causes. She was buried at the tomb of Emperor An, and two days later Zhu Chang, former Steward of her household, was promoted to be an Excellency. -HHS 10B:435-38*.

Yan [Jihou] 嚴季后. A scholar and teacher, Yan Jihou became Commandant of a frontier county in Shu commandery. -HYGZ 10A:137.

Yan Jing 閭景 (d.125); Henan. Second son of Yan Chang, Yan Jing was a brother of Yan Yi the Empress of Emperor An. As the emperor took up personal rule following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, he and his brothers Xian, Yao and Yan received high ministerial and military appointments, commanded palace guards, and dominated the court and the government. After the death of Emperor An in 125 and the overthrow of Geng Bao and his associates, Yan Jing became Minister of the Guards in the regency government of his sister, now Dowager.

After the Little Emperor Liu Yi died in the winter of that year, on 16 December the eunuch Sun Cheng led a coup to restore Emperor An's son Liu Bao to the succession. Yan Jing sought to bring palace guards against the insurgents, but Sun Cheng had already placed Liu Bao upon the throne, and he had the Imperial Secretariat issue orders for Yan Jing's arrest. Yan Jing was captured by guards of the Feathered Forest under the command of Guo Zhen, and he was executed that night at the Ministry of Justice. -HHS 10B:436-437, 78/68:2515-16.

Yan Jiu 嚴就; Ba. Local officers under the Administrator Dan Wang, in 154 Yan Jiu and his colleagues persuaded him to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Yan Ju 嚴舉 (d.164); Ba. Adopted son of Yan Zishun, Yan Ju showed him the greatest filial respect, and when he died the local officials and people set up a stele in his honour. -LX 11:4b-8a.

Yan Jun 嚴峻. A eunuch at court in the early third century, he went to the adept Zuo Ce to seek instruction in the arts of long life, but was told that they were not suitable for a person of his condition. -SGZ 29:805.

Yan Jun 嚴峻 [Mancai 曼才]; Pengcheng. An honest, generous man, Yan Jun studied the *Poetry*, the *History* and *Ritual*, and he was also expert in the *Shuowen* 說文 dictionary of Xu Shen. During the civil war at the end of Han he went as a refugee south of the Yangzi, where he became a close friend of Zhuge Jin and Bu Zhi. Recommended to Sun Quan by his minister Zhang Zhao, Yan Jun became a senior member of his staff.

When Lu Su died in 216, Sun Quan wanted Yan Jun to succeed him in command in the west. Yan Jun pleaded with tears that he had no training in military matters, and confirmed his demurrals by repeatedly falling off his horse. He was admired for his honesty and modesty.

Minister of the Guards under the kingdom and empire of Wu, Yan Jun went on embassy to Shu-Han and greatly impressed Zhuge Liang. He was briefly dismissed, but then became Director of the Secretariat. He died at the age of seventy-eight, leaving a discussion of the *Book of Filial Piety* and *Chaoshui lun* 潮水論, an account of the Chao River in south China. He also collaborated with Pei Xuan and Zhang Cheng in studying the works of Confucius' disciple Jilu 季路 [i.e. Zhong You 仲由 or Zilu 子路] and the ancient minister Guanxi 管子 [Guan Zhong 管仲]. -SGZ Wu 8:1247-48*.

Yan Jun 顏俊 (d.219); Wuwei. Local warlord and self-styled general, in 219 Yan Jun sent his wife and children as hostages to Cao Cao and asked for support. On the advice of Zhang Ji, Cao Cao refused to intervene in that distant region. Later that year, Yan Jun was killed by his rival He Luan of Zhangye. -SGZ 15:474.

Yan Kuang 嚴匡. In 218 Yan Kuang was Cao Cao's Commissioner for Agriculture, responsible for colonies about Xu city. Jin Yi and others attempted to seize the city, but the officer in charge Wang Bi managed to escape. Next morning Yan Kuang brought reinforcements from the troops of his command and the rebels were defeated. -SGZ 1:50.

Yan Lian 顏連; Wu. About 212 a no-man's land was developing along the Yangzi between armies of Cao Cao and the southern warlord Sun Quan. Sun Yu, Administrator of Danyang for Sun Quan, sent his

officers Yan Lian and Rao Zhu to act as magistrates of counties in Lujiang, just north of the Yangzi, and they attracted many people from the territory that Cao Cao controlled. -SGZ Wu 6:1206.

Yan Liang 顏良 (d.200). A leading general of Yuan Shao, brave but impetuous, in 200 Yan Liang was sent against Dong commandery. Cao Cao's general Guan Yu cut Yan Liang down under his own standard and his army withdrew. -SGZ 1:19, 6:195, SGZ Shu 6:939.

Yan Lin 嚴麟; Lujiang. As a junior officer in the commandery, Yan Lin was sent to Luoyang to present official condolences after the death of Emperor Zhang in 88. On the road, Yan Lin's horse died and he could not move his carriage. The former official Lian Fan passed by, and he ordered one of his mounted escort to get down from his horse and give it to Yan Lin, then went on his way without giving his name.

When Yan Lin had presented his message he wanted to return the horse but did not know whose it was. On making enquiries, he was told that Lian Fan was the sort of man who would act in such a way, and he had been in the area at the time. Yan Lin had also heard of Lian Fan's reputation, and he duly returned the horse. -HHS 31/21:1104.

Yan Long 閻龍 miswriting for Yan Pan 閻磐.

Yan Ming 晏明, the Lady (d.152); Hejian. A concubine of Liu Yi, Marquis of Liwu, the Lady was the mother of Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, of his twin brother Liu Kui, and probably of a third son, Liu Shi *qq.v.* After Liu Zhi was brought to the imperial throne in 146 the Lady was named an Honoured Lady to attend the tomb of her late consort.

In 150, after the death of the Dowager Liang Na, the Lady Yan was given title as an empress and was brought to Luoyang, where her apartments in the Northern Palace were styled the Yongle Palace 永樂宮 [Palace of Perpetual Joy]. Her household establishment was comparable to that of a Dowager and she received a pension from the tax revenues of nine counties in Julu, but she played no part in politics.

When the Lady died in 152 her body was returned to Hejian for burial with Liu Yi. The extravagant cortège was escorted by high officials, while kings, marquises and senior officials of the region were ordered to attend the last rites. -HHS 7:287-88, 297, 10B:441-42*.

Yan Mu 閻穆; Henan? XTS 73B:2986 says that Yan Mu, son of Yang Xian, went to Baxi commandery to

take refuge from the troubles at the end of Han. His son Yan Fu 甫 was later granted a district fief by Cao Cao.

Yan Pu 圃 of Baxi was indeed granted a fief by Cao Cao. There may have been a family connection, but it is most unlikely that Yan Mu was a son of Yan Xian, who was killed in 125.

Yan Pan 閻盤/槃/磐. In 89 Yan Pan was a senior colonel under Dou Xian in the great campaign against the Northern Xiongnu. When the army had gathered at Zhuoye Mountain in the south of Outer Mongolia, Yan Pan was sent northwest with Geng Kui and Geng Tan, accompanied by two troops of Southern Xiongnu cavalry under by the chieftain Shizi, to make a direct attack on the Northern Shanyu. They caught and defeated the Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain and pursued him into the Altai ranges. It is said that they captured a million head of horses, cattle, sheep and camels, killed over thirteen thousand of the enemy, and induced the surrender of two hundred thousand people from eighty-one tribal groups of the Northern Xiongnu.

In the following year Yan Pan was sent to occupy the region of Yiwu, by present-day Hami. -HHS 4:170 [as Yan Pan 磐, sometimes miswritten as Yan Long 龍], 23/13:814 [盤], 88/78:2910 [槃]; deC 84:271.

Yan Pi 嚴丕 see Zhuang Ben 莊本.

Yan Ping 嚴平 see Zhuang Ben 莊本.

Yan Pu/Fu 閻圃/甫; Ba/Baxi [see also *sub* Yan Mu above]. In 201 Yan Pu was a senior staff officer to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong. Some people claimed to have found a jade seal, and wanted Zhang Lu to proclaim himself as a king, but Yan Pu persuaded him not to.

In 215, Cao Cao attacked Hanzhong and Zhang Lu planned to surrender. Yan Pu urged him to ally himself with the local non-Chinese people and maintain a show of resistance as a means to obtain better terms. When Zhang Lu did submit, Cao Cao enfeoffed Yan Pu and gave him the Lady Dong V, former consort of Ma Chao, as wife.

In 221 Yan Pu was a signatory to the stele commemorating the accession of Cao Pi to the imperial throne. He died about 230. -SGZ 8:264-65; Goodman 98:197, 215.

Yan Pu 閻圃, wife of: see the Lady Dong 董 V.

Yan Qiao 燕喬 (d.162). Internuncio in charge of the Camp at Liyang in Wei commandery, in 162 Yan Qiao was found guilty of corruption and suffered public execution. -HHS 102/12:3256; MBeck 90.

Yan Rou 閻柔; Guangyang. As a child Yan Rou lived among the Xianbi and the Wuhuan, and he was known and trusted by them. In 195 he brought Xianbi to support the rising of Xianyu Fu against Gongsun Zan. Styling himself Major of the Wuhuan, he raised a mixed force of Chinese and non-Chinese to defeat and kill Zou Dan, Gongsun Zan's Administrator of Yuyang.

Yan Rou and his followers then joined Xianyu Fu for the main attack on Gongsun Zan, and at some stage he killed the Protector of the Wuhuan, Xing Ju, and took his title. Yuan Shao confirmed Yan Rou in that office and for several years he kept the northern frontier at peace.

In 205, after Cao Cao had driven the Yuan from Ji province, Yan Rou brought a number of Xianbi and Wuhuan to submit to him. Cao Cao confirmed him once more as Protector. In 207 Yan Rou took part in the campaign which destroyed the Wuhuan and the Yuan brothers at White Wolf Mountain. He was enfeoffed as a secondary marquis.

A personal favourite of Cao Cao and a close friend of Cao Pi, Yan Rou was later raised in fief, and as General on the Liao he was actively engaged in diplomacy on the frontier. He was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele set up after Cao Pi took the imperial title. -HHS 90/80:2984, SGZ 8:243, 247, 30: 835-39, LS 19:3a; Goodman 98:196.

Yan Shou 嚴授 (d.106); Yuyang. In 106 Yan Shou was a local officer in the commandery responsible for military affairs. When several hundred Xianbi horsemen came on a raiding party, the Administrator Zhang Xian took levies in pursuit beyond the borders, and as he saw the fires of the raiders' camp he prepared to attack. Yan Shou urged him to wait in case there was a trap, but Zhang Xian ordered an immediate assault. There was indeed an ambush; Yan Shou killed several of the enemy but was wounded a dozen times and died in the front line, while Zhang Xian and two senior clerks were also killed.

When the regent Dowager Deng heard of this, she issued an edict in honour of Yan Shou and his comrades, granted their families 100,000 cash, and had one of each officer's sons appointed as a gentleman cadet. The family of Zhang Xian, who had been responsible for the disaster, received 600,000 cash and two cadet appointments. -HHS 81/71:2672, 90/80:2986.

Yan Shuo 嚴說 see *sub* Cen Peng and also Yan You

II.

Yan Song 嚴嵩 see Yan Chong 嚴崇.

Yan Wei 嚴鮪 see Liu Wei 劉鮪. -HHS 43/33:1462.

Yan Wen 閻溫 [Bojian 伯儉] (d.213); Hanyang. Attendant Officer to the Inspector of Liang province, Wei Kang, in 213 Yan Wen was appointed brevet magistrate of Shanggui county, just east of Ji city, which was the capital of the commandery and the province.

When Ma Chao attacked Hanyang, he came to Shanggui, and though Yan Wen sought to hold his position he was betrayed by his men and compelled to escape to Ji. As Ma Chao's army surrounded the city, Wei Kang sent Yan Wen to seek help from Xiahou Yuan, Cao Cao's commander in the region. Yan Wen, however, was captured, and Ma Chao then brought him before the walls and ordered him to tell the defenders there was no help to be found. Yan Wen, however, called out that relief was just three days away; the people of the city were suitably encouraged.

Ma Chao pressed him to change his statement, but Yan Wen refused: "When a man serves a lord, he can die for him only once. I am old, and you want me to say something dishonourable?" Ma Chao killed him. -SGZ 18:550.*

Yan, White Tiger 嚴白虎; Wu. During the 190s this local leader commanded a band in the hills. When Sun Ce came to Wu commandery in 195 he gave refuge to the deposed Administrator Xu Gong, but though they threatened his flank as he advanced against Kuaiji in the following year, Sun Ce paid them no concern. On his return, he dealt with various gentry opponents but did not attend to White Tiger Yan.

In 197 Cao Cao's agent Chen Yu encouraged Yan to stir up trouble. Sun Ce sent Lü Fan to drive Chen Yu away and went himself to attack Yan. Defeating his forces, he drove him to refuge with Xu Zhao in the south of the commandery. He did not press the matter further, and Yan probably died soon afterwards.

In 200 remnants of White Tiger Yan's band joined Xu Gong in alliance with Cao Cao's agent Chen Deng to cause trouble behind Sun Ce as he moved against Huang Zu in the west. Sun Ce came back and defeated them, killing Xu Gong, but was then ambushed and killed by his late enemy's followers. -SGZ Wu 1:1104, 1111.

Yan Wu 嚴武 [Ziqing 子卿]; Pengcheng. A nephew of Yan Jun, Yan Wu was an expert in "surrounding chess"

圍棊 [Japanese *Go*] and an ornament to the court of Sun Quan. -*SGZ* Wu 18:1425-26.

Yan Xian 閻憲 [Mengdu 孟度]; Hanzhong. As a county magistrate in Guanghan about 100, Yan Xian governed with great courtesy, and so influenced his citizens that none would offend him. When a man found a valuable roll of cloth he returned it to its owner, remarking that he could not let Yan Xian down.

Yan Xian was later transferred to Shu commandery, and thousands of people came weeping to see him off. -*HYZ* 10C:168.

Yan Xian 閻顯 (d.125); Henan. Son of Yan Chang and elder brother of Yan Yi, Empress of Emperor An, Yan Xian succeeded to his father's marquisate in 117. When Emperor An established his personal rule following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, Yan Xian became Bearer of the Mace, while his brothers Jing, Yao and Yan also received high appointments. In 122 Yan Xian was granted a new and more valuable fief, while his young sons and nephews received junior appointments as Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates.

In 124 Yan Xian took Geng Bao's place as Minister Herald, and the Yan group and its allies now dominated the court and commanded the palace guards. When Emperor An died on a progress to Nanyang in the following year, Yan Xian aided his sister the empress to conceal the death. When it was announced and she took title as Dowager, Yan Xian was named General of Chariots and Cavalry, ranking with the Excellencies, and he was involved in the selection of the Little Emperor Liu Yi. Soon afterwards, he arranged an accusation of faction against Geng Bao, General-in-Chief, Acting Grand Commandant, and former ally of the Yan. Dismissed and degraded to a village fief, Geng Bao committed suicide, while his eunuch and other associates were killed or exiled.

Soon after his accession, the Little Emperor became ill, and it was increasingly clear that the problem was serious. The eunuch Jiang Jing urged Yan Xian to bring imperial descendants of the kings of Jibei and Hejian to the capital in order to make a further selection, while Yan Xian's officers Cui Yuan and Chen Shan wanted him to take the lead in restoring Liu Bao to the succession and his rightful throne. Yan Xian, however, continually drunk, took no action of any kind.

When Liu Yi died on 10 December 125, the Lady Yan and her brothers sought to conceal the death and arrange a new selection. Despite their official positions,

they had no firm command of the military forces at the capital, and the regular officials supported the claims of Liu Bao.

On 14 December a group of eunuchs led by Sun Cheng swore an oath against the Yan, and on 16 December they carried out a coup to place Liu Bao upon the throne. Yan Xian called up the regiments of the Northern Army, but when the colonel Feng Sui deserted he undertook no further action. Yan Jing attempted a counter-attack, but was captured and killed, and on the following day imperial clerks were sent to take the seals of Yan Xian and his surviving brothers. They were all arrested and executed. -*HHS* 10B:436-437.

Yan Xiang 閻詳. In 153 King Aluoduo of Further Jushi quarrelled with the Chinese and fled to the Xiongnu, and the Chinese placed the former hostage prince Beijun upon the throne.

Aluoduo returned and fought with increasing success to regain his position. Rather than suffer further disruption, the Wu Colonel in the Western Regions Yan Xiang accepted his formal submission and had Beijun's insignia withdrawn. -*HHS* 88/78:2931, but *cf.* *Cai* 1:1, which ascribes a leading role in the arrangement to Qiao Xuan, then Inspector of Liang province.

Yan Xiang 嚴像/象 [Wenzi 文則] (163-200); Jingzhao. A man of literary ability, Yan Xiang became a member of the Imperial Secretariat.

In 197 the Han government under Cao Cao sent Yan Xiang, as an officer of the Censorate with military command, to deal with Yuan Shu. When Yuan Shu died in 199 Yan Xiang became Inspector of Yang province. On Cao Cao's instructions, he nominated Sun Quan as Abundant Talent, but he was soon afterwards killed by Li Shu, an officer of the Sun group. -*SGZ* 21:603, 10:312, 15:463, *SGZ* Wu 1:1104.

Despite the fact that the characters of the name are written differently in the texts, it may be that this is the same man as Yan Xiang below; and *HHS* has a mistaken variant. We would need to assume that Yan Xiang left Yuan Shu's service in protest at his assumption of the imperial title, and promptly joined Cao Cao. His appointment in 197 may have been less significant than his contacts within Yuan Shu's regime and the possibility of encouraging other defections.

Yan Xiang 閻象; Jingzhao. A senior member of the staff of the warlord Yuan Shu in 196, Yan Xiang objected to his plan to take the imperial title. -*HHS*

75/65:2439. [The characters of the name are written differently, but this may be the same man as Yan Xiang above.]

Yan Xin 嚴昕; Guangling. In the late second century, Yan Xin and a group of friends went to call upon the doctor Hua Tuo. As soon as he saw him, Hua Tuo warned Yan Xin that his face showed the signs of serious illness and he should not drink wine. On his way home Yan Xin suddenly became dizzy and fell from his carriage. His companions brought him to his home, but he died that night. -SGZ 29:800.

Yan Xin 嚴訢 [Shaotong 少通] (82-150); Xiapi. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Yan Xin served as Assistant or Commandant, and then as full magistrate of several counties in the southeast, concluding his career as chancellor of a marquisate in Donglai, on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula. He was commemorated with a mourning stele. -LS 24:11a-b, LX 3:5a-7a.

Yan Xing 閻興. In the spring of 37 Yan Xing and Liu Na were sent as Commandants of Cavalry under the general Ma Wu to guard the valley of the Hutuo River, a gateway to the North China plain, against raiding by the Xiongnu.

Yan Xing later became Intendant of Jingzhao. On the recommendation of Xianyu Bao he appointed Diwu Lun to a clerical position in his office. -HHS 100/10: 3221, 41/31:1396; Bn 67:111-112.

Yan Xing 閻行 or Yan Yan 豔 [Yanming 彥明]; Jincheng. As a young man, Yan Xing was known for his strength. He became a junior military officer, then a follower of the north-western chieftain Han Sui. As Han Sui engaged Ma Teng about 197, Yan Xing fought hand-to-hand with Ma Teng's son Ma Chao, wounded him and nearly killed him.

In 209 Han Sui sent Yan Xing as an envoy to Cao Cao, who received him most generously and named him Administrator of Jianwei; this territory, in the southern part of Yi province, was well outside the area of Cao Cao's control and there was no likelihood that Yan Xing could ever gain access. Cao Cao also sent an encouraging message to Han Sui, and Yan Xing persuaded Han Sui to send one of his sons as a hostage. For his part, Yan Xing arranged for his father and mother to also go east too.

Soon afterwards Han Sui went on campaign against Zhang Meng in Wuwei, leaving Yan Xing in command of his base territory in Jincheng. Ma Chao

now sought rapprochement with Han Sui, and though Yan Xing protested Han Sui accepted the alliance and its potential for opposition to Cao Cao.

As the north-western warlords faced Cao Cao at Huayin in 211, Han Sui went out to meet him. Yan Xing was in his entourage, and when Cao Cao saw him there he reminded him of his filial duties: the fact that he was in the opposing army meant that his hostage father and mother were now at risk. After the battle, however, though Cao Cao killed Han Sui's children and grand-children, he recognised Yan Xing's attempt to avoid the conflict, and spared his parents.

Han Sui noted the special treatment, and in an attempt to bind Yan Xing to him more closely he gave him his youngest daughter in marriage. Yan Xing was obliged to accept, and Cao Cao indeed became concerned about his ultimate loyalty. Then, however, Han Sui gave Yan Xing an independent command, and Yan Xing was able to gather troops to make a surprise attack against him by night. The enterprise was unsuccessful, and Han Sui gradually restored his position with support from the Qiang and other non-Chinese. Though Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan took over Han Sui's forward positions in Hanyang, in 214 Yan Xing was obliged to abandon his campaign and bring his people east to join Cao Cao. He was enfeoffed as a marquis. -SGZ 15:476.

Yan Xu 嚴勗. In 85 Yan Xu was a clerk in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses. Known as an expert on the calendar, he was consulted by Jia Kui when he prepared his report on the revised *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system for Emperor Zhang. -HHS 92/2:3027.

Yan Xuan 嚴宣. In 24 Yan Xuan was Commandant of Yuyang. The Administrator Peng Chong sent him with Wu Han to assist Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner in the northeast for the Gengshi Emperor, against the pretender Wang Lang. Joining with troops from Shanggu, they destroyed Wang Lang's position in the north, killing hundreds of his officials and taking more than twenty counties, then relieved Liu Xiu in Julu.

Yan Xuan was named a lieutenant-general and given title as a marquis, but he is not heard of again. -HHS 18/8:685; Bn 59:73.

Yan Xuan 嚴宣. In 84 the officer of the pitchpipes 律 Yin Tong reported that no-one in the office knew how to tune the sacred instruments. The former officer Yan Chong was said to have known the art and to have

taught it to his son Xuan, and Emperor Zhang agreed that Yan Xuan should be given a trial. His method, however, proved quite unsuccessful and he was dismissed. -HHS 91/1:3015.

Yan Xuan 閻宣 see Que Xuan 閻宣.

Yan Ya 延牙 see Yan Cen 延岑. -HYGZ 5:68-69.

Yan Yan 閻晏 (d.125); Henan. Fourth son of Yan Chang, Yan Yan was a brother of the Lady Yan Yi, Empress of Emperor An. As the emperor took up personal rule following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, Yan Yan and his brothers Xian, Jing and Yao received high ministerial and military appointments, commanded palace guards, and dominated the court and the government.

After the death of Emperor An early in 125, the succession of the Little Emperor Liu Yi and the overthrow of Geng Bao and his associates, Yan Yan became Bearer of the Mace, in charge of police about the capital. The Little Emperor died that winter, however, and on 16 December the eunuch Sun Cheng led a coup to restore Emperor An's son Liu Bao to the succession. Despite his nominal authority, Yan Yan could offer no opposition to the insurgents. Yan Jing did attempt a counter-attack, but was captured and killed, and Liu Bao was placed upon the throne.

On the following day Yan Yan and his surviving brothers were executed by the new imperial authority. -HHS 10B:436-437.

Yan Yan 嚴延 [Ciqing 次卿]. When Yan Yan was Intendant of Henan, he had all the criminals from the counties under his jurisdiction brought to his offices on a particular day in winter, so they could be punished together. Blood flowed for several *li*, and the people named him "Butcher Boy" 屠伯. -XHS 5:18a-b.

Yan Yan 嚴顏; Ba. In 211 Yan Yan was Administrator of his home commandery, Ba, in the service of Liu Zhang, with his headquarters at Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing. When Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei into the province Yan Yan observed sadly that the decision was like a man on a hill letting a tiger loose in the hope it will defend him.

In 213 Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang and attacked him from the north, while Zhuge Liang and Zhang Fei brought an army up the Gorges in support. Zhang Fei attacked Jiangzhou, and in 214 he captured the city and took Yan Yan captive. He swore at Yan Yan for having failed to surrender when a great army arrived, but Yan Yan replied that "Our province has generals

who cut off heads, not generals who surrender." Zhang Fei ordered he be taken out and beheaded, but Yan Yan observed that "Beheading is beheading; why make such a fuss about it?" Recognising his courage, Zhang Fei kept him as a guest, but Yan Yan is not heard of again. -SGZ Shu 6:943, HYGZ 5:72-74, 12:221.

Yan Yan 閻豔 see Yan Xing 閻行. At some stage in his career this man changed his personal name; the histories refer to him as Yan Xing. -SGZ 15:476.

Yan Yang 閻陽/楊. Formerly a magistrate in Henan, Yan Yang was noted for criticism and satire. The Excellency Huo Ba recommended him to Guangwu, but the emperor disliked him and was for a time suspicious of Huo Ba on this account. -HHS 26/16:910, 83/73:2782. Yan Yang was also recorded by Huangfu Mi of the third century in his *Gaoshi zhuan*.

Yan Yao 閻耀 (d.125); Henan. Third son of Yan Chang, he was a brother of Yan Yi, Empress of Emperor An. As the emperor took up personal rule following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, Yan Yao and his brothers Xian, Jing and Yan received high ministerial and military appointments, commanded palace guards, and dominated the court and the government.

After the death of Emperor An early in 125, the succession of the Little Emperor Liu Yi and the overthrow of Geng Bao and his associates, Yan Yao became Colonel of the City Gates. That winter the Little Emperor died, and on 16 December the eunuch Sun Cheng led a coup to restore Emperor An's son Liu Bao to the succession. Despite his nominal authority, Yan Yao could offer no opposition to the insurgents. Yan Jing did attempt a counter-attack, but was captured and killed, and Liu Bao was placed upon the throne.

On the following day Yan Yao and his surviving brothers were executed. -HHS 10B:436-437.

Yan Yi 閻姬, the Lady; see the Lady Yan Ji 閻姬, Empress of Emperor An.

Yan Yi 嚴翊. When Yan Yi was Administrator of Yingchuan, if any of his subordinates committed a fault, he would retire into his office and blame himself. -XC 7:2b.

Yan Yin 閻尹 *i.e.* Yan Xian 閻憲. -HYGZ 10C:168.

Yan Yong 嚴永; Ba. Known as a filial son, Yan Yong was recommended by the Administrator Wang Tang about 120, and he rose to high office. -HYGZ 1:5, 10B: 145.

Yan You 嚴尤 I see Zhuang You 莊尤.

Yan You 嚴尤 II. DGHJ 9:11a mentions a certain Yan

You, Assistant Administrator for Wang Mang, in the defence of Wan city against the Han rebels in 23. *HHS* 17/7:653, however, has the name as Yan Shuo 嚴說. See *sub* Cen Peng, and Bn 54:118.

This person must be distinguished from the Yan You cited above, who was a man of higher rank; it is probable that the personal name was indeed Shuo. The surname Yan may also have been changed in the history to avoid taboo on the character Zhuang 莊: see the note on the surname above.

Yan Yu 嚴羽 [Ziyi 子翼]; Ba. Son of Yan Zun, Inspector of Yang province, Yan Yu became Inspector of Xu province. When his father died, the people of Yang province offered a million cash for his funeral. Yan Yu did not want to accept such a gift, but he likewise did not wish to upset the donors, so he had the money distributed among family dependents. The Administrator Ying Jixian celebrated this in a poem. -*HYZ* 1:4, 12:218.

Yan Yu 嚴興 (d.197); Wu. A younger brother of the local chieftain White Tiger Yan, as Sun Ce came to attack in 197 Yan Yu was sent to parley with him. They met face-to-face, but when Sun Ce drew a sword Yan Yu jumped in fright; Sun Ce promptly killed him.

Yan Yu had held a reputation for bravery, so his followers were now frightened and were easily defeated. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1105.

Yan Yuan 燕瑗. Evidently an associate of the eunuchs at court, in 163 Yan Yuan was Emissary to the Xiongnu. Impeached for misconduct by the Excellency Yang Bing, he was either dismissed or, more probably, executed. -*HHS* 54/44:1772.

Yan Zhang 閻章; Henan. A member of the Imperial Secretariat in the time of Emperor Ming, Yan Zhang was recognised for his knowledge of legal precedent. It was argued that he was worthy of high office, but the emperor explained that two of Yan Zhang's sisters were Honoured Ladies in his harem, and he did not wish to confuse the affairs of the inner and the outer court. So Yan Zhang was appointed only as a colonel in the Northern Army.

In 65 Yan Zhang was a colonel under the newly-appointed Acting General on the Liao Wu Tang. -*HHS* 10B:435, 89/79:2949.

Yan Zhi 閻芝 (d.228). In 222 Yan Zhi was Administrator in Ba for Liu Bei, and sent him reinforcements after his defeat by Wu in 222. He died on service with Zhuge Liang in Hanzhong. -*SGZ* Shu 13:1048, 5:923.

Yan [Zhizhang] 彥之章; Taishan. In the early second century Yan Zhizhang was a scholar and a teacher of astronomy and astrology. -*HYZ* 10B:148.

Yan Zhong 嚴終; Yingchuan. Leader of bandits, Yan Zhong and his colleague Zhao Dun were defeated by Guangwu's general Feng Yi early in 26, and were driven to the north of the commandery, where they joined Jia Qi of Henan. Soon afterwards, Kou Xun was sent as Administrator, assisted by the general Hou Jin. The disturbance was settled, Jia Qi was captured and executed, and the others were pacified. -*HHS* 17/7:645, 16/6:623.

Yan Zhong 顏忠 (d.71); Yuyang. Associates of Liu Ying the King of Chu, in 70 Yan Zhong and Wang Ping were denounced by Yan Guang for casting omens and planning rebellion. When they were arrested they implicated others, and the alleged conspiracy claimed thousands of lives throughout the empire. Yan Zhong was executed. -*HHS* 42/32:1428; Bn 67:33.

Yan Zhong 晏忠 was an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. -*FSTY* 5f:133.

Yan Zhong 閻忠 (d.189); Hanyang. A noted judge of character, Yan Zhong became a county magistrate in Anping. After the defeat of the Yellow Turbans in 184, when the prestige of the general Huangfu Song was at its height, Yan Zhong urged him to take over government from the corrupt and disorganised court. Huangfu Song refused, and Yan Zhong fled back to his home country.

After the death of Wang Guo in 189, the Liang province rebels compelled Yan Zhong to take nominal command of their insurrection, with title as General of Chariots and Cavalry. He died soon afterwards. -*HHS* 71/61:2304-05, 72/62:2321-22, *SGZ* 10:326-27.

Yan Zi 嚴孳 (d.114); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Yan Zi joined the staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. After he was killed by rebel Qiang in 110, Yan Zi joined Cheng Xin and other officers in an oath of vengeance, and when the Qiang came again four years later they all fought against them. The army was successful, but the oath-bearers were killed. [On the date of the campaign see *sub* Cheng Xin.]

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain to the families of the heroic band. -*HYZ* 2:16, 10C:169.

Yan [Ziling] 嚴子陵; Kuaiji. A local leader in the early 20s, Yan Ziling gathered a group of followers from the refugees who had come south of the Yangzi

to avoid the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang. The Commandant Ren Yan persuaded Yan Ziling and his people to lay down their arms and develop farming. -HHS 76/66:2461.

Yan [Zishun] 嚴子順; Ba. A man of official rank, Yan Zishun had only three daughters. In order to maintain his lineage, he adopted Yan Ju, who showed him the greatest filial respect. -LX 11:4b-8a.

Yan Zong 閻宗, the Lady; Yingchuan? Wife of Yan Chang, she was the mother of the Lady Yan Yi, who became Empress to Emperor An. In 122 she was posthumously honoured as Lady of Rongyang 榮陽君; that county in Yingchuan was perhaps her birthplace. -HHS 10B:436.

Yan Zun 嚴遵/尊. Four men of the Han period were known as Yan Zun: see HHSJJ 83/73:3042; Vervoor 90:285.

1. Zhuang Zun 莊遵/尊 [Junping 君平]; Shu. This man was a well-known scholar and diviner in the time of Emperor Cheng of Former Han: QHX:749. The original surname Zhuang is replaced by Yan in many texts, however, to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Ming of Later Han.

2. Zun 遵 was an alternative personal name of Yan Guang 嚴光 *q.v.*: HHS 83/73:2763. SGZ Wu 11:1326 says that Yan Zun [*i.e.* Yan Guang] refused to serve under Wang Mang; Vervoor 90:283.

3. Yan Zun 嚴遵/尊 [Wangsi 王思]; Ba. Inspector of Yang province in the time of Emperor He, he became so popular that the people refused to let him leave, and when he died in office after eighteen years they offered a million cash for his funeral: HYGZ 1:4.

4. Yan Zun 嚴尊; Shu. At some time Yan Zun was a local officer of his commandery: HYGZ 10B:156.

XC 8:3b mentions a man of fine quality named Yan Zun; this may refer to 3. above.

Yang [surname] may vary between 楊 and 揚 in different texts.

Yang 楊, the Lady (d.213?); Longxi? In 213 Ma Chao had taken Ji city, capital of Hanyang, but Zhao Ang was plotting against him. Ma Chao's wife the Lady Yang admired the Lady Wang Yi, wife of Zhao Ang, and convinced her husband to put (mistaken) trust in his loyalty.

When Zhao Ang and others rebelled, Ma Chao was cut off from Ji city; his wife fell into the hands of the enemy and was killed. -SGZ 25:703.

Yang 楊 [personal name unknown]; Yingchuan. A

county officer, he suspected Chen Shi of murder. He had him arrested and tortured, but when he found no evidence he released him. Chen Shi later became an Investigator, and recommended Yang most favourably. All who heard of the affair were impressed. -HHS 62/52:2065.

Yang 楊 [personal name unknown]; (125-175); Hongnong. This man was the subject of a commemorative stele whose text is preserved in LS 9:12b-14b. The inscription does not mention his personal name, but he is identified as Yang Fu 楊馥 *q.v.*

Yang 楊 [personal name unknown]. A eunuch Regular Attendant, he adopted Yang Dang, who became Prefect of Chang'an but maintained a greedy and corrupt administration. In 188 He Xun the new Intendant of Jingzhao reported Yang Dang to the throne, and despite protests from imperial relatives and pressure from the eunuchs both he and his father were prosecuted and punished. -HHS 58/48:1882.

Yang Ang 楊昂 or Yang Bo 楊帛 (d.195). A subordinate of Yang Feng, who was a commander under Li Jue at Chang'an, in 195 Yang Ang and his colleague Song Ye became the agents of a plot to assassinate Li Jue and free Emperor Xian. Li Jue killed Yang Ang for some unrelated reason before they could take action, but Yang Feng then set himself up as an independent general and Li Jue lost much of his power. -HHS 54/44:1768 [昂], HHJ 28:337 [帛] and see *sub* Song Ye.

Yang Ang 楊昂 (d.215?); Hanzhong? A senior commander under Zhang Lu, in 213 Yang Ang was sent to assist Ma Chao in his attack on Hanyang. When the Administrator and the Inspector of Liang province surrendered Ji city, Ma Chao had Yang Ang kill them.

In 215 Yang Ang defended the Yangping Pass against Cao Cao. His troops were defeated and he is not heard of again. -SGZ 25:701, 1:45.

Yang A'ruo 楊阿若: original name of Yang Feng 楊豐 of Jiuquan. -SGZ 18:552.

Yang Ban 楊班 [Zhonghuan 仲桓]; Shu. Students of He Chang, in the late second century Yang Ban and his colleague Luo Heng became celebrated for their fine administration as county magistrates. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Yang Bao 楊寶 (d.25). In 25 Yang Bao was Administrator of Hedong for the Gengshi Emperor. In the summer Deng Yu defeated the army of Wang Kuang and took over the commandery. He captured Yang Bao and killed him. -HHS 16/6:601.

Yang Bao 楊寶 [Zhiyuan 稭淵]; Hongnong. Descended from a distinguished lineage of Former Han, Yang Bao was a scholar of the *Classic of History* in the New Text Ouyang tradition. He lived and taught in seclusion, and when invited to office by the regent government of Wang Mang he went into hiding. Emperor Guangwu also invited him to court, but by this time Yang Bao was old and ill and again did not go. He died at home.

There was a story that when Yang Bao was a child he rescued a yellow bird in the wilderness. A man in yellow robes then appeared to him in a dream, identified himself both as the bird he had saved and as an envoy from the Queen Mother of the West, and promised fortune to Yang Bao's descendants. His son Yang Zhen became the first in a line of Excellencies of Later Han.

It is notable that Yang Zhen died in 124, aged over seventy; he was therefore born in the early 50s. Emperor Guangwu died in 57, and we are told that when Yang Bao was called to his court he was already old: since he was mature enough to have been eligible for official appointment in the time of the last rulers of Former Han, he must have been about seventy. Despite being too frail to take office, he was evidently able to father two sons, Yang Zhen and Yang Heng. It is possible that Yang Bao was in fact their grandfather, but there is no reference to an intermediate generation. -HHS 54/44:1759, XTS 71B:2347; QHX:632, Vervoorn 90:132.

Yang Bi 羊弼. Evidently a disciple of Li Yu of Youfufeng, he became an Academician at the Imperial University for the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*. About 150 he taught the scholar He Xiu, who later maintained his teachings. -HHS 79/69:1583.

Yang Bi 楊弼 [Yingbo 顓伯]. Grandson of Yang Huan and younger brother of Yang Huai/Zhun, Yang Bi was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Jiangxia. He left that office when his aunt died, but he was later nominated again, served in the Imperial Secretariat and was then Inspector of Ji province. After returning to the capital as Court Physician, he became Chancellor of Xiapi.

In 173 their fellow-countryman Bian Yu passed by the tombs of Yang Bi and Yang Huai, and set up a stele in their honour. -LX 11:11a-b.

Yang Bi 羊祜; Taishan. Son of Yang Xu, as an Imperial Clerk in 220 he was one of those who encouraged Cao Pi to take the imperial title. -HHS 31/21:1110, SGZ 2:

66; Goodman 98:111.

Yang Biao 楊彪 [Wenxian 文先] (142-225); Hongnong. Son of Yang Ci and a noted scholar, Yang Biao refused all offers of nomination and appointment until about 177 when he received a special summons. He then came to the capital as a Consultant and joined the group of scholars commissioned to prepare a fourth instalment of the official dynastic history "Record of Han" 漢記.

Other colleagues in the project were Ma Midi, Cai Yong, Han Yue and Lu Zhi, and their work included annals for emperors An and Shun, for the infants Chong and Zhi and for Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. It was at this time that the history acquired the name of *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, from the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 of the Southern Palace, where the library and workrooms were located.

Yang Biao later became a Palace Attendant, and in 179 he was Intendant of Jingzhao. He presented a report and complaint that retainers of the eunuch Wang Fu had set up a private toll-post on his borders, and the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu used this as an excuse to destroy Wang Fu and his party. Yang Biao then held a series of court, commandery and ministerial appointments.

As Dong Zhuo took power in 189 he made Yang Biao an Excellency, but dismissed him and his colleague Huang Wan when they spoke against the move of the capital in 190. The two men apologised and made their peace, and they accompanied the court to Chang'an as Household Counsellors. Yang Biao again became an Excellency under Li Jue in 192, was dismissed in 193, but was named Grand Commandant in 194. Leader of the senior officials, he protested Li Jue's seizure of the emperor in 195, and when he was soon afterwards taken hostage by Guo Si he was nearly killed when he remonstrated again.

Yang Biao accompanied the emperor on his escape to the east in 195, and he guaranteed the good faith of the general Duan Wei in Hongnong. When Li Le proposed that the imperial fugitives should escape down the Yellow River through the Sanmen Gorges, Yang Biao and Liu Ai argued from local knowledge that the passage was dangerous, with many rapids, and there were now no good boatmen [cf. Needham 71:277]. The party therefore crossed the River into Hedong.

Though Yang Biao accompanied the sovereign to Xu city, he was no friend of Cao Cao, and in 197 he was sent to prison because his wife was a sister of the false emperor Yuan Shu. Defended by Kong Rong and Xun Yu, he was eventually saved by Man Chong and returned to office as Minister of Ceremonies at the puppet court of Han. On the other hand, it is said Yang Biao also had an old quarrel with Yuan Shao; he wanted Cao Cao to kill him, but this time Cao Cao refused.

In 205 Yang Biao was dismissed, and in the following year the family marquissate was abolished, together with all the other fiefs which had been awarded by grace and favour of the emperors of Han. Seeing no hope for the dynasty, Yang Biao claimed ill health and retired from political life. When his son Yang Xiu was executed for treason in 119, Cao Cao confronted his father for showing sorrow, but Yang Biao confirmed his regret and affection.

As Cao Pi received the abdication of Han, he invited Yang Biao to become Grand Commandant, but Yang Biao refused, explaining that as a senior official he had failed the former dynasty. He was nonetheless granted special honours, with precedence next only to the Excellencies, and during the last years of his life he worked on completing the history *Dongguan Hanji* up to the end of the fallen dynasty. -HHS 54/44:1786-90*, XHS 4:2b-3b, XC 3:6b; Bn 54:11, MBeck 90:25, deC 89.

The tomb complex of Yang Zhen and six of his descendants, including Yang Biao, has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi: WW 61/1, KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Biao 楊彪, wife of: see the Lady Yuan 袁 III.

Yang Bin 楊斌; Guanghan. About 110 Yang Bin was commended for his fine conduct by the Administrator Dai Feng. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Yang Bing 楊秉 [Shujie 叔節 or perhaps Shuqing 叔卿] (94-167); Hongnong. Son of Yang Zhen, evidently the third, he followed his father's tradition of scholarship. Widely read, and expert in the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Changes*, he maintained private teaching.

At the age of forty, Yang Bing accepted an invitation to an Excellency's office. He then joined the Censorate, served as Inspector in four provinces, and was appointed Chancellor of Rencheng. He was noted for refusing all bribes and gifts.

When Emperor Huan came to the throne in 145, Yang Bing was summoned to court on account of his knowledge of the *Classic of History*, and he served as a Palace Counsellor, General of the Household, Palace Attendant and then in the Secretariat.

During the 150s the emperor frequently left the palace incognito, and during one such excursion a great storm uprooted trees. Yang Bing used the occasion to protest the sovereign's lack of propriety and the failings of government, and when his advice was rejected he asked to retire. Instead, Liang Ji had him appointed Administrator of Youfufeng. Concerned at this loss to the court, the minister Huang Qiong arranged for Yang Bing to return as a Household Counsellor, but Yang Bing was worried about Liang Ji's increasing power, and he pleaded ill health and retired.

After Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies in 159, Yang Bing returned to the capital as Minister Coachman and then Minister of Ceremonies. When he sought leniency for the presumptuous magistrate Li Yun, he was dismissed and returned home, but at the end of that year he was made Intendant of Henan.

Ren Fang, a retainer of Shan Kuang, nephew of the eunuch Shan Chao, attempted to kill Wei Yu, Assistant Officer of to the Director of Retainers. He was arrested and sent to prison at the capital. Concerned that Yang Bing would make a full investigation, Shan Kuang arranged for Ren Fang to dig his way out and escape. Though Yang Bing sought to accuse Shan Kuang, he was found responsible and was sentenced to convict service. He was released soon afterwards on account of a prolonged drought.

At the time of an eclipse Huangfu Gui and others wrote to praise Yang Bing's loyalty and honesty and urge his re-employment, but when an invitation was sent he refused it. Some senior officials charged Yang Bing and the recluse Wei Zhu with Disrespect, but Zhao Jing, Director of the Secretariat, and his officer Bian Shao argued their cause, and when a second invitation was sent to Yang Bing he accepted. He was again appointed Minister of Ceremonies, and in the winter of 162 he became Grand Commandant.

In 163, joined by Zhou Jing who was now also an Excellency, Yang Bing presented a memorial attacking the appointment of eunuch associates to substantive office, protesting their abuse of power and seeking investigation. This was approved, and more than fifty

officials were either dismissed or killed. Everyone was impressed. Yang Bing then urged the emperor to end the system, established in 102, by which Reporting Officers from commanderies and kingdoms could be kept at the capital as gentleman cadets for future high office. He argued that the additional recruitment was a waste of resources and it encouraged unwarranted expectations among men of limited ability. Emperor Huan agreed, but the appointments were renewed after his death a few years later.

In 164 Yang Bing was ordered to accompany the imperial tour to the south. The Administrator of Nanyang, Zhang Biao, was an old friend of the emperor and used his influence to his own advantage, while various attendants had taken bribes to arrange official appointments. Yang Bing complained of this and the emperor became less generous.

In the following year Yang Bing impeached Hou Can, brother of the eunuch Hou Lan, for cruelty and extortion as Inspector of Yi province. Hou Can killed himself, and Yang Bing then attacked Hou Lan and his colleague Ju Yuan. The Secretariat claimed that he was acting *ultra vires*, but Yang Bing argued that the whole of government was within the concern of an Excellency. Hou Lan was dismissed from the palace and Ju Yuan suffered a reduction in his fief. Seeing how the emperor's old allies had been weakened, other officials joined the attack, and the power and wealth of the eunuchs were curbed.

A few months later, Yang Bing died in office at the age of seventy-four.

Yang Bing never drank wine, and after his wife died when he was young he took no interest in the opposite sex. On one occasion he observed that "There are three things that do not concern me: wine, women and wealth." -HHS 54/44:1769-75*, XC 3:5b-6a, Cai 3:1; deC 89.

Yang Bo 楊博 [Zhongda 仲達]; Guanghan. Yang Bo was the son of Yang Hou by his first wife. After Yang Bo's mother died his step-mother disliked him and treated him badly. Her own son, however, Yang Bo's half-brother Yang Hou, though only nine years old, was concerned at the rift within the family. He pretended to be ill until his mother treated Yang Bo more kindly.

Yang Bo was later a Household Counsellor. -HHS 30/20A:1048.

Yang Bo 楊帛 see Yang Ang 楊昂 (d.195).

Yang Bo 楊帛. As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in 213, he left Huo Jun to guard his base camp in Guanghan. Zhang Lu's general Yang Bo offered to "assist" him, but Huo Jun firmly refused. -SGZ Shu 11:1007, HYGZ 2:22. [This is surely the same man as in the entry below.]

Yang Bo 楊白. A general under Zhang Lu, Yang Bo was jealous of the favour shown to Ma Chao. As Ma Chao failed in a second attempt to conquer Liang province in 214, Yang Bo argued that he was incapable and persuaded Zhang Lu to withdraw his support. -SGZ Shu 6:946. [This is surely the same man as in the entry above.]

Yang [Bopi] 陽/楊伯邳. Nephew of the Lady Yang Ji, Yang Bopi became Director of Retainers. -HYGZ 10B:159.

Yang [Bohou] 陽/楊伯侯; Shu. Head of a powerful local family about 150, Yang Bohou caused trouble, but was brought under control by the magistrate Liu Chong. -HYGZ 3:35.

Yang Cen 楊岑. In 62 Yang Cen was an officer of the Bureau of Astronomy. At that time the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar had been in use since 104 BC, slightly adjusted by the *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences] system of Liu Xin 劉歆 in the time of Wang Mang. Yang Cen reported to the throne that it was quite inaccurate, so that the months were out of kilter with the phases of the moon. Emperor Ming set him in charge of a special Office for the Phases and Eclipses of the Moon 弦望月食官, but at the same time he had Yang Cen's colleagues Zhang Sheng, Jing Fang and Bao Ye compare his calculations with the old *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar. That proved more accurate than Yang Cen's system, and in 69 Zhang Sheng and Jing Bao took Yang Cen's place at the Office for the Moon. -HHS 92/2:3025.

Yang Cen 楊岑 (d.145). After Deng Xian the Administrator of Jiujiang was killed fighting rebels in 144, Yang Cen was appointed in his stead. The Commandant Teng Fu defeated the main force of the rebels in the summer of the following year, but the bandit leader Hua Meng attacked Hefei, capital of the commandery, and Yang Cen was killed.

Since Deng Xian's predecessor Qiu Sheng had been executed for bad government at the beginning of the insurrection, Yang Cen was the third Administrator to die in that troubled commandery within twelve months. -HHS 6:279, 38/28:1279-80.

Yang Chang 羊昌 or Qian Chang 芊昌. About 150 Yang Chang was a favourite of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. He became Chancellor of Chen, but ruled corruptly. The local officer Qiao Xuan knew this and obtained authority to investigate him from the Inspector Zhou Jing. Despite pressure from Liang Ji, Qiao Xuan took the case to a conclusion and Yang Chang was arrested and dismissed. -HHS 51/41:1965.

Yang Chong 楊充 [Shengguo 盛國]; Guanghan. When Yang Chong was young he travelled to Luoyang and studied with a variety of teachers. He became expert in the classics, and was a friend of Li Ying, Xun Shuang and Wang Chang. Having returned to teach privately in his home country, he was later nominated as Filial and Incorrupt and became a cadet gentleman. He died in that probationary office.

A rationalist, Yang Chong considered the apocrypha valueless, and doubted they represented the teachings of the sages. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Yang Chou 楊醜 (d.198). In 198 Yang Chou was an officer of Zhang Yang, warlord Administrator of Henei. Zhang Yang wanted to aid Lü Bu against Cao Cao, but Yang Chou had an old quarrel with Lü Bu, so he killed Zhang Yang and attempted to join Cao Cao. He was killed in turn by his colleague Sui Gu, who favoured Yuan Shao. -SGZ 1:17, 8:251.

Yang Chunqing 楊春卿 (d.36); Guanghan. Yang Chunqing was a son of Yang Zhongxu [or Zhongji] 仲續/仲績, a scholar official who had migrated from Hedong into the southwest, where he maintained teaching on the *Classic of History* according to the Xiahou interpretations. He was also an expert in divination and the apocrypha.

Yang Chunqing became a military officer in the service of the pretender Gongsun Shu, and when Gongsun Shu was destroyed Yang Chunqing killed himself.

Yang Chunqing had a portfolio of black silk, containing secret writings passed down through the family. He entrusted this to his son Yang Tong, and suggested that the papers could be of value to the restored house of Han. -HHS 30/20A:1047, HYGZ, 12: 223.

Though Chunqing is also the style of Yang Guang 楊廣, an officer of Wei Ao, it is unlikely they were the same man.

Yang Ci 楊賜 [Boyou 伯猷 or Boxian 伯獻? or Ziyou 子猷?] (d.185); Hongnong. Son of Yang Bing, when

he was young Yang Ci maintained the family tradition of scholarship, teaching privately and refusing invitations to local office. He later joined the offices of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, but disapproved of his conduct. He was appointed a county magistrate in Youfufeng, but left office on grounds of ill health and thereafter refused a number of invitations. Eventually nominated First Class by an Excellency, he became a Palace Attendant and a colonel in the Northern Army.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, Yang Ci was chosen to lecture the young emperor on the *Classic of History*, and he became Minister Steward and then Minister of the Household. When a dark snake appeared above the imperial throne the emperor asked Yang Ci for his opinion, and he replied with a warning against the influence of the eunuchs and the ruler's excessive interest in his harem women. [This apparition may be dated to 169 or to 172: deC 89:429-430].

In 173 Yang Ci was appointed Excellency of Works. He left office soon afterwards because of unfavourable omens, but then became a Household Counsellor with an enhanced salary. In 176 he was named Excellency over the Masses, and sent in a memorial criticising the emperor's habit of journeying abroad informally, and linking it to the lack of good order and propriety at court. Late in the following year he was dismissed for having appointed one of the Proscribed Party to office, and again became a Household Counsellor. During this period, with his son Yang Biao and other scholars including Cai Yong, he was apparently involved in the editing of the Stone Classics project.

In the summer and autumn of 178 there was a series of portents, including an earthquake, a hen changing into a cock, a black mist in the appearance of a dragon and a dark rainbow. When the emperor asked advice from a group of scholar-officials Yang Ci and Cai Yong criticised the eunuchs' power and the new School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, which gave opportunities to its graduates at the expense of regular scholar-officials. The eunuchs turned their master against these opinions, but while Cai Yong was sent to exile in the north Yang Ci, as the ruler's former teacher, suffered only dismissal; that same winter he was honoured as Thrice Venerable at the imperial ceremony of Serving the Aged in the Hall of the Circular Moat.

Restored to office as Minister Steward and again Minister of the Household, at the end of 179 he was

again appointed Excellency over the Masses.

In 180 Yang Ci protested the emperor's plans to build the Jade Sceptre and Spiritual Jade parks on the south of the city, arguing that there were already a great number of such parks and that the new ones would deprive the people of valuable farmland. The ruler's favourites Yue Song and Ren Zhi, however, claimed that he would be "sharing them with the people" in the same fashion as the legendary King Wen of Zhou 周文王, and Emperor Ling was happy to proceed.

In 181 Yang Ci left office on grounds of illness, but he was promptly appointed Minister of Ceremonies, with special robes and insignia, and in the following year he became Grand Commandant.

For some years Yang Ci had been concerned at the development of the Yellow Turban movement as a potential threat to good order and about 180, on the advice of his clerical officer Liu Tao he presented a warning. In particular, he urged that local officials should be ordered to settle the wandering people, who provided a breeding-ground of support for Zhang Jue's sect: they should be returned to their homes in order to break up the movement. Yang Ci left office soon afterwards and though Liu Tao sent in a follow-up warning in 183 no attention was given to the matter. When rebellion broke out in 184 the emperor asked Yang Ci's opinion, but his reply was so critical of the eunuchs and their associates that he was forced to resign soon afterwards, as scapegoat for the troubles. Some time later, Emperor Ling found Yang Ci's document among some files, and he granted him a county fief. Yang Ci asked to share the reward with his former colleagues Liu Kuan and Zhang Ji and the emperor, admiring his generosity, gave additional fiefs.

Yang Ci was then made Director of the Secretariat, though he begged off appointment as Minister of Justice. He was named instead as Specially Advanced and granted residence at the capital. In the autumn of 185 he was once more Excellency of Works, but died in office a few days later. The court was closed for three days, his funeral was honoured by special insignia and an imperial escort, and further ceremonies were held on the first anniversaries of his death. -*HHS* 54/44: 1775-85*, *XC* 3:6a-b, *Cai* 3:2, 3:3, 3:4, 3:5; deC 89, Bn 76:81.

Yang Ci 楊賜, wife of: see the Lady Huan 桓 II.

Yang Dang 楊黨. Adopted son of a leading eunuch, Yang Dang was Prefect of Chang'an but maintained a

greedy and corrupt administration. When He Xun was appointed Intendant of Jingzhao in 188 he reported Yang Dang to the throne, and despite protests from imperial relatives and pressure from the eunuchs both Yang Dang and his father were prosecuted and punished. -*HHS* 58/48:1882.

Yang Dao 羊衡 (d.232); Taishan. Son of Yang Xu, Yang Dao married a daughter of Cai Yong. In 179 he and his kinsmen helped Cai Yong to escape from the capital and take refuge in the southeast from his enemies at court.

Yang Dao became Administrator of Shangdang under Wei, and his daughter married Sima Shi 司馬師 (208-255), one of the founders of the Jin 晉 dynasty. -*JS* 34:1013.

Yang Di 羊迪 or 揚迪. In 133 Yang Di was a captain at one of the gates of Luoyang. In a memorial to Emperor Shun Li Gu complained that he had obtained his position without good cause, evidently on the basis of favouritism at court, and that this was a danger to the integrity of the government. -*HHS* 63/53:2076.

Yang Ding 羊定 [Shide 德世]. Officer of Merit in his commandery, Yang Ding became extremely ill, but refused all offers of help and died on duty. -*XC* 7:13b.

Yang Ding 楊陽定 (d.139?). In 139 Yang Ding was a eunuch Regular Attendant to Emperor Shun. Concerned at the growing power of the Liang family of the empress, Yang Ding, Zhang Kui, Qu Zheng and others claimed that the empress's father, Liang Shang, together with their rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben, planned to bring princes of the imperial house to the capital and choose a replacement for the emperor. As Emperor Shun doubted the story, they followed up by issuing unauthorised instructions that Cao Teng and Meng Ben should be arrested and held within the palace.

The emperor was furious. He ordered the eunuch Li Xi to release the prisoners and arrest the conspirators. They all died. -*HHS* 6:268, 43/24:1175-76, 101/11:3245 [where the surname appears as 陽; this last, moreover, says that some committed suicide and others escaped].

Yang Ding 楊定 [Zhengxiu 整脩?]. An associate of Li Jue and Guo Si in the ramshackle government at Chang'an after the death of Dong Zhuo, Yang Ding was named a general in 194, with administrative offices. He and Guo Si planned to take the emperor into their control, but Li Jue forestalled them.

In 195, after Emperor Xian had left Chang'an, Yang Ding joined Dong Cheng and Yang Feng to force Guo Si away and escort the imperial party east. As they arrived at the border with Hongnong, south of the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River, where the local ruler Duan Wei was an old enemy, Yang Ding attempted to get the emperor to himself. He was not successful, and as Li Jue and Guo Si approached he fled into Jing province. -HHS 72/62:2338-39.

In HHSJJ 72/62:2557 Hui Dong suggests that Yang Zhengxiu 楊整脩 *q.v.* was the same person as Yang Ding, and that Zhengxiu was Yang Ding's style. The identification seems doubtful, however, for the surnames are written differently, and Yang Zhengxiu appears to have been a great deal less active.

Yang Fang 楊放. Probably about 110 Yang Fang was a county Assistant in Guanghan. He was captured by raiders but his subordinate Zhang Shou eventually secured his release. -HYGZ 10C:175.

Yang Fen 養奮 [Shugao 叔高]; Yulin. About 100, concerned and puzzled by contradictions in portentous phenomena, with alternating droughts and floods, Emperor He issued a general enquiry. Among those who replied, the commoner Yang Fen claimed that gross variations between the forces of *Yin* and *Yang* indicated the government was badly run and the people were distrustful and disloyal. -HHS 105/15:3309.

Yang Feng 楊鳳; Shu. Elder brother of the noted scholar Yang Zhong, Yang Feng was a local officer in the commandery. During the 80s, as the Administrator Lian Fan was under investigation by the provincial inspectorate, he sent Yang Feng to ask Yang Zhong to intervene on his behalf. -HHS 48/38:1600.

Yang Feng 楊鳳. A junior officer of the Secretariat, in 126-127 Yang Feng was accused of conspiring with the eunuch Zhang Fang, the Prefect Gaotang Zhi and other members of the Secretariat, and a number of frontier officials. Two officers of the Secretariat were executed, but Yang Feng and others managed to purchase relief. -HHS 101/11:3243 and *cf. sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Yang Feng 楊奉 [Jishu 季叔?]; Hongnong. Youngest son of Yang Zhen, Yang Feng was known for his personal qualities. He became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates and maintained the private fortune of the family. -HHS 54/44:1769, XTS 71B:2360, LS 12:2a.

Yang Feng 楊奉. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Yang Feng, Zhang Pu and four other Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒

received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -LX 3:8a-9a.

Yang Feng 楊鳳. In 185 Yang Feng was a leader of the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. Unable to put down these groups, the government named him Colonel of the Black Mountains 黑山校尉, with authority to nominate candidates for office like the administrator of a commandery [see also Zhang Yan]. -HHS 71/61:2310, SGZ 8:262.

Yang Feng 楊奉 (d.197); Hedong? Sometime leader of the Bobo bandit group, originally based in Xihe but later moving south, Yang Feng joined Li Jue at Chang'an. As Li Jue quarrelled with Guo Si in 195, Yang Feng joined a plot by which his subordinate officers Yang Bo and Song Ye would kill Li Jue and free Emperor Xian from his captivity. When this proved unsuccessful, Yang Feng led a mutiny and took title as a general.

In 196, amid quarrels and skirmishes with his colleagues, and occasional pitched battles against Li Jue and Guo Si, Yang Feng escorted the emperor to Luoyang. In camp south of the capital, he was approached by Dong Zhao on behalf of Cao Cao and agreed, first to recognise Cao Cao, then to let the emperor travel to Xu city. Yang Feng was nonetheless an uneasy ally, and he later sought to interfere in the move; Cao Cao then attacked and drove him south.

In 197 Yang Feng and Han Xian joined Yuan Shu against Lü Bu in Xiapi, but were persuaded to change sides: they attacked and routed Yuan Shu's men, then supported Lü Bu in his advance to the Huai. They raided Xu and Yang provinces, but by the end of the year they were short of supplies. Lü Bu was now unsympathetic, and as Han Xian went back to the north Yang Feng sought alliance with Liu Bei. Liu Bei invited him to a banquet, but then had him bound and killed.

Yang Feng 楊豐 or Yang A'ruo 阿若 [Boyang 伯陽]; Jiuquan. As a young man Yang Feng acted as a knight-errant, taking part in quarrels all over the commandery.

About 210 the local leader Huang Ang raised troops to attack the Administrator Xu Yi who had slaughtered his family. Believing Huang Ang was in the wrong, Yang Feng went to Xu Yi and undertook to lead his family to refuge in neighbouring Zhangye. As they reached Zhangye, however, there was another

rebellion and the Administrator there was killed. By this time, moreover, Huang Ang had captured the capital of Jiuquan and killed Xu Yi. Angry that Yang Feng had opposed him, he asked the new rulers of Zhangye to send him back.

Yang Feng fled to Wuwei, where the Administrator Zhang Meng gave him acting appointment as Commandant, approved his intention to take vengeance on Huang Ang, and sent him back with a commission to raise troops. Yang Feng recruited a thousand horsemen from the Qiang and entered Jiuquan from the southern hills. As they approached the capital of the commandery he ordered his men to dismount and drag branches behind them to raise the dust. Believing that a major force was approaching, the defenders abandoned their positions and fled. Huang Ang was captured and Yang Feng killed him.

Huang Hua, however, evidently another member of the clan, had established himself as a warlord in the east of Jiuquan, and Yang Feng, unwilling to face him, went west into Dunhuang.

In 220, when the government of Cao Pi obtained control of the west and Huang Hua surrendered, Yang Feng returned to Jiuquan. He was recommended Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery, and was praised by the provincial authorities for his loyalty and courage. An edict appointed him Commandant of Attendant Cavalry. He died about 240. -SGZ 18:552-53.

Yang Fenggui 楊鳳珪; Jianwei. Husband of the Lady Chen Zhu, he died young but left children. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Yang Fu 楊孚 [Xiaoyuan 孝元]; Nanhai. A Consultant at the imperial court, Yang Fu compiled *Yiwu zhi* 異物志 and *Jiaozhou yiwu zhi* 交州異物志, the one evidently a general *collectanea* of strange matters, and the other related particularly to his native south China. -Sui shu 33:983, 984; Yao Zhenzong:2377.

Yang Fu 楊敷; Hongnong. Son of Yang Feng 奉 and grandson of Yang Zhen, Yang Fu was also known for his personal qualities, but lived privately and died young. -HHS 54/44:1769.

Yang Fu 羊傳. Minister of Finance in the early 150s, Yang Fu and his colleague He Bao recommended Cui Shi for appointment at court. -HHS 52/42:1730. [This is surely the same person as Yang Pu 溥.]

Yang Fu 楊馥 (125-175); Hongnong. Son of Yang Mu and grandson of the Excellency Yang Zhen, Yang Fu served for a time as a local officer in his

home commandery, then received appointment as a gentleman cadet and became a commander of guards about the palace. Transferred to be a county magistrate in Wei commandery, he died in that office and was remembered with a stele. -LS 9:12b-18a, 20:5b-6a, XTS 71B:2347.

A tomb complex of the Yang family has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi, and Yang Fu is believed to have been one of the occupants: KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Fu 楊扶; Kuaiji. Son of Yang Mao, who moved the family residence from Hedong, Yang Fu became Inspector of Jiaozhi. -HHS 38/28:1287.

Yang Fu 楊阜 [Yishan 義山]; Hanyang/Tianshui. About 199 Yang Fu was a member of staff to the Governor of Liang province Wei Duan, and was sent to Xu city to observe Cao Cao's government. He was given title as Chief Clerk of Anding, and when he returned he forecast that Cao Cao would defeat Yuan Shao and become dominant in the empire.

Yang Fu later served Wei Duan's son and successor Wei Kang, and about 208 he was recommended by Cao Cao's agent Zhang Ji. Appointed to Cao Cao's headquarters, after the victory at Huayin in 211 he became Adviser to the Army for Liang province. He urged Cao Cao to complete the conquest of the region before he returned to the east, and particularly to deal with Ma Chao in the upper Wei valley.

Distracted by the rebellion of Su Bo in the east, Cao Cao failed to take this advice, and in 213 Ma Chao led an army into Hanyang. Yang Fu brought family troops to help Wei Kang defend Ji city, which was the capital of both the commandery and the province. After a long siege, despite Yang Fu's objections, Wei Kang surrendered. Ma Chao killed both Wei Kang and the Administrator of Hanyang.

About this time Yang Fu's wife died, and he gained permission from Ma Chao to leave Ji city for the funeral. He planned a rising with his kinsman Jiang Xu, and in the autumn they joined Zhao Ang and other local leaders to attack Ma Chao. Yang Fu was wounded and several of his family were killed, but Ma Chao was driven south across the Qin Ling into Hanzhong.

Yang Fu was rewarded with enfeoffment, and when Cao Cao took Hanzhong in 215 he appointed him Inspector of Yi province and then Administrator of Wudu. After Liu Bei captured Hanzhong in 219, Cao Cao ordered that Wudu commandery should be

abandoned and the population withdrawn to the Wei valley. Because of his acceptance among the Chinese and the Di, Yang Fu was able to bring several thousand households north, and he set up an administration in exile in Youfufeng.

About 226, shortly before the death of Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of Wei, Yang Fu was brought to the court, and he held ministerial appointment under Cao Pi's son and successor Cao Rui. A strong moralist, he criticised Cao Rui's extravagance in clothing, building and affection for women. His erudite memorials were received with courtesy, but had little effect. He died about 235. -SGZ 25:700-08*.

Yang Gao 楊高 [Shengjian 聖建] see Yang Qiao 楊喬 [Shengda 聖達].

Yang Gong 楊恭; Jianwei. As Yang Gong died young, he entrusted his children to his friend Zhang Yi, who cared for them like his own. -SGZ Shu 11:1012.

Yang Guang 楊廣 [Chunqing 春卿] (d.32); Tianshui. A local leader, in 23 Yang Guang joined Wei Cui in rebellion against Wang Mang, seizing the commandery capital and killing the Administrator. The insurgents chose Wei Cui's nephew Wei Ao as their leader, and despite the potential influence of his kinsmen, Wei Ao established his own support.

In the summer, as Wei Ao gathered his followers to swear allegiance to the house of Han, Yang Guang was styled General on the Right. When Wei Ao was called to Chang'an by the Gengshi Emperor early in the following year, he received that same title; we do not know what arrangements were made for Yang Guang.

Yang Guang evidently remained in Tianshui, but he rejoined Wei Ao after his escape from the capital in the autumn and was named a chief general. In 25 he defeated an invasion of Red Eyebrows up the Long Slope, then pursued them and drove them from Anding.

In 31 Yang Guang was approached by Ma Yuan on behalf of Emperor Guangwu, but though many of his colleagues changed sides he remained loyal to Wei Ao and held Xi county, in the hills to the south of Longxi, as a refuge for him and his family. He died in 32, just as the city came under siege by Guangwu's forces. -HHS 13/3:513-30.

Yang Guang's style Chunqing is the same as the personal name of a man from Guanghan who was an officer in the service of Gongsun Shu in 36. It does

not appear, however, that they can have been the same man. Though dates of death can be confused in the records, the two men are said to have come from different commanderies, and Yang Chunqing of Guanghan had a recognised lineage in that region.

Yang Guang 楊光. Prefect of Luoyang in 87, Yang Guang was an ally of Dou Xian, brother of the empress of Emperor Zhang. The Grand Commandant Zheng Hong accused him of improper association, but friends of Yang Guang warned him of the attack. He turned to Dou Xian for support, and Dou Xian accused Zheng Hong of slander. Zheng Hong was forced to offer his resignation, and died soon afterwards. -HHS 33/23: 1156-57.

Yang Hao 楊皓 (d.139). Chancellor of Anping in 139, Yang Hao was implicated in the plotting of the eunuch attendants Zhang Kui and his fellows against the Liang clan. He was sent to prison and died there. -HHS 6:268.

Yang Heng 楊衡; Hongnong. Son of Yang Bao, Yang Heng was younger brother of Yang Zhen. -XTS 71B: 2347.

Yang Hong 楊紘 see Yang Zhong 楊/陽終.

Yang Hong 楊弘. Chief clerk to Yuan Shu, after his death in 199 Yang Hong and the general Zhang Xun led Yuan Shu's family and followers from Shouchun. They planned to go south to Sun Ce, but were intercepted by Liu Xun, Administrator of Lujiang, and compelled to join him [Cf. *sub* Yuan Yin]. -SGZ Wu 1:1104.

Yang Hong 楊洪 [Jixiu 季休] (d.228); Jianwei. Having served in various commandery posts in the time of Liu Zhang, when Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 Yang Hong became Officer of Merit to the new Administrator Li Yan. Though they had disagreements, and Yang Hong wished to resign, Li Yan recommended him and he became Assistant Officer of the province responsible for Shu commandery. Though not a scholarly man, Yang Hong was loyal and honest, and he impressed Zhuge Liang, who had him appointed first acting and then tenured Administrator of Shu.

Yang Hong later became Headquarters Officer of the province. Following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in 220 he joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title. He was later enfeoffed, re-appointed Administrator of Shu, and named a general. -SGZ Shu 11:1013-14, HYGZ 10B:158.

Yang Hou 楊厚/后 or Yang Xu 序 [Zhonghuan 仲桓]

(72-153); Guanghan. Son of Yang Tong, when Yang Hou was nine years old he observed how unkindly his mother was treating his elder half-brother Yang Bo. Concerned for the morality of the family, he pretended to be ill, refused food and took to his bed until his mother changed her conduct.

Yang Hou maintained his father's scholarship. In 109 the planet Venus appeared in the Dipper and there was flooding at Luoyang and in many of the provinces. Yang Tong was asked to explain the omens, but he claimed to be too old and blind to see the stars, and had Yang Hou interpret the portents. A traditional interpretation would have said that such phenomena were inspired by the female rule of the regent Dowager Deng, but Yang Hou suggested that it was because there were too many princes of the imperial Liu family at the capital. When the Dowager sent them out to their estates the signs disappeared.

Yang Hou then became a gentleman cadet, and the Dowager showed further interest in his skill at divination. When he failed to find astrological endorsement for a plan to promote her brother Deng Zhi, however, he was dismissed and returned to his home country.

Yang Hou later went to the wilderness of Jianwei, where he took up farming and practiced his arts, but refused invitations and nominations from the provincial and commandery governments. As Emperor An began his personal reign in 121 the Excellency Yang Zhen recommended Yang Hou and a special carriage was sent for him, but again he would not go; he likewise rejected overtures from the Inspector Jiao Can.

In 127 Yang Hou felt obliged to accept an invitation from the new Emperor Shun. As he came by Chang'an he fell ill, but sent in a long memorial warning of the dangers to the dynasty as Han approached 350 years, and recommending various reforms. The emperor sent his physician and a gift of wine and meat, and Yang Hou eventually recovered and arrived at the capital. Appointed a Consultant and later a Palace Attendant, he received great favour. In 129 he forecast plague and locusts, which indeed came to pass, and he also cautioned against a proposed imperial tour to the west; a few years later, in 134, the Qiang disturbances were renewed. Similar warnings were given in subsequent years, relating both to court intrigue, to flood and fire, and to more distant rebellions.

The General-in-Chief Liang Ji and his younger

brother Liang Buyi sought to influence Yang Hou with gifts of a carriage and horses and jewellery, but Yang Hou asked to retire on grounds of ill health. Emperor Shun granted his request, and he returned home with further presents of carriages and horses, money and silk.

Yang Hou now practiced and taught the doctrines of Huang-Lao, with thousands of students, while the local people called him "Literary Father" 文父.

The senior official Li Gu continued to sponsor Yang Hou, and during the brief reign of Emperor Zhi in 146 the regent Dowager Liang sent a special carriage to invite him. Yang Hou pleaded age and ill health. The invitation was repeated in 149 and for several years thereafter, but he would never accept. When he died in his early eighties a special message was issued by the court. His disciples built a temple for him, and officers of the commandery held ceremonies there each spring and autumn.

Despite Li Gu's support for Yang Hou, we are told that there was general disappointment at his performance in office, and Li Gu himself observed that Yang Hou and colleagues such as Fan Ying had not proved outstanding. He nonetheless argued that they brought prestige to the court; and indeed Yang Hou appears to have been as active a soothsayer and counsellor as anyone could expect. -HHS 30/20A:1047-50*, HYGZ 10B:144 [as 序]; Vervorn 90:157, 163, 186, XC 7:15a-b.

Yang Huai 楊淮 or Yang Zhun 準 [Bopi 伯邳]; Jianwei. A grandson of Yang Huan and a man of good official family, Yang Huai was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. In 142 he was recommended by Li Gu and joined the Imperial Secretariat. He became Prefect of Luoyang, and was then Administrator in several commanderies. He returned to the capital as Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, then rejoined the Imperial Secretariat and became its Director.

An energetic censor, Yang Huai reported several Administrators for abusing their position, including Sun Xun, a nephew of Sun Shou, wife of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Despite such attacks on the dominant family, Yang Huai became Intendant of Henan and then Director of Retainers; in the latter office he reported Liang Zhong, a kinsman of the General-in-Chief, for failing to attend the New Year court [cf. *sub* Yang Xiong].

Yang Huai was later Court Architect, and he was noted for the fine quality and successful careers of the men that he recommended for office.

In 173 their fellow-countryman Bian Yu passed by the tombs of Yang Huai and his brother Yang Bi and set up a stele in their honour. -HYGZ 10B:155-56 [as 淮], LX 11:11a-b, Nagata 94:200 [both as 淮].

Yang Huai 楊懷 (d.212). In 212 Yang Huai was a general of Liu Zhang in Ba commandery. As Liu Bei prepared to turn against Liu Zhang he arrested Yang Huai and his colleague Gao Pei, charged them with a lack of courtesy, and killed them. -SGZ Shu 2:882, Shu 7:955.

Yang Huan 楊渙 [Mengwen 孟文]; Jianwei. Known for his fine qualities, during the time of Emperor Shun Yang Huan became a member of the Imperial Secretariat and was later Director of Retainers. He urged that repairs be carried out on the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges, which had been damaged during the rebellion of the Qiang. His fellow-countryman Wang Sheng the Administrator of Hanzhong had the work carried out and set up a stele with an inscription in Yang Huan's honour in 148. -HYGZ 10B:155, LS 4:3b-5a.

Yang Hui 楊會; Hanyang. In 187 Yang Hui was Registrar of the commandery when it was attacked by rebels from Liang province. The Administrator Fu Xie was killed in battle, but Yang Hui led his son Fu Gan to safety. -HHS 58/48:1878-79.

Yang Huizong 楊會宗. Son of Yang Yun, Yang Huizong inherited his marquissate, but was later found to have had unauthorised communications with the secretarial offices at the capital. He was stripped of his fief and was sent to exile in Jiuquan with all his household. -XC 8:3b.

Yang Hun 楊混 or Yang Kun 昆; Guanghan: see *sub* Yang Kuan.

Yang Ji 陽/楊姬, the Lady; Jianwei. [Editions of HYGZ differ as to whether the Lady's surname was 陽 or 楊. Simply because 陽 is the more unusual, I suspect it may be correct.]

The Lady's father, a man of humble family, was imprisoned for some fault. At that time the local gentleman Yang Huan had just been appointed to the Imperial Secretariat, and he was widely admired. The Lady stopped his horse on the road and implored him with tears to intercede for her father. Yang Huan spoke to the commandery and county officials, and the Lady's

father was freed. Impressed by her conduct, Yang Huan arranged for the Lady to marry his son Wenfang, and with this fine connection her two brothers received official appointments and the family fortune was made.

Yang Wenfang became Administrator of Hanzhong. He admired Zhao Xuan, and intended to nominate him as Filial and Incorrupt, but became ill and died. The Lady his widow, however, concealed his death until the nomination had been processed, and Zhao Xuan went on to a successful career.

The Lady's eldest son, Yingbo, became Inspector of Ji province, and her second son, Kui, was a high official. Her nephew Yang Bopi, Director of Retainers, had her live at his residence and asked her advice on policy. On one occasion she persuaded him to nominate Wu Fang as Abundant Talent. She lived to see both her protégés, Zhao Xuan and Wu Fang, become Administrators. -HYGZ 10B:159-60.

Yang Ji 羊朞 [Zhongyu 仲魚]; Guanghan. When Yang Ji's father Yang Shen 甚, Inspector of Jiaozhi under Former Han, died in that office, Yang Ji went to bring his body home and was scrupulous to take nothing from the official residence. Having refused several offers of nomination and appointment, Yang Ji later served as Officer of Merit to Cai Mao and other Administrators, and was eventually a magistrate in Henei. -HYGZ 10B:149, 12:225.

Yang Ji 楊奇 see Yang Qi 楊琦/奇.

Yang Ji 楊期 see Yang Qi 楊期.

Yang Jin 楊進, the Lady; Jianwei. Wife of Wang Bo, she showed great respect for her husband's step-mother the Lady Wen Ji, and their women's quarters were a model of harmony. The two women, together with the Lady Zhang Shuji, wife of Yang Jin's son Zun, were all known for their excellent teaching.

When the Lady Wen died she instructed her children to respect the Lady Yang as the senior of the clan. -HYGZ 10B:159, 10C:177.

Yang Jin 楊瑾; Chenliu. LS 27:1b lists a stele to this man as a chief general.

Yang Jin 羊浸/侵 or Yang Qin 侵; Taishan. Member of an old official family, Yang Jin was sponsored by Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager, and became Director of Retainers. -HHS 16/6:614, 31/21:1109.

Yang Jingyang 楊敬楊 or Yang Jing, the Lady; Guanghan. The Lady was the daughter of Yang Wen. Her mother died giving birth and when she was about

eight her father was killed by a man whose given name was Sheng. The Lady was brought up by her mother's father Zheng Xing, and at the age of seventeen she was married to Guo Meng.

Guo Meng was a friend of Sheng, who frequently visited the family. The Lady warned her husband that she could not accept this, and that she was obliged to avenge her father. The men disregarded this, but in 142 the Lady killed Sheng as he came to call.

She then intended to kill herself, but Guo Meng persuaded her instead to run away with him. The local magistrate Shuang Sheng began a pursuit, but when he learnt of the circumstances he called it off and the couple soon afterwards benefited from an amnesty.

In 187 the magistrate Xiang Zun celebrated the Lady with a portrait. -HYGZ 10C:177-178.

Yang Ju 楊矩; Hanzhong. Yang Ju was the father of four sons. He died young, but his widow the Lady Liu Taiying brought up the boys, and all rose to substantial office. -HYGZ 10C:170, 12:237.

Yang Jun 楊俊 [Jicai 季才] (d.222); Henei. Yang Jun was a student of Bian Rang, who had great admiration for his ability. As civil war broke out in the early 190s, Yang Jun recognised that Henei could become a cockpit for conflict, and he went with his clans-folk and dependents across the Yellow River to take refuge in the hill country to the south of Henan. More than a hundred families came to join the group, and Yang Jun took charge and care of them, according to their needs and regardless of rank. He met at that time with Sima Lang, Sima Yi and Sima Zhi, and admired their varying qualities.

Some time later Yang Jun led his people back to the north, this time into Bing province. There he met his fellow-countryman Wang Xiang. Orphaned and poor, Wang Xiang had become a servant, and he was flogged for reading books while he was herding sheep. Yang Jun admired him, purchased him from the family which owned him, arranged a marriage for him, and set him up with a house.

In 206, with other leaders of the region, Yang Jun was recommended to Cao Cao by his Inspector of Bing province, Liang Xi, and he was appointed a county magistrate in Wei commandery. He came to the capital as a member of Cao Cao's Imperial Chancellor's staff, was once more a magistrate, this time in Youfufeng, and then Administrator of the important commandery of Nanyang. He paid particular attention to honest

administration, established numbers of schools, and he was widely praised by the people.

Yang Jun was later transferred to command of the armies on the south, and when Cao Cao established his kingdom of Wei in 216 he named Yang Zhen as Commandant of the Capital, formally responsible for military matters of the royal fief.

In 219, after the rebellion of Wei Feng and his associates in Ye city had been put down, Yang Jun took over the investigation, determined penalties, then presented a report to the Heir, Cao Pi. Annoyed that Yang Jun had taken such authority upon himself, Cao Pi reviewed the cases, made his own decisions, rather more harshly, and recommended that Yang Jun be demoted to Administrator of Pingyuan. This was done, but he was soon afterwards re-appointed to Nanyang.

Yang Jun was an effective patron of potential talent: two of his protégés were Shen Gu and Wei Xun, both of whom had been common soldiers and both of whom rose to substantial rank; another, Wang Xiang, wrote an encomium to his administration.

On the other hand, Yang Jun had long been a friend of Cao Zhi, the third son of Cao Cao who had at one time rivalled Cao Pi for the succession. Though he did not formally express an opinion, he obviously admired Cao Zhi, and Cao Pi resented it. In 222, now Emperor of Wei, Cao Pi came on progress to Wan city, capital of Nanyang. Because the local market failed to produce some medicine he wanted, he became angry and had Yang Jun arrested. Sima Yi, Wang Xiang and Xun Wei all pleaded on his behalf, kowtowing until the blood ran from their foreheads, but Cao Pi refused to be moved. Observing simply that "I know what I did wrong," Yang Jun killed himself. It is said that all the people mourned for him. -SGZ 23:663-64*.

Yang Kuan 楊寬 [Shuzhong 叔仲]; Guangan. When a certain Ma Run revealed a private conversation with the Administrator Wu Fang, the local officer Yang Kuan and his brother Kun/Hun spoke on his behalf. Ma Run later repeated his offence, however, and Yang Kuan then told of his private affairs.

When Yang Kuan's friend Ru Kun was killed by Zhang Ming, Yang Kuan caught and bound the murderer, then sent him to Ru Kun's household to confess. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Yang Kuang 楊匡 or Yang Zhang 章 [Shukang 叔康]; Chenliu. A former student of Du Qiao, Yang Kuang became head of the guard at a city gate. When Du Qiao

and Li Gu were executed in 147, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji had their corpses displayed and ordered that anyone who approached them would be killed. Li Gu's student Guo Liang carried out mourning rituals, and though Yang Kuang initially sneered at him, he was persuaded to join him; see, however, below.

The two men were arrested and interrogated, but the regent Dowager Liang ordered they should not be punished and granted permission for them to take their masters' remains back to their home countries. Both were widely admired.

After some time teaching in the wilderness of his home commandery, Yang Kuang became a county magistrate in Pei and then transferred to the chief county of Pingyuan. Xu Zeng, Chancellor of that state, was a brother of the court eunuch Xu Huang and Yang Kuang was ashamed to be associated with him. He claimed to be ill and went to herd pigs. -*HHS* 63/53:2094.

A similar story of the loyal student is told also of Dong Ban, but *XC* 3:14b and *XHS* 4:16a have somewhat different accounts. According to their versions, Yang Zhang had become a magistrate in Pei through Du Qiao's good offices, but when Du Qiao died in prison he left that office and returned to his home. Hearing that the bodies of Li Gu and Du Qiao had been left unattended, Yang Zhang went to care for them, dressing them in silk and removing flies and maggots. Yang Zhang evidently acted without extra persuasion, his loyalty was recognised, and permission was granted for the bodies to be properly treated.

XC 3 gives the personal name as Zhang 章; a brief entry in *YSS*:15a says that Zhang was an alternative personal name.

Yang Kui 楊頴; Jianwei. Son of Yang Wenfang and the Lady Yang Yi, Yang Kui rose to high office. -*HYGZ* 10B:159.

Yang Kui 陽逵; Jincheng. In 215 Yang Kui and Tian Yue took Han Sui's head to Cao Cao and were rewarded with secondary marquisates. *Cf.*, however, *sub* Han Sui. -*SGZ* 11:350.

Yang Kun 楊昆 or Yang Hun 混 of Guanghan was the elder brother of Yang Kuan *q.v.*

Yang Li 楊里; Hongnong. In *HHSJJ* 54/44:1903, Hui Dong notes that the main text attributes five sons to the Excellency Yang Zhen, and cites *XTS* 71B:2347 naming Yang Li as the second of these. *LS* 12:2a, transcribing the stele dedicated at the death of Yang

Zhen in 124, mentions only four sons, so Hui Dong suggests that Yang Li died before his father, without holding office.

Yang Liang 羊亮. Evidently an associate of the eunuchs at court, in 163 Yang Liang was Inspector of Qing province. Impeached for misconduct by the Excellency Yang Bing, he was dismissed and very likely executed. -*HHS* 54/44:1772.

Yang Liang 楊亮; Hongnong. Yang Liang was a son of Yang Qi. When Emperor Xian reached Xu city in 196 he enfeoffed Yang Liang in recognition of his late father's assistance in the escape from Liu Jue and Guo Si at Chang'an. -*HHS* 54/44:1768.

Yang Ligui 楊禮珪, the Lady; Hanzhong. Daughter of Yang Yuanzhen, the Lady married Chen Sheng. A virtuous woman, she personally carried out the seasonal sacrifices, seeing them as her most honourable duty.

The Lady bore Chen Sheng two sons, of whom the elder married the Lady Zhang Huiying and the younger a woman of the Xun 荀 clan. Both her daughters-in-law came of wealthy families, with several maid-servants, but the Lady Yang admonished them to treat their people well so as to gain their best work. They respected her advice, and in time of trouble later the members of the household showed their loyalty.

The Lady Yang died at the age of eighty-nine. -*HYGZ* 10C:171.

Yang Lin 楊琳. When Yang Lin was a magistrate in Youfufeng, a horde of locusts came past, but did not touch his county. -*XHS* 5:19b.

Yang Lu 楊魯. A celebrated calligrapher in the time of Emperor Ling, Yang Lu's portrait was painted on the wall of the newly-established School at the Gate of the Vast Capital. -*Lidai minghua ji*.

Yang Lun 楊倫 [Zhongli 仲理 or Zhonghuan 仲桓?: see below]; Chenliu. A keen scholar when he was young, Yang Lun studied the Ouyang interpretation of the New Text *Classic of History* with Ding Hong, and became Literary Scholar in his home commandery. He became disillusioned, however, and retired to live in marshlands, where he maintained a private academy of a thousand students.

During the later years of the reign of Emperor An Yang Lun was repeatedly encouraged to take office by the commandery and officials at the capital, and in 121 a carriage was sent by the imperial court. He refused all such invitations on the grounds of ill health, but then he received special nomination from the Minister

of Ceremonies Yang Zhen as Understanding the Classics, and he accepted a position as Academician at the University in Luoyang.

In 125 Yang Lun became Tutor to Liu Yanping the King of Qinghe, but when Emperor An died later that year he went to attend the funeral and wept noisily before the imperial palace. Because he had left his post without permission the government of the regent Dowager Yan sent him to prison, but he was released a few months later when Emperor Shun came to the throne. He continued to maintain mourning at the tomb of Emperor An until the end of the ritual period, and was then appointed a Palace Attendant.

Ren Jia had been a corrupt and extortionate county magistrate in Runan. He was transferred to be Administrator of Wuwei, but was later impeached and sent to prison. Over a hundred other senior officials were involved, and Yang Lun sent in a letter urging the emperor to examine and punish all those who had recommended Ren Jia in the past. Citing the cases of the magistrates Zhang Die and Si Xian, and the Inspector Liu Fu, who had also been executed but whose example had not deterred their corrupt colleagues, Yang Lun argued that it was not enough to punish individual wrong-doers. To cut out the roots of corruption those who promoted such men must be held responsible.

When the memorial was presented, senior officials agreed that it was honest and well-intentioned, but questioned whether it was insubordinate. The matter was referred to the Imperial Secretariat, which held that Yang Lun's argument relied upon privy affairs of state. Found guilty of Disrespect, he was sentenced to three years convict service, but because of his long record of loyal advice, a special edict was issued to exempt him. He was dismissed and allowed to return to his home.

In 133 Yang Lun returned as a Palace Counsellor, and in the early 140s the General-in-Chief Liang Ji made him his Chief Clerk. They disagreed about Liang Ji's conduct of government, and Yang Lun was sent out from the capital to become Tutor to Liu Yi the King of Changshan. When he pleaded illness and did not take up the post, the Director of Retainers was instructed to pursue him. Halting in Henei, Yang Lun wrote to justify himself, and though he was again ordered to prison he once more received a pardon.

Yang Lun had now taken up office three times,

and on each occasion he had been dismissed and imprisoned for his outspoken criticism. He now returned to scholarship and took no further part in public life. Li Gu recommended him for office once more in 143, but when the carriage came to Yang Lun's gate he made a courteous refusal. He died at home. - *HHS* 79/69A:2564-65*, *XC* 3:5a; Tjan 49:147.

HHS 79/69A gives the style of Yang Lun as Zhongli 仲理. The biography of Yang Zhen at *HHS* 54/44:1761 says that as Minister of Ceremonies about 120 he recommended Yang Lun of Chenliu and four other men as Understanding the Classics; all became Academicians. Commentary to that passage quotes *XC* 3:5a, which says that Yang Zhen recommended Yang Zhonghuan 仲桓 and four other men. The characters 理 and 桓 have evidently been confused in transmission. **Yang Mang** 楊莽 [Wengjun 翁君]; Jianwei. Yang Mang was Officer of Merit in his commandery when a new Inspector, Wang Zun VII, arrived. Wang Zun had given instructions that the commanderies should not sent anyone to greet him, but Jianwei sent Yang Mang and Shu sent two other officers. Wang Zun was angry, but Yang Mang explained that, just as it was right for him not to ask for special notice, so it was also right for the commanderies to pay him courtesy.

Wang Zun was impressed, and recommended Yang Mang as Abundant Talent. He later became Inspector of Yang province. -*HYGZ* 10B:158.

Yang Mao 楊茂; Hedong. During the civil war at the beginning of Later Han, Yang Mao became a general under Emperor Guangwu and was enfeoffed as a district marquis in Kuaiji. He transferred there with his family, though the fief was later ended on account of some wrong-doing. -*HHS* 38/28:1287.

Yang Mao 羊茂 [Shubao 叔寶 or Jibao 季寶]; Yuzhang. As Administrator of Dong commandery, Yang Mao lived austere and did not allow his wife and children to live in the official residence. -*XC* 6:11a, *XHS* 5:18b.

Yang [Mengyuan] 楊孟元 (d.86); Xihe. In 86 a stele was erected to mark the tomb of Yang Mengyuan, who had been a brevet magistrate and Acting Chief Clerk to the Administrator of Xihe. -Nagata 94:34.

Yang Mi 楊密. In 195 Yang Mi was a General of the Household at the captive imperial court in Chang'an. In the course of his quarrel with Li Jue, Guo Si took several senior officials hostage. The Excellency Yang Biao criticised him to his face, and Guo Si was going

to kill him, but Yang Mi and others protested and dissuaded him. -*SGZ* 6:184.

Yang Mou 楊茂 see Yang Mao 楊茂.

Yang Mou 羊茂 see Yang Mao 羊茂.

Yang Mu 羊牧; Jiangxia. A local rebel in 20, Yang Mu is described as an early associate of Wang Kuang. -*Dubs* 55:402-403, Bn 54:134.

Yang Mu 楊穆 (d.121); Yunzhong. Officer of Merit in 121, Yang Mu accompanied the Administrator Cheng Yan to oppose a Xianbi raid led by the chieftain Qizhijian. As the commandery troops were defeated, Yang Miao sought to shield Cheng Yan with his own body. Both men were killed. -*HHS* 90/80:1987.

Yang Mu 楊牧 [Menghou 孟侯 or Mengxin 孟信?]; Hongnong. Eldest son of the Excellency Yang Zhen, Yang Mu became Inspector of Jing province and chancellor of a county marquisate in Runan. -*HHS* 54/44:1768, *XTS* 71B:2347.

HHS 54/44 mentions only Yang Qi 奇, grandson of Yang Mu, but *XTS* ascribes two sons to Yang Mu, Yang Tong and Yang Fu.

A tomb complex of the Yang family has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi, and Yang Mu is believed to have been one of the occupants: *KG* 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Pei 楊沛 [Kongqu 孔渠]; Zuopingyi. About 192 Yang Pei held a clerical position in the offices at Chang'an, and was then sent out as a magistrate in Henan. By 195 the region was gripped by famine, and Yang Pei encouraged the people to glean wild roots and dried mulberry fruit, and he organised an even distribution of any surplus food. When Cao Cao came to receive Emperor Xian in 196, he passed through Yang Pei's territory and was grateful when Yang Pei was able to provide his followers with mulberry fruit.

Joining Cao Cao's service, Yang Pei was appointed a magistrate in Yingchuan. When some of Cao Hong's retainers refused to obey the law, Yang Pei punished them, first by beating their feet, then by execution. Recognising his ability, Cao Cao appointed him successively as Administrator of Jiujiang, Dongping and Le'an.

Though Yang Pei was noted for good civil administration, he quarrelled with one of the military commanders and was sentenced to five years convict service. Before his term was ended, in 209 Cao Cao went on campaign to the southeast. He was concerned at unrest in the region about Ye city, so he summoned

Yang Pei from his convict gang and appointed him magistrate there. Even before Yang Pei had arrived, his reputation was sufficient for Cao Hong and Liu Xun, whose men had been causing the most trouble, to send warning that they must change their ways.

Yang Pei was later transferred to be Protector of the Qiang, and he accompanied the army as Cao Cao attacked the north-western warlords in 211. Placed in command at Mengjin on the Yellow River, he arrested and ill-treated an officer of the court who attempted to make an unauthorised crossing: the official complained to Cao Cao, but Cao Cao remarked only that he was lucky to have escaped alive.

After the conquest of the northwest, Yang Pei succeeded Zhang Ji as Intendant of Jingzhao. He held that office until the time of Cao Pi, when he was recalled to the capital as a Consultant.

Yang Pei always lived very frugally, taking nothing for himself and maintaining a minimal household. He later retired to Henan, where he lived in a simple hut while his wife and children went hungry and cold. -*SGZ* 15:486.

Yang [Pianzu] 羊翩祖 see Yang Zhi 羊陟. *FSTY* 3:23 refers to Yang Pianzu as Intendant of Henan. It seems likely that Pianzu has been miswritten for Sizu 嗣祖, the style of Yang Zhi, who held that office about 178.

Yang Pu 羊溥. Minister of Ceremonies in 151, Yang Pu endorsed a proposal to grant Liang Ji extraordinary honours, but the Excellency Huang Qiong put an end to the idea. -*HHS* 61/51:2035. This is surely the same person as Yang Fu 傅.

Yang Qi 楊期; Chenliu. *LS* 27:1b lists a stele to this man, sometime magistrate in Runan.

Yang Qi 楊琦/奇 [Gongting 公挺 or Gongwei 公偉]; Hongnong. Grandson of Yang Mu, Yang Qi was learned in the classics and became a Palace Attendant under Emperor Ling. On one occasion he angered the emperor when he compared him to his predecessor Emperor Huan; the ruler observed that he was a true descendant of the Excellency Yang Zhen, and would also attract strange birds to his tomb [see *sub* Yang Zhen].

Yang Qi later became Administrator of Runan, but returned to the capital in 189 as Minister of the Guards and Palace Attendant to the new Emperor Xian, now under the control of Dong Zhuo. He accompanied the court west to Chang'an, and remained there with the emperor.

In 195, as Li Jue and Guo Si quarrelled, Yang Qi dissuaded the emperor from showing his resentment of Li Jue, but then joined Zhong Yao and others in a plot with Liu Jue's officer Yang Feng to kill Li Jue. The plan was unsuccessful but Yang Feng set himself up independently and Li Jue was weakened.

Yang Qi attended the emperor as he made his escape from Chang'an later that year, but died soon afterwards, probably on the troubled journey back to the east. After Emperor Xian reached Xu city in 196 he enfeoffed Yang Qi's son Liang, in gratitude for his father's service. -HHS 54/44:1768, SGZ 6:184-86, HHJ 28:336-37, XC 3:5a-b.

Yang Qiao 楊喬 [Shengda 聖達]; Kuaiji. Son of Yang Fu 扶, in the late 160s Yang Qiao was an officer of the Imperial Secretariat. A good-looking man of great ability, he presented several policies to the court and was praised by Dou Wu. Emperor Huan wanted him to marry an imperial princess, but he firmly refused; he went back home, closed his gates and starved himself to death. -HHS 38/28:1287, 69/59:2240, XC 5:4a-4b; deC 89:83-86. [One text of XC has the personal name miswritten as Gao 高 and the style as Shengjian 聖建.]

Yang Qiao was later cited by Yu Fan as a worthy man of Kuaiji. -SGZ Wu 12:1325.

Yang Qin 羊侵 see Yang Jin 羊浸/侵.

Yang Qiu 陽球 [Fangzheng 方正] (d.179); Yuyang. A man of good official family, Yang Qiu was arrogant, skilled in arms and a student of the Legalist tradition. He acquired an early reputation by gathering a gang of young men to kill a local officer who had insulted his mother. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he joined the Imperial Secretariat, where he became known for his knowledge of precedent, and then became a county magistrate in Pingyuan. The Chancellor of the state arrested him for excessive cruelty, but an amnesty soon afterwards brought his release.

Yang Qiu was then recruited into the offices of the Excellencies, graded First Class, and sent as Administrator of Jiujiang to deal with trouble amongst the non-Chinese people of the hills. He put down the rebellion and executed several local officials for corruption. Returning to Pingyuan as state Chancellor about 176, he issued a proclamation recalling his record at county level: all became quiet. As a drought developed, however, harsh officials were dismissed to placate the elements. Yang Qiu, who was particularly

fierce, was summonsed to the Ministry of Justice, but Emperor Ling recalled his good work in Jiujiang, and had him appointed to a holding office as Consultant.

Yang Qiu then became Court Architect, an office which entailed the supervision of convict labourers. He had a quarrel with the minister Cai Zhi and in 178, when Cai Zhi's nephew Cai Yong lost favour at court for his criticism of the eunuchs, Yang Qiu sought to kill both men. He was unsuccessful and was later dismissed, but was then made Director of the Secretariat. He sent in a memorial against the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, favoured project of Emperor Ling, but it was predictably not accepted.

Yang Qiu had taken the adoptive daughter of the senior eunuch Cheng Huang as his secondary wife 小妻, and he was an ally of Cheng Huang against the Cai family. He bitterly disapproved of the corruption and misrule of Wang Fu, Cao Jie and their fellows, however, and he spoke many times of how much he wanted to be made Director of Retainers so that he might deal with them. In the summer of 179 he gained his wish, and immediately presented memorials against Wang Fu, his sons and many of their associates, including the Grand Commandant Duan Jiong. All were arrested and tortured to death; and Yang Qiu himself took part in the exercise.

Yang Qiu intended to deal next with Cao Jie, but Cao Jie had the emperor transfer him to be Minister of the Guards. Yang Qiu protested unavailingly, but other enemies of the eunuchs still hoped to reinstate him as Director of Retainers, and in the winter Chen Qiu, Liu He and Liu Na agreed to recommend him. Yang Qiu's wife the Lady Cheng, however, told her father the eunuch Cheng Huang, and Cao Jie found out. He accused the group of treasonable faction, and they were arrested and killed.

Fan Ye classified Yang Qiu as a Stern Official 酷吏. -HHS 77/67:2498-2501*, 56/46:1834, XC 5:8a; deC 89:155-157, 162-163.

Yang Qiu 陽球, wife of: see the Lady Cheng, adopted daughter of the eunuch Cheng Huang 程璜 II.

Yang Qiu 楊秋; Anding. In 211 Yang Qiu was one of the north-western allies opposed to Cao Cao. Defeated at the battle of Huayin, he retreated to his home country. Cao Cao pursued him and forced him to surrender, but then allowed him to continue in power and granted him the title of a general. He later took part in campaigns against non-Chinese rebels and

received enfeoffment.

When Cao Pi took the imperial title, Yang Qiu was among the sponsors of a commemorative stele. -SGZ 1:34-36, 26:734, Shu 6:946, LS 19:3b; Goodman 98:196.

Yang Rang 楊讓; Hongnong. Son of Yang Zhen, Yang Rang became chancellor of Zhao and of Changshan. -LS 12:2a. A tomb complex of the Yang family has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi, and Yang Rang is believed to have been one of the occupants: KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Ren 楊仁 [Wenyi 文義]; Ba. During the reign of Emperor Guangwu Yang Ren travelled to Luoyang to study the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Han school of the New Text. After some years he returned home to teach privately, but later became Officer of Merit in his commandery and was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He became a gentleman cadet, and was recommended by the Minister of Ceremonies to be an Academician, but since he had not reached the age of fifty, as required by the old regulations, he declined the appointment.

Emperor Ming chose Yang Ren as an officer of the guards in the Northern Palace, and gave him audience to seek his opinions on policy. Yang Ren presented a series of recommendations, notably on the need to recruit worthy men and to restrain imperial relatives by marriage. The emperor was impressed and presented him with cash and silk cloth.

When Emperor Ming died, the Ma family of the new Dowager came to power. Various relatives sought to enter the palace, but Yang Ren kept them back by force, and insisted on controlled access. After Emperor Zhang had taken the throne, the Ma laid accusations against him, but the emperor admired his loyalty.

Yang Ren became a magistrate in Guanghan, where he was known for encouraging scholarship and opening new farmland. He left office in mourning for his elder brother, but returned during the 80s as a clerk in the offices of the Excellency Huan Yu. He disapproved so strongly of the poor conduct of his colleague Song Zhang that he would not speak with him or share his mat; it is said that people admired his principles.

Yang Ren later became magistrate of his home county in Ba commandery. He died in that office. -HHS 79/69B:2574*, HYGZ 12:219.

Yang Ren 楊任. Father or grandfather of Yang Xin,

Yang Ren was Administrator of Chenliu about 100. -LS 18:4a-5a.

Yang Ru 羊儒; Taishan. Son of Yang Jin/Qin, Yang Ru became Minister of Ceremonies under Emperor Huan. -HHS 31/21:1109.

Yang Ru 楊儒; Hongnong. In 188, as the Liang province rebels under Wang Guo approached Chang'an, the Intendant He Xun persuaded Emperor Ling to commission private troops. Yang Ru was one of five leaders of local gentry who received title as commandants, to raise their own regiments and join the imperial forces under He Xun's command. -HHS 58/48:1883.

Yang Shan 楊禪 or Yang Chan [Wenjie 文節]; Liang. Yang Shan was some time a member of the Imperial Secretariat. About 180 he and his brother Yang Yan had stele erected in their honour. -SJZ 24:2b.

Yang Shang 楊上; Hanzhong. Yang Shang was a prospective husband for the widow Du Ci, but she refused to marry again. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Yang She 羊葉 see Yang Ye 羊葉.

Yang Shen 陽沈; Hongnong. A local leader who had taken title as a general, Yang Shen surrendered to Emperor Guangwu's officer Feng Yi in 26. -DGHJ 9:3b.

Yang [Shugong] 楊叔恭; Youfufeng. In 171, members of the staff of Yan province subscribed to a stele in honour of their former Inspector Yang Shugong, which was set up by the provincial headquarters at Changyi in Shanyang. -SJZ 8:22a, Nagata 94:190.

Yang Shun 楊舜. Administrator of Chenliu about 110, Yang Shun observed the filial piety of Gao Shi and recommended him for office. -SGZ 24:683.

Yang Song 楊竦 [Zigong 子恭] (d.119); Shu. An Assistant Officer of Yi province, in 119 Yang Song was chosen by the Inspector Zhang Qiao to take command of operations against the rebel non-Chinese in the south and west led by Fengli. At first the enemy were too numerous to attack, but an imperial letter gave Yang Song authority to raise troops from three commanderies. He did this both by impressment and by generous rewards, then heavily defeated the rebels, killing great numbers, taking some prisoners, and acquiring quantities of booty. Rewarding his men, he received the surrender of Fengli and the remaining enemy chieftains, then reported against ninety officials who had forced the people into rebellion by their oppression and extortion: they were sentenced to

commuted execution.

Yang Song now became ill and died from wounds. Though his achievements were known within the province, they had not been reported to the throne. Zhang Qiao mourned him deeply; he had a stele carved with Yang Song's likeness and an inscription in his memory, and his portrait was displayed in the Eastern Pavilion at Luoyang -HHS 86/76:2853-54, HYGZ 10A:136.

Yang Sun 羊孫 see Yangsun 羊孫.

Yang Tiao 楊調 [Junju 君舉]; Yingchuan. As Commandant of Chengyang county in Jiyin in 172, Yang Tiao was involved in the restoration of the Spiritual Terrace 靈臺 associated with the temple of the sage Emperor Yao 堯. -LS 1:8a-10a.

Yang Tong 楊統 [Zhongtong 仲通]; Guanghan. Son of Yang Chunqing, when his father killed himself in 36 he entrusted Yang Tong with a portfolio of black silk containing secret writings, which he suggested might be useful to the new regime of Han. Yang Tong studied under Zhou Xun in Jianwei, under Zheng Boshan of his own commandery and under Yan Gao. He became skilled in astrology, and in divination according to the Diagrams from the Yellow River and the Book from the Luo, *Hetu Luoshu* 河圖洛書.

During the reign of Emperor Ming Yang Tong received provincial recommendation as Sincere and Upright and was selected into the offices at the capital. HYGZ says that Yang Tong was on the staff of the Excellency over the Masses Lu Gong, and worked with him on the lore of the pitchpipes 音律. He may indeed have worked with Lu Gong, but Lu Gong was Excellency over the Masses only from 101 to 104 and from 107 to 109, so the reference to his high office at this early time is an anachronism.

Early in the reign of Emperor Zhang, Yang Tong was magistrate of Pengcheng county. His administration was generous, wind and rain came at the appropriate times, auspicious grain 嘉禾 sprouted in the courtyard of his *yamen*, and the people praised his spiritual powers. As a severe drought affected the region, Yang Tong called the forces of *Yin* and *Yang* to bring rain to his territory, and when the Administrator Zong Zhan had him perform the same ritual for the whole commandery the drought was broken.

Appointed to court as a Household Counsellor and a Palace Attendant, Yang Tong was consulted about any ominous portent. He served as Thrice Venerable of

the State at the annual ceremony of Serving the Aged, and died at the age of ninety.

Yang Tong presented a handbook and commentary to his school of thought 家法章句 to the throne, and an explanation of the *Nei chan* 內讖 apocrypha, but HYGZ observes that the text remains obscure. -HHS 30/20A:1047, HYGZ 10B:143-44.

Yang Tong 楊統 (113-168); Hongnong. Elder son of Yang Mu and a grandson of the Excellency Yang Zhen, Yang Tong acquired a local reputation for virtue, and as Emperor Shun was on progress to the west in 137 he received a special summons for appointment as a gentleman cadet. He served as Assistant in Changshan and in Jianwei, was nominated as Abundant Talent, became a county magistrate in Runan and was then Administrator of Jincheng, where his government was evidently celebrated with a stele [LS 27:4a]. Returning to the capital as a senior assistant to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, he was later a Consultant and a General of the Household.

Yang Tong died as Chancellor of Pei, and at the instigation of his students and clients a stele was set up to commemorate the achievements of his family and kinsmen. -LS 7:15b-17b, 20:4a-b, 23:2a; XTS 71B: 2347.

A tomb complex of the Yang family has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi, and Yang Tong is believed to have been one of the occupants: KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Tong 楊統; Shu. Son of Yang Song, Yang Tong became a high official but was later forced from office. -HYGZ 12:214.

Yang Taibo 楊太白; Pingyuan. A scholar of the Confucian classics, during the late 20s Yang Taibo had Ma Yan as a student. Though he is described as a man of Pingyuan, it seems likely that he had taken refuge in the northwest from the disturbances of the Red Eyebrows and other bandits in the eastern plain. -HHS 24/14:859.

Yang Tuo 楊佗. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Yang Tuo took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquissate in Nan commandery.

After Sun Cheng had forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang in 127, he and Yang Tuo and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their

good work and they were permitted to return to the capital.

Yang Tuo was later one of a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were sent away to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -*HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Yang Wei 楊偉 (d.42); Ba. In 42 the military officer Shi Xin mutinied in Chengdu, capital of Shu commandery. He took title as Grand Marshal and sent out a summons of recruitment. Yang Wei and Xu Rong raised several thousand men in Ba commandery to support him.

Emperor Guangwu's general Wu Han came with ten thousand men to deal with the rebellion. He took Chengdu after a three months siege, then sailed down the river to attack Yang Wei and Xu Rong. Their troops scattered, the leaders were executed, and several hundred followers and their families were transferred down the Yangzi to Changsha and Nan commandery. -*HHS* 18/8:683.

Yang Wen 楊文; Guanghan. After Yang Wen's first wife died giving birth to his daughter Yang Jingyang, Yang Wen married again. His second wife, Li Ping, bore him a son and another daughter, but soon afterwards Yang Wen was killed by a man whose given name was Sheng. Yang Wen was later avenged by his daughter Yang Jingyang. -*HYGZ* 10B:153, 10C:177.

Yang Wen 楊文, second wife of: see the Lady Li Ping 李平.

Yang Wenfang 楊文方; Jianwei. Son of Yang Huan, he married the Lady Yang Ji. He became Administrator of Hanzhong and died in that office. -*HYGZ* 10B:159.

Yang Xi 楊翕. In 35 the Han commander Cen Peng was moving up the Fu River into Guanghan, approaching Gongsun Shu's capital Chengdu from the east. A substantial body of his army comprised surrendered troops who had changed allegiance and, despite initial success, the new recruits became unsettled.

Cen Peng led his own men back, in order to move up the Min River directly against Chengdu from the south; he left Zang Gong to face Gongsun Shu's defences under Yan Cen, with Yang Xi as Protector of the Army to maintain order. Zang Gong later obtained further reinforcements and achieved a crushing victory, so it appears that Yang Xi's disciplinary program was successful. -*HHS* 17/7:662.

Yang Xi 羊喜; Longxi. In 35 Yang Xi was Officer of

Merit to the Administrator Ma Yuan. The Registrar was Niu Chong, and people joked about the three animals which held power: the horse 馬, the ox 牛 and the sheep 羊. -*FSTY* 5f:120 and *HHSJJ* 24/14:883.

Yang Xi 楊熹/熙. Inspector of You province in the late 170s, Yang Xi was praised in memorials presented by Yang Zhi and by Cai Yong. -*HHS* 60/50B:1995 [熹], 67/57:2209 [熙].

Yang Xi 楊戲/羲 [Wenran 文然] (d.261); Jianwei. Born about 210, Yang Xi was an officer of Shu-Han respected for his honesty. He served under Zhuge Liang and Jiang Wei, though he was later dismissed and died a commoner. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1077-78*.

In 241 Yang Xi published *Ji-Han fuchen zan* 季漢輔臣贊 "Praises of Ministers Who have Supported Junior Han;" the collection was later quoted extensively and annotated by Chen Shou: *SGZ* Shu 15:1080-90.

Yang Xian 楊賢. In 30, after the death of his brother Du Cheng, the Confucianist Du Lin obtained permission from the warlord Wei Ao of Tianshui to return to the east. Soon afterwards, Wei Ao regretted he had given approval and sent his retainer Yang Xian to kill Du Lin. When he caught up, however, Yang Xian saw Du Lin hauling a small cart and mourning his brother. Unable to kill such a worthy man, he turned away. -*HHS* 27/17:936.

Yang [Xiaozu] 楊孝祖 Runan. Recommended for office by the judge of character Xu Shao, Yang Xiaozu became celebrated for his quality. -*SGZ* 23:658.

Yang Xin 楊信 Bohe 伯和 (79-150). A gentleman of good official family, whose ancestors had migrated into Yi province, Yang Xin was honoured as Thrice Venerable of his county and a stele was set up when he died. -*LS* 18:4a-5a.

Yang Xiong 楊雄. As Director of Retainers about 140, Yang Xiong reported the Bearer of the Mace Liang Ji for having failed to attend the New Year court assembly on a false excuse of illness. Liang Ji was fined. -*XC* 8:12a.

The fragmentary biography of Liang Ji in *XC* 1: 13b has an identical entry, but *HYGZ* 10B:156 tells how the Director of Retainers Yang Huai 淮 [or Zhun 準] reported Liang Ji's kinsman Liang Zhong for the same offence some years later. It is probable that *XC* is referring to the same incident, and in this instance I regard the *HYGZ* account as more likely.

Assuming that the personal name of this man is indeed written as 雄, he must be distinguished from

his near-namesake 楊/楊雄 (53 BC-15 AD), the celebrated scholar and composer of rhapsodies of Former Han: *QHX*:637-639.

Yang Xiu 楊脩 [Dezu 德祖] (175?-219); Hongnong. Yang Xiu was a son of Yang Biao by his wife the Lady Yuan, a sister of Yuan Shu.

During the 200s Yang Xiu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became Registrar to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor. With close understanding of his master and wide knowledge of military and civil affairs, he had influence throughout the government and court.

A friend of Cao Zhi, Yang Xiu supported his claim for succession against Cao Pi, but he was later involved in scandal when Cao Zhi rode through the imperial gate at Ye city. Still more serious, it was found that Yang Xiu had revealed to Cao Zhi what matters would be discussed in council, so that he might prepare arguments in advance to impress his father [for a variant on this story, see Mather 76:292]. It was now recalled that Yang Xiu was related to the false emperor Yuan Shu, and in 219 he was put to death as a traitor.

A man of scholarship and literary skill, also known as an artist, Yang Xiu left a quantity of work, including poems, rhapsodies, official documents and letters, none of which have survived. Given his political history, it is not surprising that Cao Pi did not rank him with the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -*HHS* 54/44:1789-90*, *SGZ* 19:558-60*; Yao Zhenzong:2409, Mather 76:602.

Yang Xu 楊序 *i.e.* Yang Hou 楊厚. -*HYGZ* 10B:146.

Yang Xu 羊續 [Xingzu 興祖] (142-189); Taishan. Son of Yang Ru, Yang Xu was made a gentleman cadet on account of his family's long service, then entered the offices of the General-in-Chief Dou Wu. When Dou Wu was destroyed in 168 Yang Xu was proscribed from office.

After the end of proscription in 184, Yang Xu returned to the offices of the Excellencies and then became Administrator of Lujiang. Yellow Turbans attacked the capital, Shu city, burning the suburbs and outworks, but Yang Xu called able-bodied citizens to defend the wall, had the old and weak carry water against the fire, and gathered men to drive the enemy away. He then put down a rising in the hills, killing many of insurgents, forced the remainder to surrender and turned them to farming. The commandery was peaceful.

In 186 Yang Xu was made Administrator of Nanyang, replacing Qin Jie who had been killed by mutineers under Zhao Ci. He first went there in secret, to study the customs, hear the songs, and ascertain the quality of the magistrates and the people; when he formally entered the commandery he acted accordingly, impressing everyone with his knowledge. Raising troops in combination with the provincial army, he killed Zhao Ci and received submission from all other rebels.

Yang Xu objected to the extravagances of powerful men, his clothing and equipment were plain and simple, and he refused all gifts. In 189 he was offered appointment as Grand Commandant, but it was expected that a fine should be paid for that office. When the imperial messenger came, Yang Xu displayed his humble circumstances and explained that he could not afford to offer anything. Emperor Ling was quite displeased. Yang Xu was named Minister of Ceremonies, but died before he could take the post.

Yang Xu left no property, but according to regulations a million cash in funerary expenses were to be paid for an officer of senior rank who died in office. Yang Xu had asked this not be taken from the treasury of Nanyang, and an edict instructed his home commandery of Taishan to pay his family. -*HHS* 31/21:1109-11*, *XC* 1:9a-10a.

Yang Xuan 楊璇/璇 [Jiping 機平]; Kuaiji. Son of Yang Fu 扶 and younger brother of Yang Qiao, Yang Xuan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and in the time of Emperor Ling he became Administrator of Lingling. In 180 there was a major rising in the south of Jing province, and the rebels laid siege to his headquarters. Yang Xuan surprised the enemy by rolling fire-carts against them, and they were heavily defeated.

Yang Xuan reported his success, but the Inspector Zhao Kai, who had allies at court, accused him of making false claims. Though Yang Xuan sent in a memorial to defend himself, he was brought to Luoyang in a cage cart. There, he bit his arm till he drew blood, then used it to write a true account on his clothing, and had one of his kinsmen present it in secret at the palace. An imperial edict dismissed the charges, Zhao Kai was punished, and Yang Xuan returned to office.

Yang Xuan served with distinction in three more commanderies, but left office in Bohai. He was later recommended by Zhang Wen, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, and became his Deputy. He retired on

grounds of ill health and died at home. -*HHS* 38/28: 1287-88*, *XC* 2:3b-4a, *XHS* 3:12a-b; deC 89:165-166.

Yang Xun 楊訓; Julu. A protégé of Cui Yan, in 216 he wrote a eulogy of Cao Cao which was criticised for excessive flattery. Cui Yan wrote to reassure him, but the letter was misunderstood as an indication of disloyalty, and Cui Yan died in prison. -*SGZ* 12:369; deC 96:502-503.

Yang Yan 楊彥; Liang. Yang Yan served as a county magistrate in Taishan. About 180 he and his brother Yang Shan had stele erected in their honour. -*SJZ* 24: 2b.

Yang Ye 羊葉 or Yang She (d.138); Wu. A man of non-Chinese [Yue 越] origin, in 138 Yang Ye held command of local auxiliaries. He joined his brother Yang Zhen, who was acting Commandery Assistant, in a mutiny and general uprising, but they were defeated and killed by the Administrator Wang Heng. -*HHS* 6: 267, 101/11:3245.

Yang Yi 楊/陽姬, the Lady: see the Lady Yang Ji 楊/陽姬.

Yang Yi 楊異; Hedong. About 26 Yang Yi was a local leader of bandits. Guangwu's government sent Du Shi to attack him, and Yang Yi planned to escape across the Yellow River. Du Shi sent a raiding party to burn the boats, then conscripted commandery troops and led a surprise attack of horsemen against the enemy. Yang Yi was killed and his following destroyed. -*HHS* 31/21:1094.

Yang Yi 楊邑; Lelang. About 25 the local leader Wang Tiao killed the Administrator appointed by the Gengshi Emperor and took the title for himself. Yang Yi became a local officer to deal with crime under the new regime.

In 30 Emperor Guangwu named Wang Zun as Administrator of Lelang, and sent him with an army against Wang Tiao. Before he arrived, Yang Yi joined the local gentleman Wang Hong to kill Wang Tiao and welcome the Han forces. He was rewarded with enfeoffment. -*HHS* 76/66:2464.

Yang Yi 陽儀; Liaodong. In 190 Yang Yi was a close confidant of Gongsun Du. -*SGZ* 8:252.

Yang Yi 楊懿; Hongnong. Intendant of Henan for Dong Zhuo in 191, Yang Yi was driven away by Zhu Jun. -*HHS* 71/61:2312.

Yang Yi 楊儀 [Weigong 威公] (d.235); Nan. About 210 Yang Yi was Registrar to Cao Cao's Inspector of

Jing province Fu Qun, but he went over to Guan Yu, who appointed him Officer of Merit. He later met Liu Bei in Yi province, who was impressed by his strategic thinking and took him onto his staff.

In 219 Yang Yi became a member of the Secretariat for Liu Bei's newly-proclaimed kingdom of Han, but he quarrelled with the Director, Liu Ba, and was demoted to be Administrator of Hongnong, a territory outside the state's area of control.

In 225 Zhuge Liang took Yang Yi onto his staff, where he did well and achieved high rank. He was a bitter enemy of the general Wei Yan, and though Zhuge Liang was able to use both men, after his death in 234 Yang Yi destroyed Wei Yan. He had expected to take Zhuge Lang's place, but Jiang Wan was given the senior position. Yang Yi complained, but was instead forced to kill himself. -*SGZ* Shu 10:1004-05*.

Yang Yi 楊義 miswritten for Yang Xi 楊戲/義.

Yang Yin 楊音; Donghai. About 15 Yang Yin was chief of a large group of local bandits in a region which had suffered seriously from flooding of the Yellow River over the previous ten years. He later brought his men to join Fan Chong in the Tai Shan massif and, with other leaders, they formed the confederation known as the Red Eyebrows 赤眉.

The general account of this bandit horde is given *sub* Fan Chong, but Yang Yin and two other men from Donghai, Xie Lu and Xu Xuan, evidently maintained an association: in 24 they led the column which went through southern Henan into Hongnong and the capital region, while Fan Chong and his fellow-countryman Pang An took a southern route through Nanyang.

As the Red Eyebrows set up their nominal imperial regime in 25, Yang Yin took title as Minister of Agriculture. There was no proper court or government, and the bandits plundered Chang'an and its territory until they had exhausted it. Yang Yin protested furiously to his colleagues about their conduct and, in contrast to Xie Lu, who had Liu Xuan the former Gengshi Emperor killed, he used his authority to protect Liu Liang, uncle of Liu Xiu Emperor Guangwu, who had also been taken captive.

Early in 27, having at last abandoned the old capital region, the Red Eyebrows were forced to surrender to Guangwu. The leaders' lives were spared and they were ordered to settle in the neighbourhood of the new capital, Luoyang, where they could be kept under observation. Soon afterwards Yang Yin was rewarded

for his generous treatment of Liu Liang by enfeoffment as a secondary marquis; he was later allowed to return to his native district, and he died at home of old age. -HHS 11/1:478-86, 103/13:3268.

Yang Yin 楊殷. A magistrate in Ba commandery, about 150 Yang Yin was attacked by bandits. -HYGZ 1:6.

Yang [Yingbo] 楊穎伯; Jianwei. Son of Yang Wenfang and the Lady Yang Yi, Yang Yingbo became Inspector of Ji province. -HYGZ 10B:159.

Yang Yong 楊雍. Early in 185 Yang Yong succeeded Song Nie as Inspector of Liang, but he could do little to deal with the uprising in that province. -HHS 58/48:1881; deC 84:149.

Yang Yong 楊顥 [Zizhao 子昭] (d.235); Nan. A kinsman of Yang Yi, Yang Yong followed him to join Liu Bei in Yi province. He was appointed Administrator of Ba Commandery, and later joined the staff of Zhuge Liang, who respected his opinions. He died about 230. -SGZ Shu 15:1083.

Yang You 楊由 [Aihou 哀侯]; Shu. As a young man Yang Yu studied the *Book of Changes*, and he became expert on divination by the planets, by wind and weather, and by the force of *qi* 氣. As Literary Scholar of the commandery under the Administrator Lian Fan in the early 80s, he interpreted a flock of magpies gathered on the armoury as indicating trouble on the frontier, he used a gust of wind to foretell the arrival of messengers bringing oranges, and he saw a fuss amongst pigeons as the sign of an approaching quarrel and murder. Many of his predictions came true, and Lian Fan was suitably impressed.

Yang You compiled a book entitled *Qiping* 其平 in more than ten *pian*, and he also possessed a work entitled *Bingyun tu* 兵雲圖, being a table for predicting the course of warfare from the appearance of clouds. As Dou Xian prepared to attack the Xiongnu in the late 80s he asked the Administrator Gao An to send him a copy. Yang You objected on the grounds that Dou Xian lacked virtue and would come to a bad end. Gao An probably sent the book, but Dou Xian was indeed later destroyed. -HHS 82/72A:2716*, HYGZ 10A:134; Ngo 76:92-94, DeWoskin 83:56-57.

Yang Yu 楊豫. Son of Yang Huizong, after his father was disgraced, Yang Yu went with the rest of his household to exile in Jiuquan. He later sought permission to return to his home country inside China. His petition cited the good service of his grandfather Yang Yun, who had been rewarded with enfeoffment.

-XC 8:3b.

Yang Yu 陽譽; Ba. As a local officer in 154, Yang Yu joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. -HYGZ 1:5.

Yang Yuan 楊原. At the beginning of 190, as armies approached from the east of China to oppose Dong Zhuo in Luoyang, Yang Yuan was magistrate of Zhongmou, in the east of Henan. As the county was on the main line of the invaders' approach, Yang Yuan wanted to abandon his office and run away, but the local leader Ren Jun persuaded him to take over his neighbouring counties and raise troops. Yang Yuan named Ren Jun as his Registrar, and Ren Jun put in a formal claim to have Yang Yuan recognised as Acting Intendant of Henan 表行尹事.

In fact, Ren Jun's recommendation was meaningless, for the current Intendant, Zhu Jun, was still in the capital under the government controlled by Dong Zhuo; he did not rebel against Dong Zhuo until 191, and he kept the title when he did. It does appear, however, that Yang Yuan controlled the eastern part of the commandery for a time, and he may well have laid a claim.

Soon afterwards Cao Cao made a sortie into Henan. Ren Jun arranged for him to take control of the territory, but Cao Cao was defeated at Rongyang, further to the west, and was forced to withdraw. Yang Yuan is not heard of again. -SGZ 16:489.

Yang Yuan 羊元 see Chen Yuan 陳元 of Chenliu. -XC 5:5a.

Yang Yuanqun 羊元羣; Henan. Member of a powerful local family, Yang Yuanqun held appointment in Beihai. He was extremely corrupt, with a passion for luxury: he even equipped the lavatories in the official residence with strange devices, which he took with him when he left.

About 164, Li Ying the Intendant of Henan reported on his crimes, but Yang Yuanqun was able to bribe the palace eunuchs and they made accusations against Li Ying. Li Ying was dismissed and sentenced to convict service. -HHS 67/57:2192.

Yang Yuanzhen 楊元珍; Hanzhong. Yang Yuanzhen was the eldest son of Yang Ju. As his father died when he was young, Yang Yuanzhen began to drink to excess.

His mother the Lady Liu Taiying admonished him, asking how he could care for his brothers and sisters in such a fashion. Yang Yuanzhen apologised and mended his ways, and he and his brothers all became noted gentlemen and rose to substantial office.

Yang Yuanzhen was the father of the Lady Yang Ligu, who married Chen Sheng. -HYGZ 10C:171.

Yang Yue 楊岳; Hanyang. A younger cousin of Yang Fu, in 213 he brought family troops to defend Ji city against Ma Chao. When the city surrendered Yang Yue was imprisoned, but a few weeks later, in a coup arranged by Yang Fu, the city was taken from Ma Chao and Yang Yue was released. -SGZ 25:701-02.

Yang Yun 楊暉 was enfeoffed as a marquis. -XC 8:3b.

Yang Zan 楊贊/瓚. In 185 the Excellency Cui Lie argued that Liang province was in such a state of rebellion the territory should be abandoned. Fu Xie, at that time a Consultant, remarked that Cui Lie himself was the major problem, and should be executed. Yang Zan 贊 was in attendance as a junior officer of the Imperial Secretariat. He protested against such abuse of a senior minister in open court, and Fu Xie was required to justify himself.

In 191, after the move of the capital to Chang'an, Wang Yun was planning to kill Dong Zhuo, who was still near Luoyang. Yang Zan 瓚 was Protector of the Qiang, and Wang Yun arranged for him to act as General of the Left and go east with an army. Pretending to attack Yuan Shu in Nanyang, he would then turn against Dong Zhuo. Dong Zhuo became suspicious and ordered the troops to stay at Chang'an, so the scheme was abandoned.

Yang Zan 瓚 later returned to the Secretariat, and he was peripherally involved in the successful assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192. -HHS 58/48:1875, 66/56:2175. [The personal names are written slightly differently, but these items surely refer to the same man.]

Yang Zhang 楊章; Henan. About 91 Yang Zhang was an officer of police under the Intendant of Henan, Zhang Pu, when members of the household of the Bearer of the Mace Dou Jing, a brother of the regent Dowager, attacked the guards at the market-place in Luoyang. They were arrested, but Dou Jing then sent five hundred of his official guards, under the command of Hou Hai, to attack the offices of the market. Yang Zhang and his officers investigated the affair, arrested

Hou Hai, and had him exiled to Shuofang.

Dou Jing was furious, and he gave orders for Yang Zhang and five of his fellows be transferred from the Henan administration to his own command, so that he could punish them too with banishment. Yang Zhang and the others asked Zhang Pu for help, Zhang Pu reported the matter to the throne, and the Dowager Dou gave orders to protect the men. -HHS 45/35:1531.

Yang Zhang 楊章; Chenliu: see Yang Kuang 楊匡.

Yang Zhen 楊震 [Boqi 伯起] (d.124); Hongnong. Yang Zhen was a son of Yang Bao, who died when he was young. Following his father's example, he studied the *Classic of History* according to the New Text Ouyang tradition under Huan Yu, and also the apocrypha. Immensely learned in the classics, he became known as the "Confucius west of the Passes" 關西孔子, but he lived with his widowed mother and worked as a tenant farmer, while the many students who came for instruction also joined in the work of the fields.

Having refused all offers of appointment for more than twenty years, at the age of fifty Yang Zhen accepted local office in his commandery and then in the province, and about 110 he was nominated Abundant Talent by the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi. He became Inspector of Jing province, then Administrator of Donglai and Zhuo commanderies, and was always noted for strict morality and honesty. On one occasion his former nominee Wang Mi, now a county magistrate, wanted to give him some gold and argued that no-one would know. Yang Zhen replied that the two of them would know, and also Heaven and the spirits; Wang Mi went away ashamed.

In 117 Yang Zhen became Minister Coachman at the capital, then Minister of Ceremonies. In the latter office he reformed the selection for the Imperial University, while his appointment of the learned Yang Lun enhanced the standard of scholarship and received the approval of all Confucians. In 120 he replaced Liu Kai as Excellency over the Masses.

As Emperor An took full power following the death of the Dowager Deng in 121, his favourites of the inner court began to extend and display their influence. Yang Zhen sent in a strong memorial against the conduct and pretensions of the Lady Wang Sheng, former wet-nurse to the emperor, and her daughter Yong [or Borong]. The emperor showed the document to his intimates, and they recognised Yang Zhen as

their enemy. He protested again when Liu Gui, married to Wang Yong, obtained a fief and court rank to which he was not entitled, but his comments were ignored as before.

Despite this lack of acceptance, in 122 Yang Zhen was appointed Grand Commandant, again in succession to Liu Kai. Geng Bao, Minister Herald and uncle to the emperor, recommended a brother of the eunuch Li Run for office, but Yang Zhen refused to agree, and he also rejected a nominee of the empress's brother Yan Xian; both men were swiftly appointed by the Excellency of Works Liu Shou.

Yang Zhen continued his attacks on the imperial favourites, particularly Wang Sheng and her eunuch associates Fan Feng, Zhou Guang and Xie Yun. His remonstrances were ignored, and though his reputation was so high that they dared not act against him, his enemies' conduct grew bolder. The Lady Wang received approval to construct a great mansion at the capital, but Fan Feng and his associates embezzled materials and cash for their own constructions, and created false authorities to do so. Early in 124 Yang Zhen's officer Gao Shu obtained the incriminating documents. Yang Zhen prepared a memorial, but he could not present it immediately, for the emperor was at that time on a progress to the east.

As Emperor An was returning to Luoyang, Fan Feng and his allies made accusations against Yang Zhen, noting that he was a former protégé of the Deng family and claiming he had resented the death of Zhao Teng, who had come to offer protest some time before. As the cortège came to the capital the astronomers reported unfavourable signs, so the emperor halted outside the city to await a suitable day. At the same time, and before Yang Zhen could bring his charges, messengers were sent to take back his insignia of office.

Yang Zhen promptly retired to his private residence and dismissed his personal followers, but his enemies now enlisted the aid of Geng Bao, who presented a memorial claiming that he still showed discontent and resentment. Ordered back to Hongnong, Yang Zhen he took poison and died on the road; he was aged over seventy.

Yang Zhen had urged such students as followed him that they should carry out his funeral in the simplest fashion, but as they travelled to his home country the Administrator Yi Liang, knowing of Fan

Feng's hostility, claimed that the imperial post was being misused. He sent officers to intercept the cortège and throw the coffin, open, on the side of the road. Weeping, the attendants escorted the corpse on an ox-cart.

When Emperor Shun came to the throne at the end of 125, Fan Feng and his associates were killed, and Yang Zhen's former students Yu Fang and Chen Yi petitioned for his recognition as a loyal official. This was approved, two of his sons were made gentlemen cadets, there was a donation of a million cash, a ceremony was held to transfer his burial to a new tomb, and an imperial edict ordered the commandery to offer sacrifices.

Before Yang Zhen began his career a flock of cranes had brought him fish, symbols of his future ascension, and after his death a great bird came to mourn him. Now a fine stele was set up at his grave, with a stone statue of the bird of omen.

In 168, moreover, following the death of Yang Zhen's grandson Yang Tong, Chancellor of Pei, and at the instigation of Yang Tong's protégé Chen Shi, another stele was set up at the family tomb, praising Yang Zhen and listing his worthy descendants. It was sponsored by more than ninety gentlemen. -HHS 54/44:1759-68*, XC 3:4b-5a, XHS 4:1b-2b, HQ 1:23b, LS 12:1a-6a, Nagata 94:174.

The tomb complex of Yang Zhen and six of his descendants, including his great-grandson Yang Biao, has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi: KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Zhen 羊珍 (d.138); Wu. A man of non-Chinese [Yue 越] origin, in 138 Yang Zhen was acting Commandery Assistant in Wu. He and his brother Yang Ye mutinied and led a general rebellion, but they were defeated and killed by the Administrator Wang Heng. -HHS 6:267, 101/11:3245.

Yang Zheng 楊政 [Zixing 子行]; Jingzhao. Fond of learning when he was young, Yang Zheng studied the *Book of Changes* under the Academician Fan Sheng. Celebrated at the capital for his ability to explain the classics, he had hundreds of students.

Later, Fan Sheng's divorced third wife accused her former husband of a crime and he was arrested and imprisoned. Yang Zheng went to the side of the road where Emperor Guangwu was to pass, tore off his clothes and put plant-stalks in his ears. He took Fan Sheng's son with him, and as the emperor came by he

kowtowed then shouted that this was Fan Sheng's only boy from three marriages, and he should not be left an orphan. Even when he was threatened by imperial guards, Yang Zheng stood his ground and maintained his protest. Guangwu then ordered an enquiry and Fan Sheng was released.

Though a man of honour, Yang Zheng was fond of wine, inclined to boast, and he often behaved erratically. Admired by Liang Song and Yin Jiu, he became friendly with them, and he and his mother would visit on terms of the closest acquaintance. After a false start due to his impertinence, through Yin Jiu's intervention he also established contact with Ma Wu; in this way he was at the centre of the faction formed by the Dou clan and the family of the Empress Yin.

Despite the favour he received, Yang Zheng's informal manner evidently told against him, and he never became an Academician at the University. Late in life under Emperor Zhang, however, he was a General of the Household. -HHS 79/69A:2551-52*, DGHJ 17:5a [and cf. Yang Zheng 正 immediately below]; Bn 79:141, 106.

Yang Zheng 楊正; Jingzhao. Officer of Merit in his commandery during the late 50s, this man has a fragmentary biography in DGHJ 16:10b, separate to that of Yang Zheng 政 above. In HHSJJ 79/69A:2815 *jiaobu*, Hou Kang suggests that the two men were the same.

Yang [Zhengxiu] 楊整脩. After the assassination of Dong Zhuo at Chang'an by Wang Yun and Lü Bu in 192, Hu Wencai and Yang Zhengxiu, who had influence in Liang province, were sent to Hongnong to reassure Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo. The two men had not been treated well by Wang Yun, so they in fact made no approach to the potential rebels, but gathered their followers and went back to the northwest. -SGZ 6:181-82 PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

Though the surnames are written with different radicals, in HHSJJ 72/62:2557 Hui Dong accepts that Zhengxiu was the style of Yang Ding 楊定, a later associate of Li Jue. This seems doubtful. See also *sub* Hu Wencai.

Yang Zhi 羊陟 [Sizu 嗣祖]; Taishan. A man of old official family, Yang Zhi was known for his moral standards and scholarship. He was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served in the offices of the Grand Commandant Li Gu, graded First Class and entered

the Censorate. Following the fall of Li Gu in 147, Yang Zhi was proscribed from office as a former subordinate.

After some years, Yang Zhi was again graded First Class and became Inspector of Ji province, where he reported a number of corrupt officials. He was numbered among the worthy men in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University, but did not play an active role and was not involved in the Faction Incidents nor in the Great Proscription. He was later a General of the Household and then Colonel of the City Gates.

In 178 Yang Zhi was Director of the Imperial Secretariat, and from this position he memorialised that the Grand Commandant Zhang Hao and the ministers Guo Fang, Cao Ling and Feng Fang were in corrupt alliance with the palace eunuchs. He asked that they be dismissed and punished, but this was not approved. At the same time Yang Zhi commended the fine qualities of the former Grand Commandant Liu Chong, the Director of Retainers Xu Bing, and the Inspectors Yang Xi, Liu Gong and Pang Ai. It is said that the emperor was impressed, but Yang Zhi was transferred from the Secretariat to be Intendant of Henan.

In that office Yang Zhi made a show of frugality, eating simple meals. He brought the powerful families under control, and was respected and feared by all the people, but he was soon afterwards charged with faction, dismissed and proscribed; it appears that his fellow-countryman Humu Ban was also forced from office.

Yang Zhi was connected by marriage to the minister Cai Zhi and his nephew the Consultant Cai Yong, and in the latter part of 178 a group associated with the eunuch Cheng Huang and the minister Liu He accused Cai Yong and his uncle of seeking personal favours and of conspiracy. The accusation evidently involved Yang Zhi and Humu Ban, and the Secretariat – which Yang Zhi had recently commanded – now questioned Cai Yong. In his statement of defence, presumably responding to the allegations, Cai Yong denied any corruption, but he and his uncle were sentenced to death, later commuted.

The disgrace of Yang Zhi, and the charges against Cai Yong and Cai Zhi, may be seen as a counter-attack by a group of eunuchs and their allies in the bureaucracy against their critics; we are told that Cai

Zhi and Cai Yong were later helped to escape from Luoyang by their kinsmen of the Yang family.

Yang Zhi died in retirement at home. -HHS 67/57: 2209* & 2187, 60/50B:2001.

Yang Zhi 羊陟 miswritten for Yang Mao 羊茂.

Yang Zhong 楊終 [Zishan 子山]; Shu. At the age of thirteen Yang Zhong held junior office in the commandery. Admiring his skill in literary composition, the Administrator sent him to study at the University in Luoyang, and Yang Zhong became an expert on *Chunqiu*. When the Ailao people made formal surrender in 69 Yang Zhong was sent to the capital as Reporting Officer. He found that the records of these people kept at the capital were faulty, and after his return to the southwest he presented *Ailao zhuan* 哀牢傳, an Account of the new tributaries, to Emperor Ming.

On the recommendation of the Palace Attendant Jia Kui, Yang Zhong was appointed as an editor in the library of the Orchid Terrace. According to Wang Chong, when a flock of strange birds appeared at the imperial palace, the emperor ordered his officials to present hymns to the magical creatures, but only those of Jia Kui, Ban Gu, Fu Yi, Yang Chong and Hou Li were of high quality [*Lun heng* 25; Forke 11:274]. It was perhaps on this basis that Yang Zhong was selected.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang in 76, Yang Zhong took the occasion of a drought to urge more humane treatment for convicts sent from the southeast to settle the distant frontier territory of the north. In debate at court Yang Zhong was supported by the Excellency Diwu Lun, but was opposed by the conservative Excellencies Mou Rong and Bao Yu and by his own colleague Ban Gu. In a supplementary memorial Yang Zhong answered their arguments, and Emperor Zhang ended the program of long-distance exile.

There was increasing tension at this time between the Academicians of the New Text and the reviving Old Text which was favoured by Emperor Zhang. In 79, therefore, Yang Zhong recommended that a formal conference on the Confucian classics be held, and at the end of the year the emperor convened the discussions in the White Tiger Hall. Yang Zhong had been sent to prison for some offence, but Zhao Bo, Ban Gu, Jia Kui and others pressed his claims as an authority on *Chunqiu*, so he was released to take part in the debates.

He later received an imperial commission to revise and re-edit the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian, extending the work for a total of more than a hundred thousand characters.

Yang Zhong was a close friend of Ma Liao, who was elder brother of the Dowager Ma and Minister of the Guards. Ma Liao was restrained in his conduct, but did not keep firm control of his children. Yang Zhong warned him of this, but Ma Liao did not accept the advice, and he was later brought down by the ill-considered conduct of his son Ma Yu.

Some time in the 80s Lian Fan, Administrator of Yang Zhong's home commandery, came under investigation from the provincial authorities. Yang Zhong's brother Yang Feng was a local officer, and Lian Fan had him ask Yang Zhong to speak on his behalf. When Yang Zhong did so, however, he was punished and exiled to the north. His mother died while he was there, and he composed the mourning poem *Chen feng shi* 晨風詩. More practically, as Emperor Zhang was on a tour to the east a phoenix and a dragon were reported, and Yang Zhong presented a long paeon, *Ji aduan song* 嘉瑞頌, in honour of these auspicious apparitions. As a result, he was permitted to return to his home in Shu. He compiled *Chunqiu waizhuan* 春秋外傳, a new detailed commentary to the classic in 150,000 characters, and *Feng-Shan shu* 封禪書, a treatise on the Feng and Shan sacrifices.

Yang Zhong was recalled to court in 100, but then became ill and died. The imperial government made a donation for his funeral. -HHS 48/38:1597-1601*, *HYGZ* 10A:133, *Lun heng* 25 & 37; Forke 07:273 & 11: 469, Tjan 49:157, Yao Zhenzong:2376.

Yang Zhong 楊/陽終 (d.187). Administrator of Liaodong in 187, Yang Zhong was killed by rebels under Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju, aided by Wuhuan and Xianbi. -HHS 8:354, 73/63:2353.

Yang Zhong 楊眾; Hongnong. Son of Yang Fu 馯, and great-grandson of the Excellency Yang Zhen, as Supervisor of Internuncios in 190 Yang Zhong accompanied the court to Chang'an.

As Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, Yang Zhong accompanied Emperor Xian in his escape to the east in 195. When the imperial party was defeated in Hongnong and the emperor fled north across the Yellow River, Yang Zhong gathered some of the officials who had been left behind and brought them also to Hedong.

Yang Zhong became a Palace Attendant, and as the

remnant court came under Cao Cao's control, he was enfeoffed and named a commandery Administrator. [HHS 72/62 TC quotes HHJ 29:344 as saying that he was appointed to Dong commandery, but the present-day text of HHJ says it was Donglai. Since Dong commandery was at the heart of Cao Cao's power, Yang Zhong was more likely granted a notional position in distant Donglai, on the north of the Shandong peninsula.] -HHS 54/44:1769, 72/62:2342, HHJ 29:344.

Yang [Zhongying] 楊仲穎; Jianwei. Son of Yang Wenfang and the Lady Yang Yi, Yang Zhongying rose to high rank. -HYGZ 12:229.

Yang [Zhongzhen] 楊仲珍; Hanzhong. Yang Zhongzhen was the second son of Yang Ju. His father died when he was young, and his mother the Lady Liu Taiying brought up Yang Zhongzhen and his brothers.

On one occasion Yang Zhongzhen had his mother invite a friend home, but he proved quite unsuitable. The Lady Yang admonished him, and thereafter Yang Zhongzhen dealt only with worthy men.

Yang Zhongzhen and his brothers all became noted gentlemen and rose to substantial office. -HYGZ 10C: 171.

Yang Zhou 楊周; Youfufeng. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Yang Zhou became warlord in his home county. He and other leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Shu, but in 27 they were conquered by Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi. -HHS 17/7:647.

Yang Zhu 楊著 (116-168); Hongnong. Son of Yang Rang and a grandson of the Excellency Yang Zhen, Yang Zhu was a local officer at his commandery headquarters, then joined the provincial staff of the Director of Retainers. Following appointment to the offices of the Grand Commandant, he became a county magistrate in Runan and in Hejian.

Yang Zhu was evidently very close to his cousin Yang Tong, and when Yang Tong died in 168 he grieved and followed him soon afterwards. -LS 11:19b-22b, 12:2a, 20:6a-b, Nagata 94:172.

A tomb complex of the Yang family has been identified in present-day Tongguan county in Shenxi, and Yang Zhu is believed to have been one of the occupants: KG 63/1 [Wang Zhongshu].

Yang Zhu's funerary stele says that he took part in editing the Confucian classics and held office as a Consultant while doing so. If he died in 168, however, his editorial work cannot have been part of the celebrated Stone Classics of Emperor Ling, for that project took place in the late 170s and early 180s. It is possible some earlier editing was commissioned by Emperor Huan. See HHSJJ 60/50B:2149-50 Hang Shijun.

Yang Zhun 楊準 see Yang Huai 楊淮. -HYGZ 10B: 155-56.

Yang Zong 楊宗 [Dezhong 德仲]; Guanghan. Formerly an Administrator of Yizhou commandery, Yang Zong had a tomb in his homeland. -LS 13:5b, Nagata 94:316.

Yangfeng 楊封; Qiang. A chieftain of the Qiang, in 36 Yangfeng acted as envoy for Ma Yuan. He persuaded several leaders outside the frontier to submit to Han. -HHS 24/14:836.

Yangpu 楊僕; Di. A king of the Di people of Wudu, in 220 Yangpu led his people to surrender to Wei. They were settled in Hanyang. -SGZ 2:60.

Yangsun 羊孫; non-Chinese. Tribesmen of the hill county in the west of Wuling, in 116 Yangsun and his colleague Chentang took over an indigenous rebellion which had begun the year before. Styling themselves generals and adopting red caps as a uniform, they destroyed government offices and plundered the people. The provincial authorities called up auxiliaries from tribes which had stayed loyal, and the trouble was put down. -HHS 86/76:2833.

Yanliu 延留 of Dayuan [Ferghana]. King of Dayuan about 50, Yanliu was expected to send tribute to King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand], who had established dominance over the region. When the amount proved insufficient, Xian took an army of ten thousand men and Yanliu surrendered.

Xian brought Yanliu back to Suoju, and sent Qiaosaiti the King of Jumi [present-day Yutian] to rule in his stead. Qiaosaiti, however, suffered repeated attacks from Kangju [Sogdiana] in the west, and after a year he abandoned his position. Xian sent Yanliu back, and the tribute system was restored. -HHS 88/78: 2925.

Yanliyang 燕荔陽; Xianbi. A tribal chieftain, about 110 Yanliyang came to pay tribute to the court at Luoyang. The regent Dowager Deng granted him title as a king, presented him with a red carriage and a

team of horses, and allowed his people to trade at the markets of the Protector of the Wuhuan in Shanggu.

This represents the first formal submission by a Xianbi leader to Han, but it was followed by others, and special lodging houses were built for the hostage children sent by the various tribes. On the other hand, different groups of the Xianbi continued to raid the frontier and the situation remained uncertain. -*HHS* 90/80:2986.

Yanliyou 宴荔游; Xianbi. During the 170s Yanliyou was a commander in the west under Tanshihuai. -*SGZ* 30:838.

Yanyou 延優 [Korean: Yon-u] see *sub* Yiyimo of Gao-gouli [Koguryo].

Yao 曜 [various surnames]. The personal name Zhao 昭 frequently appears in the texts as Yao 曜; the change was made to avoid taboo on the name of Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265), a founder of the Jin dynasty in the third century.

Yao 姚, the Lady; Guanghan. Mother of Ren An, the Lady encouraged his Confucian scholarship, and when he established his own academy she cared for his students so generously that great numbers gathered to attend his teaching. -*HYGZ* 10B:153.

Yao Bi 姚妣, the Lady; Shu. In the early 80s Yao Bi and her sister Yao Rao, both unmarried, were with their father Yao Chao, a magistrate in their home commandery, when he was killed by raiding Qiang. The two women were captured and were told to herd sheep; when they refused, they were bound together at the waist and thrown into a river where they drowned.

Their spirits then appeared to their brother Wei in a dream, in which they told him where to look for their bodies. Yao Wei followed their instructions and duly found them. The commandery and the county placed portraits of the two on the walls of their *yamen*. -*HYGZ* 10A:141.

Yao Cai 姚蔡; Yingchuan. Son of Yao Yu, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 20/10:734.

Yao Chao 姚超. A magistrate in his home commandery in the early 80s, Yao Chao was killed by Qiang raiders. -*HYGZ* 10A:134, 141.

Yao Chong 姚崇. An officer of the Bureau of Astronomy about 90, Yao Chong was consulted by the commissioner Jia Kui on Fu An's introduction of an ecliptic ring for the armillary sphere. -*HHS* 92/2:3029.

Yao Dan 姚丹; Yingchuan. Elder son of Yao Qi, in 34

he succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 20/10:734.

Yao Dang 姚當; Shu. Son of Yao Jing *q.v.*, Yao Dang found the bodies of his abducted sisters. -*SJZ* 33:4a.

Yao Fu 姚敷; Wu. *XTS* 74B:3169 says that during the civil war which followed the fall of Wang Mang Yao Hui 恢 took refuge in the south and changed the family surname to Gui 嬌. His descendant Yao Fu changed it back.

Yao Gong 姚貢. When Gongsun Zan declared war against Yuan Shao in 191, he sent a memorial to the court listing his enemy's wrongdoings. One allegation was that Yuan Shao had killed Yao Gong, a former Chancellor of Ganling, and Gao Yan the former Administrator of Shanggu, because he was greedy for their property. -*HHS* 73/63:2360.

Yao Guang 姚光 (d.121). After the surrender of Qiuzi [Kuqa] in central Asia in 91, the previous ruler Youlido was deposed. The Han court had Yao Guang escort the former hostage prince Boba to take his place and he then brought Youlido back to Luoyang.

Yao Guang was later Administrator of Xuantu. The commandery was raided by troops of King Gong of Gaogouli [Koguryo], and early in 121 Yao Guang joined the Inspector, Feng Huan, and the Administrator of Liaodong, Cai Feng, in a punitive expedition. They killed several chieftains of the Hui and Mo people, and captured quantities of weapons, horses and treasure.

King Gong then sent his Heir Suicheng and two thousand followers in a pretended surrender, and Yao Guang believed him. Suicheng had his men occupy the best defence points to oppose the main Han army, and sent another three thousand Hui and Mo to infiltrate Xuantu and Liaodong. Burning Chinese settlements, they killed or wounded over two thousand people. The Chinese brought an army from the west of the province, but by the time it arrived the raiders had gone.

Following this debacle, local enemies of Yao Guang and Feng Huan forged an edict for their arrest and execution, and the Commandant of Liaodong, Pang Fen, killed Yao Guang and arrested Feng Huan. Feng Huan died in prison, but he had time to complain to the throne and the forgery was discovered. The emperor gave posthumous grants of money to both victims, and their sons were made gentlemen cadets.

The date of death of Yao Guang and Feng Huan is somewhat confused, notably by *HHS* 85/75:2815, which says that when King Gong died towards the end of 121, Yao Guang asked permission to attack the

enemy during their period of mourning. Chen Zhong of the Imperial Secretariat opposed the plan on moral grounds, so the emperor sent a message of condolence and the new King Suicheng then made a genuine surrender.

In fact, Yao Guang and Feng Huan had been defeated and then killed earlier that year. From the summer through the winter of 121 Gaogouli was on the offensive, and at the time of Gong's death his men were attacking the capital of Xuantu commandery; they were soon afterwards driven back with the aid of tribesmen from Fuyu.

If Yao Guang had been alive when Gong died, he would have been under heavy siege and in no position to propose an attack, but the success of Gaogouli in the latter part of the year, and the death of King Gong, followed the defeat and death of Yao Guang and Feng Huan. -HHS 5:233, 47/37:1581, 38/28:1280, 85/75:2814-15; Gardiner 69B:171-182, and see *sub* Feng Huan.

Yao Ji 姚期 see Yao Qi 姚期.

Yao Jing 姚精; Shu. Yao Jing was killed by rebel non-Chinese and his two daughters were kidnapped. Some time later the young women's elder brother Yao Dang had a dream in which they showed the place they had been drowned in a river. Yao Dang went to look, and found the bodies. The local authorities reported this strange occurrence to the throne and a stele was set up to commemorate it. -S/Z 33:4a.

Yao Jun 姚俊 was intelligent and could make good plans. -XC 8:9a.

Yao Qi 姚期 [Zikuang 次況] (d.34); Yingchuan. Eight feet two inches tall [190 cm], Yao Qi was handsome, with a natural air of authority. His father Meng 猛 had been Administrator of Guiyang, and when he died Yao Qi maintained full three years mourning, much to the admiration of his neighbours.

When Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came into Yingchuan in 23, he chose Feng Yi as his Registrar, and Feng Yi recommended Yao Qi and other members of the local gentry. Appointed a para-military officer, Yao Qi accompanied Liu Xiu on his commission to the north.

Early in 24, after Wang Lang had declared his cause and issued a call to arms, Liu Xiu was in Ji city in Guangyang, surrounded by adherents of the enemy. He attempted to leave, but at first could not get through. Lance in hand, Yao Qi spurred his horse forward,

shouted at those who sought to block the road, and cleared a way. The city gates had been closed, but Yao Qi and his followers forced them open and enabled the party to escape.

As Liu Xiu arrived at his base in Xindu he named Yao Qi a major-general and placed him with Fu Kuan and Lü Yan under the command of Deng Yu. Deng Yu regarded Yao Qi as the most able, so when they raised more troops he promoted him to be a lieutenant-general with two thousand men, and set Fu Kuan and Lü Yan under his command with two hundred soldiers each. Deng Yu reported this to Liu Xiu, who endorsed the change and sent Yao Qi with a detached force into Zhending and Changshan.

Yao Qi returned for the attack on Julu. As Wang Lang's officers Ni Hong and Liu Feng brought an army to relieve the city, Yao Qi went to break the opposing lines and killed more than fifty of the enemy. He was wounded in the forehead, but returned to the final successful attack.

In the summer, after the destruction of Wang Lang in Handan, Yao Qi was named a chief general, and at this time, arguing that the Gengshi regime had lost its authority, he urged Liu Xiu to take the imperial title. For the time being, Liu Xiu only joked about the idea.

Yao Qi then joined the campaign against the Bronze Horse and other bandit groups in Qinghe and Dong commanderies. They fought several times without success, and Yao Qi's troops, caught with a river behind them, suffered heavy casualties until Liu Xiu himself came to the rescue. The enemy were then defeated, pursued to exhaustion and forced to surrender.

Yao Qi took part in the great victory over the Red Eyebrows, Green Calves and others at Shequan in Henei. The bandits surprised his baggage train, but Yao Qi counter-attacked. Thrice wounded in hand-to-hand fighting, he killed or disabled several dozen opponents and drove the enemy away.

As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25, he granted Yao Qi a county fief in Runan with revenue from five thousand households. The leading clans of Wei commandery were unruly, and Zhuo Jing, an officer of the Gengshi Emperor, was attempting to bring them into alliance with the Tanxiang and Five Towers bandit groups. Yao Qi was named Administrator of Wei commandery with acting appointment as a chief general, authorised to operate outside the borders of his commandery. He raised local levies to attack and

defeat Zhuo Jing, killing six hundred of the enemy in the first engagement, then pursued him west into the hills, killing dozens of his officers and capturing his wife and children. Turning south, he defeated local opposition and settled the rest of the commandery. Noted for not allowing his troops to plunder, Yao Qi also gained great credit for his sympathetic treatment of his officer Li Xiong and his renegade brother Li Lu.

As Emperor Guangwu came to Wei commandery in 29, he appointed Yao Qi a Palace Counsellor. Yao Qi then went to Luoyang and became Minister of the Guards. In 30 he was sent west as an envoy with presents to Wei Ao, but on the road the party was attacked by robbers and all the treasure was lost. Combined with the death of Wei Ao's envoy Zhou You, this caused a breakdown in communication and negotiations.

The only man of the Yingchuan group to reach ministerial rank, Yao Qi was loyal, had a strong sense of honour, and was a stickler for the proprieties: on one occasion he persuaded Guangwu to turn back from a projected jaunt because he was not being escorted in full ceremonial style. During his last illness in 34 Guangwu sent medicines, enquired after him constantly, and personally attended his funeral.

Yao Qi's mother had asked which of his sons should be granted the succession to his marquisate, but Yao Qi replied that he had received greater rewards from the state than he could repay, and he did not expect enfeoffment for his sons. The emperor was deeply impressed, and granted fiefs to both Yao Qi's sons.

Recognising Yao Qi as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -*HHS* 20/10:732-33*, *XC* 1:4a; Bn 54:70-71, 79, 82, 107, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:82.

Yao Qiong 姚瓊; Hanyang. A local leader, in 213 Yao Qiong joined Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang to attack Ma Chao and drive him from the commandery. -*SGZ* 25: 701.

Yao Rao 姚饒, the Lady; Shu. Younger sister of the Lady Yao Bi, she shared her fate. -*HYGZ* 10A:141.

Yao Shu 姚舒; Yingchuan. Son of Yao Dan, he succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 20/10:734.

Yao Tong 姚統; Yingchuan. Younger son of Yao Qi, when his elder brother Dan succeeded to their father's marquisate Yao Tong was granted a county fief in Pei,

later transferred to Runan. -*HHS* 20/10:734.

Yao Wei 徭/搖偉 also as Yin Wei 淫偉. A general of the Gengshi regime, in 23 he was sent to the southeast under the command of Zhang Ang to confirm control of the region of Huaiyang. Yao Wei rebelled, attacked Zhang Ang and drove him to flight, but the Commandant Cen Peng defeated Yao Wei and restored the situation. -*HHS* 17/7:653.

Yao Wei 姚慰; Shu. Elder brother of Yao Bi and Yao Rao, he received his sisters' message in a dream and found their bodies. -*HYGZ* 10A:141.

Yao Yan 繇延; Runan. During the 30s Yao Yan was a commandery Investigator. He was strongly recommended by local Confucianists, and the Administrator Ouyang Xi proposed to reward him and recommend him to the court. At the official banquet, however, the Officer of Merit Zhi Yun stood up and objected that Yao Yan was greedy and weak and did not deserve such honour. After an embarrassing confrontation Ouyang Xi withdrew his proposal, and the ceremony broke up in confusion.

Some months later Ouyang Xi again called up Yao Yan, and Zhi Yun left office in disgust. -*HHS* 29/19: 1027-29.

Yao Yu 鈞羽; Yingchuan. Son of Yao Shu, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 20/10:734.

Yao Zhou 姚祐 [Zixu 子緒] (d.242); Ba. When Liu Bei took over Yi province Yao Zhou held local position as Officer of Merit. In 223 he became Administrator of Guanghan, but later joined the headquarters of Zhuge Liang, who praised his ability to recommend good men for both civil and military affairs. After Zhuge Liang's death Yao Zhou served in the Secretariat of Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1087; Fang 52:227-228.

Ye Feng 鄴風 was a county magistrate in Henan. -*FSTY* 6f:146.

Ye Gao 射髡 see Xie Gao 謝髡.

Ye Huan 謁煥/煥 or Ye Qiong 瓊; Ba. Ye Huan studied the Confucian classics with the recluse Liao Fu. Later, during the reign of Emperor Shun, he was appointed Administrator of Runan, Liao Fu's native commandery. He approached Liao Fu with the courtesy of a student calling upon his teacher, and offered to assist his family, but Liao Fu would not accept anything. -*HHS* 82/72A:2720, *HYGZ* 12:219; Ngo 76:100, DeWoskin 86:62.

Ye Long 夜龍; Henan. A commoner of Luoyang, about 184 Ye Long was short of money for the La 臘 New

Year festival. He asked his elder brother Ye Yang for a loan, but was given only a thousand cash. Angry and distressed, and evidently somewhat demented, he shot arrows at one of the gates of the Southern Palace. He may have intended to involve his brother in the crime, but he was arrested, tortured and executed alone.

This "shooting omen" 射妖 was later seen as foretelling the attack on the palace and massacre of the eunuchs five years later. -HHS 107/17:3343, *FSTY* 4f: 113-14; Bodde 75:64-65, Bn 76:32.

Ye Qiong 謁瓊: Qiong was the alternative personal name of Ye Huan 謁煥/浣. -*FSTY* 6f:146.

Ye Qu 謁屈 was a junior official. -*FSTY* 6f:146.

Ye Yang 夜陽 see *sub* Ye Long.

Yellow Dragon 黃龍 see Huanglong 黃龍.

Yellow Dragon Luo 黃龍羅 see Huanglong Luo 黃龍羅.

Yellow Tiger 黃虎; Jiujiang. A subordinate chieftain under the rebel Ma Mian, in 144 he was sent with a detached force to attack Hefei, capital of the commandery. Since Ma Mian styled himself Yellow Emperor 黃帝, the phrase 黃虎 may be understood as "Yellow Tiger", not as a surname Huang and personal name Hu. -HHS 38/28:1279.

Yellow Warfare 黃武 see Huang Wu 黃武. -HHS 7: 309.

Yewang, Two Old Men of 野王二老者, see Old Men of Yewang 野王老者.

Yewang, Lady of 野王君 see the Lady Wang Sheng.

Yi 詣 [surname unknown]. As a member of the Imperial Secretariat in 171, he took part in the enthronement ceremony of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling. -HHS 95/5:3121.

Yi Changgong 夷長公. A bandit during the troubles at the beginning of Later Han, Yi Changgong took pity on Wei Tan and released him and his fellow-prisoners, who would otherwise have been eaten. -HHS 39/29:1300.

Yi Cheng 儀成; Jianwei. Yi Cheng was the husband of the Lady Xie Ji *q.v.*

Yi Li 伊立 [Yuanjie 元節], who had been an Assistant Officer of his province, was commemorated with a stele. -LS 22:2b.

Yi Liang 移良. In 124, as the body of the disgraced Grand Commandant Yang Zhen was being brought back to his home country, Yi Liang was Administrator of Hongnong. Knowing the hostility which the eunuch Fan Feng and his associates had for Yang Zhen, Yi

Liang claimed that the imperial post had been misused; he sent officers to intercept the cortège and throw the opened coffin on the side of the road. -HHS 54/44: 1767.

Yi Liao 夷廖. An officer under Zhang Jin the Governor of Jiao province in the early 200s, in 211 he took similar service with the new Inspector Bu Zhi. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Yi Pou 錡裒. According to *HYGZ* 10B:150, Yi Pou was a magistrate in Guanghan who was killed in 188 by rebels led by Ma Xiang [see *sub* Han Kui]. *HYGZ* 5:70 and *SGZ* Shu 1:866, however, both give the name of the unfortunate official as Li Sheng.

Yi Ren 錡任; Nanyang. A eunuch, during the time of Emperor Shun Yi Ren became a Regular Attendant. -LS 17:14a.

Yi Shi 乙世 became Administrator of Nan commandery. -*FSTY* 5f:117.

Yi Xi 益善, the Lady. A servant of the official Zang Zhongying, she was found to have been possessed by a poltergeist. As soon as she was sent back home, the manifestations ceased. -*FSTY* 9:73; Nylan 83:543.

Yi Ying 乙瑛 [Zhongqing 仲卿 also as Shaoqing 少卿]; Pingyuan. As Chancellor of Lu in the early 150s, Yi Ying requested the court to appoint an official to supervise ceremonies at the Temple of Confucius. An edict of 153 gave approval, and a commemorative stele was erected. This *Yi Ying bei* 乙瑛碑 is recognised as an important example of formal Han calligraphy. -LS 1:14b-17b, Nagata 94:114; Ch'en 66:44, 13a.

Yi Zi [or style: Yizi 邑子?]; Chenliu. Probably in the 170s, the clerical officer Yi Zi was questioned by Cai Yong and confirmed the remarkable mourning behaviour of the youthful Cheng Wei. -*Cai* 8:2.

Yifu 遺腹 of Shule [Kashgar]. The term *yifu* indicates a posthumous son, so it may here be a description rather than a real personal name. He was a son of a full younger brother of the exiled prince Chenpan and a maternal cousin of King Anguo of Shule. Anguo had no sons. When he died his mother became regent, and she planned that Yifu should become king.

Chenpan, however, who was senior in the lineage, gained the support of the Great Yuezhi and received popular acclaim within the state. He took the throne and granted Yifu a marquisate. -HHS 88/78:2915.

Yilang 抑狼 miswritten for Liumiao 柳貌.

Yimozi [wang] 伊莫訾王; Xiongnu. A senior officer of the Northern Shanyu, with the title *Da juqu* 大且渠,

in 84 he led an embassy to Meng Yu the Administrator of Wuwei, confirming an agreement for trade across the frontier. [Though *Da juqu* is the title of an office, it is not possible to tell whether Yimozi was the personal name of a king 王 of the Xiongnu or, more probably, the title of his fief.] -HHS 89/79:2950.

Yin 殷 [surname] see also Duan 段 *passim*: the characters are sometimes confused.

Yin 鐔 [surname] see Xin 鐔 *passim*.

Yin 陰, Empress of Emperor Guangwu: see the Lady Yin Lihua.

Yin 陰, Empress of Emperor He: see the Lady Yin IV.

Yin 陰, the Lady I; Nanyang. Elder sister of Yin Lihua, concubine and later empress of Emperor Guangwu, she married Deng Rang, who became Governor of the province of Jiaozhi for the Gengshi Emperor.

In 29 the general Cen Peng took control of the middle Yangzi for Guangwu. An old friend of Deng Rang, he invited him to submit to the new imperial regime. The marriage connection encouraged Deng Rang to do so. -HHS 17/7:659; Bn 59:157.

Yin 陰, the Lady II; Nanyang. Honoured Lady of Emperor Ming, she was a favourite of the emperor and became the mother of Liu Chang 暢. -HHS 50/40:1675.

Yin 陰, the Lady III (d.110); Nanyang. A cousin of the Lady Yin Lihua, empress of Emperor Guangwu, she married Deng Xun and bore him several sons and also the Lady Deng Sui, future regent Dowager.

In 92 Deng Sui was received into the harem of Emperor He, and in 102 she was named empress. In 107, after she had taken over the government as regent Dowager for the young Emperor An, she enfeoffed her mother as Lady of Xinye, with revenue from 10,000 households.

In 110 the Lady became ill, and the Dowager's brothers Deng Zhi and others all sought to leave their official positions in order to care for her. Deng Chang was the youngest and showed particular filial piety, so he was granted permission. Then the Lady died, and after many further requests her sons were permitted to leave the court and escort the cortège back for burial in her home country. -HHS 10A:422, 16/6:615.

Yin 陰, the Lady IV (d.102); Nanyang: Empress of Emperor He. Daughter of Yin Gang, she was intelligent and scholarly. In 92 she was selected into the harem of Emperor He, and was given rank as an Honoured Lady in recognition of her connection to Yin Lihua, former

consort of Guangwu, who was her great-great-aunt. She received the emperor's favour and on 4 May 96 she was made empress.

The Lady Yin bore no children, however, and she gradually lost favour to her distant cousin the Honoured Lady Deng Sui. She showed her feelings, and in 102 it was alleged that she and her maternal grandmother Deng Zhu had engaged in witchcraft 巫蠱道: it may have been a slander for political purposes, but it is possible they had sought magical aid to regain the emperor's affections and to conceive an heir. Emperor He ordered an investigation, and the empress's brothers and other relatives confessed and implicated one another.

On 24 July the Lady was stripped of her imperial position and sent to the Drying House, where she "died of grief" 以憂死 soon afterwards. Her father, one brother and two sons of Deng Zhu also died, while other kinsmen were exiled to the far south. The Honoured Lady Deng became empress a few months later. -HHS 10A:417*; Bielenstein 76:53.

Yin 陰, the Lady V (d.136); Nanyang. A daughter of Yin Gui, whose family had intermarried with the imperial house and produced two empresses, the Lady Yin married Liang Shang. She became the mother of Liang Na, consort to Emperor Shun, and of Liang Ji. When she died, she was granted posthumous title as Lady of Kaifeng 開封君. -HHS 34/24:1175.

Yin 尹, the Lady. The Lady first married a son of He Jin, and bore him a son, He Yan. She later she became a senior concubine of Cao Cao, bearing him a son, Cao Ju 矩, and a daughter who became Princess of Jinxiang 金鄉. He Yan later married the princess his half-sister. -SGZ 20:579, 9:292.

Yin 陰, the Lady VI. Concubine of Cao Pi, the favour which she and others received about 220 caused the Lady Zhen, his senior consort, to become fatally jealous. -SGZ 5:160; C/C 99.97.

Yin, Mr 尹公 see Yin Gong 尹公.

Yin 尹 [personal name unknown]; non-Chinese of Zangke. Head of the clan of that name in the middle 20s, he and other leaders supported the Chinese Xie Xian, Officer of Merit of the commandery, in maintaining allegiance to Han rather than accepting the imperial claim of Gongsun Shu. They sent messengers by a south-eastern route through present-day Guangdong, and Guangwu rewarded them with ceremonial robes. -HHS 86/76:2845, HYGZ 4:54.

Yin 陰 [personal name unknown]. Inspector of Yu province, he was blamed for the death of his officer Huang Yu. -*SJZ* 24:7b.

Yin 陰 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. Administrator of Ji Yin about 130, he nominated Zhong Ding as Filial and Incorrupt; Zhong Ding did not accept. -*LS* 25:5b.

Yin Bao 尹苞 [Yanbo 延博]; Chenliu. When they were young men, Yin Bao and his close friend Fan Dan were so poor that they had only one good costume between them. When they called upon some patron, Yin Bao as the elder went in first, but then came out and gave Fan Dan his turn with the clothing.

A conscientious scholar of the classics, Yin Bao later became a Consultant. -*XC* 7:5b.

Yin Bao 隱褒 became Administrator of Hejian. -*FSTY* 6b.147.

Yin Bo 陰博; Nanyang. Second son of Yin Xing, in 58 Yin Bo was made a marquis in recognition of his father. In the time of Emperor Ming it was felt necessary to maintain constant watch lest Yin Bo, his cousin Yin Dang, and Deng Die, also connected to the throne by a female line, presumed upon their position. -*HHS* 32/22:1132, 23/13:812.

Yin Can 殷參 or Yin Shen [Zhisun 知/智孫?]; Shu. A man of humble background, Yin Can was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. About 163 he was recommended by the General of the Household Huang Wan, head of his corps of cadets, and the Minister of the Household Chen Fan nominated him Abundant Talent so that he could take substantive office.

Though *HHS* says no more of Yin Can's career, and *HYGZ* has no mention of the name, *HYGZ* 10A:134 and *HYGZ* 12:214 record a certain Yin Zhisun, a colleague and friend of Liu Zong who became Administrator of a commandery. It seems likely that Zhisun was the style of Yan Can. -*HHS* 61/51:2040 & *JJ* at 2212 Hui Dong.

Yin Chang 陰敞; Nanyang. Son of Yin Gang, he was a brother of the Empress Yin of Emperor He, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. In 102, when the Empress Yin was accused of witchcraft, Yin Chang and his brothers Yi and Fu were arrested and tortured. Their confessions implicated one another and also their cousins Deng Feng and Deng Yi. The empress was deposed and other members of the family died, including Yin Fu, while Yin Chang, Yin Yi and

other relatives were sent to exile in the far south.

In 106 the new regent Dowager Deng ordered that the exiles should be allowed to return to their home countries and have their great properties restored to them. -*HHS* 10A:417, 423, 32/22:1130.

Yin Changsheng 陰長生; Nanyang. Apparently a member of the same clan as Empress Yin of Emperor He, Yin Changsheng sought enlightenment from the adept Ma Mingsheng in Shu. Ma Mingsheng demanded that his would-be disciples should not only take part in conversations, but should also work in the fields. After more than ten years, only Yin Changsheng had been able to last the course. Ma Mingsheng then took him into the mountains and showed him alchemical and mystical techniques.

Yin Changsheng returned to write down his esoteric knowledge, then himself became an immortal 仙人; he is also known as Yin Zhenren 真人 or Zhenjun 真君 "the Perfect Man." -*Shenxian zhuan* 4; Yao Zhenzong: 2443.

Yin Cheng 殷盛 see Yin Sheng 殷盛.

Yin Chu 尹初; Hejian. Elder brother of the murderer Yin Ci, he volunteered to be executed in his stead. -*HHS* 48/38:1610.

Yin Chun 殷純. In 220 Yin Chun was a junior officer under the Chancellor of Shu-Han, Zhuge Liang. When news came of the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in favour of Cao Pi of Wei, Yin Chun joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, to claim the imperial title. -*SGZ* Shu 2:887.

Yin Ci 尹次; Hejian. About 120 Yin Ci was found guilty of murder. His elder brother Chu went to the prison, asked to take his place, and was duly strangled. The senior legal authority Chen Zhong agreed that Yin Ci should be spared the death penalty, but many years later his decision was criticised by the commentator Ying Shao. -*HHS* 48/38:1610.

Yin Cun 尹存; Henan. Recommended by Li Gu in 143, Yin Cun was invited to office but is not heard of again. -*HHS* 63/53:2081.

Yin Dan 陰丹; Nanyang. Son of Yin Xing, in 58 he was made a gentleman cadet in recognition of his father. -*HHS* 32/22:1132.

Yin Dan 殷丹. Administrator of Kuaiji about 150, Yin Dan accepted the advice of Meng Chang on the wrongful execution of an innocent woman. -*HHS* 76/66:2473.

Yin Dang 陰黨; Nanyang. A member of the clan of the Empress Yin of Emperor Guangwu; in the time of Emperor Ming it was felt necessary to maintain constant watch lest Yin Dang, his cousin Yin Bo, and Deng Die, also connected to the throne by a female line, presume upon their position to act wrongfully. - *HHS* 23/13:812.

Yin De 陰德. Chancellor of Langye in 192, Yin De joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal. - *HHS* 71/61:2312.

Yin Deng 殷登; Wei. In 176 a yellow dragon appeared in the region of Qiao in Pei commandery. The Counsellor Qiao Xuan asked the opinion of Dan Yang, a member of the Imperial Secretariat who was known for his skill in prognostication. Dan Yang observed that the territory was producing a ruler, and that within fifty years the dragon would appear again. Yin Deng took part in the conversation and recorded the prophecy.

Qiao was the birth-place of Cao Cao, who was at that time twenty years old. Forty-five years later, in 220, as Cao Cao's son Cao Pi succeeded his father as King of Wei, a yellow dragon was again reported from Pei. Yin Deng told Cao Pi of Dan Yang's interpretation of the earlier portent, and he was thanked and rewarded. Later that year Cao Pi took the imperial title, claiming to rule under the power of yellow Earth, taking over from the red Fire of Han. - *HHS* 82/72B:2733, *SGZ* 2:58; *Ngo* 76:114, *DeWoskin* 83:72-73.

Yin Duan 尹端. A major under the command of Zhang Huan in 167, Yin Duan was sent with Dong Zhuo to attack the Qiang west of Chang'an. They killed the enemy leaders and forced their followers to surrender.

When Xu Chang rebelled in 172, Yin Duan was Administrator of Kuaiji. He was reported by the province for failing to suppress the insurgents, and was liable to execution, but his Registrar Zhu Jun went to Luoyang and bribed his way to amend the letter. Yin Duan suffered only convict service, and Zhu Jun never revealed his role. - *HHS* 71/61:2308; *deC* 89:87.

Yin Fang 尹方; Wei. About 115 the Administrator of Wei commandery Wang Mu recommended Yin Fang as suitable to be an Excellency. Zhang Jun of the Imperial Secretariat was ordered to examine the case, but he did not agree. - *HYGZ* 10C:178-79.

Yin Feng 陰豐 (d.59); Nanyang. Son of Yin Jiu, he married the Princess Liu Shou, daughter of Emperor

Guangwu. The Lady was spoilt and jealous, and in 59 Yin Feng killed her. He was executed and his family was also punished. - *HHS* 2:104, 10B:458.

Yin Feng 陰鳳; Nanyang. Son of Yin Yong, Yin Feng was an uncle of the Empress Yin of Emperor He. After she was brought to the throne in 96, he was appointed a gentleman cadet. - *HHJ* 14:171.

Yin Feng 尹奉 [Zizeng 次曾]; Hanyang. A respected man of family, and formerly a local officer of Liang province, in 213 he joined with Jiang Xu and Zhao Ang to attack Ma Chao and drive him from the commandery. He was enfeoffed for his good work.

In 220 Yin Feng was named Administrator of Dunhuang commandery. Local rebels sought to keep him out, but he took his place with the aid of the local leader Zhang Gong and the successful campaign of Su Ze. He was there almost ten years, but could do little more than hold his position. - *SGZ* 25:701, 18:551, 16:513.

Yin Fu 陰輔 (d.102); Nanyang. Son of Yin Gang, he was a brother of the Empress Yin of Emperor He, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. In 102, however, when the empress was accused of witchcraft, Yin Fu and his brothers Yi and Chang were arrested and tortured. Their confessions implicated one another and also their cousins Deng Feng and Deng Yi. As the empress was deposed, Yin Fu and the Deng brothers died in prison, and others of the family were exiled. - *HHS* 10A:417, 32/22:1130.

Yin Gang 陰綱 (d.102); Nanyang. Son of Yin Yong, he was the father of the Empress Yin of Emperor He. When his daughter became empress in 96, Yin Gang was a colonel in the Northern Army. He was enfeoffed and given position as Specially Advanced.

In 102 the Lady Yin was accused of witchcraft, dismissed and died. Yin Gang killed himself. - *HHS* 10A:417, *HHS* 32/22:1130, *HHJ* 13:169.

Yin Gong 尹公 or Mr Yin 尹公 (d.23). [It is uncertain whether Gong is a name or a courtesy title.] During the time of Wang Mang, Yin Gong was a provisional magistrate in Youfufeng. When a slave of the local strongman Yuan She wounded someone, Yin Gong sought to arrest him or, failing that, to punish Yuan She, but Yuan She's supporters persuaded him to accept a show of apology.

As Wang Mang's regime was destroyed in 23, Yin Gong was a senior staff officer of the Gengshi general Shentu Jian, while Yuan She was a leader of the local

insurgents about Chang'an. They were supposed to co-operate to settle the territory, but Yuan She killed Yin Gong. Shentu Jian executed Yuan She. -*HS* 92:3717-18; *QHX*:664-665, Ch'ü 72:449-454.

Yin Gong 尹貢; Zangke. Known for his virtues, Yin Gong became Prefect of Chang'an and then Chancellor of Pengcheng. -*HYGZ* 4:54, 12:205, *HYGZJBTZ*:260.

Yin Gong 陰躬; Nanyang. Son of Yin Shi, he succeeded to his father's fief and became Bearer of the Mace. -*HHS* 32/22:1130.

Yin Guan 殷觀 [Kongxiu 孔休]. Registrar to Liu Bei as Governor of Jing province about 209, Yin Guan urged him not to accept Sun Quan's proposal for a joint expedition against Liu Zhang in Yi province, arguing that the best policy was to consolidate his position on the middle Yangzi and refuse Sun Quan access to the region. -*SGZ* Shu 2:880, 15:1085.

Yin Gui 陰桂; Nanyang. Son of Yin Wanquan, he succeeded to his fief. -*HHS* 32/22:1132.

Yin Hu 尹胡. In the early third century Yin Hu, a master singer of hymns for state sacrifices and at the Imperial Ancestral Temple, was a member of the orchestra at the puppet court of Han under Cao Cao. -*SGZ* 29:806.

Yin Hua 殷華 [Shushi 叔時] (d.178); Shang. Yin Hua's father had been Court Architect. He himself was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and after serving probation as a gentleman cadet he became Assistant in Zuopingyi. Nominated Abundant Talent by the province, he became a county magistrate and then Administrator of Jincheng, where he dealt successfully with the local Qiang people. He died in office, and his officers, including the future rebels Bian Zhang and Han Sui, set up a stele in his honour. -*Guwen yuan* 19:6b-8b.

Yin Huang 陰璜 (d.113); Nanyang. Son of Yin Gong, he succeeded to his father's marquisate but was murdered by one of his slaves. He left no heir and the fief was ended. -*HHS* 32/22:1130.

Yin Ji 殷濟. Administrator of Hanyang about 145, Yin Ji established a stele at the tomb of the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷. -*SJZ* 4:5b.

Yin Ji 尹籍 [Jibo 機伯]; Shanyang. A fellow-countryman of Liu Biao, he joined his staff. When Liu Bei came to Jing province in 201, Yin Ji went to visit him several times, and after Liu Biao died in 208 Yin Ji went with Liu Bei on his flight to the south from Cao Cao.

Yin Ji accompanied Liu Bei into Yi province in 211, and when the territory was settled in 214 he took a senior appointment on his headquarters staff. He received favour and trust comparable to that of Mi Zhu and Jian Yong, and when he was sent on embassy to Wu he impressed Sun Quan with his skill at repartee.

Yin Ji was later given title as a general, and he worked with Zhuge Liang, Fa Zheng, Liu Ba and Li Yan to compile the administrative code *Shu ke* 屬科. -*SGZ* Shu 8:971*.

Yin Jia 尹嘉; Hanyang. In 179 Yin Jia was a magistrate in Jiuquan when the Lady Zhao E, who had killed her father's murderer Li Shou, came with her enemy's head to acknowledge her crime. Rather than punish her, Yin Jia resigned his office. -*SGZ* 18:548-49

Yin Jian 尹儉 of Nanyang was a former magistrate of a county in Hedong. His richly landscaped tomb was constructed in 187 and became a noted feature of northern Nanyang. Like the shrine of Wu Liang, the complex included stele, columns, a stone temple and two stone lions. -*SJZ* 31:3b.

Yin Jipei 殷紀配, the Lady; Guanghan. At the age of sixteen the Lady married Liao Bo, but he died soon afterwards. Realising that she was good-looking and that other men would want to marry her, she composed poetry expressing her determination to remain a widow. She had many suitors nonetheless, and her parents were willing to accept offers, but she cared for her children and maintained her position with utmost devotion. The Administrator Xue Hong had her portrait painted on the walls of his court. -*HYGZ* 10B:153.

Yin Jiu 陰就 (d.59); Nanyang. Son of Yin Lu/Mu and younger brother of the Lady Yin Lihua, future empress of Guangwu, in 33 Yin Jiu was made a marquis, succeeding to the fief which had been awarded posthumously to his father. A brilliant conversationalist but a hard and arrogant man, he was not popular at court.

When his nephew Emperor Ming came to the throne in 57, Yin Jiu was appointed Minister Steward, but in 59 his son Yin Feng killed his wife the Princess Liu Shou. Yin Jiu and his wife were compelled to commit suicide and his fief was abolished, though because of the family's proximity to the throne. Emperor Ming did not apply the full force of the law. -*HHS* 32/22:1132.

Yin Jiu 尹就 (d.127). In 115 Yin Jiu was sent as a General of the Household to replace Tang Xi in operations against rebel Qiang in the north of Yi

province. Leading troops from Nanyang, Yin Jiu achieved early success by the assassination of the enemy chieftain Lü Shudu and established a reputation for ruthless dealing, so much so that the Chinese people feared him more than they did the Qiang. As the troubles continued, and the Qiang attacked Ba commandery, Yin Jiu was recalled in disgrace, though he was able to expiate punishment with a fine.

In 126 Yin Jiu was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. He was accused of conspiring with colleagues, including the Director, Gaotang Zhi, and with the eunuch Zhang Fang and several frontier officials. Most of the group were able to purchase relief, but Yin Jiu and Jiang Shu were executed [cf. Bao Jiu]. -HHS 5:222, 87/77:2889-91, 101/11:3243.

HHSJJ 101/11:3655 Hui Dong suggests that the General of the Household Yin Jiu in 115 was a different man to the officer of the Secretariat of the same name in 126.

Yin Ju 陰居; Nanyang. Uncle of Yin Song, Yin Ju cared for him when his parents died. They lived a modest and retiring life, and when rebellion against Wang Mang broke out in the early 20s they went south to Cangwu.

Yin Song later held office at the court of Emperor Guangwu, but some time in the 40s he left his position to mourn Yin Ju. -HHSJJ 32/22:1186 Hui Dong quoting *Chuguo xianxian zhuan*.

Yin Kai 尹楷. In 204 Yin Kai was a county magistrate in Wei for Yuan Shang, responsible for the supply route between Ye city and Shangdang in the west. Cao Cao attacked and defeated him. -SGZ 1:25.

Yin Kui 殷墟 or 夔?; Liaodong. In the time of Emperor Huan Yin Kui was an expert on astrology. When a yellow star appeared in the constellations related to the southeast of the empire he foretold that fifty years later a Perfect Man 真人 would appear from that region, and none would be able to resist him. When Cao Cao defeated Yuan Shao at Guandu in 200 it was held that he represented the fulfilment of the prophecy. -SGZ 1:22.

Yao Zhenzong:2401 cites a reference to a manual on the clepsydra, *Louke fa* 漏刻法, by Yin Kui 夔, and suggests that this was the same man. On clepsydras, see also *sub* Huo Rong.

Yin Kui 陰夔. A former Inspector of Yu province, in 204 Yin Kui was sent by Yuan Shang on an unsuccessful embassy to seek terms from Cao Cao. -SGZ 1:25.

Yin Kun 尹昆; Runan. Yin Kun was Officer of Merit in his county. When a new magistrate arrived he asked whether the leaves of the mulberry tree in the *yamen* courtyard were good for his silkworms. He was favourably impressed, however, when Yin Kun replied that this should not be a top priority for his government.

Yin Kun later joined the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang, served as an Imperial Clerk, and became Deputy Director of the Secretariat. -XC 7:5a.

Yin Li 尹禮; Donghai? Leader of a bandit or clan self-defence group in the region of Mount Tai, he had the nickname of Lu'er 盧兒 "Black Boy." Cf. Wu Dun, who was known as "Black Slave 黯奴."

About 194 Yin Li and the other leaders of groups in the region acceded to the general authority of Zang Ba. They accompanied Zang Ba in his attempt to aid Lü Bu against Cao Cao in 198, but then followed his lead once more and accepted service under Cao Cao. Yin Li and his fellows were named as administrators of a series of small commanderies about Mount Tai. Yin Li's territory was either Dongguan or Changlu; both had hitherto been counties in Donghai, and may have been his native place.

Yin Li accompanied Zang Ba on his subsequent campaigns, guarding the east front against Yuan Shao in 199 and 200, defeating Yuan Tan in Bohai in 205, and then settling the region of present-day Shandong. He and his colleagues were rewarded with junior enfeoffment, but there is no detailed account of Yin Li's subsequent career. -SGZ 18:537-38.

Yin Li 殷禮 [Desi 德嗣]; Wu. A man of humble status, Yin Li was neither physically strong nor a lover of action, but he was quiet and thoughtful and became a noted Confucian scholar. Befriended by Gu Shao, son of Gu Yong and a noted judge of character, he held junior office in the commandery and was later an assistant magistrate.

Yin Li was called to court when Sun Quan became king in 221, and he took part in an embassy to Shu-Han, where he was admired by Zhuge Liang. He was soon afterwards appointed Administrator of Lingling, and died in that office. -SGZ Wu 7:1229.

Yin Liang 伊良; Jiujiang. A local bandit early in the first century, Yin Liang was captured by the provincial officer Shen Rong. -XTS 74A:3146.

Yin Liang 殷亮. An Academician at the Imperial University, Yin Liang won several competitions for

knowledge of the classics; in each case the prize was a mat: cf. *sub* Dai Ping. -XC 8:1a.

Yin Lihua 陰麗華, the Lady (5 AD-64); Nanyang: Empress of Emperor Guangwu. Daughter of Yin Lu 陸 [or Mu 睦], a man of wealthy and powerful local family, she was admired by Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, and in 23 he took her formally as his concubine.

Later that year Liu Xiu went to Luoyang, leaving the Lady Yin at her family home in Xinye county, north of the commandery capital Wan. As the authority of the Gengshi Emperor declined and the region fell into disorder, her brother Yin Shi escorted her south to stay with Deng Feng.

When Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25 he sent his officer Fu Jun to bring the Lady to join him in Luoyang; she travelled with Yin Shi and with Guangwu's sisters Huang and Boji. She was appointed an Honoured Lady, but the Lady Guo Shengtong, who had already borne children and was a valued connection to leading families in the north of the empire, was named empress.

The Lady Yin later had five sons, of whom the eldest, Liu Yang (later Liu Zhuang), future Emperor Ming, was born in 28 as the Lady accompanied Guangwu on campaign against Peng Chong. In 33, when her mother and a brother were killed by bandits, Guangwu awarded posthumous fiefs to her late father Lu/Mu and her dead brother Xin, while another brother, Yin Jiu, was granted succession to Yin Lu/Mu's fief. This was not the first mark of favour to her family, but it may be seen as a sign that the emperor was thinking of raising her status.

In 41 the Empress Guo was dismissed and the Lady Yin took her place. Bielenstein notes that there had been increasing pressure by Guangwu's kinsmen and associates from Nanyang for him to remove the northern-based Lady Guo, and that by 40, with the end of insurgency in the north, she was of no further political value. The Lady Yin, mother of Guangwu's other sons, was the logical successor, and two years later her son Liu Yang/Zhuang replaced his half-brother Liu Qiang, son of the Lady Guo, as Heir.

As Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, came to the throne in 57 the Lady Yin was named Dowager. In 60 she accompanied the emperor to her home country in Nanyang, where celebrations were held and donations made to her kinsmen of the Yin and Deng families.

She died four years later, and was buried at the tomb of Emperor Guangwu, with posthumous title as Guanglie 光烈 Empress. -HHS 10A:405-07*; Bn 67:20-21, Bn 79:114-117.

Yin Lu 陰陸 or Yin Mu 睦 [Junmeng 君孟] (d.11); Nanyang. A man of local family, Yin Lu married a woman of the Deng clan and became the father of the Lady Yin, future concubine and then empress of Guangwu; he had sired Yin Shi by an earlier wife. In 33 Yin Lu was awarded posthumous title as a marquis. -HHS 10A:406, 32/22:1129.

Yin Lu/Mu 陰陸, second wife of: see the Lady Deng 鄧 (d.33) of Nanyang.

Yin Mao 尹茂 [Boju 伯舉]; Yingchuan. Assistant Magistrate of Chengyang in Jiying in 172, Yin Mao was involved in restoration of the Spiritual Terrace associated with the temple of the sage Emperor Yao 堯. -LS 1:8a-10a.

Yin Min 尹敏 [Youji 幼季 or Gongji 功季]; Nanyang. A committed scholar when he was young, Yin Min first studied the *Classic of History* according to the New Text school of Ouyang and the Guliang commentary to *Chunqiu*. He later took up the Old Text tradition, becoming expert in *Zuo zhuan* and in the *Classic of Poetry* according to the Mao interpretation. In 26 he presented to the throne an account of the means by which the *Hong fan* 洪範 chapter of the *History* might be used to avert calamities. Emperor Guangwu was heavily engaged in the civil war, but he sent a carriage to bring Yin Min to the capital, appointed him a gentleman cadet and then as a clerical officer under the Excellency of Works.

Later, because of Yin Min's wide knowledge of the classics, Guangwu ordered him to edit the apocryphal texts, eliminating the omens which had been interpreted by Cui Fa 崔發 in 9 AD to support Wang Mang's claim to the throne [Dubs 55:249-251]. Yin Min refused the assignment, observing that the apocryphal books had not been composed by the sages, they contained such vulgarities as split characters, and they served only to confuse. Guangwu was angry, and though he did not punish Yin Min he gave him no further appointment. The editing was carried out by the Academician Xue Han.

Probably after the accession of Emperor Ming, Yin Min held some minor offices and became a magistrate in Jingzhao. In 62 an imperial edict ordered the arrest of the commoner Zhou Lü, a man of some reputation

who had become a personal friend of Yin Min; Yin Min was implicated in the affair and was dismissed. [XHS 5 says that he resigned because of problems with the local granary.]

In 68 Yin Min was again appointed a gentleman cadet, then a Counsellor Remonstrant.

Yin Min had been a close friend of the historian Ban Biao, their affection being described in terms of the legendary comradeships of the past. With Ban Biao's son Ban Gu, Yin Min was one of the historians commissioned in 72 to compile annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu 世祖本紀; this work, initially known as the "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Han ji*.

As Bielenstein observes at 79:121, the committee was politically sensitive and delicately balanced: Ban Gu and no doubt Yin Min were members of the Dou faction which had been instrumental in the disgrace of Ma Yuan in 49, but Ma Yuan's daughter was now empress and Ma Yan and Meng Ji represented that interest. The other two scholars, Du Fu and Chen Zong, were probably neutral.

Yin Min later retired and died at home. -HHS 79/69A:2558-59*, XC 5:9b, XHS 5:14a-b; Tjan 49: 149-151, Bn 79:187-197.

Yin Mo 殷謨 [Junchang 君長]; Yanmen. A man of principle, Yin Mo refused to take office under Wang Mang. When the Han dynasty was restored under Guangwu he was invited to take appointment but again would not accept. -HHS 83/73:2762.

Yin Mo 殷模. A man from north of the Yangzi, Yin Mo became a colonel under Sun Quan. On one occasion Sun Quan was furiously angry with him, but his adviser Zhuge Jin persuaded him to pardon Yin Mo. -SGZ Wu 7:1232.

Yin Mo 尹默 [Siqian 思潛]; Guanghan. A keen scholar, Yin Mo recognised that while his colleagues in Yi province admired the New Text interpretations of the classics, they did not pay sufficient attention to detailed commentaries. He therefore travelled to Nanyang, to study under Song Zhong and Sima Hui. He acquired great knowledge of the classics and histories, with special ability in *Zuo zhuan*.

When Liu Bei took over Yi province in 214 he appointed Yin Mo as an Assistant Officer for Education 勸學從事. In 220, after news came of the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in favour of Cao Pi of Wei, Yin Mo joined a petition which cited various works of

divination and urged Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, to claim the imperial title. He was appointed tutor on *Zuo zhuan* to the Heir, Liu Shan.

Yin Mo held court office under Liu Shan and also served on the staff of Zhuge Liang. He died about 240. -SGZ Shu 12:1026*, HYGZ 10B:176.

Yin Mou 尹茂 see Yin Mao 尹茂.

Yin Mu 尹睦 [Boshi 伯師] (d.93); Henan. Having served as Administrator of Guanghan, Yin Mu became Minister of Agriculture. In 88 he joined the Excellency Yuan An and other senior officials in their unsuccessful protest against the plan to send Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager, on the grand campaign to destroy the Northern Xiongnu. In 91 he also argued against Dou Xian's proposal to establish a separate puppet Shanyu for the north.

In the autumn of 92, after the destruction of Dou Xian by the young Emperor He and his eunuch allies, the Grand Commandant Song You was forced to kill himself on account of his collusion with the Dou group. Yin Mu took his place, with control of the Imperial Secretariat. He died in office in the winter of 93. -HHS 4:174-77.

Yin Mu's grandson Yin Song became Excellency over the Masses in the time of Emperor Huan, and his great-nephew Yin Xun later played a leading role against the Liang clan and then against the eunuchs. The biography of Yin Xun in HHS 67/57 at 2208 describes Yin Mu as Yin Xun's uncle and a former Excellency over the Masses, while Song is referred to as Yin Xun's elder brother and a former Grand Commandant. This, however, is a corruption in the text or a confusion of the historian; the Secondary Biography of Yin Xun, at HHS 57/47:1857, has the relationship and the offices correctly.

Yin Mu 陰睦 see Yin Lu 陰陸. -HHS 32/22:1129.

Yin Pu 陰溥; Henei. As Cao Cao entered Jing province in 208, Liu Zhang sent his officer Yin Pu as an envoy to offer terms of alliance. -SGZ Shu 1:868.

Yin Qi 尹齊. In the early third century Yin Qi and his colleague Deng Jing, expert vocalists of formal music 雅樂, were members of the orchestra at the puppet court of Han under Cao Cao. -SGZ 29:806.

Yin Qin 陰琴; Nanyang. Son of Yin Qing, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 32/22:1132.

Yin Qin 尹勤 [Shuliang 叔梁]; Nanyang. A keen scholar, Yin Qin lived in seclusion and people admired his virtue.

Yin Qin later took office, became Minister of Ceremonies, and in 106 he was appointed Excellency of Works. As Emperor An was brought to the throne, Yin Qin was enfeoffed for his contribution, but in the following year he was obliged to leave office because heavy rain had damaged crops and there had been several outbreaks of banditry. He died without heirs, and the marquise was ended. -HHS 46/36:1555.

Yin Qing 陰慶; Nanyang. Eldest son of Yin Xing, in 58 Yin Qing was enfeoffed in recognition of his father. He later gave property to support his younger brothers Yuan and Dan. Admiring his generosity, Emperor Ming appointed him as a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. -HHS 32/22:1132.

Yin Rong 尹融. Minister Herald under Gongsun Shu, about 30 Yin Rong was sent to the scholar recluse Li Ye of Guanghan, taking a dose of poison and instructions that Li Ye should either accept high office or take the potion. He urged Li Ye to accept appointment, arguing that it was meaningless to stay loyal to the fallen dynasty of Han, and he should think of his family. Li Ye nonetheless drank the poison. -HHS 81/71:2669-70, HYGZ 10B:173.

Yin Shen 殷參 see Yin Can 殷參.

Yin Sheng 殷盛; Chenliu. Probably in the 170s, the clerical officer Yin Sheng was questioned by Cai Yong and confirmed the remarkable mourning behaviour of the youthful Cheng Wei. -Cai 8:2.

Yin Shi 陰識 or Yin Zhi [Zibo 次伯] (d.59); Nanyang. Son of Yin Lu/Mu and elder half-brother of the Lady Yin, future empress of Guangwu, Yin Shi was a student at Chang'an when Liu Bosheng raised his rebellion against Wang Mang in 22. Returning to his home country, he collected over a thousand kinsmen, clients and retainers to join the enterprise, and became a colonel under Deng Feng, a local leader and kinsman of his stepmother.

As a lieutenant-general in 23, Yin Shi took part in the attack on Wan city, then led a separate column to take over five counties to the south. In 24 he became a marquis and an acting chief general under the Gengshi Emperor, but the regime collapsed soon afterwards, and Nanyang fell into disorder. Yin Shi's sister had entered the harem of Liu Xiu in 23, but she had stayed at her family home as he went to the north, and Yin Shi now accompanied her to refuge at the base of his former leader Deng Feng, south of Wan.

In 25 Guangwu sent messengers to call the Lady

Yin, and Yin Shi went with her to join him. He was appointed a Commandant of Cavalry and his fief was changed from the one he had held from the Gengshi Emperor. In the following year he joined Wu Han against the Tanxiang bandits in Wei commandery. Guangwu wanted to add to his fief on account of his achievement in the wars, but Yin Shi refused, arguing that he would appear to be gaining favour beyond his worth because of his sister's position. Guangwu admired his restraint but, as Bielenstein 79:104 and 118, observes, the Yin group had joined later than other leaders from Nanyang, their political position was less well established, and Yin Shi and his half-brothers needed to be cautious.

Yin Shi then became Commandant in charge of the Hangu Pass west of Luoyang, and was named Specially Advanced. He resigned on account of the death of his mother, but in 39 he was enfeoffed as marquis of a county in Runan. When his nephew Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, was named Heir in 43, Yin Shi was made acting Bearer of the Mace, and he was left in charge of security at the capital when Guangwu went on tour in the provinces. The emperor admired his confidentiality about affairs of state, and noted him as an example for any imperial relative by marriage.

Though he was not appointed Tutor, Yin Shi was recognised as a mentor to the future ruler, and when Emperor Ming came to the throne in 57 he confirmed him as Bearer of the Mace and again named him Specially Advanced. When Yin Shi died two years later he received posthumous honours. -HHS 32/22:1129-30*.

Yin Shi 尹世. A local commandery officer in the late second century, Yin Shi suffered pain in his limbs, a dry throat and deafness. The doctor Hua Tuo gave him a draught, saying that if he sweated he would be cured, but if not he would die in three days. He did not sweat, and died on schedule. -SGZ 29:800.

Yin Shu 陰淑; Nanyang. Son of Yin Gong, in 120 the Dowager Deng granted him the succession to the marquise which had been ended at the death of his elder brother Huang in 113. -HHS 32/22:1130.

Yin Shu 殷署. A general in Cao Cao's service, in 215 he was given command of five thousand men who had formerly served the north-western warlords Han Sui and Ma Chao. He was to take them to join the defence of the newly-conquered Hanzhong, but as

they approached the ranges and the road to the south, they mutinied. The trouble was eventually put down by Yin Shu's colleague Zhao Yan, but it was agreed that none of the men were suitable for service on the Hanzhong frontier, and they were transferred instead to the east.

In 219 Yin Shu joined Xu Huang in successful counter-attack against Liu Bei's general Guan Yu outside Fan city in Nan. -*SGZ* 23:667, 17:529; *deC* 96:499, 545.

Yin Song 陰嵩 [Wenyu 文玉]; Nanyang. A senior cousin of the Empress Yin of Guangwu and her brother Yin Xing, he was orphaned when young and was cared for by his uncle Yin Ju. They lived a modest and retiring life, and when rebellion against Wang Mang broke out in the early 20s they went south to Cangwu.

Yin Song was later an Internuncio, but left office in mourning for Yin Ju. Though he had never got on well with his influential cousin Yin Xing, it appears that Yin Xing had respected his ability, and as he was on his deathbed in 47 he recommended Yin Song to Emperor Guangwu. Appointed as a General of the Household. Yin Song was admired for his conduct, and in 57 Emperor Ming appointed him Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace of his mother the Empress Yin, now Dowager. He was later Bearer of the Mace. -*HHS* 32/22:1131-32.

Yin Song 陰嵩. Administrator of Jincheng in the early 130s, Yin Song invited the local worthy Zhao Kuan to appointment and named him a Thrice Venerable. - *Nagata* 94:226.

Yin Song 尹頌 [Gongsun 公孫] (d.157); Henan. A grandson of Yin Mu, in 154 Yin Song was promoted from Minister of the Household to be Excellency over the Masses, and received enfeoffment. He died in office in the winter of 157. -*HHS* 7:300-02.

The biography of Yin Xun, at *HHS* 67/57:2208 describes Yin Song as his elder brother and says that he was Grand Commandant. This is wrong: it was Yin Song's grandfather Yin Mu who was a Grand Commandant. The Secondary Biography of Yin Xun, at *HHS* 57/47:1857, has the relationship and the office correctly.

Yin Su 殷肅 also as Duan Su 段肅; Hongnong. A scholar of the Guliang interpretation to *Chunqiu*, Yin Su became commandery Officer of Merit. He was praised by Ban Gu. -*HHS* 40/30A:1332; Hou Kang: 2112, Yao Zhenzong:2331.

Yin Sui 尹綏; Julu. In 24 Yin Sui was an officer under the Administrator Pi Tong. When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title a great part of the region accepted him, but Pi Tong sent Yin Sui and Zhang Wan with two troops of cavalry to Xindu city to join his colleague Ren Guang and assist Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, against the pretender.

At an early stage of the campaign which followed, Pi Tong sent Yin Sui and Zhang Wan into the enemy-held city of Tangyang in Julu. They probably had family connections, for they were able to persuade the people to change sides and open the gates to Liu Xiu.

Both men took part in later campaigns and rose to become lieutenant-generals, and Yin Sui was enfeoffed as a marquis in Changshan. -*HHS* 21/11:758-59.

Yin Tai 尹臺; Chenliu. During the 170s Fan Dan was proscribed from office. Quite destitute, he sent his son Xiang to glean. Yin Tai, presumably a son or brother of Yin Bao, gave him a single *dou* [2 litres] of grain and told him not to let his father know. Fan Xiang, however, felt obliged to tell, and Fan Dan sent him back with six *dou*. -*YSS*:20a.

Yin Tang 陰棠; Nanyang. Brother of the Honoured Lady Yin of Emperor Ming, in 77 Yin Tang was granted a county marquissate in Jiangxia by Emperor Zhang. -*HHS* 50/40:1675.

Yin Tao 殷陶 [Zhongcai 仲才 or Zhongzi 仲子]; Runan. Yin Tao acquired a reputation for filial piety at the age of twelve, notably for defying a great snake which sought to block the entrance to his father's tomb.

In 167, as the local hero Fan Pang returned from prison at Luoyang after the First Faction Incident, he was met by a crowd of local gentry, and Yin Tao and Huang Mu acted as his escorts and attendants. Warning them, however, that their good intentions only added to his danger, Fan Pang went into strict retirement.

At some time the Administrator Jing Yu wanted to nominate Huang Mu as Filial and Incorrupt, but Huang Mu insisted that Yin Tao was more suitable and must take precedence. -*HHS* 67/57:2206 & *JJ* at 2415.

Yin Tong 殷彤. In 84 Yin Tong was an Expectant Appointee Watcher of the Zhong Pitchpipe 待詔候鍾律 at the Spiritual Terrace observatory under the Minister of Ceremonies. He reported that no member of staff knew how to tune the sacred instruments, but that a former officer, Yan Chong, was said to have known the art and to have passed it to his son Xuan. Emperor Zhang agreed that Yan Xuan should be

given opportunity to show his ability, but he was not successful. -HHS 91/1:3015.

Yin Wanquan 陰萬全; Nanyang. Son of Yin Qin, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 32/22:1132.

Yin Wei 淫偉 see Yao Wei 徭偉.

Yin Wei 陰鮒; Nanyang. Son of Yin Shu, he succeeded to his fief. -HHS 32/22:1130.

Yin Xin 陰訢 (d.33); Nanyang. Son of Yin Lu/Mu and a younger brother of the Lady Yin, future empress of Guangwu, Yin Xin was killed by bandits. An edict awarded him posthumous enfeoffment. -HHS 10A: 405-06.

Yin Xing 陰興 [Junling 君陵] (9-47); Nanyang. Son of Yin Lu/Mu and younger brother of the Empress Yin of Emperor Guangwu, in 26 Yin Xing was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates and commanded the imperial bodyguard with a troop of cavalry. He escorted the emperor everywhere, always bearing an umbrella to shield the ruler from wind, dust and mud, and he checked the security of each place he stayed.

Though he was held in the utmost confidence, Yin Xing did not allow private interest to affect his conduct. He enjoyed having clients and retainers, but used none of them in the imperial bodyguard; he disliked Zhang Zong and Xianyu Bao, but recognised their abilities and recommended them; and though he was fond of Zhang Fan and Du Qin, he considered them superficial and would not speak on their behalf.

When his mother the Lady Deng was killed in 33, his father and his brother Xin received posthumous titles, while Yin Xing was made a Palace Attendant and enfeoffed as a secondary marquis. Guangwu later offered him a full marquise but, like his half-brother Yin Shi, he refused on grounds that his achievements in the civil war were limited and it would be wrong for his family to be too greatly honoured. It is said that he gave the same cautious advice to his sister, and the Lady Yin never pressed Guangwu for favours.

In 43 Yin Xing's nephew Liu Zhuang was named Heir and Yin Xing was appointed Minister of the Guards. He and Yin Shi, Bearer of the Mace, were recognised as mentors to the future ruler, and they controlled substantial troops about the imperial palace. When Guangwu was seriously ill with jaundice in the summer of 44, he entrusted Yin Xing with his testament. Recovered, he offered Yin Xing the office of Grand Marshal to replace Wu Han, but Yin Xing refused.

In 47, as Yin Xing himself lay dying, Guangwu came to visit him, and asked his opinion on various officials. Yin Xing recommended the Consultant Xi Guang and his own cousin Yin Song; he had never got on well with Yin Song, but had always admired his quality. Both men were promoted.

In 58 Emperor Ming issued an edict praising Yin Xing, granting fiefs to his sons Qing and Bo, and appointing their younger brothers Yuan and Dan as gentlemen cadets. When Yin Xing's widow died in 80, Emperor Zhang sent an escort for her funeral and awarded Yin Xing a posthumous title. -HHS 32/22: 1130-32*; Bn 79:118-120.

Yin Xing 尹興. Administrator of Kuaiji in 70, his name appeared on a list of conspirators associated with Liu Ying, King of Chu. With five hundred members of his staff, Yin Xing was arrested and brought to prison in Luoyang. Most of those imprisoned died under torture, until the remarkable filial piety shown by the clerk Lu Xu was reported to Emperor Ming and brought the pardon of the remainder.

Yin Xing and his associates were proscribed from office for life, but were allowed to return home. -HHS 81/71:2682-83.

Yin Xiu 陰脩 or Yin Xun 循 [Yuanji 元基] (d.190); Nanyang. Administrator of Yingchuan in the 180s, Yin Xun paid great attention to recruiting and recommending good men for office. His nominees included Zhong Yao, Xun Yu, Xun You and Guo Tu, all of whom had distinguished careers.

Yin Xiu later became Minister Steward. In 190 he was sent as an ambassador from Dong Zhuo to make peace with the eastern alliance, but he was killed by Yuan Shu. -HHS 9:370, 74/64A:2376, XC 8:8b, SGZ 6:192.

Yin Xun 尹尋. A county magistrate in Ba commandery, Yin Xun was killed by brigands about 150. -HYGZ 1: 6.

Yin Xun 尹勳 [Boyuan 伯元] (d.168); Henan. Yin Xun was a man of good official family: his great-uncle Yin Mu had been Grand Commandant and his cousin Yin Song became an Excellency. Yin Xun, however, took no advantage of the prosperity and honour which his family had gained, but lived simply and, from wide reading, resolved to act as a loyal and honourable officer of the state.

He was offered appointment by the commandery and provincial administrations, nominated Filial and

Incorrupt, and invited to office at the capital, but rejected all these because he disapproved the moral tenor of the government. Eventually he received a special summons as Knowing the Way and became county magistrate in the capital of Zhao. His rule was excellent, he was graded Number One in the empire, and after further transfers he was appointed Director of the Imperial Secretariat.

Yin Xun, the Deputy Director Huo Xu and some other members of the Secretariat were among the few officials who resisted the power of Liang Ji and his family, and when Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies attacked the Liang in 159 Yin Xun led the defence of the Secretariat while his subordinates prepared the documents. He was rewarded with enfeoffment, but when Ju Yuan and Zuo Guan were disgraced in 165 and some eunuch favourites were demoted, Yin Xun and his colleagues had their fiefs taken away altogether.

Administrator of Runan at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166/167, Yin Xun wrote to the court urging that Fan Pang, Yuan Zhong and others be released from proscription, while Dou Wu praised him to Emperor Huan as one of the finest officials of the empire. Soon afterwards Yin Xun returned to the capital as Court Architect and then became Minister of Agriculture. Praised by the reformists and students of the University he was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled during the late 160s.

Under the regency for the new Emperor Ling in 168, Yin Xun was a close associate of the General-in-Chief Dou Wu. As Chen Fan prepared to attack the eunuch group led by Cao Jie, he consulted with Yin Xun and had him appointed once more as Director of the Secretariat, the same post he had held during the coup of 159.

In the autumn the eunuch Shan Bing, a supporter of Dou Wu, made accusations against Zheng Li. Yin Xun was ordered to take part in the examination of Zheng Li at the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, and on the basis of his extorted confession they recommended the arrest of Cao Jie and Wang Fu.

The letter was intercepted, however, and Cao Jie and Wang Fu struck first. They took the young Emperor with them, and in a reversal of the situation of 159 they forced the Secretariat to draw up a warrant for the arrest of Yin Xun and Shan Bing. Shan Bing attempted to resist and was killed; Yin Xun was either killed at the prison or was arrested and forced to commit

suicide. -HHS 67/57:2208* & 2187, 57/47:1857-58, 69/59:2243; deC 89.98-99, Ch'ü 72:485-488.

Yin Xun 陰循 see Yin Xiu 陰脩.

Yin Xun 殷訓 see Duan Xun 段訓.

Yin Yao 陰耀/耀 (d.144). Inspector of Yang province about 140, Yin Yao invited the scholar Xu Sheng to appointment in his office, but Xu Sheng was killed on the road by a brigand. When the murderer was captured soon afterwards, Yin Yao allowed Xu Sheng's widow, the Lady Lü Rong, to cut off his head and present it as an offering to the victim's spirit.

As the rebellion of Fan Rong and Zhou Sheng broke out in Jiujiang in 144, Yin Yao brought provincial levies to join Feng Gun in an attack on the rebels. His men were defeated and Yin Yao was killed. -HHS 6: 275, 38/28:1279, 84/74:2795; Ch'ü 72:308.

Yin Ye 尹業. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang in 75, the head of the Censorate Ma Yan complained that many provincial officials lacked concern for their duties. In particular, he accused Yin Ye the Inspector of Liang province of recommending men of poor quality for office. Yin Ye and two other inspectors were dismissed. [The accusations may not necessarily have been justified: see *sub* Zhu Fu.] -HHS 24/14:860.

Yin Yi 陰軼; Nanyang. Son of Yin Gang, Yin Yi was a brother of the Empress Yin of Emperor He, and became a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates. When the Empress was accused of witchcraft in 102, Yin Yi and his brothers Fu and Chang were arrested and tortured. Their confessions implicated one another, and also their cousins Deng Feng and Deng Yi. The empress was deposed, some of the family died, while Yin Yi, Yin Chang and other relatives were sent to exile in the far south.

In 106 the new regent Dowager Deng ordered that the exiles should be allowed to return to their home countries and have their great properties restored to them. -HHS 10A:417, 423, 32/22:1130.

Yin Yi 尹益; Hanyang. An Investigator under the Administrator Qiao Xuan, Yin Yi was ordered to invite the local hermit Jiang Qi to office. Yin Yi warned that Jiang Qi would not come, and Jiang Qi indeed refused, even under threat. Qiao Xuan had Yin Yi flogged. As he still continued to protest, and other officials objected too, Qiao Xuan eventually gave up the idea. -HHS 51/41:1695.

Yin Yi 尹異. General of the Household to Sun Quan,

in 211 Yin Yi was sent with Lü Dai to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, asking him to move east down the Han against Cao Cao's positions in Jing province. Zhang Lu felt the distance was too great and the terrain too difficult, so nothing came of the venture. -SGZ Wu 15: 1384.

Yin Yong 陰永; Nanyang. Son of Yin Shi, in the time of Emperor Ming he was Specially Advanced. -HHJ 13:169.

Yin You 尹由 (d.36). General in the service of Lu Fang, in 33 he defended Yanmen commandery against Guangwu's forces under Du Mao. As Lu Fang's position collapsed three years later, Yin You was killed by his officers Jia Dan and others, and they surrendered to Han. -HHS 22/12:777; Bn 67:108-110.

Yin Yu 陰瑜; Nanyang. Married to the young Lady Xun Cai *q.v.*, he had a daughter by her but died soon afterwards. -HHS 84/74:2799.

Yin Yuan 陰員 Nanyang. Son of Yin Xing, in 58 he was made a gentleman cadet in recognition of his late father. -HHS 32/22:1132.

Yin Zhen 尹珍 [Daozhen 道真]; Zangke. Emerging from the obscurity of his isolated territory, Yin Zhen claimed that he had spent his life in the wilderness and had no knowledge of classical or other learning. It is said that he received tuition in the classics from Xu Shen, and in the apocrypha and arts of divination from Ying Feng, and when his studies were complete he returned to teach his fellow-countrymen. As a result of Yin Zhen's initiative this region of the south first became educated in proper fashion.

Selected for office on account of his scholarship, Yin Zhen served in the Imperial Secretariat and was later Inspector of Jing province. -HHS 86/76:2845, HYGZ 4:54; Miyakawa 60:28.

There is a problem about the dating of Yin Zhen: HHS says that he appeared in the time of Emperor Huan, but HYGZ says that it was during the reigns of Emperors Ming and Zhang. Xu Shen, moreover, died about 120, and Ying Feng some fifty years later. The contradiction is not easily resolved.

Yin Zhenren 陰真人 or Zhenjun 真君 see Yin Changsheng 陰長生.

Yin Zhi 陰識 see Yin Shi.

Yin Zhi 殷志 *i.e.* Duan Zhi 段志. -HHJ 12:84.

Yin [Zhisun] 殷知/智孫 see *sub* Yin Can 殷參.

Yin [Zhongrang] 尹仲讓; Jianwei. Towards the end of the second century, Yin Zhongrang was the husband

of the Lady Han Jiang. He died when she was only twenty years old, but even after the mourning period was over, his widow rejected an offer of marriage from the gentleman Dong Tai. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Yin [Zhongsun] 殷仲孫; Shu. Yin Zhongsun married the Lady Chang Michang. He conceived a child with her, but died in an epidemic soon afterwards. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Yin Zhou 尹宙 [Zhounan 周南] (116-177); Yingchuan. A man of family, Yin Shou studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* and also the histories. He became an Investigator and a senior member of the central staff in the commandery, and also an Assistant Officer of Yu province. A stele was erected in his memory. -Nagata 94:224.

Yin [Zizheng] 殷子徵; Runan. Close friends of Zhang Shao, Yin Zizheng and Zhi Junzhang cared for him in his last illness. Zhang Shao told them, however, that he regretted not seeing Fan Shi of Shanyang, whom he described as his "death friend" 死友; they, by contrast, were his "life friends" 生友. -HHS 81/71:2677, XC 5: 13b [surname as Shang 商].

Yin Zun 尹尊/遵. Probably an associate of the gentry clique from Nanyang, Yin Zun was at Chang'an in 24, and was enfeoffed by the Gengshi Emperor as king of a county in Nanyang.

In 26 Yin Zun was leader of a group of remnant officers of the late Gengshi Emperor in Nanyang. In the spring Guangwu sent his general Jia Fu against his city and in the summer, after one month's siege, Yin Zun surrendered. -HHS 11/1:470, 17/7:666; Bn 59:54, 152.

Ying 營 [surname] see *sub* Rong He 榮郃.

Ying, Dame 應姬; Runan. During the time of Emperor Guangwu the Lady Ying, a widow with four sons, saw a spiritual radiance at a local shrine 祖. When she went to look closer, she found gold, and her sons and their descendants became celebrated officials and scholars for several generations.

In fact, the first recorded descendant of the Lady was her grandson Ying Shun, who held influence at court at the end of the first century, and it would appear to have been him, rather than the legendary Dame, who founded the fortunes of the family. -HHS 48/38:1615.

Ying 盈, the Lady. Concubine of Fu Wan, the Lady was the mother of Fu Shou, empress of Emperor Xian. When Cao Cao destroyed the empress and her family in 214, the Lady Ying and her kinsmen were exiled to

Zhuo commandery. -HHS 10B:454.

Ying/Xu 應/許, the Lady, wife of Ying Shun and then consort of Xu Jing; see the Lady Xu/Ying 許/應.

Ying Bin 應彬 miswritten for Ying Chen 應彬.

Ying Cao 應操. About 160 Ying Cao was a county magistrate in Taiyuan. Guo Tai approached him on behalf of Jia Shu, who had been sentenced to death for murder in a vendetta but had now shown the utmost remorse. Even though there had been an amnesty, Ying Cao would not relent, but Guo Tai appealed to the commandery office and obtained Jia Shu's release. -XC 4:10a-b.

Ying Chang 應場 [Delian 德璉] (d.217); Runan. Son of Ying Xun and nephew of the celebrated scholar Ying Shao, Ying Chang became a member of Cao Cao's staff, joined the suite of Cao Zhi, and was later a literary adviser to Cao Pi. He died during the great epidemic of 217.

Scholar, essayist and poet, Ying Chang also composed a treatise on the art of chess 弈勢 *Yishi*; this relates to "surrounding chess" 圍碁 [Japanese *Go*]. In his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" Cao Pi honoured him as one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -SGZ 21:599-602*; Yao Zhenzong:2412.

Ying Chen 應郴; Runan. Son of Ying Die, Ying Chen served as a county magistrate in Henan and became Administrator of Wuling. -HHS 48/38:1607.

Ying Cheng 應承. Administrator of Ba commandery about 147, Ying Cheng joined the Inspector of Yi province Chong Gao to attack the religious rebel Fu Zhi. They were defeated. The two men were then impeached by Liang Ji, but through support of Li Gu and the Dowager Liang, they suffered only dismissal. -HHS 56/46:1827-28.

Ying Die 應璩; Runan. Son of Ying Shun and a man of scholarly talent, Ying Die became Administrator of Jiangxia. -HHS 48/38:1607.

Ying Feng 應奉 [Shishu 世叔]; Runan. Son of Ying Chen, Ying Feng understood both standard and unorthodox Confucian texts and had an extraordinary memory for names and faces [see *sub* Xu Xun]. He was also an accomplished historian, compiling *Han shi* 漢事 and a *Han shu houxu* 漢書後序 "Postscript to the History of Han."

Having distinguished himself as Officer for Legal Matters 決曹 in his commandery, during the 140s Ying Feng was sent to Luoyang as Reporting Officer and was nominated Abundant Talent by the General-

in-Chief Liang Ji. In 153 he became Administrator of Wuling, where his father had served earlier. Having settled a rising of local tribesmen, he set up a program for education and cultural control.

Ying Feng was later dismissed, presumably when his former patron Liang Ji was destroyed in 159. In 162, however, as serious rebellion broke out in the south, Ying Feng was made a senior adviser to the general Feng Gun. After a successful campaign, Ying Feng was consulted on the situation and was generously rewarded.

Appointed Director of Retainers on Feng Gun's nomination, Ying Feng gained a reputation for strict and fearless impartiality, though he was one of the officials whom Kou Rong, in his memorial of apologia, accused of making false accusations. About 165, as Feng Gun, Li Ying and Liu You were in convict service because of their opposition to the eunuch group, Ying Feng argued for them and obtained their release. He also opposed Emperor Huan's wish to make his favourite the Lady Tian, a woman of poor family, empress. The Lady Dou was appointed instead.

For a short period Ying Feng was replaced as Director by Li Ying, but later returned to that office, resigning on grounds of ill health at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167. In retirement he composed *Gan sao* 感騷, a long elegy for the legendary Qu Yuan 屈原. He died about 170. -HHS 48/38:1606-09*, XC 2:12a-13a.

Ying He 營郤 see *sub* Rong He 榮郤.

Ying [Jixian] 應季先; Runan. Administrator of Ba commandery in the time of Emperor He, Ying Jixian admired the manner in which Yan Yu dealt with the gifts offered for his father's funeral, and he wrote a poem in praise. -HYGZ 1:5.

Ying Mu 應募; Shu. In 115 Ying Mu joined Chen Sheng and Luo Heng to assassinate Lü Shudu, leader of rebel Qiang who came to attack Yi province. -HHS 87/77:2889.

Ying Qu 應璩 [Xiulian 休璩]; Runan. Son of Ying Xun, he was known for literary ability, but was not so admired as his brother Chang. He held office at the Han court under Cao Cao. -HHS 48/38:1615, SGZ 21:604.

Ying Rong 應融 [Yigao 義高]; Runan. Son of Ying Shun, he became a magistrate in Henei. As Zhu Tian was travelling to the capital for appointment, he was taken ill on the road and Ying Rong arranged for his

care and treatment in most generous fashion.

Ying Rong became Administrator of Lujiang, but after eight years in that office he left on account of the death of his mother. About 150s, however, as Zhu Tian became Director of Retainers, he arranged for Ying Rong to return to high office; he served in five commanderies, and gained an excellent reputation throughout the empire. -*FSTY* 7:55, also *HHSJJ* 48/38: 1731 Hong Liangji quoting the gazetteer *Luzhou fu zhi* 廬州府志.

Ying Rong 穎/穎容 [Ziyan 子嚴]; Chen. A student of the Excellency Yang Ci, Ying Rong was a man of wide learning. He was particularly skilled in *Zuo zhuan*, and compiled a study of the classic, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan tiao li* 春秋左氏條例, in more than fifty thousand characters.

Nominated for office by the commandery and provincial governments, Ying Rong was also invited by the Excellencies, but refused all of them. As civil war broke out in 190, he took refuge in Jing province, where he gathered over a thousand students. The warlord Governor Liu Biao named Ying Rong as Administrator of Wuling, but he was unwilling to accept. He died about 200. -*HHS* 79/69B:2584*.

Ying Shao 應劭 [Zhongyuan 仲瑗/仲遠/仲援]; Runan. Son of Ying Feng, Ying Shao was one of the most distinguished scholars of Later Han. Having served in his commandery office, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He became a clerk in the office of He Miao, General of Chariots and Cavalry and brother of the Empress, and then served under the Grand Commandant Deng Sheng. In 185, when the general Huangfu Song proposed recruiting Wuhuan for service against the rebels of Liang province, other advisers suggested that Xianbi would be more effective, but Ying Shao spoke firmly against the very idea of using such unreliable and/or inherently hostile people. As a majority at court was convinced and agreed with him, the idea was dropped.

Graded First Class in 186, Ying Shao served as a magistrate in Pei and then held various other positions before he was appointed Administrator of Taishan in 189. In 191 he led his people to defeat an invasion of Yellow Turbans, capturing their dependents and their goods, and in 192 he joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal.

In 194 Ying Shao was required by Cao Cao to welcome his father Cao Song. He sent an escort, but Cao Song was robbed and killed by troops of Tao Qian operating within Taishan. Fearful of Cao Cao's anger, Ying Shao fled to Yuan Shao and became an adviser on his staff.

During this time, Ying Shao compiled *Han yi* 漢議, a compendium of legal cases and precedents in two hundred and fifty *pian*, with thirty *pian* more of dissenting opinions, *Boyi* 駁議, including many of his own; as Emperor Xian returned to the east in 196, he sent this material to the new capital at Xu city. Realising how much had been lost in the troubles caused by Dong Zhuo, moreover, Ying Shao also presented a quantity of material on the conduct of the court, gathered from his own notes and recollections. These compilations included *Hanguan yi* 漢官儀 "Ceremonial of Han Offices," *Hanguan zhu* 注 "Notes on Han Offices," and *Hanguan liyi gushi* 漢官禮儀故事 "Ceremonial Precedents for Han Offices," and he may have been the original author of the Treatise on the Bureaucracy 百官志 of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, later incorporated into *Hou Han shu*. In *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 "A Compendium of Popular Customs," moreover, compiled in the late 190s, Ying Shao collected and discussed legends, anecdotes, ritual conduct, popular beliefs and other memorabilia, with comments urging reform, restraint and proper conduct; again the list of omens and portents which he prepared [now only in fragments] was a major source for Sima Biao's Treatise of the Five Powers 五行志. He also compiled a commentary to *Han shu*. Ying Shao's works were influential in their own time and remain an important source of information on Later Han.

Ying Shao died at Ye city about 200. -*HHS* 48/38: 1609-14*; MBeck 90:47-49, 85, Nylan 83.

Ying Shen 應慎 see Ying Shun 應順.

Ying Shun 應順 [Huazhong 華中]; Runan. Known for his honest conduct as a local officer, Ying Shun was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, joined the Imperial Secretariat, and then became Inspector of Ji province and Chancellor of Dongping, where he was noted for his strict control of his subordinates.

As Dou Xian returned from his victory over the Northern Xiongnu in 92, all officials were instructed to send congratulations and gifts, but Ying Shun and his colleagues Chen Chong and Zhang Lin refused to join the flattery. Dou Xian was destroyed by Emperor

He soon afterwards, and the recusants were rewarded: Ying Shun became Administrator of Zuopingyi, then Intendant of Henan and later Court Architect.

With considerable influence in the government of Emperor He, Ying Shun had special lodging houses 邸 constructed for the Reporting Officers sent in by the commanderies each year, arguing that these men were of great value to the ruler in understanding the empire. A few years later Reporting Officers were appointed probationary gentleman cadets in the same fashion as Filial and Incorrupt nominees. -HHS 48/38:1607, 46/36:1554.

Ying Shun 應順, wives of: see the Lady Xu/Ying 許/應 [later the second consort of Xu Jing] and the Lady Li 李 IV [first married to Deng Yuanyi].

Ying Si 應嗣; Runan. Appointed to his senior staff and then recommended for office by the Administrator Wang Tang, Ying Si later became Director of Retainers. -HHS 31/21:1106, HYGZ 10B:145.

Ying Xun 應珣 [Jiyu 季瑜]; Runan. Son of Ying Feng and younger brother of Ying Shao, Ying Xun became a clerk in the offices at the capital. -SGZ 21:601.

Ying Yang 應瑒 see Ying Chang 應瑒.

Ying Yu 應嫗; Runan: see Dame Ying 應嫗.

Ying Yu 應余 [Zizheng 子正] (d.218); Nanyang. In 218 Ying Yu was commandery Officer of Merit when the local officer Hou Yin led a mutiny, seized the capital, Wan city, and called people from the hills to support him. Ying Yu assisted the Administrator Dongli Gun [or Dongli Bao] to escape from the city, but Hou Yin sent men in chase of them and they were caught a few kilometres outside. As the enemy shot at them, Ying Yu shielded Dongli Gun with his own body. He was wounded seven times, and the fugitives were taken prisoner.

Ying Yu warned his captors that Cao Cao's army would certainly come and destroy Hou Yin, and their only hope of survival was to care for Dongli Gun. Impressed by his loyalty, the rebel troops indeed spared Dongli Gun, but Ying Yu died of wounds soon afterwards.

When Cao Cao heard of this, he was deeply impressed and awarded quantities of grain to Ying Yu's family. Many years later, moreover, in 258, the government of Cao Mao 曹髦 under the control of Sima Zhao 司馬昭 issued an edict ordering official appointment for his grandson Ying Lun 應倫, in commemoration of his heroic conduct. -SGZ 4:141.

Ying Zhi 應志 [Zhongjie 仲節]; Runan. A great-grandson of Ying Shun, Ying Zhi became Inspector of Xu province; in 138 he obtained the surrender of the bandit Cai Boliu. -HHS 6:267.

Ying Zi 贏咨 or Lei Zi 贏咨; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Ying Zi was a member of the group. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, however, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Yilang 抑狼 see Liumiao 柳貌/邈. -HYGZJBZ:285.

Yiti 抑鞮; Xiongnu. In the summer of 140, as the chieftains Che'niu and Wusi rebelled in Yunzhong and Dingxiang, Yiti the Worthy King of the Right joined them. Their combined forces attacked the capital of the Shanyu Xiuli in Xihe, and though the General on the Liao Ma Xu forced them to withdraw, they continued to plunder the countryside, while pressure from the official Chen Gui drove Xiuli and his younger brother the heir to commit suicide.

Ma Xu was now ordered to avoid combat and seek to persuade the rebels to surrender. Yiti and his followers did return to allegiance, but Wusi and Che'niu expanded their incursions. Che'niu claimed title as Shanyu, and though he was forced to surrender late in 140, and Wusi was killed in 143, the traditional leadership of the Xiongnu had fallen into limbo.

Yiti could have been next in line for the chief position, but his rebel past no doubt told against him. He was passed over, and in 143 the hostage prince Toulouchu was proclaimed Shanyu at Luoyang. -HHS 89/79:2960-61; deC 84:306-315.

Yiyimo 伊夷模 [Korean: Iimo] or Yanyou 延優 [Korean: Yon-u] of Gaogouli [Koguryo]. According to SGZ 30:845, Yiyimo was a son of King Bogu [Korean: Paekke] of Gaogouli, and the younger brother of Baqi/Faqi [Korean: Palgi]. When Bogu died about 190, Baqi was considered unworthy and the succession was granted to Yiyimo. Gongsun Kang, the Chinese warlord of Manchuria, then attacked Gaogouli, seized some of its territory and set up Baqi under his protection. Yiyimo was forced to withdraw his capital to the east, and he died about 230.

According to *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記, however, a Korean chronicle of the twelfth century based upon older material, Baqi [cited as Faqi *i.e.* Pakgi] and Yiyimo [cited as Yanyou: *i.e.* Yon-u] were brothers of King Nanwu [Korean Nannu]. This ruler is not mentioned in early Chinese records, but Gardiner argues that he may have reigned for some ten years between about 195 and 205, and was possibly the father rather than an elder brother of the two princes.

Samguk-sagi tells how Nanwu's widowed queen quarrelled with Baqi and arranged to have Yiyimo set upon the throne. Baqi later attempted a coup, but was driven out and sought help from Gongsun Kang, thus triggering the invasion. It is then claimed that the Chinese were defeated and Baqi was killed, but this is probably not correct: see *sub* Jixu].

Despite the claims of Korean historians, it appears in fact that Gongsun Kang took advantage of a succession dispute to attack some time after 208; he gained substantial territory and Yiyimo's state was substantially weakened. -Gardiner 69A:32-33, 72A: 84-89.

Yizi 邑子 see Yi Zi 邑子.

Yon-u [Korean] *i.e.* Yanyou 延優 of Gaogouli [Koguryo], also known as Yiyimo *q.v.*

Yong 雍 [surname] *i.e.* Yong 雍 *passim*.

Yong Ba 雍霸. About 75 Yong Ba was a county magistrate in Nanyang, but governed badly. Zhao Qin was sent as Investigator by the Administrator Huan Yu, and Yong Ba was persuaded to resign his post. -*DGHJ* 18:8a.

Yong Dou 雍竇 [Bozhu 伯著]; Hanzhong. During the first century Yong Dou was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and was then a magistrate in Henan. He was later a member of the Imperial Secretariat, and then became Administrator of Jiujiang. -*LS* 12:12a.

Yong Guan 雍觀 see Yong Quan 雍勸.

Yong Kai 雍闓 (d.225); Yizhou. Leader of a powerful clan, about 215 Yong Kai killed the Administrator Zheng Ang and made contact, through Shi Xie in Jiaozhi, with Bu Zhi, Inspector in Sun Quan's service. Establishing a general hegemony in the south, about 223 Yong Kai captured Liu Bei's Administrator Zhang Yi and sent him to Sun Quan. Sun Quan gave Yong Kai title as Administrator of Yongchang, but actually ordered his officers to keep him from that territory.

In 225, as Zhuge Liang began his southern expedition, Yong Kai was killed by Gaoding 高定, a non-

Chinese chieftain of Yuexi.

The surname of Yong Kai may indicate a relationship to the royal family of the state of Tan/Shan: see *sub* Yongyoutiao below. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1237, *SGZ* Shu 11:1011, 13:1046; Fang 52:160, 194-195.

Yong Lang 雍朗 [Zhongning 仲寧]; Hanzhong. Son of Yong Wang, Yong Lang was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as a county magistrate in Hongnong, and was then Administrator of Wudu. -*LS* 12:12b.

Yong Mao 雍茂. Registrar to Liu Bei in 221, Yong Mao argued against his intention to take the imperial title. His protests were rejected, and he was executed soon afterwards on some other charge. It is said that as a result many men of quality were discouraged from coming to join Liu Bei's service. -*SGZ* Shu 9.982.

Yong Mou 雍茂 see Yong Mou 雍茂.

Yong Quan 雍勸 or Yong Guan 觀; Hanzhong. Son of Yong Wang, Yong Quan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a magistrate in Henan, and then served as Chancellor of Zhao, dying in that office.

The Yong family tomb later suffered damage, but as a former officer under Yong Quan, surnamed Handan, became Administrator of Hanzhong, he repaired it and set up a stele. -*LS* 12:12a-13b.

Yong Wang 雍望 or Yong Yi 翌 [Bohuan 伯桓]; Hanzhong. A descendant of Yong Du, Yong Wang became an officer in charge of convict labourers under the Court Architect. -*LS* 12:12b.

Yong Yi 雍翌 see Yong Wang 雍望. -*HHSJJ* 86/76: 3148 Hui Dong.

Yong Youtiao 雍由調 see Yongyoutiao 雍由調.

Yong Yu 雍煜; Hanzhong. Son of Yong Quan, Yong Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as a county magistrate in Jianwei and was later a commandery Commandant. -*LS* 12:12b.

Yong Zhi 雍陟; Hanzhong. Eldest son of Yong Wang, Yong Zhi was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He became a county magistrate in Ba commandery and then Administrator of Yizhou.

In 176 the non-Chinese of Yizhou rebelled and took Yong Zhi prisoner. Li Yong was sent in his place, defeated the rebels and freed him. -*LS* 12:12b, *HHS* 86/76:2847.

Yongkai 雍闓 see Yong Kai 雍闓.

Yongqutiao 雍曲調 see Yongyoutiao 雍由調.

Yongtian 雍田 see Yongyoutiao 雍由調.

Yongyoutiao 雍由調; non-Chinese. Ruler of a state beyond the imperial frontier in the far southwest,

Yongyoutiao sent at least two embassies to the imperial court of Han. The name of the kingdom appears both as 撣 and as 擅, and pronunciation is given by the commentaries variously as Shan and as Tan. This is presumably an early reference to the Shan people of present-day Burma/Myanmar.

In 97 Yongyoutiao sent an embassy to the court of Emperor He. Speaking through a series of interpreters, as there was no-one who knew both the Shan language and Chinese, they presented valuable gifts. Emperor He awarded Yongyoutiao a gold seal and purple ribbon, insignia of the highest nobility, and granted other seals and silken cloth to the lesser officials.

In 120 Yongyoutiao sent another tribute embassy to the court of Emperor An. On this occasion the envoys said that their country was connected on the southwest to the state of Daqin 大秦; they presumably referred to the sea route across the Indian Ocean. The group included musicians, conjurers, jugglers and people who could swallow fire; they performed at the court assembly held on New Year's Day of 121. Yongyoutiao was sent a seal as Grand Chief Commandant for Han 漢大都尉, and seals of gold and silver were awarded to the emissaries according to their rank.

In 131 a third embassy from Shan came to the court of Emperor Shun, and the king was again presented with a golden seal and purple ribbon. On this occasion *HHS* omits the name of the ruler, but *DGHJ* has it as Yongtian 雍田: this may be a corruption of Yongyoutiao, or perhaps refers to his successor. -*HHS* 4:183, 5:231, 6:258, 86/76:2851, *DGHJ* 3:3a; Yü 67:115.

You 攸, the Lady [or Liu You 劉攸: it is uncertain whether You was her given name or maiden surname]. Wife to Liu Pu and mother of Liu Ye, as she was dying she warned their sons of their father's weaknesses - *SGZ* 14:442-43.

You Chu 游楚 [Zhongyun 仲允]; Zuopingyi. Son of You Yin, as a child he was entrusted by his father to the young official Zhang Ji, who reluctantly accepted.

You Chu later became a magistrate in Hedong. When Cao Cao conquered the region about Chang'an in 211 he appointed Zhang Ji as Intendant of Jingzhao. On Zhang Ji's recommendation, You Chu was appointed Administrator of Hanxing commandery, in the western part of Sili, and later transferred to Longxi.

Noted for his humane government, You Chu hated executions, and when Zhuge Liang of Shu attacked in

228, he rallied his people for a successful defence. He died in office in Beidi aged over seventy. -*SGZ* 15:473-74.

You Gong 由恭 see Tian Gong 田恭.

You Guang 有光 became Minister of the Household. -*FSTY* 5f:122.

You Shilang 右師郎 see Gushi Lang 古師郎.

You Tongqi 友通期 or Zhi Tongqi 支通期, the Lady. Presented to the harem of Emperor Shun by the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, the Lady You was appointed a Beauty, second grade of concubine, but was later dismissed for some minor fault and sent back to Liang Shang. Not daring to keep for himself a woman who had belonged to the imperial household, Liang Shang arranged for the Lady to be given away in marriage. Liang Shang's son Liang Ji, however, sent retainers to abduct her, then took her as his mistress.

Liang Shang died about this time, but while he was still in formal mourning Liang Ji established the Lady You in a house west of the capital. Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou sent slaves to follow him, and found the Lady's residence. She was taken and beaten, her hair was cut off and her face slashed. Sun Shou also intended to report the lese-majesty to the court, but Liang Ji went to his mother-in-law, kowtowed, and through her persuaded Sun Shou to avoid such a scandal.

Liang Ji continued to visit the Lady You, and she bore him a son, Liang Boyu. Sun Shou, however, eventually had her son Liang Yin destroy the You family. -*HHS* 34/24:1180.

You Tu 尤突 (d.216); Yuzhang. A commoner of the Poyang region, You Tu was sent a seal by Cao Cao to raise the people against Sun Quan. He was attacked and destroyed by He Qi and Lu Xun. -*SGZ* Wu 15:1380.

You Yin 游殷; Zuopingyi. Commandery Officer of Merit about 190, You Yin examined Zhang Ji, was impressed by him, and invited him to his house. You Yin's wife thought he was making too much of a young man, but You Yin insisted that Zhang Ji should serve as a guardian/sponsor of his son You Chu, and Zhang Ji reluctantly accepted.

You Yin quarrelled with the Director of Retainers Hu Zhen, and Hu Zhen had him put to death on a false charge. A few months later Hu Zhen himself died, exclaiming as he did so that he had been at fault and You Yin's spirit had come for him. -*SGZ* 15:473.

Yougutunu 優孤塗奴; Southern Xiongnu. Nephew of the Shanyu Tan by an elder brother, in 111 Yougutunu

aided the general Liang Qin in the forced evacuation of Chinese settlers and citizens from Anding, Beidi and Shang commanderies. At the conclusion of the operation, Liang Qin granted Yougutunu the seal of a marquis, but the court found that he had presumed upon his authority by issuing such insignia; he was recalled and imprisoned. -HHS 47/37:1593.

Youhu Chi'er 友胡赤兒 see 赤兒 Chi'er.

Youhuan 尤還 of Shanshan. In 120 Youhuan was King of Shanshan. His maternal lineage was Chinese, so he was a natural ally of Han, and when the official Suo Ban established a military colony he readily paid his respects.

King Junjiu of Further Jushi and his Xiongnu allies soon afterwards destroyed Suo Ban, and Youhuan sought help from China. This was not at first forthcoming, but it appears Youhuan managed to hold his position until 124, when the Chief Clerk for the Western Regions Ban Yong brought an allied army to defeat the Xiongnu and capture Further Jushi. -HHS 47/37:1587-88.

Youliduo 尤利多 of Qiuzi [Kuqa]. Youliduo succeeded King Jian as King of Qiuzi about 80, and maintained his predecessor's opposition to Han: see *sub* Ban Chao. By 91, however, the authority of Ban Chao in the Western Regions was so great that Youliduo was obliged to submit. The former hostage prince Boba was placed on the throne and Youliduo was exiled to Luoyang. -HHS 47/37:1574-81.

Youliu Shanyu 優留單于 [personal name unknown] (d.87); Xiongnu. Though Chinese sources provide no details of this man's lineage, he was a descendant of the Northern Shanyu Punu, and succeeded to his title. During his reign the Northern Xiongnu were weak and disorganised, subject to pressure from all sides, notably their rivals of the Southern Xiongnu, allies and subjects of Han, and the erratic tribes of the Xianbi in the east. Unable to maintain his position, the Shanyu withdrew to distant defences.

In 84 the Shanyu sent emissaries to Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei, seeking permission to trade along the frontier. Meng Yun referred the matter to the court at Luoyang, and an agreement was confirmed by the visit of a senior minister from the northern court.

Raiding parties of the Southern Xiongnu, however, plundered and kidnapped the traders, and in 85 the Northern Shanyu threatened to resume raids along the borders. There was fierce debate at the Han court

between those who supported their old allies of the south and those who believed that the agreement with the north should be honoured. Eventually the emperor ordered that prisoners taken by the southerners should be ransomed and restored to their own people. In the longer term, the Southern Xiongnu had the advantage, for the ransoms indicated that aggression would be rewarded, and over following years, as the Northern Xiongnu became weaker, the attacks on their caravans continued.

In 87 an army of the Xianbi attacked the Northern Xiongnu, defeated the Youliu Shanyu and killed him. The Xianbi stripped his skin and those of his followers, then returned to the east with their grisly trophies. As the state fell into disarray, numbers of tribespeople sought refuge within the imperial borders or acceded to the Southern Shanyu.

No personal name or dynastic title are recorded for the successor to the Youliu Shanyu, and the disorder and troubles were compounded by a plague of locusts. In 88, moreover, a dissident group of nobles set up the Worthy King of the Right, an elder half-brother of the new Shanyu, as a rival to his title.

The Southern Shanyu urged a final attack against the disintegrating state, and at the end of the year Dou Xian, brother of the regent Dowager of Han, received permission for a campaign of conquest. He embarked upon the project in 89, and by 91 the Northern Xiongnu state was in ruins and the Shanyu had disappeared. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuchujian, who ruled briefly as a puppet of Han. -HHS 89/79:2950-54, 45/35:1518; deC 84:262-275.

Young Emperor [Emperor Shang] 殤帝 (*reg.* 106) see Liu Long 劉隆.

Young Prince, the 孺子 See Liu Ying.

Youshi Lang 右師郎 see Gushi Lang 古師郎.

Yu 虞, the Lady (d.179). Daughter of Yu Shi, a man of respectable family 良家, the Lady was selected into the harem of Emperor Shun about 135 at the age of thirteen *sui* and was appointed a Beauty, one of the second-ranking concubines. Receiving the emperor's favour, she first bore him a daughter, Liu Sheng, and then, in 143, his only son the infant Liu Bing.

In 144 Liu Bing was proclaimed as Heir, and a few months Emperor Shun died. In accordance with the constitution of Han, the Dowager Liang, formal consort of the late ruler, held formal position as regent for his infant successor, and the Lady Yu had no role

at court. Despite the birth of her son, she had not been granted any special status before the death of Emperor Shun, and she now received only the empty style of "Aunt" [大家 *Dajia* (also apparently sounded in this context as *Dagu* 大姑); and see *sub* Ban Zhao]. When Liu Bing, Emperor Chong, died in the following year, the Lady disappeared into obscurity.

In 175 the eunuch Zhao You and the Consultant Bi Zheng presented a memorial urging that proper recognition be given to the Lady Yu as the mother of an emperor, and also to the Lady Chen, natural mother of Liu Zuan, the late Emperor Zhi. Emperor Ling approved, and the Lady Yu was named Honoured Lady in attendance at the tomb of Emperor Shun. She died a few years later. -HHS 10B:440-41, 77/67:2500.

Yu 興 (d.46); Xiongnu. Son of the Huhanye Shanyu 呼韓邪單于, who had reigned from 59/58 to 31 BC, Yu was a younger half-brother of Nangzhiyasi 囊知牙斯, who later adopted the name Zhi 知 in accordance with Chinese custom and pressure. When Nangzhiyasi came to the throne as Wuzhuliu 烏珠留 Shanyu in 8 BC, Yu was appointed Worthy King of the Right. He and other members of the family surely had Xiongnu names, but most are known only by their adopted Chinese nomenclature.

When the Wuzhuliu Shanyu Zhi died in 13 AD, Yu was the eldest surviving son of the Huhanye Shanyu, and if the principle established by his father had been followed he would have succeeded to the throne. The Lady Yun 云, however, born to the second marriage of the Chinese Lady Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, former concubine of the Huhanye Shanyu, had married Xubu Dang 須卜當, member of a leading noble clan, and she and her kinsmen were anxious to maintain good relations with China. Through their influence Yu was passed over in favour of his younger half-brother Xian 咸, who became Wulei 烏累 Shanyu. Yu was appointed Worthy King of the Left, the title held by the heir-apparent.

The Shanyu Xian had a complex and difficult relationship with Wang Mang. In 11 AD he and two of his sons had been given title as Shanyu by Wang Mang in rivalry to the Wuzhuliu Shanyu Zhi, but Xian was soon forced to submit and received a lowly post at the Xiongnu court, and in the following year Wang Mang killed Xian's son Deng 登 at Chang'an.

Xian learned of the execution only after he had become Shanyu, and he promptly authorised raids

along the frontier. In 15 a Chinese embassy came to escort Deng's body home and present apologies, and Xian reverted to his former allegiance to the Chinese court, accepting even that the name of his people be changed from Xiongnu to Gongnu 恭奴 "Respectful Slaves." He was, however, unable or unwilling to halt the border raiding.

When Xian died in 18, the Xiongnu court was divided between the pro-Chinese party and their opponents, but Yu appears to have succeeded his brother without difficulty; he took the dynastic or regnal title of Huduershidaogao 呼都而尸道皋 Shanyu.

Early in his reign Yu sent an embassy to the Chinese court, but soon afterwards Xubu Dang and his wife the Lady Yun went to the border, from where they were taken to Chang'an, either voluntarily or against their will. In 19, moreover, Wang Mang set up Xubu Dang as a rival Shanyu, stationed a great army on the frontier, and declared Yu to be an unpardonable rebel.

As Xubu Dang died a short time later, Wang Mang ceased to press his family's claim, and the expeditionary force never set out. The massive commitment of troops to the north, however, reduced Wang Mang's ability to deal with the Han rebels led by the Liu clan of Nanyang, and the Lady Yun and her son Xubu She 奢 died at the fall of Chang'an in 23.

Either as a cause or a consequence of the defection of the Xubu group, the Shanyu Yu killed his half-brother Yituzhiyashi 伊屠智牙師, son of the Huhanye Shanyu by the Lady Wang: as the surviving male of his generation he had been next in line to the throne and would no doubt have returned the Xiongnu court to the Chinese allegiance. In 24, after the Gengshi Emperor had set his government in Chang'an, he sent an embassy to the Xiongnu with a seal in the same form as under Former Han. Yu observed, however, that whereas Han had assisted the Huhanye Shanyu in his time of trouble, he had himself brought armies to face Wang Mang and had thus aided the restoration; it was therefore appropriate for the new emperor to pay him respect. The Chinese envoys argued the case, but circumstances were against them, and soon after their return in the summer of 25 the Gengshi Emperor was destroyed.

In the years of civil war which followed, the Xiongnu received no further threats or demands, while through the 20s and 30s the Shanyu exercised influence in favour of one warlord or another.

His first ally was Peng Chong, Administrator of Yuyang, who turned against Guangwu in 26 and married his daughter to the Shanyu in the following year. In 28, however, a Xiongnu army was defeated by Guangwu's forces, while Peng Chong was killed by household slaves in 29.

More successful was the association with Lu Fang, pretender to the throne of Han, in the region of the Ordos. Having acquired support among the local Chinese gentry and the Xiongnu during the 20s, he was recognised as emperor by the Shanyu about 26. In 28 the Shanyu sent envoys to gather support for Lu Fang in the border country, and in 29 he sponsored Lu Fang as he set up court on Chinese soil in Wuyuan.

In 30 Emperor Guangwu of Han exchanged embassies with Shanyu Yu, but negotiations for peace came to nothing. The Xiongnu remained loyal to their protégé, attacks by Han forces had small success, and by 35, after a series of defeats, the imperial troops had been forced to withdraw from Shuofang, Dingxiang and Yanmen and were on the defensive across all the north.

In 37 Lu Fang was heavily defeated in an attempt to seize Yunzhong. He was forced to take refuge at the Shanyu's court and played no major role thereafter in Chinese affairs. On the other hand, though Yanmen was briefly re-occupied by Han, the Chinese were soon once more on the defensive, and by the early 40s the frontier had been pressed back to the Sanggan River and the south of the Ordos, while the territory of the northern loop of the Yellow River was abandoned. Further to the northeast, in the region of present-day Beijing, the empire was under pressure from Xianbi and Wuhuan tribes.

The Chinese built walls to guard their new lines of defence, but the situation was not secure, and in the summer of 44 Xiongnu raiding parties reached as far south as Tianshui and Youfufeng on the Wei River west of Chang'an, and Shangdang to the north of Luoyang. In the winter of 44/45 the general Ma Yuan took command of defences in the north, with headquarters in Zhao, but a preliminary sortie was defeated, and in the following winter a Xiongnu raid broke the lines in Shanggu and drove into Zhongshan. By the middle 40s, the territory dominated by the Shanyu Yu rivalled that of the great Modun 冒頓 at the beginning of Former Han, and the restored dynasty of Han had proved unable to establish a strategy to control the

raiders.

At this point, in 46, the Shanyu Yu died. He was aged about eighty, he had reigned for almost thirty years, he had extended the territories of his people across great areas of fertile ground in the north of China proper, and he left mature sons to succeed him. Within a few years, however, the Xiongnu state was divided by a succession conflict between Yu's son Punu and his cousin Bi, founder of the puppet state of the Southern Xiongnu. -*HS* 94B:3810-29, *HS* 99C:4156, 4181; *Bn* 67:100-116, *deC* 84:210-227

Yu Bao 虞褒; Kuaiji. During the 190s Yu Bao came to take refuge with the Inspector of Jiaozhi province, his fellow-countryman Zhu Fu. Zhu Fu made him a local officer, but Yu Bao and his colleagues behaved so oppressively that rebellion broke out and Zhu Fu was driven away. -*SGZ* Wu 8:1252.

Yu Cheng 虞承 [Shuming 叔明]. A Counsellor Remonstrant, Yu Cheng was known for his honesty in debates at court, and for the generosity with which he gave his salary to his students. -*XC* 7:11a.

Yu Cheng 虞成; Kuaiji. Son of Yu Guang, Yu Cheng was a county magistrate in Runan and transferred his father's scholarship in the *Book of Changes* to his son Yu Feng. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1322.

Yu Cheng 庾乘 [Shiyou 世遊]; Yingchuan. As a young man Yu Cheng was indentured to be a servant in the county office. Guo Tai saw his potential, and urged him to study. So Yu Cheng became a servant to the students there.

Later Yu Cheng was able to take part in class discussions, but because of his humble rank he sat always in the lowest place. The teacher and the other students would question him on difficult problems, and his answers were so good that the lowest seat became the most honoured in the academy.

Yu Cheng was invited to clerical office at the capital but always refused; like Huang Xian and Jiang Gong, he was known as a "Summoned Lord" 徵君. His descendants held office under Wei and Jin. -*HHS* 68/58:2229, *JS* 50:1391.

Yu Chong 遇冲 became Administrator of Henei. -*FSTY* 6f:141.

Yu Dang 玉當. A slave in the household of Dou Xian, brother of the Dowager Dou, when the power of the family was destroyed in 91 by Emperor He and his eunuch allies, Yu Dang sought to escape their fate. He asked the minister Ma Guang to help him, but was

rejected and felt bitterly resentful.

On account of his own association with the fallen faction, Ma Guang was sent to his estates. Government officers then captured Yu Dang, and he claimed that Ma Guang had taken an active part in a treasonous plot with Dou Xian. Unable to disprove the allegations, Ma Guang killed himself.

Guo Hu, another former slave of Dou Xian, later gave evidence which posthumously exonerated Ma Guang. -*DGHJ* 12:4b, *HHS* 24/14:858.

Yu Di 于弟/予弟 see Zhu Di 朱弟.

Yu Digen 于氏根/甄根 (d.193). Probably named for his quantities of hair, in 185 Yu Digen was a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. He was killed by Yuan Shao in 193. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, 74/64A:2381-82, *SGZ* 8:262, 6:194; deC 89:567.

Yu Du 于毒 [Poison Yu] (d.193). A leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, Yu Du was defeated by Cao Cao in Dong commandery in 191. In 193 he joined a group of mutineers to capture Ye city in Wei commandery, but Yuan Shao drove him away, followed him into Henei and killed him. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, 74/64A:2381-82, *SGZ* 8:262, 6:194.

Yu Fan 虞翻 [Zhongxiang 仲翔] (d.233); Kuaiji. Yu Fan was a son of Yu Xin, whose family had held commissioned rank in the imperial civil service for several generations, and also maintained a substantial scholarly tradition in the *Book of Changes*. Precocious but arrogant, known for his quick wit and his skill in debate, during the early 190s Yu Fan became Officer of Merit to the Administrator Wang Lang. In a tradition developing at that time, Wang Lang asked Yu Fan about leading men from the region in the past, and their conversation was recorded as an early form of local history.

As Sun Ce became an apparent threat, Yu Fan was sent on embassy to Hua Xin, Administrator of Yuzhang, to suggest an alliance, but in 196, before any arrangement was made, Sun Ce moved against Kuaiji. Yu Fan's father had just died, but Yu Fan took off his mourning garb to support Wang Lang. He urged him not to give battle, but Wang Lang did; he was heavily defeated, and fled south by sea to the out-lying region of present-day Fuzhou. Yu Fan went with him, but Wang Lang told him to go back and look after his family. So Yu Fan surrendered to Sun Ce.

Sun Ce treated Yu Fan with respect, re-appointed

him as Officer of Merit and made him a close personal adviser. It is said that he several times urged Sun Ce to be careful of hunting or travelling without an escort, but this may be historical prescience.

In 200 Yu Fan acted as Sun Ce's envoy to persuade Hua Xin to surrender Yuzhang. Sun Ce wanted to send him as ambassador to the imperial court under Cao Cao's control, but Yu Fan was concerned at the potential conflict of interest and asked to return home. Sun Ce appointed him magistrate of Fuchun, the original home of his own family. When Sun Ce was killed soon afterwards, many local officials planned to pay respects at the funeral, but Yu Fan insisted that they hold their positions to guard against trouble from the hills. It appears that Sun Quan's elder cousin Sun Song [or Gao] thought of making a claim to succeed Sun Ce, but Yu Fan warned him against such ambition.

Though Yu Fan was offered nomination and appointment at the imperial capital, he always refused, but he did have active scholarly correspondence with Kong Rong, who wrote most favourably of Yu Fan's commentary to the *Book of Changes*; Zhang Hong also admired his spirit and character. Sun Quan appointed him a Commandant of Cavalry at his court, but he came to resent the many times that Yu Fan contradicted him, so he sent him away to Danyang. Lü Meng, on the other hand, admired Yu Fan, and had him recalled for the campaign to seize Jing province in 219. He gave good advice, and sent an eloquent letter persuading the garrison commander Shi Ren to surrender, but showed intense dislike for the captive Yu Jin of Wei, and contempt for the turn-coat general Mi Fang.

Yu Fan appears to have become increasingly aggressive, and he was several times drunk and contrary. At the celebratory banquet when Sun Quan became King of Wu in 221 Yu Fan failed to respond to his toast. Sun Quan wanted to kill him, remarking that "If Cao Cao could kill Kong Rong, why can't I kill Yu Fan?" He was dissuaded with difficulty, and when Yu Fan later jeered at him and Zhang Zhao as they were discussing spirits and immortals, Sun Quan sent him to exile in Jiao province.

Yu Fan maintained his teaching in the south, with several hundred students at a time, and besides his work on the *Book of Changes* he compiled several scholarly works, including commentaries to *Analects*, to *Laozi* and to *Guo yu*. He presented these to Sun Quan, and he also wrote a memorial when he took the

imperial title in 229, but he died in exile.

Yu Fan had attempted to warn Sun Quan against his plans for alliance with the Gongsun family in Liaodong, urging him to concentrate on the various peoples within his own territory who had not yet submitted. When the expedition proved a failure, Sun Quan recalled his advice and ordered his recall. Yu Fan was already dead, but his family was brought back, he was buried in his home country, and his sons were given office.

Despite Yu Fan's personal political difficulties, he was known as one of the leading scholars of his day, and his family survived and prospered. He had eleven sons, several of whom held high positions in the government of Wu, and the Yu were recognised as one of the four great families of the state. Their fortune continued under Jin. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1317-24*; deC 90:500-502, Knechtges 82:398-399.

Yu Fang 虞放 [Zizhong 子仲 or Ziqing 子卿] (d.169); Chenliu. A great-grandson or great-great-nephew of Yu Yan, Yu Fang studied under the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen. Yang Zhen was slandered and committed suicide in 124, but after Emperor Shun was brought to the throne at the end of the following year Yu Fang and his colleague Chen Yi obtained his rehabilitation as a loyal official. The two men gained a fine reputation.

In the time of Emperor Huan, Yu Fang became a member of the Imperial Secretariat, and he was enfeoffed for his role in the overthrow of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji in 159. He then became Minister Coachman and then Minister of Ceremonies, and at the end of 160 he was made Excellency of Works; after some unfavourable portents he left office in the next year. When the emperor's former favourites Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan were disgraced in 165, Yu Fang and others who had been rewarded in 159 were deprived of their fiefs.

Though he had been a protégé of the eunuch Cao Teng, Yu Fang became a committed enemy of the eunuchs and an associate of Li Ying. He was executed in the Second Faction Incident at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling. -*HHS* 33/23:1154, 57/47:1858, 67/57:2188, *Cai* 5:3.

Yu Feng 虞封 see Xi Feng 席封. -*DGHJ* 10:5a, *XHS* 2:14a.

Yu Feng 虞鳳; Kuaiji. Son of Yu Cheng, Yu Feng maintained the family tradition of scholarship on the *Book of Changes*, and also served as a county

magistrate in Runan. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1322.

Yu Gong 虞恭; Chen. Son of Yu Xu, in 143 Yu Gong was Court Astronomer when Bian Shao, a member of the Imperial Secretariat, presented a paper arguing that the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar followed the wrong base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") and did not accord with the apocrypha. Yu Gong and Zong Xin claimed that while the calendar was not perfect, it was basically satisfactory and should not be changed. Emperor Shun agreed.

Yu Gong was later Administrator of Shangdang. -*HHS* 58/48:1873, 92/2:3036-37.

Yu Guang 虞光; Kuaiji. During the first century Yu Guang was Administrator of Lingling. He established a family tradition of study in the Meng interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1322.

Yu Gui 于圭; Taishan. Son of Yu Jin, he succeeded to his father's village fief after his death in 221. -*SGZ* 17:524.

Yu He 俞河 see Sun He 孫河.

Yu Heng 虞衡. A man of family, in the time of Emperor An, Yu Heng was a colonel in the Northern Army at Luoyang. His granddaughter the Lady Yu was later concubine to Emperor Shun and bore his only son, Liu Bing, Emperor Chong. -*HHS* 10B:441.

Yu Ji 于吉 see Gan Ji 干吉.

Yu Jin 于禁 [Wenze 文則] (d.221); Taishan. Some time in the 180s, as the local leader Bao Xin was raising troops, Yu Jin went to take service under him. In 192 Bao Xin arranged for Cao Cao to take over Yan province, but he was killed in action against the Yellow Turbans soon afterwards. Yu Jin then joined Cao Cao's officer Wang Lang, who recommended him to Cao Cao as a man of real military talent, worthy of high command. Cao Cao interviewed Yu Jin and appointed him as a major.

When Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian in Xu province in 193 Yu Jin held command of a troop. He captured a county city in Pengcheng and was named as its commandant. He then accompanied Cao Cao back into Yan province to deal with Lü Bu. In an independent operation he destroyed two camps of Lü Bu outside his stronghold of Puyang, then defeated Lü Bu's officer Gao Ya in Dongping. Returning to the main army, Yu Jin took part in the recapture of several counties and in the siege of Zhang Chao at Yongqiu city in Chenliu.

In 196 Yu Jin accompanied Cao Cao's campaign against the Yellow Turbans of Runan and Yingchuan.

One night the enemy made a surprise attack on the camp, but Yu Jin brought his men to repel the assault. They killed the chieftain Huang Shao and the other rebels surrendered. Yu Jin was appointed a colonel and continued to serve in the main army

At the beginning of 197 Cao Cao and his men were taken by surprise when the surrendered commander Zhang Xiu suddenly turned against him. As the army fell into confusion, Yu Jin was the only officer who managed to keep his men together and make an orderly retreat. As he withdrew he learned that some Qingzhou troops 青州兵 were engaged in plunder. The Qingzhou troops were former Yellow Turbans who had surrendered and served as auxiliaries. Cao Cao had always treated them leniently, but Yu Jin attacked them as bandits, and they ran away to complain. When Cao Cao summoned Yu Jin to his presence, Yu Jin made sure that his men had prepared firm defence positions before he went. Cao Cao accepted his explanation, fully endorsed his conduct, and enfeoffed him as a village marquis in recognition of his recent and earlier achievements.

Later that year Yu Jin took part in operations against Yuan Shu, and in 198 he joined a further attack on Zhang Xiu, followed by the final destruction of Lü Bu in Xiapi. In 199 he went with Shi Huan and Cao Ren to destroy Yuan Shao's ally Sui Gu north of the Yellow River in Henei.

As Cao Cao prepared for war with Yuan Shao, Yu Jin was anxious to play a leading role, and Cao Cao stationed him with two thousand men at Liyang in Wei commandery, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. In that position he blocked Yuan Shao's direct approach over the Yan Crossing towards Cao Cao's main defence lines at Guandu. Early in 200 Cao Cao left Guandu to deal with Liu Bei in his south, but Yu Jin was able to hold his ground long enough to prevent Yuan Shao taking advantage of the opportunity. [Note that this is the account in Yu Jin's biography, *SGZ* 17. *SGZ* 1 and *HHS* 74/64A, followed by *ZZTJ* 64:2024; deC 89:271, ascribe the delay simply to Yuan Shao's procrastination. They make no mention of an attack on Liyang, though it may well be that Yu Jin's resistance did delay Yuan Shao's advance and make him more cautious.]

As Yuan Shao's army advanced, Yu Jin and Yue Jin were sent with five thousand men to attack enemy positions up and down the Yellow River. They burnt

some thirty camps, killed or captured several thousand men, and forced the surrender of over twenty of Yuan Shao's officers. A separate raid by Yu Jin destroyed a detached camp of the enemy at the extreme flank of Cao Cao's position in Henan. He was promoted to be a major-general.

In 206, after the capture of the former Yuan territory in Ji province, Yu Jin was sent to deal with Chang Xi, a rebel of the Mount Tai region who had caused similar trouble and surrendered before. Chang Xi surrendered after a short siege. He was an old acquaintance of Yu Jin, and Yu Jin's officers proposed that he be sent as a prisoner to Cao Cao, but Yu Jin pointed out Cao Cao's rule: no pardon for an enemy who surrenders only after he has been surrounded. Despite their past connection, he wept and gave orders to kill Chang Xi. When Cao Cao heard of this he sighed in admiration and admired Yu Jin even more. As the east was largely pacified, Yu Jin was promoted to be a full general.

In 208 Yu Jin, Yue Jin and Zhang Liao were stationed on the frontier against Liu Biao in Jing province. The three could not co-operate and Cao Cao was obliged to send his Registrar Zhao Yan to enforce agreement. Soon afterwards Yu Jin accompanied Cao Cao as he invaded Jing province and received the surrender of Liu Biao's son Liu Zong, and he then took command of one of seven divisions in Nanyang under Zhao Yan, now Area Commander.

In 209 Yu Jin was sent with Zhang Liao and others to attack Mei Cheng and Chen Lan, bandits of Lujiang who had connections to Sun Quan, south of the Yangzi. Mei Cheng came with three thousand men to surrender to Yu Jin, but when Yu Jin withdrew he brought his men to join Chen Lan and the combined force took refuge in the hills. While Zhang Liao pursued them into the wilderness, Yu Jin guarded his supply lines. Zhang Liao then defeated the bandits and killed their leaders.

Yu Jin was rewarded by an increase of two hundred households to his fief, for a total of 1,200 households. At this time he ranked with Zhang Liao, Yue Jin, Zhang He and Xu Huang as the leading generals under Cao Cao's command. Since he kept no booty for himself he was able to grant generous rewards to his men, but because of his strict discipline he was never truly popular.

About this time Cao Cao became angry at his officer Zhu Ling, and he sent Yu Jin with a small escort

and orders to take over his troops. Though Zhu Ling's men had been personally attached to him, Yu Jin's own authority was so great that they accepted the change without difficulty. Yu Jin was appointed General on the Left with the Staff of Authority, and a part of his fief was taken to provide a marquissate for one of his sons.

As Liu Bei's general Guan Yu attacked up the Han River in 219, Yu Jin was sent to assist Cao Ren in Fan city, by present-day Xiangfan. In the autumn, as he was stationed outside the city with seven divisions under his command, there were heavy rains and massive flooding along the river. Yu Jin and his troops took refuge on isolated patches of high ground, but Guan Yu and his men attacked them by ship. His colleague Pang De maintained a heroic defence until he was captured and killed, but Yu Jin and the rest of his army were compelled to surrender. When Cao Cao heard the news he was saddened at the humiliation of his old friend and the way in which he had been shown inferior to Pang De.

Soon afterwards, as Sun Quan's general Lü Meng attacked Guan Yu from behind and destroyed him, Yu Jin came into the hands of Wu.

In 221 Sun Quan made formal submission to Cao Pi, now proclaimed as Emperor of Wei, and he sent Yu Jin back to the north as sign of goodwill. Now in his fifties, Yu Jin was haggard and worn, with white hair and moustache, and he wept and made the kowtow as he came to audience with Cao Pi. Cao Pi spoke sympathetically of other men in the past, who had avenged previous defeats by later successes, and he re-appointed Yu Ji as a general, to be an ambassador to Wu.

Before he was due to depart, however, Cao Pi told Yu Jin to visit Cao Cao's tomb at Ye city. There, on the walls of the tomb, he had a series of pictures painted, showing the siege of Fan and notably the heroism of Pang De and the humiliating surrender of Yu Jin. Bitterly ashamed, Yu Jin took ill and died. - SGZ 17:522-24*.

Sima Guang comment that "[Cao Pi's] conduct was unworthy of a sovereign" 斯輩不君也: ZZTJ 69:2193; Fang 52:55.

Yu Jing 虞經; Chen. A legal officer in the state government for sixty years, Yu Jing was just and sympathetic to those who were condemned. Despite his own humble career, he hoped that his grandson Yu Xu might rise to high office in the same way as Yu

Dingguo 于定國 of Former Han, so he gave him the style Shengqing 升卿 "Rising to a Ministry." -HHS 58/48:1865.

Yu Kuang 于匡; Hongnong. In the autumn of 23 Yu Kuang joined his fellow-countryman Deng Ye in a rising against Wang Mang on behalf of the Han. The two men were evidently close friends and comrades, for Yu Kuang's name is always linked to that of Deng Ye, and their achievements were gained together: details are therefore given *sub* Deng Ye.

Having gathered troops in western Nanyang, they returned to Hongnong and stormed two cities. Yu Kuang took title as General Who Supports Han 輔漢, and he and Deng Ye seized the Wu Pass, south-eastern gateway to the capital region. They invited the Gengshi Emperor to send an army, but continued to advance without waiting for such reinforcements. Killing Wang Mang's Administrator of Hongnong, they turned north to Huayin and defeated Wang Mang's last field army, commanded by the Nine Tiger generals: as Deng Ye faced and held the enemy, Yu Kuang made a flanking march south and took the enemy by surprise from the rear.

By this time the main army of Han had arrived, and the combined force attacked the Capital Granary in Huayin county. Held by a tenacious defence, and reluctant to go further with the enemy across their line of communications, the army halted at Huayin while two detachments under Wang Xian and Han Chen captured Chang'an and killed Wang Mang.

The Gengshi Emperor appointed Deng Ye as Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at the capital and a position equivalent to ministerial rank, but Yu Kuang evidently received only confirmation of his general's rank. Neither was granted a royal fief nor any other distinction or reward.

As the Red Eyebrows entered Chang'an in 25, Deng Ye and Yu Kuang escaped, and at the beginning of 26 they came to Luoyang and submitted to Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu. They were confirmed in their rank as generals and were sent under the command of Feng Yi to bring control over the region about Chang'an.

In 27 Yu Kuang and Deng Ye attacked the warlord Yan Cen, then based in Hongnong, and drove him back into Nanyang. Transferred to that region, at the beginning of 28 they joined Deng Yu to defeat Yan Cen once more, forcing him to refuge in Hanzhong. Neither Yu Kuang nor Deng Ye appear again in the

records. -HHS 1A:27, 17/7:647, 16/6:604-05; Dubs 55:456-466, Bn 54:127-132.

Yu Kuang 玉况 see Su Kuang 王況.

Yu Lai 余來 (d.145); Danyang. Chieftains of bandits and pirates, during the early 140s Yu Lai and Lu Gong ravaged the counties of Danyang along the lower Yangzi. Eventually, the Administrator Jiang Han raised and trained a local militia, and in 145 he defeated the raiders and killed their leaders. -XC 8:11a, HHS 6:278.

Yu Mi 于麋. An officer of Liu Yao based upon Niuzhu, in Danyang south of the Yangzi, in 195 Yu Mi was attacked and defeated by Sun Ce. -SGZ Wu 1:1102-03; deC 90:161-165.

Yu, Poison 于毒 see Yu Du 于毒.

Yu Qi 虞祁. As Dou Wu and Chen Fan prepared to destroy the palace eunuchs in 168, they appointed Yu Qi Prefect of Luoyang. -HHS 69/59:2243.

Yu Qing 虞卿. In 25 Yu Qing was acting Administrator of Kuaiji. In a fight with bandits, he was saved by his junior officer Meng Zheng. -XC 8:11a.

Yu Sheng 庾乘 see Yu Cheng 庾乘.

Yu Shi 虞詩. Son of Yu Heng, Yu Shi became a cadet gentleman. His daughter the Lady Yu was chosen for the harem of Emperor Shun about 135, and in 143 she gave birth to the emperor's only son, Liu Bing. In 144 the infant Liu Bing succeeded to the throne, but he died in the following year. Since the regent Dowager Liang Na and her family controlled the court, neither the Lady Yu nor her father gained any advancement from their connection to the throne. -HHS 10B:441.

Yu [Shuya] 虞叔雅; Dongping. In the early second century Yu Shuya was known as an expert in divination and magical arts. He was received by Duan Gong in Yi province, and his students included Zhe Xiang and Feng Hao, also from the far west. -HYGZ 10B:145, 148-49.

Yu Su 于肅 miswritten for Ding Su 丁肅. -HYGZ 10B:421.

Yu Ting 虞廷 miswritten for Yu Yan 虞延. -HHS 32/22:1130.

Yu Xian 虞顯; Ba. Yu Xian married the Lady Du Ci, but died young. -HYGZ 10C:177.

Yu Xin 虞歆 [Wenxiu 文繡] (d.196); Kuaiji. Son of Yu Feng and a man of substantial background, Yu Xin served as Administrator of Rinan. He maintained the scholarly tradition of his family and passed it on to his son Yu Fan. -SGZ Wu 12:1322.

Yu Xiu 虞休. Junior commanders under the eastern warlord Dong Xian, Yu Xiu and Peng Feng operated in Lu commandery in 26 and 27. Though Guangwu's Administrator Bao Yong forced several such groups to surrender, Peng Feng and Yu Xiu took title as generals and remained independent. They were eventually tricked into attending a ceremony, and they were arrested and killed. -HHS 29/19:1019.

Yu Xu 虞詡 [Shengqing 升卿 and Ding'an 定安]; Chen. Yu Xu had two styles: Shengqing "Rising to a Ministry" was given him by his grandfather Yu Jing in the hope that he would reach high office.

Yu Xu mastered the *Classic of History* by the age of twelve. He was orphaned when he was still young, and acquired local reputation for the filial service he showed his grandmother. Recommended by his county, he was offered a post in the headquarters of Chen kingdom, but declined because the ninety-year-old lady was dependent on him. After her death, he accepted appointment in the office of the Grand Commandant Li Xiu at the capital and then became a gentleman cadet.

In 111, as the rebellion of the Qiang people in the northwest reached a peak, Pang Can argued that the empire should withdraw from Liang province and the people should be resettled in the lower valley of the Wei. The proposal was endorsed by the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi, who had achieved no success in his campaigns, but Yu Xu pressed Li Xiu to oppose it, on the grounds that it would expose Chang'an to the troubles of the west. Convinced by his argument, Li Xiu obtained support from the other Excellencies, and the plan for withdrawal was rejected; for the time being, nonetheless, Liang province was effectively abandoned to the enemy.

The court had been reluctant to formally abandon the territory, and Yu Xu's role as a junior official may have been no more than marginal. Deng Zhi and his family, however, had been embarrassed by his interference, and they arranged that he was sent out as magistrate of Chaohe in Henei, where the bandit Ning Ji dominated the county and defied the commandery and provincial forces. Yu Xu's friends at the capital, and the Administrator Ma Leng, were all concerned for his life, but Yu Xu recruited a hundred local thugs and thieves, gave them a feast, pardoned their crimes, and sent them against the enemy. Several hundred bandits were murdered. He also had some poor people

hire themselves out to make clothing for the bandits; as they did so, they sewed in distinctive red threads, so when members of the group appeared in public they were immediately identified and arrested. Demoralised and confused, the enemy scattered and fled.

Yu Xu was then promoted to the commandery capital, but he maintained his interest in the problems of the frontier. About 115 he recommended to the general Ren Shang that, rather than taking conscripts from the people, he should charge scutage at one-twentieth the cost of a horse; he could then develop a mobile force to deal with the mounted Qiang. Ren Shang accepted this, and it is likely that the later Chinese successes were obtained through the change in their way of warfare.

Yu Xu's abilities were recognised, and when the Qiang attacked Wudu he was named Administrator. In contrast to his earlier appointment to Chaoge, he was granted a special audience with the Dowager Deng as he left for his new post.

On the road through Youfufeng, Yu Xu was faced by a strong force of rebels. Halting his troops, he announced that he was sending for reinforcements. When the Qiang believed him and departed for easier prey, he advanced by forced marches and had each of his men maintain two camp-fires. Seeing such a number, the Qiang dared not attack.

As he arrived in the commandery, he and his three thousand men were besieged by a far greater force of rebels. Holding his strong cross-bowmen in reserve, Yu Xu had the initial defence maintained by lighter-armed archers. Believing they could withstand such missiles, the Qiang attacked *en masse*, but were then devastated by the full force of his armament. As they fled in disorder, Yu Xu's men pursued them and inflicted heavy losses. Marching his men in and out of various gates of the fortress, he again deceived them as to his numbers, and as the demoralised enemy withdrew he trapped them in an ambush at a river crossing. The rebels fled south into Yi province, and Yu Xu built a line of forts to guard against their return.

With the commandery at peace, Yu Xu established a program of resettlement and relief, and restored the roads and waterways. In particular, he constructed a canal from his capital, Xiabian, to the upper Han River, opening a route to Hanzhong and the east. It is said that the region became so secure the population rose four-fold, while grain and salt production multiplied

ten times and their prices fell accordingly.

Despite his success, Yu Xu was forced from office for some infringement of the law, possibly associated with the political struggle which followed the death of the Dowager Deng, the personal rule of Emperor An, and the ambitions of the Yan family. In 126, however, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun, he became Director of Retainers at Luoyang, and a few months later he impeached the Grand Tutor Feng Shi, the Grand Commandant Liu Xi, and several eunuchs. All had been associated with the Yan family's attempt to keep Liu Bao from the throne. [*FSTY* 5:40-41 says that he also attacked the Excellency Zhu Chang, who had opposed the Yan group, but in that case he was quite unsuccessful.]

There was considerable opposition, and senior officials complained that Yu Xu had gone too far and brought harm to honourable men, who had sought only to serve the government of the day. In reply, Yu Xu argued that too many officials were anxious to pass responsibility on to their inferiors, and reform should begin from the top. The young emperor accepted his argument: the Excellency Tao Dun, who had impeached Yu Xu for excess of zeal, was dismissed, while Feng Shi and Liu Xi also left office.

Later that year Yu Xu turned against Zhang Fang, a leading eunuch with contacts in the Imperial Secretariat and in the provinces, accusing him of corruption and conspiracy. This was a more difficult attack, for Zhang Fang had not been an ally of the Yan family and he was a close favourite of the emperor. When the charges were initially rejected, Yu Xu dramatised the case by having himself bound and reporting to the Ministry of Justice. Taking advantage of this, Zhang Fang persuaded the emperor to sentence Yu Xu for slander. In the space of two days he suffered interrogation in four different jails.

At this point, Yu Xu received support from the eunuch Sun Cheng, hero of the coup which had set Emperor Shun upon the throne. Sun Cheng forced Zhang Fang to leave his place beside the throne and face the charges in open court, and though Zhang Fang was supported by Jia Lang of the Secretariat, another eunuch, Gao Fan, also turned against him. In the aftermath, early in 127 Zhang Fang and his group, including Gaotang Zhi the Director of the Secretariat, were disgraced. Zhang Fang was exiled, two members of the Secretariat were executed, while other associates,

including a number of provincial and frontier officials, were permitted to ransom themselves with a fine.

Emperor Shun resented the disgrace of his favourite, and Yu Xu's eunuch supporters, Sun Cheng and his colleagues, were sent away to their fiefs. Before they left, however, Sun Cheng successfully argued for Yu Xu to be released from prison and given office. Yu Xu became a Consultant and was then appointed Deputy Director of the Secretariat.

Though Yu Xu's first impeachments had been directed against former associates of the Yan group, his second, centred on Zhang Fang, can be seen as a straight drive for power, albeit at personal risk. One man forced from office was the Court Architect Zhai Fu, a respected official who was no friend of the old regime: his association with Zhang Fang was not necessarily criminal. And while Yu Xu strongly supported the minister and Excellency Pang Can, whose policy of withdrawal from the northwest he had opposed in 111, several frontier officials who suffered disgrace were also men of achievement. They included Zhang Guo the Emissary to the Xiongnu and Zhang Lang, who was a colleague of Ban Yong in the Western Regions: a list of those affected is given *sub* Zhang Fang.

In his political struggle, Yu Xu found allies among eunuchs opposed to Zhang Fang, so the conflict was primarily a rivalry of factions. Yu Xu's manoeuvrings brought him considerable power: the attack on Gaotang Zhi and others had purged the Secretariat, while his own senior appointment there provided a base for further action. About 127 Yu Xu ceded the position of Deputy Director to Huang Qiong, but he remained in the Secretariat and for more than ten years, in close association with Huang Qiong and Zuo Xiong, he kept influence in government. On one occasion he was able to save the life of a county Registrar, who had attempted to lodge a complaint against his magistrate but had not been heard for seven years. The man sent a presumptuous letter direct to the emperor, who was furious and intended to execute him. Yu Xu persuaded his sovereign that the delay was the fault of his ministers, and the officer was too petty to be concerned with: he escaped with a flogging.

Yu Xu's frequent attacks on corruption were often accepted by the emperor, but many in high position were offended. Refusing to submit to pressure, he was reprimanded nine times and punished three times. In

136 he became Director of the Secretariat, but left office soon afterwards. No detailed reason is given, but it is likely it was associated with the rise of the Liang family: the new empress had been proclaimed in 132, and her father Liang Shang was made General-in-Chief in 135. We are told that Yu Xu's loyal service was recognised and that he was invited to a new appointment, but died before he could take it up.

During his period of influence, Yu Xu maintained his concern with the frontier. Since the end of the Qiang revolt in 118, resettlement of the northwest had been slow, but in 129 Xu Yu presented an eloquent and somewhat exaggerated argument that the Chinese should re-occupy the lands of their ancestors. The move was largely symbolic, and it achieved no lasting result: following the outbreak of the second great rebellion twelve years later, the territories were again abandoned, this time permanently.

In 136, the Administrator of Wuling recommended that since the non-Chinese people of the hills had been quiet for many years, it was possible to raise their taxes. Though Yu Xu protested that this would bring trouble, Emperor Shun approved the plan. There was indeed a major insurgency.

The political situation which allowed Yu Xu and his associates to operate from the mid-120s to the mid-130s was exceptional. The emperor was young, still in his teens, but there was no consort family with regency power and the palace eunuchs were divided. As a result, Yu Xu and his associates had an opportunity to reform the administration from their base in the Secretariat. While Yu Xu was chiefly concerned with specific instances of corruption, Zuo Xiong sought to establish a general Confucian dominance in the recruitment and control of the bureaucracy for the longer term.

In the longer term, their ambitions came to naught. Yu Xu first had come to prominence through his censorial authority as Director of Retainers and through the willingness of some leaders at court to support him. In the same way, just like eunuchs and consort families, the Secretariat gained influence from its association with the ruler, while other members of the regular bureaucracy could play no effective role. Ultimately, the government of Han was based on the imperial will, and as he grew up Emperor Shun was chiefly concerned with his personal relationships: favourites, eunuchs and the consort Liang family. He was little interested in the abstract notion of formal,

impartial government, and without his support Yu Xu and his followers, such as Zuo Xiong, Zhou Ju and Huang Qiang, had small opportunity to maintain the standards they had hoped for. -*HHS* 58/48:1865-73*, *XC* 3:8b-9a, *XHS* 4:7b-9a [but see also *sub* Yu Xun], *SJZ* 23:3a-b; deC 84:102, 115-116, 124, Yü 86:432, Loewe 86C:302-310.

Yu Xu 虞詡, mother of: see the Lady Liu 劉 IX.

Yu Xu 虞續 (d.145). Administrator of Yuzhang, in 145 Yu Xu was found guilty of corruption and died in prison. -*HHS* 6:277.

Yu Xun 虞遜. In its biography of Yu Xu 詡 of Chen, *XHS* 4:7b says that Yu Xun was a cousin of Yu Xu, that he went as a migrant to Changsha and that Yu Xu welcomed him there. As they were sailing on a river, their boat capsized, and Yu Xun was in danger of drowning. Yu Xu leapt in after him, and both were in difficulties, but then found a sand-bar and were saved.

The text appears slightly corrupt, and the incident fits not at all with the career of Yu Xu described above. It is either totally false, or relates to another man of the same name.

Yu [Weigao] 虞偉高. Yu Weigao's father was killed in a vendetta, but before he could take revenge he became mortally ill. His friend He Yong came to visit him, and when Yu Weigao told of his distress He Yong carried out the reciprocal murder on his behalf and brought his enemy's head to his tomb. -*HHS* 67/57:2217.

Yu [Wenshu] 魚翁叔 was a man from Chang'an. - *FSTY* 6f:137.

Yu Yan 虞延 [Zida 子大] (d.71); Chenliu. When Yu Yan was born he had a remarkable physiognomy, and he grew to be eight feet six inches tall [200 cm], solidly built and very strong. As a young man, he became chief of a village. The local Wei 魏 family, connected by marriage to Wang Mang, dominated the territory, but Yu Yan took a posse to break into their household and arrest them. With enemies in high places, however, he gained no advancement.

During the disorders of the early 20s, Yu Yan led an armed self-defence force of his kinsmen. When one of his female kin [a sister-in-law or a cousin] abandoned her baby daughter in a ditch because she could not feed it, Yu Yan rescued the infant and cared for her until she was married. [*XC* 1 says that her husband was a member of the Wang clan.]

As Emperor Guangwu claimed the throne, Yu Yan took office under the Bearer of the Mace, chief of

police at the capital. He was then a county magistrate in Runan, popular among the people for his generous conduct, particularly by allowing prisoners to return to their homes on festival days: the men invariably returned on the due date; one man, taken ill at home, was determined to do his duty but dropped dead as he was on his way.

Yu Yan resigned his post and returned home, but the Administrator Fu Zong knew his reputation and appointed him Officer of Merit. He criticised Fu Zong for disregarding the sumptuary laws, and when Fu Zong resented this Yu Yan resigned his post. Fu Zong was later arrested for his extravagance, and as he was led to execution he spoke of his regret that he had not taken Yu Yan's advice. Emperor Guangwu heard of this and was impressed.

Yu Yan became a commandery Investigator, and when the emperor came on tour in 44 he was summoned to audience. Showing no undue awe, Yu Yan reported in detail on the imperial tomb park under his authority, and he was ordered to accompany the cortège to Lu. On the return journey it was found that a city gate was too low to admit the imperial carriage. Guangwu was angry, and blamed one of his censorial officials, who should have checked the route in advance. Yu Yan, however, took the blame upon himself, as the responsible local officer. He was richly rewarded for his honesty, and though he returned home once more his name was now widely known.

In 47 Yu Yan joined the offices of the Excellency over the Masses Su Kuang. Recognising him at a court assembly, Guangwu promptly promoted him to be Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages, and in the following year he made him Prefect of Luoyang. When Yu Yan arrested and flogged the troublemaker Ma Cheng, a client of the Yin family of the empress, the empress's brother Yin Jiu accused Yu Yan of corruption. Guangwu reviewed the case, then supported Yu Yan and ordered Ma Cheng's execution.

In the late 50s the new Emperor Ming, admiring his distaff kinsman Deng Yan, insisted he be given local office in Nanyang, then appointed him to a post at the capital. Yu Yan had objected to this, and when Deng Yan failed to carry out proper mourning for his father, the emperor was disillusioned and respected Yu Yan's prescience.

Yu Yan became Administrator of the important commandery of Nanyang, and in 60 he was named

Grand Commandant, highest office in the imperial bureaucracy. In 65 he transferred to be Excellency over the Masses, but in the early 70s the Yin clan of the Dowager, still resentful of the Ma Cheng affair years earlier, prepared evidence involving him in the alleged plot of Liu Ying the King of Chu. An imperial reprimand was sent, and Yu Yan killed himself.

Despite his long tenure of high office, Yu Yan's family was left in poverty. -HHS 33/23:1150-54*, XC 1:11a-b; Bn 67:16, 18, 34, Bn 79:44-45, 141-142.

Yu Yi 虞顗; Chen. In 126 the Director of Retainers Yu Xu was threatened with impeachment for having accused the imperial favourite Zhang Fang. Yu Xu's son Yu Yi led a deputation of a hundred of Yu Xu's students to the eunuch Gao Fan, assuring him of his father's innocence. Gao Fan intervened in the case, and Yu Xu charges were accepted. -HHS 58/48:1871.

Yu [Yongxian] 虞永賢; Runan. A herd-boy, he was recommended for office by the judge of character Xu Shao, and WAS later celebrated for his quality. -SGZ 23:658.

Yusi 吾斯 see Wusi 吾斯.

Yuan 阮 [surname] see Ruan 阮.

Yuan 袁, the Lady I; Runan. Daughter of Yuan Wei, probably by his wife the Lady Ma Lun, she married the hermit Zhang Feng and came to share his ideals. -XC 7:15b; Vervoor 90:302.

Yuan 袁, the Lady II; Runan. The Lady was a niece of Yuan Wei. About 172 her uncle considered giving her in marriage to Huang Yun. -HHS 68/58:2230.

Yuan 袁, the Lady III; Runan. A sister of Yuan Shu, she became the wife of Yang Biao and mother of Yang Xiu.

Yuan 袁, the Lady IV; Runan. Daughter of Yuan Shu, she became the wife of Huang Yi. This may be the same person as the Lady V below.

Yuan 袁, the Lady V; Runan. Daughter of Yuan Shu, after his death in 199 she went for refuge to Liu Xun in Lujiang. Later that year Lujiang was taken by Sun Ce, and his brother Sun Quan took the Lady Yuan into his harem. The Lady had no children by Sun Quan, but she was entrusted with the care of others.

In 238, after the death of the Lady Bu, Sun Quan wanted to appoint the Lady Yuan as his formal wife, but she refused because of her childlessness. She was later slandered by the Empress Pan 潘, and died about 243. -HHS 75/65:2444, SGZ 6:210, SGZ Wu 5:1199-1200; C/C 99:129. This may be the same person as the

Lady IV above.

Yuan 袁, the Lady VI; Runan. Daughter of Yuan Tan, in 203 she was married to Cao Cao's son Zheng. As the alliance was broken in the following year, she was sent back. -SGZ 1:24-26.

Yuan 袁 [personal name unknown]; Yingchuan? SSXY tells how about 140, when Chen Ji was eleven years old, he visited this man, who had formerly been magistrate of Ye county in Wei. -Mather 76:81-82.

Yuan 袁 [personal name unknown]; Runan. About 195 Yuan Shao, adoptive son of Yuan Cheng, arranged for his own eldest son Yuan Tan to succeed to the inheritance of his [*i.e.* Yuan Shao's] elder brother 以譚繼兄.

No name or further identification is given for this elder brother of Yuan Shao, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing to ZZTJ 64:2044 suggests that he was a son of Yuan Cheng, who had died young. Since there is no record of any elder sibling among Yuan Shao's full- or half-brothers from his father Yuan Feng [Yuan Shu being his younger half-brother], Hu Sanxing's suggestion seems plausible.

Regardless of the niceties of lineage and ancestor worship, the chief purpose of this move by Yuan Shao was to make it more difficult for Yuan Tan to inherit his own position, and to improve the status of Shao's favourite son Shang.

Yuan An 袁安 [Shaogong 邵公] (d.92); Runan. XTS 74B:3164 says that Yuan An was the son of Yuan Chang 昌, but HHS 45/35 mentions only his grandfather Yuan Liang I.

When Yuan An was young he followed Yuan Liang's scholarly tradition in the *Book of Changes*. An imposing man, with an air of authority, he was respected in his neighbourhood and became Officer of Merit in the commandery. On one occasion he was sent with a message to an Assistant Officer of the province, who then asked him to take a letter back to a local magistrate. Yuan An replied stiffly that if the letter dealt with public matters he should use the imperial postal service; if it was private, then it was not appropriate for an Officer of Merit to serve as a messenger-boy.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt in 60, Yuan An served eighteen months probation as a gentleman cadet and then became an Internuncio. A few months later, in 62, he was appointed a county magistrate in Donghai, where in time of famine he insisted that he and his

officials should share the hardships of the people by eating roots rather than grain. Five years later he was transferred to a county in Rencheng, and in the winter of 70/71 he was appointed Administrator of Chu commandery. The King of Chu, Liu Ying, had been disgraced earlier that year, the people of his former fief were disturbed, and the Excellencies recommended Yuan An as a man to deal with the troubles.

By this time thousands of people had been implicated in the alleged crimes of Liu Ying, and Emperor Ming personally concerned himself with the matter. The local officials had therefore pressed their cases hard, and a great many people were tortured into false confession and then killed.

As soon as Yuan An arrived in the territory, even before he entered his *yamen*, he went to the prison, reviewed all the cases which had not yet been confirmed, and ordered the accused be released. His subordinates protested, for if it was found that a culprit had been wrongfully let go, the officer responsible would be punished in his stead. Yuan An reassured them that he took all responsibility upon himself. He sent in a report to argue the cases, and the emperor was impressed and approved. Some four hundred families were thus spared, and the people set up a stele in his honour.

After three years in Chu, Yuan An became Intendant of Henan, where he maintained a firm government without being harsh. He acquired a great reputation at the capital and in 83 he was appointed Minister Coachman at the court of Emperor Zhang.

In 84, on the recommendation of Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei, the court approved trade with the Northern Xiongnu across the frontier, but in the winter of 85 Meng Yun reported that the Southern Shanyu, dependent ally of Han, had sent raiding parties against the northern caravans; the Northern Shanyu had protested, and threatened to resume raids along the borders. A majority of the court believed the southerners should be allowed to keep their booty, but Yuan An argued that the moral authority of the empire required the agreement for peaceful trade be honoured. He obtained the support of the Excellency Huan Yu, and after fierce and acrimonious debate the emperor decided that the government would purchase the prisoners from the southern court, restore them to their own people, and pay blood-money for any who had been killed.

Yuan An and the peace party were thus largely successful, but in the longer term the war-like supporters of the Southern Xiongnu had the advantage. Even the agreement to pay ransom meant that aggression had been rewarded, and in following years, as the Northern Xiongnu became weaker the attacks on their trade-routes continued.

In 86 Yuan An was promoted Excellency of Works, and in 87 he became Excellency over the Masses. On the death of Emperor Zhang in 88, his Dowager Dou took the regency, and her brother Dou Xian proposed a great expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. With the Grand Commandant Song You, the Excellency of Works Ren Wei, and all the nine ministers, Yuan An came to the court to protest. They argued that the Northern Xiongnu had made no attack upon the frontiers of the empire, and that it would be a waste of resources to mount such a campaign; even if it were successful, there was no advantage to be gained. The petition was rejected and, as Song You became concerned that the Dowager would become angry, he withdrew his support and took others with him. Yuan An and Ren Wei continued to object, and though the Dowager refused to listen and other ministers were frightened, Yuan An kept his composure.

Then Dou Xian departed on campaign and left his brothers Dou Du and Dou Jing in control, the one as minister in command of guards, the other as chief of police. Their retainers robbed people in the streets, and they brought cavalry from the borders to form a private army under Jing's command. Other officials were intimidated, but Yuan An accused the Director of Retainers Zheng Ju and the Intendant of Henan Cao Song for their failure to maintain order. His memorials received no response, and when he and Ren Wei arranged a petition of senior provincial officials, the Dowager became angry and dismissed forty of them. Yuan An and Ren Wei, however, had such reputation and support that she could take no direct action against them.

In 91, after the final defeat and disappearance of the current Northern Shanyu, Dou Xian proposed to establish the subordinate king Atong as ruler, controlled by a Chinese resident in the same fashion as the Southern Xiongnu court. Many ministers agreed with him, but Yuan An and Ren Wei argued that Emperor Guangwu had recognised the Southern Shanyu as rightful heir to the whole of the Xiongnu

state. His residence within the frontier of the empire had been intended only as a temporary expedient, and the time was ripe for the southern court to take over a re-united people on the steppe. Dou Xian's policy, they argued, would break the agreement made by the former emperors, and cause other barbarian rulers to be distrustful of Han. The court, moreover, would be responsible for two weak Xiongnu states, faced by powerful enemies in the Wuhuan and the Xianbi, and the costs of subsidy and support would be enormous. Far better to establish one strong government under the Southern Shanyu, but keep him tied in loyalty to Han.

After fierce and repeated debate Dou Xian did get his way, but he was obliged to abandon his first candidate Atong and recognise Yuchujian, brother of the former Shanyu, with a supervised court near present-day Hami in Xinjiang.

The history remarks that Yuan An's forebodings were justified by events, but it is doubtful if his own policy would have been more successful. The problem was essentially insoluble, for the power vacuum in the north which had been created by Dou Xian's triumph could be filled neither by a second puppet regime, nor by the southern government, which had behaved brutally towards the people of the north and was unlikely to attract their loyalty. In many respects, the critical mistake had been made when Dou Xian embarked on his campaign, and though Yuan An was firm, cautious and courageous, one may feel that his arguments were to some extent influenced by a general concern to oppose the Dou family on all occasions.

At the same time, the debate between Dou Xian and Yuan An, and their respective supporters at court, demonstrates a real political division. The "forward" or war party, whose background was in the north, was concerned with the prestige of the empire and the interests of the frontier. Their opponents, a more conservative group represented by Yuan An and his colleagues, came from the interior of China and were interested rather in the prosperity of their home-lands than in the splendours of conquest. One may see here the contradiction of "Modernist" and "Reformist" described generally by Loewe 74:11-13, and discussed in this context by deC 84:268.

Though frustrated by the policies of the regent Dowager and her family, Yuan An had maintained his positions against their opposition, and he was admired

and trusted by his colleagues and by the young Emperor He. He died in office in the spring of 92, and was mourned by all the court. When the power of the Dou family was destroyed by Emperor He and eunuch allies a few months later, Yuan An's son Shang was made a gentleman cadet.

Yuan An's father died when he was young, and there was a story that when his mother sent him to look for a place for burial he encountered three strange men. As he told them of his search, they pointed to a particular place and promised that if he set the tomb there his family would hold high office for generations. Then they disappeared. Yuan An followed their advice, and so came the prosperity of his family. -*HHS* 45/35: 1517-22*; deC 84:263-274, Ch'ü 72:461-462. A funerary stele found near Luoyang in 1929 gives a remarkably detailed chronology of Yuan An's career: Nagata 94:52.

Yuan Ba 袁霸; Chen. A younger cousin of Yuan Huan, Yuan Ba was a senior clerical officer in 213, when he joined the petition urging Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei.

Minister of Finance in 220, Yuan Ba was one of the sponsors of a stele which commemorated Cao Pi's accession to the imperial throne in 220. -*SGZ* 1:40, 11: 336, *LS* 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Yuan Bao 袁苞 [Jingbo 景伯]; Nanyang. A former Investigator of the commandery, in 156 Yuan Bao was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:17a.

Yuan Bi 袁祕 [Yongning 永甯] (d.184); Runan. Son of Yuan Zhong, Yuan Bi served on the local staff of the Administrator Zhao Qian. When Yellow Turbans rebelled in 184, Zhao Jian led the militia to attack them, but was defeated. Yuan Bi and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their own bodies, and though they were all killed Zhao Qian escaped.

An edict ordered that the gates of each of the officers' homes should be inscribed in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -*HHS* 45/35:1527.

Yuan Bo 袁博 [Jizhi 季智]. Yuan Bo is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription. -*Beitu* 42.

Yuan Chang 袁昌; Runan. *XTS* 74B:3164 says that Yuan Chang was one of two sons of Yuan Liang I and the father of Yuan An. It also says that he was magistrate of a county in Ji'nan, but *HHS* 45/35:1517 attributes that office to his father.

Yuan Chang 袁敞 [Shuping 叔平] (d.117); Runan.

Son of Yuan An, Yuan Chang was a student of the *Book of Changes*. Because of his father's position as Intendant of Henan, about 80 he received entry to the imperial service by appointment to the Suite of the Heir, and was later appointed a gentleman cadet. He became a colonel in the Northern Army and was a Counsellor and a Palace Attendant under Emperor He. In 106 he became Court Architect, and then went out as Administrator of Dong commandery.

During the reign of Emperor An, Yuan Chang returned to the capital as Minister Coachman and Minister of the Household under the regency government of the Dowager Deng, and in 116 he became Excellency of Works. In the following year, Zhang Jun of the Imperial Secretariat was found to have engaged in private correspondence with his son Yuan Xu, and it was claimed he had divulged matters which should have remained secret within the palace. Believing that Yuan Chang was implicated in the affair, the Dowager lost confidence in him and Yuan Chang killed himself.

Later, Zhang Jun appealed for justice against the accusation, and he was spared the death penalty. Yuan Xu was enabled to continue as an imperial official, and Yuan Chang was posthumously rehabilitated. His office was formally restored and his funerary rites carried out in the style appropriate to an Excellency. -HHS 45/35:1524-25*, Nagata 94:54.

Yuan Cheng 袁成 [Wenkai 文開]; Runan. Second son of Yuan Tang, he succeeded to his father's fief. [HHS 45/35 describes Yuan Cheng as the eldest son of Yuan Tang, but SGZ 6 mentions Yuan Ping, who was Yuan Cheng's senior.] As a General of the Household he became a trusted adviser to Liang Ji.

Yuan Cheng died young, leaving no sons to succeed him: on a putative son who predeceased him, see *sub* Yuan [personal name unknown] above. The marquise went to his brother Yuan Feng, while Yuan Feng's son Yuan Shao was transferred to maintain his lineage. -HHS 45/35:1523, 74/64A:2373, SGZ 6:188.

Yuan Chunqing 袁春卿; Runan. Son of Yuan Yuanchang, in 204 Yuan Chunqing was Administrator of Wei commandery for his kinsman Yuan Shang, and was at the defence of Ye city against Cao Cao. His father Yuan Yuanchang was at this time in Yang province; Cao Cao brought him to court, then had his agent Dong Zhao write an elegant letter to Yuan Chunqing, urging him to obey the dictates of filial piety

and change his allegiance. The city surrendered, though this was due as much to Cao Cao's military operations as to negotiations with Yuan Chunqing. Neither father nor son are heard of again. -SGZ 14:438.

Yuan Di 袁迪; Guangling. Son of Yuan Sui, he crossed the Yangzi as a refugee scholar and joined the entourage of Lu Mao, who treated him well. -SGZ Wu 12:1336-37.

Yuan Feng 袁逢 [Zhouyang 周陽]; Runan. Third son of Yuan Tang, Yuan Feng inherited his father's fief at the death of his elder brother Yuan Cheng, while his son by a concubine, Yuan Shao, was transferred to maintain Yuan Cheng's lineage.

Descended from three generations of Excellencies, and himself generous and a man of honour, Yuan Feng was widely respected. Because of a notional kinship with the eunuch Yuan She, moreover, he and his family received great favour and became extremely prosperous.

Administrator of Hongnong in the early 160s, Yuan Feng had work carried out on a temple to Mount Hua, and he set up a stele in 165. transferred to be Intendant of Jingzhao, he took part in the investigation of the eunuch Hou Lan and his brother Hou Can. in 168 he was Minister Coachman.

As Emperor Ling was brought to the throne Yuan Feng received an augmentation to his fief on account of his contribution to the succession, and he acted as Thrice Venerable in the ceremony of Serving the Aged.

In 178 Yuan Feng was raised from a colonelcy in the Northern Army to be Excellency of Works. He left that office in the following year and became Bearer of the Mace, but died soon afterwards. His funeral was attended by extraordinary honours and regalia, including the insignia of a General of Chariots and Cavalry. -HHS 45/35:1523, LS 2:1a-4a.

Yuan Fu 垣副; Guanghan. In the early 20s Yuan Fu was a bandit chieftain associated with Zong Cheng and Wang Cen. -HYGZ 5:67.

Yuan Fu 袁福, the Lady; Guanghan. Wife of Wang Shang, she bore him two sons. He died, and her parents wanted her to marry again, but she preferred to kill herself. -HYGZ 10B:154.

Yuan Gong 袁貢. A Consultant in 183, Yuan Gong joined Liu Tao and Yue Song in a memorial to warn about the growing threat of rebellion from Zhang Jue and his sect of Yellow Turbans. -HHS 57/47:1849.

Yuan Guang 袁光; Chen. Eldest son of Yuan Liang II, during the late 120s Yuan Guang was a county magistrate in Dong commandery. -*LS* 6:6a.

Yuan He 袁賀 [Yuanfu 元服] (b.109); Runan. Son of Yuan Peng, Yuan He became Chancellor of Pengcheng and died in that office. -*HHS* 45/35:1525.

There are two stories about the significance of Yuan He's style. *HHS* 45/35 says that both his personal name and his style were chosen by his grandfather Yuan Jing because he was born at the time of the ceremonies for the capping of Emperor An: the term for capping is 加元服. On the other hand, *FSTY* 2:19; Nylan 83:403-408 records a popular rumour that the child was conceived during a period of mourning. His father was old, and he believed it important to take any opportunity to maintain the lineage, but in order to acknowledge the fault, he gave his son the style *fu* "[mourning] garment." Although he repeats it, Ying Shao discounts the story, and copulation during mourning was certainly taboo: see *sub* Zhao Xuan.

Yuan He 元賀 see Xuan He 玄賀.

Yuan Hong 袁閔 [Xiafu 夏輔] (128-184); Runan. Eldest son of Yuan He, Yuan Hong was celebrated for his strict morality and rigid personal control. When his father was Chancellor of Pengcheng, he went to visit him, but gave a false name, waited outside the residence for several days without being allowed in, and was only admitted when his former wet-nurse came out and found him.

When his father died in office at Pengcheng, Yuan Hong and his brothers brought the body home in a notable display of grief. Refusing all gifts for funerary expenses, they carried the coffin, clad in mourning garments of coarse hemp, braving the road in freezing cold until their hands and feet ran with blood.

When the mourning period was over Yuan Hong received many invitations to office, but rejected them all. In 159, as Chen Fan became Director of the Imperial Secretariat under the personal government of Emperor Huan, he recommended Yuan Hong as one of the five most worthy men of the empire. A special carriage was sent, but Yuan Hong refused this too.

Yuan Hong lived simply in the country, supporting himself by farming and maintaining his studies. Though his uncles Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei sent provisions he would not accept them, but was ashamed of the fact that his family had achieved prosperity and success as the state and society of Han were falling into ruin.

When the Faction affairs broke out in the late 160s, Yuan Hong wanted to withdraw into the wilderness, but felt he could not leave his aged mother. He built an earthen hut in the courtyard of the family home, with no door but only a window through which he received food and paid respects to his mother each day. His brothers, wife and children were not permitted to see him. When his mother died, he held no mourning for her but retreated into complete isolation, and some believed that he was mad. [Ying Shao strongly disapproved of his failure to carry out proper rituals at his mother's death: *FSTY* 3:24.]

Eighteen years later, as the Yellow Turbans arose and people scattered before them, Yuan Hong still kept to his study of the classics. The rebels agreed not to trouble him, and all who took refuge with him were saved. Yuan Hong died soon afterwards, instructing his sons not to prepare a coffin but to leave his body shrouded in a simple tomb. -*HHS* 45/35:1525-26*, *XC* 2:9b-10a; Vervoor 90:181, 298.

It is confusing that the personal name of this man has the same modern transcription as that of his brother Yuan Hong 弘, whose entry appears immediately below. Some texts also confuse Yuan Hong 閔 with his more distant kinsman Yuan Lang 袁閔: see the text criticism at *HHS* 53/43:1756, the discussion at *HHSJJ* 53/43:1878-79, and *XHS* 3:21a.

Yuan Hong 袁弘 [Shaofu 邵輔]; Runan. Son of Yuan He, he was not so rigid in his conduct as his elder brother Hong 閔, though he was similarly ashamed of his fine family position in such a time of trouble for the state.

Yuan Hong attended the Imperial University at Luoyang, but when his senior cousin the Grand Commandant Yuan Feng invited him to dinner he left because he disapproved of the music being played. He likewise had no contact with his cousins Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu.

Refusing all offers of appointment, Yuan Hong changed his name and went to live with his teacher. -*HHS* 45/35:1526, *XC* 2:10a; Vervoor 90:298.

This man must be distinguished not only from his elder brother Yuan Hong 袁閔 above, but also from the later historian Yuan Hong 袁宏 (328-396) who compiled a *Hou Han ji* 後漢紀.

Yuan Huan 袁渙/煥 [Yaoqing 曜卿]; Chen. Though his father Yuan Pang was a high official in the 170s, and many young men of rank behaved arrogantly, Yuan

Huan was noted for his courtesy and restraint, and when he became Officer of Merit in his commandery bad officials hastened to resign. Joining the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, he was graded First Class and joined the Imperial Censorate, but he refused a magistrate's position in Pei.

When Liu Bei was in Yu province in 194, he nominated Yuan Huan as Abundant Talent, but Yuan Huan soon afterwards went south to escape the local disturbances. He briefly served Yuan Shu, then went over to Lü Bu, though he refused to write an insulting letter for him to Liu Bei. When Cao Cao destroyed Lü Bu in 198 Yuan Huan joined him and was appointed Commandant for the south of Pei.

At this time Cao Cao was attempting to force people into agricultural colonies, and many resisted or deserted. Yuan Huan urged him to ease the pressure, and the situation improved. He was appointed Chancellor of Liang, where he ruled gently but firmly, but retired due to illness.

Yuan Huan later served on Cao Cao's staff. In 212 he was among those who encouraged him to accept the Nine Distinctions, he was one of the petitioners who urged him to take title as Duke of Wei in the following year, and when the kingdom of Wei was declared in 216, he held ministerial office at court.

Noted for his honesty and generosity, Yuan Huan gave away all the gifts he received and kept nothing for himself. On one occasion it was reported that Liu Bei was dead, but while others congratulated Cao Cao, Yuan Huan refused to celebrate the alleged misfortune of his old patron.

Yuan Huan died about 218, leaving a collection of literary and scholarly works. Cao Cao mourned him, and when Cao Pi came to the throne in 220, a son or grandson of Yuan Huan was granted the right to appointment as a gentleman cadet in recognition of his past loyal service. -SGZ 11:333-35*, 2:58.

Yuan Hui 袁徽; Chen. Brother of Yuan Ba and a cousin of Yuan Huan, during the troubles of the end of Han Yuan Hui took refuge in Jiao province. He was offered appointment by Cao Cao about 200, but preferred to remain in the south. He wrote to Xun Yu praising the scholarly patronage of Shi Xie and the generosity of Xu Jing. -SGZ 11:336, SGZ Wu.1191-92, SGZ Shu 8:964.

Yuan Ji 袁吉 (d.36). Bearer of the Mace at the court of Gongsun Shu, in the autumn of 36 Yuan Ji was

sent with the Excellency Xie Feng to attack the Han troops outside Chengdu. After brief success, they were defeated and killed by the Han general Wu Han. -HHS 13/3:543, 18/8:682; Bn 59:194.

Yuan Ji 爱驥; Chenliu. Son of Yuan Yan, Yuan Ji was also a noted scholar. He became a county magistrate in Dong commandery. -HHS 48/38:1620, but see also *sub* Yuan Xing 爱興.

Yuan Ji 袁基 (d.190); Runan. Son of Yuan Feng and elder brother of Yuan Shu, Yuan Ji succeeded to his father's fief, and in 190 he was Minister Coachman under the regime of Dong Zhuo. Angry at the rebellion in the east led by Yuan Shu and Yuan Shao, Dong Zhuo killed Yuan Ji, his uncle Yuan Wei, and all their kinsmen at Luoyang. -HHS 45/35:1523.

Yuan Jing 袁京 [Zhongyu 仲譽]; Runan. Son of the Excellency Yuan An, he studied the New Text *Book of Changes* according to the Meng interpretation and compiled *Nan ji* 難記, "Record of Problems," in 300,000 words. He became a Palace Attendant and was Administrator of Shu commandery. -HHS 45/35:1522; Tjan 49:148. [FSTY 2:19 has Yuan Jing's personal name as Yuan 原, but this is a miswriting.]

Yuan Kang 袁康. A doubtful tradition suggests Yuan Kang was the author of the history *Yue jue shu* 越絕書. -Texts:491 [Schuessler and Loewe].

Yuan Kang 苑康 [Zhongzhen 中真], Bohai. As a young man Yuan Kang attended the Imperial University and became a close associate of Guo Tai. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he became a county magistrate in Yingchuan, where he honoured Xun Shu and his eight talented sons by changing the name of their village.

As Administrator of Taishan Yuan Kang brought powerful local families to order, and in 166, when clients of the eunuch Hou Lan sought refuge from the attacks of Zhang Jian in Shanyang, he treated them equally firmly. In revenge, Hou Lan had Yuan Kang arrested for making false claims of success against bandits, and he was exiled to Rinan. Petitions from his former subjects secured his release, and he died at home.

In the late 160s Yuan Kang was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformist students of the University, while Dou Wu commended him to Emperor Huan. -HHS 67/57:2214* & 2187, 62/52:2050, 69/59:2240, SGZ 6:211.

Yuan Kui 袁隗 see Yuan Wei 袁隗.

Yuan Lang 袁閭 [Fenggao 奉高]; Runan. Presumably

a kinsman of the Excellency Yuan Tang and his family, Yuan Lang was a gentleman of quality, but was not noted for exceptional conduct, and Guo Tai found him comparatively superficial. He refused appointment at the capital, but was a well-respected Officer of Merit in the commandery. An early patron of Huang Xian, he guided the Administrator Wang Gong in his dealings with both Huang Xian and Chen Fan.

In particular, when Wang Gong first came to the commandery he failed to invite Chen Fan to visit him. Chen Fan was resentful, and when he was summoned later he declined on grounds of ill health. Wang Gong was angry, but Yuan Lang persuaded him to apologise for the initial slight and Chen Fan then accepted the call. So Wang Gong gained local respect. -HHS 53/43: 1744, 56/46:1820; Vervorn 90:298.

Yuan Lang is sometimes confused in the texts with Yuan Hong 袁閔 *q.v.*

Yuan Lang 袁朗 see Yuan She 袁敕.

Yuan Liang 袁良 I; Runan. A scholar of the *Book of Changes* according to the Meng interpretation, during the reign of Emperor Ping of Former Han Yuan Liang was recommended as Understanding the Classics and became a member of the Suite of the Heir. When Emperor Guangwu first restored the dynasty Yuan Liang served as a magistrate in Yan province. -HHS 45/35:1517.

Yuan Liang 袁良 II [Houqing 厚卿] (47-131); Chen. Yuan Liang claimed descent from Yuan Gan 幹 and Yuan Shan 山 [QHx:663-664], who had held a secondary marquise under Former Han which had been ended by Wang Mang.

Yuan Liang himself was learned in the *Book of Changes*, in the *Classic of Poetry*, in ritual and in music. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, after probation as a gentleman cadet he was appointed an Internuncio, became Assistant to the Court Architect, and later served as a magistrate in several counties. Towards 120 he became Administrator of Guangling, where he dealt successfully with a group of pirates on the lower Yangzi led by Zhang Lu. He then retired on grounds of ill health; he was at that time aged over seventy.

As Emperor Shun came to the throne in 126, Yuan Liang was again invited to office by the three Excellencies, and after appointment to a holding post as Consultant he became Prefect of Insignia and Credentials. At this time, while Yuan Liang's eldest son Guang was a county magistrate, his second son Teng

was a member of the Secretariat and the youngest son Zhang was an Internuncio: between them the father and his two younger sons thus held office in each of the so-called Three Terraces 三臺 [though other enumerations of the Terraces include the Censorate, with the Imperial Clerks, instead of the Office of Insignia]. This happy coincidence was recognised by honouring Yuan Liang as Thrice Venerable of the State at the annual imperial ceremony of Serving the Aged [Bodde 75:361-372], while he was also named Chancellor of Liang.

Yuan Liang died in Liang at the age of eighty-five. He had revived the official fortunes of the family, and about 170 his grandson Yuan Pang, a future Excellency, arranged for a stele to be inscribed and set up in his honour. -LS 6:5a-9a, HHSJJ 8:319 Hui Dong. See also *sub* Yuan Chang citing XTS 74B:3164.

SJZ 19:29a, quoted by LS 20:12a, mentions a fragmentary stele to Yuan Liang of Chen. In some texts the personal name appears as 梁, but this is surely a miswriting for 良.

Yuan Long 袁龍 (d.215). An officer under Guan Yu in Jing province in 215, when Sun Quan took over Changsha, Yuan Long remained loyal and soon rebelled against the new regime. He was attacked by Lü Dai, captured and killed. -SGZ Wu 15:1384.

Yuan Mai 袁買 (d.207); Runan. A nephew [or, according to another source, a younger brother] of Yuan Shang, he fled with him to Liaodong in 207, and was presumably also killed there by Gongsun Kang. -SGZ 6:207.

Yuan [Manlai] 袁滿來; Runan. Son of Yuan Wei, he died at the age of fifteen, probably in the 160s. A stele inscription composed by Cai Yong describes him as a student of the *Book of Changes* and a young man of quick wit. -Cai 6:3, HHSJJ 45/35:1631 Hou Kang.

Yuan Mi 袁祕 see Yuan Bi 袁祕.

Yuan Min 袁敏; Chen. Younger brother of Yuan Ba and Yuan Hui, about 220 Yuan Min was at the court of Emperor Xian, who discussed with him his cousin Yuan Huan.

Skilled in military affairs and particularly interested in hydrology, Yuan Min became Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River. -SGZ 11:335-36.

Yuan Pang 袁滂 [Gongxi 公喜/熙]; Chen. Son of Yuan Zhang II, Yuan Pang was Minister of the Guards in the early 170s, and he arranged a stele to honour his grandfather Yuan Liang II. He later became Minister

of the Household, and early in 178 he was promoted Excellency over the Masses, leaving that office twelve months later.

Bearer of the Mace in 185, Yuan Pang was named second-in-command to Zhang Wen for operations against the rebels of Liang province. -*HHS* 8:340-42, 72/62:2320, *LS* 6:7b, 20:12b.

Yuan Pei 袁沛. In 196 Yuan Pei accompanied Xu Jing in flight from Kuaiji to Jiao province in the far south. They later attempted to return to the north, but the way was blocked by rebel non-Chinese, and it appears that Yuan Pei died at this time. -*SGZ* Shu 8:964.

Yuan Peng 袁彭 [Bochu 伯楚]; Runan. Son of Yuan Jing, he followed his father's scholarly interests, then served as Administrator of Guanghan and of Nanyang.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun Yuan Peng was Minister of the Household, but he died as a Consultant. Scrupulously honest as an official, he wore only a rough gown and ate coarse food. When his wife died comparatively young, he refused to marry again, but he also ordered that he should be buried next to his father, so that he could care for him in the after-life, and his wife's coffin should not lie near his own.

Hu Guang and others recommended Yuan Peng for posthumous honours in the same style as the frugal officials Gong Yu 貢禹 under Emperor Yuan of Former Han [*QHX*:121-122], or Diwu Lun early in Later Han. This was not approved, and his former colleagues were disappointed. -*HHS* 45/35:1522.

FSTY 2:19; Nylan 83:403-408 reports but then discounts a story that Yuan Peng sired his son Yuan He during a period of mourning; see *sub* Yuan He.

Yuan Ping 袁平 [Wenkai 袁成]; Runan. Eldest son of Yuan Tang, he died young. -*SGZ* 6:188.

Yuan [Renda] 袁仁達 (d.190?); Runan. Son of Yuan Wei, he probably died when Dong Zhuo slaughtered the family at the capital. -*HHSJJ* 45/35:1631 Hou Kang.

Yuan Shang 袁賞; Runan. Eldest son of Yuan An, after Emperor He and his eunuch allies had overthrown the power of the Dou family of the Dowager, the emperor recognised the loyalty of the late Excellency by appointing Yuan Shang as a gentleman cadet. -*HHS* 45/35:1522.

Yuan Shang 袁尚 [Xianfu 顯甫] (d.207); Runan. Youngest son of Yuan Shao, Yuan Shang was good-looking and a favourite of his father and of Yuan

Shao's later wife, the Lady Liu XV. The Lady argued that he should be given the succession, the advisers Pang Ji and Shen Pei supported the idea, and Yuan Shao agreed. When he died in 202, therefore, Yuan Shang became Governor of Ji province in despite of his eldest brother Yuan Tan.

In the autumn of that year Cao Cao attacked their territory. Yuan Shang had restricted Yuan Tan's supplies and Yuan Tan was soon in difficulties. Yuan Shang went to assist him and they achieved some initial success, but by the summer of 203 the brothers had been defeated and driven back to Ye city.

At this point, Cao Cao withdrew and, as he had expected, Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang came to open conflict. Many of Yuan Tan's officers turned to Yuan Shang, and Yuan Tan fled to the northeast. Liu Biao wrote to criticise the brothers for their enmity, but in 204 Yuan Shang made a further attack on Yuan Tan and besieged him in Pingyuan.

Yuan Tan now made an alliance with Cao Cao, and Cao Cao attacked Ye. Yuan Shang left Pingyuan and came with a relief force, but he also attempted to make terms. Cao Cao rejected his overtures, and as many of his men changed sides or deserted, Yuan Shang abandoned his family, his possessions and insignia and went north into Zhongshan. Yuan Tan attacked him there, and he fled to his brother Yuan Xi in You province. Soon afterwards Cao Cao turned on Yuan Tan and destroyed him.

In 205 Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi were driven from their territory by a mutiny. They turned to the Wuhuan led by Tadun, but in 207 their combined forces were defeated by Cao Cao at White Wolf Mountain in Liaodong. Yuan Shang fled with Yuan Xi and the surviving Wuhuan chieftains to Liaodong, where Gongsun Kang killed them, possibly because they presented a threat to his authority.

Gongsun Kang sent the heads to Cao Cao, who put them on display at Ye city. -*HHS* 74/64B:2409-18*, *SGZ* 6:201-07*.

Yuan Shao 袁紹 [Benchu 本初] (d.202); Runan. A grandson of Yuan Tang, Yuan Shao was probably a son of Yuan Feng by a concubine, adopted to maintain the lineage of his uncle Cheng: *YYS* 19b. There is confusion, however, about Yuan Shao's status in the family, and particularly his relationship to Yuan Shu. As the son of Yuan Feng by his chief wife, Yuan Shu was the senior legitimate member of the clan in that

generation, while Yuan Shao, son of a concubine of Yuan Feng, was his half-brother. On the other hand, when Yuan Shao was adopted into the lineage of Yuan Cheng he became the representative of Yuan Feng's elder brother, and thus a senior cousin to Yuan Shu. Yuan Shao is always described as the elder brother/cousin and Yuan Shu as the younger, but we are told that Yuan Shu, envious of Yuan Shao's greater prestige and popularity, referred to him on one occasion as "our family slave" 吾家奴, while in a letter to Gongsun Zan he claimed that Shao was not a true member of the Yuan clan 非袁氏子: *HHS* 75/65:2439.

Yuan Shao was handsome, with an air of authority. He was a leader among young men of family at Luoyang, but was disliked and distrusted by the palace eunuchs. When the reformist party was persecuted by the eunuchs in the late 160s Yuan Shao, then in his twenties, joined He Yong and others to create a network for escape, and he made several secret journeys to rescue men under threat or in prison.

From appointment as a cadet gentleman, Yuan Shao became a county magistrate in Dong commandery. He left office for six years, first in mourning for his titular mother, the wife of his adoptive father Yuan Cheng, then retrospectively for Yuan Cheng himself. Returning to Luoyang, he joined the staff of the General-in-Chief He Jin, served in the Imperial Censorate and was then a General of the Household. In 188 he was one of the colonels in the new imperial corps of the Western Garden.

Following the death of Emperor Ling in 189, Yuan Shao urged He Jin to destroy the eunuchs, and he was appointed Director of Retainers with the Staff of Authority. He Jin was assassinated, and Yuan Shao led a massacre of the palace eunuchs, but as Dong Zhuo took over at the capital he was compelled to submit to the new military power.

Then Dong Zhuo planned to force the young emperor to abdicate, and Yuan Shao escaped to the east. Dong Zhuo offered him enfeoffment and appointment as Administrator of Bohai, but Yuan Shao raised troops and gathered allies. Elected leader of the covenant of "loyal rebels," he took title as General of Chariots and Cavalry and Director of Retainers. Dong Zhuo sent a number of distinguished men such as Humu Ban on an embassy to offer some settlement with the rebels, but Yuan Shao ordered they should all be killed. In response, Dong Zhuo had members of the

Yuan family killed at Luoyang, including Yuan Shao's natural mother, the former concubine of Yuan Feng; this mutual massacre removed any hope of avoiding a most vicious civil war.

Based on Suanzao in Chenliu, north of the Yellow River, the allied army gained no success against Dong Zhuo's defences through 190, and in 191 Yuan Shao took over Ji province from the former Governor Han Fu. As the alliance dissolved amongst the rivalries of its leaders, Yuan Shao sent troops against Yuan Shu's general Sun Jian in Yingchuan, but was himself attacked by Gongsun Zan from the north. In 192 his troops defeated Gongsun Zan at the Jie Bridge between Julu and Qinghe, and in the following year the respected elder statesman Zhao Qi arranged a truce.

Setting his capital at Ye city in Wei, Yuan Shao now consolidated his position in Ji province and the region north of the Yellow River, and he sent troops to sweep the Taihang ranges and break the Black Mountain bandits. When Emperor Xian fled Chang'an in 195 some advisers suggested Yuan Shao should receive the court and use the imperial authority to enhance his own, but he was persuaded to keep his independence and not involve himself. As the court came under Cao Cao's control in Xu city in 196 Yuan Shao was named Grand Commandant and granted a county fief. Annoyed that his status was lower than Cao Cao, who was styled General-in-Chief, he formally refused the office; in some consternation, Cao Cao hastily ceded him the title.

In 198 Yuan Shao made a final attack on Gongsun Zan. He destroyed him at the beginning of the following year, and then gained the allegiance of the Wuhuan on the northern frontier. He now regretted his failure to bring the imperial government under his control, and made a number of unsuccessful efforts to alter the arrangement. When Cao Cao refused, Yuan Shao turned against him, and in the summer of 199 he embarked on an offensive to the south. Though it could appear that he was attacking the emperor himself, he justified his actions in a long proclamation of abuse and criticism of Cao Cao.

As Cao Cao faced problems with Liu Bei in the southeast, Yuan Shao was urged to take the opportunity to attack, but he was reluctant to act so swiftly. His great army advanced only slowly, and only in the autumn of 200 did it come to grips with Cao Cao's

main defence line by Guandu, on the Bian Canal about present-day Zhongmou in Henan. Cao Cao was heavily outnumbered, and Yuan Shao had Liu Bei cause trouble again behind him, but in the early winter Cao Cao arranged sorties which destroyed two of Yuan Shao's supply trains. His army disintegrated, and the scattered troops fled back across the Yellow River.

Though he had suffered heavy losses, Yuan Shao had small difficulty in confirming his power in the north. He became ill, however, and died two years later. His inheritance was lost in succession squabbles between his sons.

Despite uncertainty over his position in the family, many people regarded Yuan Shao as representing the tradition of the great gentry and official clans of Later Han. He was personally popular, and his rise to power was aided by the support of clients and protégés who recognised past patronage from the Yuan. As chief rival to Cao Cao, however, he was not well matched, for he was neither a good judge of politics nor a brilliant general, while the favour that he showed to his youngest son Shang brought the destruction of his family. -HHS 74/64A*, XC 5:1b-2b, SGZ 6:188-201*; Mather 76:611, deC 96.

Yuan Shao 袁紹, later wife of: see the Lady Liu 劉 XV.

Yuan She 袁涉 [Juxian 巨先] (d.23); Youfufeng. A man of distinguished gentry and official family, Yuan She became a powerful local leader, with a great number of retainers and conduct varying between generosity and thuggery.

As Wang Mang's government faced its final crisis, Yuan She was forgiven his previous crimes and appointed Administrator of Tianshui, west of Chang'an. Wang Mang was destroyed before he could take up the appointment, and Yuan She became a leader of local rebels about Chang'an.

The Gengshi general Shentu Jian was prepared to co-operate with Yuan She to settle the territory, but then Yuan She killed Yin Gong [or Mr Yin], who was an old enemy but was now a senior member of Shentu Jian's staff. Faced with this blow to his prestige, Shentu Jian pretended that he still wanted Yuan She's assistance, but asked him to come to prison as a formal sign of apology. When Yuan She did so, Shentu Jian sent troops to scatter his followers and seize him. He then cut off Yuan She's head and displayed it in the market-place of Chang'an. -HS 92:2714-19; QHX:664-

665, Ch'ü 72:449-454.

Yuan She 袁赦 (d.179). In 159 Yuan She was a eunuch Regular Attendant with a mansion next to that of the Lady Xuan, mother of the future Empress Deng of Emperor Huan. Liang Ji sent men to kill her, and they sought to make their way through Yuan She's grounds. They were discovered there, and Yuan She had a drum beaten in warning. The Lady escaped and told the emperor.

After Emperor Huan had destroyed Liang Ji and his party, Yuan She became favoured and powerful. Claiming kinship with Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei, and seeking their support, he arranged that they were honoured and prosperous. In 179, however, he was impeached with Wang Fu and others by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu. They were tortured and died in prison. -HHS 34/24:1186, 77/67:2499-50.

Yuan Shu 袁術 [Gonglu 公路] (d.199); Runan. Son of Yuan Feng and a younger brother of Yuan Ji, Yuan Shu was a member of a most distinguished official family. On the relationship with his half-brother or cousin Yuan Shao see *sub voce*.

As a young man Yuan Shu acquired a reputation for gallantry and for hunting and falconry. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, he later became Intendant of Henan and then General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

In 189 Yuan Shu and his cousin/half-brother Yuan Shao urged He Jin into the confrontation with the eunuchs which led to massacre and disorder at Luoyang and the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo. Dong Zhuo named Yuan Shu General of the Rear, but he fled to Nanyang and gathered troops, notably reinforced by the contingent brought by Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha. He then joined the alliance against Dong Zhuo. In revenge, in 190 Dong Zhuo killed Yuan Shu's father Yuan Wei and his elder brother Ji. Yuan Shu could now claim to be the senior representative of his family, though Yuan Shao was elected leader of the alliance.

Under Sun Jian's field command, Yuan Shu's army advanced on Luoyang from the south, and in 191 Sun Jian drove Dong Zhuo west and captured the former capital. In the mean time, the warlords of the east had turned on one another. As Sun Jian returned from Luoyang, Yuan Shao sent Zhou Ang to attack him, and while Yuan Shu made alliance with Gongsun Zan in the north, Yuan Shao joined Liu Biao in the south. Sun

Jian was accordingly sent against Liu Biao, but he was killed in a skirmish. Yuan Shu had lost his best general, he was not a good administrator, and his extravagant regime in Nanyang cost him popular support. He withdrew east to Chenliu, and in 192 he extended his influence into Yang province.

In 193, Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shu and drove him south to the Huai. Setting his new headquarters at Shouchun in Jiujiang, he removed Chen Wen the Inspector of Yang province and took title for himself. He also laid claim to be Lord 伯 of Xu province, while the ramshackle imperial government of Li Jue and his colleagues at Chang'an named him General of the Left and granted him enfeoffment and the Staff of Authority.

In 194 Yuan Shu sent troops under Wu Jing, brother-in-law of Sun Jian, across the Yangzi into Danyang to oppose the rival Governor of Yang province, Liu Yao, and in 195 Sun Jian's son Sun Ce joined the attack and achieved remarkable success. Further north Yuan Shu was engaged in a three-way contest for Xu province with Lü Bu and Liu Bei. In 196 he received Lü Bu's aid to defeat Liu Bei, but then Lü Bu changed sides and Yuan Shu was driven back to Shouchun, from where he made occasional sorties.

At the beginning of 197 Yuan Shu proclaimed himself emperor of the new Zhong 仲 dynasty [the title also appears as Chong 冲, but Zhong was probably chosen to show his intended succession as a younger brother to the Han]. Yuan Shu was inspired partly by the humiliation of the Han emperor, who had fled Chang'an only to fall into the hands of Cao Cao, but chiefly by his own sense of importance as senior member of one of the great official families in the empire.

At this time Yuan Shu formally controlled Yang province and was contending for Xu, and he bolstered his claim by reference to portents and prophecies, and to the fact that he held the imperial Seal of State 傳國璽 which had been recovered by Sun Jian at Luoyang in 191. Yuan Shu's pretensions were nonetheless inappropriate: the prosperity of his lineage had come from the favour of Han, to which he should have remained loyal, and he was a man of small military capacity and less administrative skill. He received no support and was immediately declared a rebel by rival warlords. Sun Ce, south of the Yangzi, turned from him, and in the autumn Cao Cao seized his holdings

north of the Huai. Yuan Shu's remnant territory suffered drought and a bad harvest, and his power steadily declined.

By 199 Yuan Shu's political weakness and personal extravagance had brought his regime to ruin. He tried to escape east to the Dabie hills or north into Qing province, but was driven back towards Shouchun, and in the sixth month he died outside that city. His family and followers, said to number thirty thousand, took refuge with Liu Xun in Lujiang, and soon afterwards came into the hands of Sun Ce. -HHS 75/65:2438-43*, SGZ 6:207-10*.

Yuan Shu 袁術, concubine of: see the Lady Feng 馮 III.

Yuan [Shuzhi] 袁叔釋; Chenliu. During the 150s Yuan Shuzhi was a local officer at commandery headquarters. As he committed some minor offence, the Administrator Guo Cong was angry and intended to punish him. The Registrar Zhu Zhen pointed out that Yuan Shuzhi's grandfather Yuan Zhen was a member of the Censorate, and it was not appropriate to treat him in such a fashion. So Yuan Shuzhi was set free. -XC 4:4b.

Yuan Si 袁嗣. Yuan Si was named Chancellor of Chen by Yuan Shu, but in 196 he surrendered to Cao Cao. -SGZ 1:13.

Yuan Sui 袁綏; Guangling. Having served as a clerk in the offices of the Grand Tutor at the capital, Yuan Sui returned to his home commandery. When the Administrator Zhang Zhao went to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190, he left Yuan Sui in charge. -SGZ Wu 12:1337.

Yuan [Taibo] 袁太伯; Linhuai. In the first century Yuan Taibo compiled a detailed commentary to the *Book of Changes*. He was admired by Wang Chong. -Lun heng 37; Forke 07:469, Hou Kang:2105, Yao Zhenzong:2309-10.

Yuan Tan 袁譚 [Xiansi 顯思] (d.205); Runan. Eldest son of Yuan Shao, in 193 Yuan Tan was named Inspector of Qing province against Gongsun Zan's officer Tian Kai. After fierce fighting, both sides were exhausted and declared a truce, each retaining some share of the territory. In 196 Yuan Tan seized Beihai from Kong Rong, and in 200 he was with Yuan Shao at Guandu.

Though a man of generous nature, Yuan Tan does not appear to have governed particularly well, and under the influence of his wife the Lady Liu XV,

supported by Pang Ji and Shen Pei, Yuan Shao gave preference to his younger son Shang. He sent Yuan Tan out again to Qing province and had him adopted into the lineage of Yuan Shao's nominal elder brother, the long-dead son of Yuan Cheng: see *sub* Yuan [personal name unknown] above. Though Yuan Shao himself had been adopted in this way, in the present case the arrangement served to prevent Yuan Tan from succeeding to his natural father's position.

When Yuan Shao died in 202, Yuan Shang indeed became Governor of Ji province and chief of the clan. Yuan Tan went south to camp by the Yellow River, but Yuan Shang restricted the number of his troops. When Cao Cao attacked in the autumn Yuan Tan called for help and Yuan Shang came with an army, but in the spring of 203 they were defeated and driven back to Ye city.

As Cao Cao relieved the pressure by withdrawing to the south, the brothers resumed their quarrel. Yuan Tan attacked Ye city, but was forced away to the northeast. Many of his officers turned against him, and as Yuan Shang besieged him in Pingyuan Yuan Tan sent Xin Pi to seek aid from Cao Cao. Cao Cao agreed that his son Cao Zheng should betroth a daughter of Yuan Tan, and in the winter he returned to the north; but he had no intention of trusting Yuan Tan nor of maintaining his alliance.

In 204 as Cao Cao attacked Ye city and defeated Yuan Shang, Yuan Tan expanded his position and took over some of Shang's troops. Cao Cao accused him of double dealing, cancelled the alliance, and attacked Yuan Tan's base at Nanpi in Bohai. In the spring of 205 Yuan Tan attempted a sortie, but he was defeated and killed as he fled; his family was likewise destroyed. -HHS 74/64B:2409-17*, SGZ 6:201-07*.

Yuan Tang 袁湯 [Zhonghe 仲河]; Runan. Son of Yuan Jing and younger brother of Yuan Peng, Yuan Tang followed the family tradition of scholarship. He had twelve sons and was admired for his Confucian virtues. Appointed Administrator of Chenliu, he encouraged Juan Cheng's compilation of local history, *Chenliu qijiu zhuan* 陳留耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Chenliu," as a means to encourage local morality. This became the model for a genre widespread in the last years of Han.

As Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the time of Emperor Shun, Yuan Tang was a close associate of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang. The Administrator

of Chenliu Wang Tang failed to pay them special respect and they were annoyed. Soon afterwards Wang Tang defeated some bandits who raided his territory, but then pursued them outside his commandery. Despite his success, Liang Shan and Yuan Tang took the opportunity to impeach him for this breach of regulations.

Minister Coachman in 146, after the fall of Li Gu Yuan Tang became Excellency of Works in the regency government for the child Emperor Huan, and he was enfeoffed for his nominal role in the accession and for his compliance with the wishes of the Liang family. In the following year he was promoted Excellency over the Masses, and in 149 he was made Grand Commandant. He left office in 153 on account of unfavourable portents, and died some two years later at the age of eighty-six. -HHS 45/35:1522, 31/21:1106.

Yuan Tang 袁湯, wife of: see the Lady Ma 馬 V.

Yuan Teng 袁騰; Chen. Second son of Yuan Liang II, during the late 120s he was a member of the Imperial Secretariat and later became Administrator of Shu. -LS 6:6a, 20:12b. [The name is the same, but it is unlikely this is the man in the entry below.]

Yuan Teng 袁騰. In the early 160s Yuan Teng the Prefect of Luoyang was accused by Kou Rong of having made false accusations against him. -HHS 16/6:629. [The name is the same, but it is unlikely this is the man in the entry above.]

Yuan Wei 袁隗 [Ciyang 次陽] (d.190); Runan. Son of Yuan Tang, Yuan Wei was a younger brother of Yuan Cheng and Yuan Feng. On account of a notional kinship with the eunuch Yuan She, Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei were treated with great favour, had distinguished official careers and became very prosperous. From Minister Herald in 172, Yuan Wei became Excellency of Works. Leaving that office in 176, he became Minister of Ceremonies, and was again Excellency of Works from 182 to 185.

In 189 Yuan Wei held title as General of the Rear, but when the Little Emperor Liu Bian was placed upon the throne he was named Grand Tutor with control of the Imperial Secretariat, giving formal authority in government, with the General-in-Chief He Jin. When He Jin was killed by the eunuchs in the crisis later that year, they sought to name Fan Ling and Xu Xiang as Director of Retainers and Intendant of Henan. Yuan Wei and Yuan Shao, however, prepared false orders to summon the two men, and when they arrived they

were executed.

When Dong Zhuo took power at Luoyang and intended to depose Liu Bian in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie, he formally consulted Yuan Wei, who gave his approval. In 190, however, following the flight and rebellion of Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, Dong Zhuo killed Yuan Wei and all his kinsmen at Luoyang, as many as fifty men, women, children and infants. - *HHS* 45/35:1523.

Yuan Wei 袁隗, wife of, see the Lady Ma Lun 馬倫.

Yuan [Wenshu] 袁文術; Linhuai. Presumably a kinsman of Yuan Taibo, in the first century Yuan Wenshu composed *Zhen ling* 箴銘 "Admonitions Engraved in Stone." He was admired by Wang Chong. - *Lun heng* 37; Forke 07:469, Yao Zhenzong:2418.

Yuan Xi 袁熙 [Xianyong 顯雍 or Xianyi 顯奕] (d.207); Runan. Yuan Xi was the middle son of Yuan Shao, who named him Inspector of You province, probably in the late 190s. After Yuan Shao died in 202, Yuan Xi played no role in the quarrel between his brothers Tan and Shang nor in the fighting with Cao Cao, but he received Yuan Shang when he fled north in 204.

In the following year Yuan Xi was driven out by a mutiny and the brothers went to join the Wuhuan leader Tadun. In 207 their forces were defeated by Cao Cao at White Wolf Mountain. Yuan Xi, Yuan Shang and the remnant Wuhuan chieftains fled to Liaodong, where they were killed by Gongsun Du. - *HHS* 74/64B:2409-18, *SGZ* 6; Mather 76:610.

Yuan Xi 袁熙, wife of: see the Lady Zhen 甄.

Yuan Xing 愛興; Chenliu. *HHS* 48/38:1620 says that the son of Yuan Yan was Yuan Ji 驥 *q.v.*, but commentary to that passage says his personal name was Xing and his style was Ji [presumably accompanied by another character].

Yuan Xiong 袁雄. About 195 Lü Meng, future general of Sun Quan but at that time a trooper under Deng Dang in Sun Ce's forces, killed a man. He took refuge for a time with the colonel Yuan Xiong. - *SGZ* Wu 9:1273.

Yuan Xu 袁盱; Runan. Son of the Excellency Yuan Chang, in 117 Yuan Xu was found to have engaged in private correspondence with Zhang Jun of the Imperial Secretariat, and it was alleged that Zhang Jun had divulged matters which were confidential. Yuan Xu resigned his office, but the Dowager Deng believed Yuan Chang was also implicated. She lost confidence in him and Yuan Chang killed himself.

Zhang Jun later appealed against the wrongful accusation. He was spared the death penalty, and Yuan Xu was enabled to continue as an imperial official, while Yuan Chang was posthumously rehabilitated.

Minister of the Household in 159, Yuan Xu and the Minister of Justice Handan Yi were the only senior officials who would not submit to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. When Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies arranged the coup to destroy the Liang clan, Yuan Xu was given the Staff of Authority to strip Liang Ji of his seal and insignia of office. - *HHS* 45/35:1524-25.

Yuan Xu 袁敍; Runan. A cousin of Yuan Shao, Yuan Xu was sometime Administrator of Jiyin. Following his defeat of Yuan Shao at Guandu in 200, Cao Cao claimed that Yuan Xu had written to Yuan Shao urging him to claim the imperial title. - *SGZ* 1:22.

Yuan Yan 愛延 or Xi Yuan 奚延 [Jiping 季平]; Chenliu. A scholar of wide learning, Yuan Yan taught the Confucian classics. He was a man of few words but was known for his virtue. The county magistrate Niu Shu appointed him as a legal officer, and then as head of his district, and he acquired great influence for good. He was invited to office in the province, but would not accept.

During the late 150s Yuan Yan was appointed an Academician. Recommended further, he became a Palace Attendant and was evidently a confidant of the ruler. On one occasion Emperor Huan invited his opinion. Yuan Yan replied that he was only among the middling rank of the rulers of Han: when he followed the advice of worthy men like Chen Fan, he was good; when he accepted the influence of the eunuchs he was bad. The emperor tolerated and accepted his rebuke.

As a Consultant, Yuan Yan was sent to Donghai to pray for rain in time of drought; his prayers were answered. He then held office as a General of the Household and later became a colonel in the Northern Army. Having gone out as Administrator of Wei commandery, he returned to the capital as Minister Herald.

Emperor Huan always treated Yuan Yan as a friend, and when the astrologers reported a comet in an imperial constellation he again asked his opinion. This time Yuan Yan criticised the favouritism he showed to his old friend Deng Wanshi, brother of his empress. As the emperor would not change, Yuan Yan pleaded ill health and retired from office.

In the time of Emperor Ling Yuan Yan was invited

to court once more, but he declined and died at home. -HHS 48/38:1618-19*, XC 2:13a-b [as Xi Yuan 奚延]; deC 89:23-24, 304-305.

Yuan Yang 袁陽 miswritten for Yuan Tang 袁湯. -HQ 1:19a.

Yuan Yao 袁耀; Runan. Son of Yuan Shu, after his father's death in 199 Yuan Yao fled to Liu Xun in Lujiang, and soon afterwards came into the hands of Sun Ce. He later held place at the court of Sun Quan, and his daughter married Sun Quan's son Fen 奮. -HHS 75/65:2444, SGZ 6:210.

Yuan [Yaoqing] 袁曜卿. Yuan Yaoqing was a cousin of the mother of Cai Yong. -HHSJJ 60/50B:2140 Hui Dong citing *Xianxian xingzhuang*.

Yuan Yi 袁遺 [Boye 伯業] (d.192); Runan. A cousin of Yuan Shu and Yuan Shao, Yuan Yi became Prefect of Chang'an. He was admired by Zhang Chao and by Cao Cao.

Administrator of Shanyang in 190, Yuan Yi joined the alliance against Dong Zhuo. In 193 Yuan Shao sent him to take over Yang province, but he was defeated by Yuan Shu and then killed by his own men. -SGZ 1: 6-7, 6:208, 12:378.

Yuan [Yida] 袁懿達; Runan. Son of Yuan Wei, he probably died when Dong Zhuo slaughtered the family at the capital. -HHSJJ 45/35:1631 Hou Kang.

Yuan Yin 袁胤; Runan. A younger cousin of Yuan Shu, Yuan Yin was named as his Administrator of Danyang in 195, but was driven away by Sun Ce after Yuan Shu took the imperial title in 197.

When Yuan Shu died in 199, Yuan Yin led his family and followers to refuge with Liu Xun, Administrator of Lujiang, at Huan city: cf. *sub* Zhang Xun. They later came into the hands of Sun Ce. -SGZ Wu 5:1197, Wu 1:1108.

Yuan Yu 苑御; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, he and his allies were conquered by He Qi in 203. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Yuan Yuan 袁原 see Yuan Jing 袁京. -FSTY 2:19.

Yuan [Yuanchang] 袁元長; Runan. A kinsman of Yuan Shao, in 204 Yuan Yuanchang's son Yuan Chunqing was Administrator of Wei commandery for Yuan Shang, and was at the defence of Ye city against Cao Cao.

Yuan Yuanchang was at that time in Yang province, probably having taken refuge there after the fall of Yuan Shu. Cao Cao had him brought to court, and his agent Dong Zhao wrote a most elegant letter to Yuan

Chunqing, urging him to obey the dictates of filial piety and change his political allegiance. The city duly surrendered, though this may have owed as much to Cao Cao's military operations as to any negotiations with Yuan Chunqing. Neither father nor son are heard of again. -SGZ 14:438.

Yuan Yue 袁約 or Ren Yue 任約; non-Chinese. A chieftain of the Banshun people of Ba commandery, in the autumn of 215 he went with his associates Duhu and Fuhu to submit to Cao Cao. They were received at Luoyang, enfeoffed as marquises, and sent back as administrators. The other two leaders were given the east and west, while Yuan Yue was awarded the rump of Ba commandery.

Towards the end of that year, their combined forces were defeated by Huang Quan, officer in the service of Liu Bei, and the various groups fled north to Cao Cao's territory in the Wei valley. -HYGZ 6:83; deC 96:496-498.

Yuan Zeng 爰曾 [Zilu 子路] (d.23); Dongping. During the disorders which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang in 23, Yuan Zeng and Liu Xu of Taishan raised local troops. At one time Yuan Zeng stood on the wall of a city in Taishan to address his followers or recruit more men, so he was commonly known from his style as "Zilu on the City Wall" 城頭子路. Yuan Zeng took title as Chief Assistant Officer 都從事, while Liu Xu called himself Colonel Thrice Venerable 校三老; in this they reflected the pattern of the Red Eyebrows [see *sub* Fan Chong]. Their forces ravaged the lower reaches of the Yellow River in present-day northern Shandong.

When the Gengshi Emperor established his government in 23, Yuan Zeng and Liu Xu sent messages of submission. Yuan Zeng was named Administrator of Donglai and an acting chief general, while Liu Xu received similar recognition. They continued to act as independent warlords, but in that same year Yuan Zeng was killed by his own officers; he was replaced by Liu Xu. -HHS 21/11:752; Bn 59:41.

Yuan Zhan 原展 (d.110); Hanzhong. Well-respected locally, Yuan Zhan was appointed to the local staff of the Administrator Zheng Qin. When rebel Qiang attacked in 110, Zheng Qin led the commandery militia against them but was heavily defeated. Yuan Zhan and other officers fought to protect their master, but all of them were killed.

In 118 an imperial letter ordered a grant of grain

to the families of Yuan Zhan and his comrades. -HHS 87/77:2887, HYGZ 10C:169.

Yuan Zhang 袁璋 I; Runan. XTS 74B:2164 says that Yuan Zhang was a son of Yuan Liang I and an uncle of the Excellency Yuan An.

Yuan Zhang 袁璋 II; Chen. Third son of Yuan Liang II, Yuan Zhang was an Internuncio in the late 120s. He was the father of the Excellency Yuan Pang. -LS 6:6a, HHSJJ 8:319 Hui Dong.

Yuan Zhen 袁珍; Chenliu. During the 150s Yuan Zhen was a member of the Imperial Censorate. -XC 4:4b and see *sub* Yuan Shuzhi.

Yuan Zhen 苑鎮 [Zhonggong 仲弓]; Nanyang. A stele was set up to the memory of Yuan Zhen, formerly an Assistant Officer in Jing province. -LS 12:6a-7b.

Yuan Zhi 袁稚; Guanghan. Husband of the Lady Xiang Wu, Yuan Zhi died young. -HYGZ 10B:154.

Yuan Zhong 袁忠 [Zhengfu 正輔] (d.197); Runan. Son of Yuan He, Yuan Zhong was less reserved and less strict than his eldest brother Hong 閔. A friend of Fan Pang, he was implicated in the First Faction Incident of 166-167, was imprisoned and proscribed, and held no office for twenty years.

About 190 Yuan Zhong was appointed Chancellor of Pei, where he was praised for his plainness and honesty. In 192 he joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, urging Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal, and as civil war spread Yuan Zhong left his office and took refuge in Kuaiji. Disapproving of the extravagance of the Administrator Wang Lang and his entourage, he pretended to be ill and kept his distance.

When Sun Ce attacked the commandery in 196, Yuan Zhong fled by sea to the far south. He was called to take a ministerial position in the puppet court of Emperor Xian, just established at Xu city under Cao Cao, but died on the journey. -HHS 45/35:1526.

Another account says that when Yuan Zhong was in Pei he attempted to punish Cao Cao for some crime, and he was a friend of Bian Rang, who had also spoken against Cao Cao. Cao Cao therefore sent messengers to Shi Xie, warlord of the far south, that he should kill him. -SGZ 1:55, XC 2:10b.

Yuan Zhu 袁著; Runan. In the early 150s, Yuan Zhu was a nineteen-year-old gentleman cadet, assessed in the first class 甲科. Perhaps inspired by this, and in any case indignant to the manner in which the

General-in-Chief Liang Ji dominated the government, he presented a memorial against him. When Liang Ji sent men to look for him, Yuan Zhu pretended that he had been taken ill and died. He had a false funeral carried out, then changed his name, but Liang Ji still found out. He caught Yuan Zhu and had him beaten to death. -HHS 34/24:1184; Ch'ü 72:474.

[Yuanbin (style)] 元賓 [surname and personal name unknown] (112-159). Member of an official family, he held various local posts, was an Assistant Officer of the province and was then called up as a Consultant. He died at the capital at the age of forty-eight. -LS 6: 19b-21a, 24:17a-18a.

Yuancheng 緣城 see Sili Yuancheng 司隸緣城.

Yuanmeng 元孟 of Yanqi [Karashar]. An officer under King Guang in 94, Yuanmeng had been a hostage in China. When the Protector-General Ban Chao came to Yanqi, Yuanmeng warned him that Guang was planning to maintain resistance in the hills. Ban Chao forced Guang to surrender and then executed him. Having plundered the city, he put Yuanmeng in his place.

Thirty years later, Yuanmeng was still on the throne, but was now reluctant to submit to Han. In 127 Ban Chao's son Ban Yong was going to attack him, but Zhang Lang the Administrator of Dunhuang arrived first. After one preliminary engagement Yuanmeng and the neighbouring rulers of Weili and Weixu sent hostages and tribute to Luoyang. -HHS 47/37:1581-82, 1590, 88/78:2928.

Yuanzai 掾哉 see Sili Yuanzai 司隸掾哉/Sili Yuancheng 司隸緣城.

Yuchouben 於仇賁; Xianbi. In 54 the Xianbi chieftain and his colleague Mantou came to present tribute to the imperial court. Yuchouben received title as a king, and Mantou was named a marquis. -HHS 90/80:2985; deC 84:291.

Yuchujian 於除鞬 (d.93); Xiongnu. Yuchujian was the son of the Youliu Northern Shanyu, who was killed by the Xianbi in 87, and younger brother of his successor, whose name is unknown, who was defeated by the Chinese armies under Dou Xian and disappeared in 91 [see *sub* Youliu Shanyu]. Hitherto a king, Yuchujian now proclaimed himself Shanyu in his brother's stead. Setting his capital at Yiwu, near present-day Hami in Xinjiang, he sought to surrender to Han.

The Chinese commander Dou Xian wanted to set up Yuchujian's senior colleague Atong as puppet Shanyu, but his proposal brought intense debate at

the imperial court, for Yuan An and other ministers argued that the Xiongnu should be reunited under the Southern Shanyu, old ally of Han. Dou Xian got his way and the northern state was maintained, but he was obliged to abandon Atong and accept the closer heir.

Having agreed to Yuchujian's claim, the Han court set up a similar structure to that provided for the Southern Shanyu, with government supervised by a resident General of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu. The first Emissary, Geng Kui, was dismissed when Dou Xian was destroyed by Emperor He; he was replaced by Ren Shang.

In the autumn of 93 Yuchujian attempted to escape once more to the north but Ren Shang, aided by the officer Wang Fu, chased him and persuaded him to return. On the road back Yuchujian died, perhaps forcibly. -HHS 4:173-77, 45/35:1520-21, 89/79:2954.

Yue Gan 樂乾; Jingzhao>Nanyang. XTS 73B:2944 says that Yue Gan was a son of Yue Hui, An officer of the Feathered Forest guards, he moved the family residence to Nanyang.

Yue [Hedang] 樂何當. A travelling merchant, in the mid-190s Yue Hedang became a favourite of the north-western warlord Gongsun Zan, who treated him like a brother. -SGZ 8:245.

Yue Hui 樂恢 [Boji 伯奇]; Jingzhao. When Yue Hui was eleven, his father Yue Qin was arrested by the local magistrate, who intended to put him to death. Yue Hui stood outside the *yamen* and wept, and the magistrate then had pity and led Yue Qin go free.

A keen Confucian scholar, Yue Hui studied under the Academician Jiao Kuang. As Jiao Kuang became Administrator of Hedong, Yue Hui accompanied him, but he lived privately and took no interest in politics. When Jiao Kuang was implicated in the alleged plotting of Liu Ying the King of Chu in 70, Yue Hui was the only one of his former students not to be arrested [but cf. Zheng Hong].

Yue Hui then joined the local staff of the Intendant Zhang Xun, who was later executed for some crime. Among his former officers, Yue Hui was the only one to carry out mourning for him, and he was punished too.

When he was able to return to his commandery Yue Hui was appointed Officer of Merit. As some of his nominations for appointment were not approved he asked to resign, but this was not allowed. On the other hand, he was admired for recommending an old

enemy, Yang Zheng, as Filial and Incorrupt.

Yue Hui was then appointed to the offices of the Excellency Mou Rong, but in 75 Diwu Lun became the Excellency, and because he came from the same commandery Yue Hui resigned his position. He was widely admired for this circumspection, and received offers from the other Excellencies. We are told that he did not accept, but it appears that at some time he served successfully as a county magistrate.

As a Consultant in the late 80s, Yue Hui argued strongly against the proposal of Dou Xian to attack the Northern Xiongnu. Recognised nonetheless for his public spirit, he was appointed Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat. He still refused overtures from Dou Xian, and he presented memorials criticising the Director of Retainers, the Intendant of Henan and the Prefect of Luoyang, all partisans of the Dou family, for their failure to maintain order at the capital. When his wife protested at the high profile he was taking, Yue Hui resigned his office with an eloquent memorial, but it was evidently too late: despite his return to private life the Dou faction pursued him and Yue Hui took poison.

Hundreds of disciples and other followers wore mourning for Yue Hui, and after the destruction of the Dou clan in 92, his students He Rong and Zhao Mu presented a memorial to Emperor He recalling his loyal conduct. Yue Hui's son Ji was appointed a gentleman cadet. -HHS 43/33:1477-79*; Ebrey 86:633.

Yue Ji 樂己 [Bowen 伯文]; Jingzhao. Son of Yue Hui, about 92 Yue Ji was appointed a gentleman cadet on account of his late father's loyalty against the Dou faction. Disapproving of official life, he resigned his position. -HHS 43/33. 1479.

Yue Ji 樂季 (d.161); Nanyang. In 161 Yue Ji, Huang Wu and Hui De were joint leaders of a heterodox cult with branches across three counties. They were arrested and executed. -HHS 7:309.

Yue Jin 樂進 [Wenqian 文謙] (d.218); Dong. A short, lightly-built man, Yue Jin joined Cao Cao in search of adventure and became a member of his personal guard. Sent back to his home country to collect soldiers, he returned with a thousand men. He was appointed a major and later a commandant. In Yan province in 194 against Lü Bu, at Yongqiu in 195 against Zhang Zhao, and at Hu city in 197 against Qiao Rui, Yue Jin distinguished himself in the vanguard of the attack. He was enfeoffed as a village marquis.

In 198 Yue Jin took part in the campaign against Zhang Xiu and in the final attack on Liu Bei at Xiapi, where he defeated some detached forces of the enemy. In the following year Yue Jin joined the attacks on Sui Gu in Henei and against Liu Bei in Pei, and he was then appointed as a colonel.

As Yuan Shao's army came south in 200, Yue Jin and his colleague Yu Jin were sent with five thousand men to attack enemy positions up and down the Yellow River. They burnt some thirty camps, killed or captured several thousand men, and forced twenty of Yuan Shao's commanders to surrender. Yue Jin then returned to join the defence of Guandu, and he took part in the raid which captured the enemy supply train and brought the disintegration of Yuan Shao's army.

In 203 Yue Jin joined Cao Cao's attack on Yuan Shang and Yuan Tan, and he took the head of the enemy officer Yan Jing. He was sent east with an independent command against the Yellow Turbans, and settled the territory of Le'an. He returned for the final attack on Ye city and the assault on Yuan Tan's base at Nanpi in Bohai, where he scaled the city wall and opened a gate for the main attack. He then took a detached force northwards to establish a position in Yuyang.

In 205 Yue Jun was sent with Li Dian against Gao Gan in Shangdang, and in the following year, after Gao Gan was driven to flight by the main army, he was sent east with Li Dian to deal with the pirate Guan Cheng in Beihai. They defeated him and drove him off-shore.

In 206 Yue Jin, Yu Jin and Zhang Liao were given special commissions as generals, and in 208 the three men were stationed on the frontier against Liu Biao in Jing province. As they could not co-operate, Cao Cao was obliged to send his Registrar Zhao Yan to enforce agreement. Soon afterwards Yue Jin accompanied Cao Cao as he invaded Jing province and received the surrender of Liu Biao's son Liu Zong. He then held command of one of seven divisions in Nanyang under Zhao Yan, now Area Commander. After the defeat at the Red Cliffs, Yue Jin was left at Xiangyang to hold the line of the Han against Liu Bei's general Guan Yu. He forced the submission of the non-Chinese people in the hill country to the west, and he drove back the northern-most outposts of Guan Yu in Nan commandery.

As Cao Cao embarked on his offensive against Sun Quan across the Huai in 217, he granted Yue Jin the Staff of Authority and called him to the main army.

When he withdrew from that campaign, he left Yue Jin with other generals under the command of Xiahou Dun, with Zhang Liao and a number of other divisional officers. The threat of their established garrisons was sufficient to persuade Sun Quan for a formal surrender and submission to Wei.

Cao Cao now recognised Yue Jin's long service by adding to the value of his fief, he allowed one of his sons to hold a separate marquisate, and he named Yue Jin as General on the Right. Yue Jin died a short time later. -SGZ 17:521*.

Yue Jiu 樂就 (d.197). A general under Yuan Shu, in 197 Yue Jiu was posted with Qiao Rui at Hu city in Chen against the advance of Cao Cao. Cao Cao stormed the city and slaughtered the defenders. -SGZ 1:15.

Yue Jun 樂俊. In 34 Yue Jun was magistrate of Junyi county in western Chenliu. Zhang Si, a magistrate in Henan, memorialised that the dykes on the Yellow River, which had been broken since the last years of Former Han, should be repaired. Yue Jun argued that the matter was not urgent, for many people had left, and the territory which was not flooded was adequate for those who remained. A major engineering project would misuse resources at a time when the empire was not yet settled. Emperor Guangwu agreed and the work was not carried out.

When the Yellow River and Vast Canal works were eventually brought under control in the late 60s, the Junyi Trench was one of the first projects in the program. See *sub* Wang Wu. -HHS 76/66:2464; Bn 54: 148 [as Lo/Le Jun].

Yue Lin 樂綝 (d.257); Dong. Son of Yue Jin, he succeeded to his fief in 218. He was of similar energetic temperament, served as a general, and became Inspector of Yang province. In 257 Zhuge Dan 諸葛誕, a loyalist opposed to the dominance and ambitions of the Sima clan, prepared to rebel against them. He was doubtful whether he could rely upon Yue Lin, so he killed him. -SGZ 17:521-22; Fang 65:258-260.

Yue Mao 樂茂; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Yue Mao was associated with the construction of a new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -LS 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Yue Mou 樂茂 see Yue Mao 樂茂.

Yue Ping 樂平; Nanyang. XTS 73B:2944 says that Yue Ping, a son of Yue Ren, was Administrator of Qinghe;

this was perhaps under Wei.

Yue Pu 樂普. Holder of a small fief in Ba commandery, Yue Pu was attacked by bandits about 150. -HYGZ 1: 6.

Yue Qin 樂親; Jingzhao. A local officer in his county about 60, Yue Qin offended the magistrate, who intended to put him to death. Yue Qin's son Hui stood outside the *yamen* and wept, so the magistrate had pity and set Yue Qin free. -HHS 43/33. 1477.

Yue Ren 樂仁; Nanyang. XTS 73B:2944 says that Yue Ren, a grandson of Yue Gan, was Administrator of Wuling; this would be in the second century.

Yue Song 樂松; Henei. Honest and loyal, Yue Song entered the Imperial Secretariat. His family was poor, so Yue Song slept at the office with no bedding, and ate only husks of grain. Emperor Ming visited one night, found out about this, and ordered that in future such junior officers should be provided with food morning and evening, and with clothing and bedding.

On another occasion Yue Song offended Emperor Ming, who took up a staff to beat him. As Yue Song took refuge under a couch, the sovereign shouted furiously, "Come out! Come out!" Yue Song replied that he had never heard of a ruler personally chastising his subjects, and the emperor pardoned him.

Yue Song later became Administrator of Nanyang. -HHS 41/31:1409, 1411, HQ 1:16b-17a.

Yue Song 樂松. Having studied composition and calligraphy, Yue Song became a favourite of Emperor Ling. In 177 he was a Libationer of the Palace Attendants, and when the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital was established in 178, his portrait was painted on a wall as an inspiration to the students.

Though he was criticised by Yang Qiu, Cai Yong and other scholar-officials as a man of mean family, with frivolous skills, leader of a gang of sycophants, Yue Song remained a trusted adviser. In 180, against protests from senior ministers, he urged Emperor Ling to build two luxurious parks.

As Commandant of the Equipage in 183, Yue Song joined Liu Tao and Yuan Gong in a memorial to warn about the growing threat of rebellion from Zhang Jue and his sect of Yellow Turbans.

HHS 54/44 describes Yue Song as a Regular Attendant 中常侍, which was a eunuch office, but HHJ 24:289 has him as a Palace Attendant 侍中 and a colleague of Ren Zhi. He was probably a full man associated with the eunuch group. -HHS 77/67:2499,

60/50B:1992, 54/44:1780, 1783, 57/47:1849.

Yue Wei 樂闡. An officer under the Minister of the Guards, in 124 Yue Wei joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators achieved no success, but their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125 they were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

Yue Xiang 樂詳 [Wenzai 文載]; Hedong. Born in the mid-160s, Yue Xiang was a committed scholar who took refuge with Liu Biao in Jing province at the time of the civil war. About 200 he went on foot to visit Xie Gai, senior expert on the *Zuo zhuan*, who was then at Xu city under Cao Cao. He sought his opinion on a number of difficult points, and from his answers he compiled "Questions on Seventy-two Matters in *Zuo zhuan*" 左傳問七十二事.

Yue Xiang returned to his home country some time after 205. The Administrator Du Ji was concerned with education and appointed Yue Xiang as his senior officer for that field 文學祭酒. He received many students, notably from Hongnong, for the Administrator Linghu Shao sent his best young men to him for training.

As Cao Pi re-established the Imperial University in 224, Yue Xiang was one of the first Academicians. He later held court rank as a Commandant of Cavalry, but retired on grounds of age in the 240s. In 257, now more than ninety, he memorialised on the achievements of his former patron Du Ji.

Yu Huan, compiler of *Wei lue*, named Yue Xiang as one of seven Confucian Exemplars 儒宗 who maintained the tradition of Han scholarship in times of disorder. -SGZ 16:507; Fang 52:170-171.

Yue Xuan 樂玄. In 26 Yue Xuan was a subordinate of the bandit leader Sun Deng, who was proclaimed Son of Heaven in Shang commandery in 26 by a combination of the Bronze Horse, Green Calf and Youlai groups. Yue Xuan promptly killed Sun Deng, then brought the whole band of fifty thousand men to surrender to Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 1A:31.

Yue Yangzi 樂羊子; Henan: see immediately below.

Yue Yangzi 樂羊子, wife of. The parentage of the Lady is unknown, but she was a moral tutor to both her husband and to her mother-in-law.

When Yue Yangzi found a piece of gold on the road

and brought it home, the Lady objected to his seeking profit from things that had been lost. Yue Yangzi, ashamed, threw the gold away.

He then went far off to study, but returned after one year, explaining that he was homesick and wanted to see her. The Lady rebuked him for interrupting his work, in similar fashion to the mother of the philosopher Mencius. So Yue Yangzi went back, and he stayed away for seven years until his course was complete.

During his absence the family was poor, but when her mother-in-law cooked a neighbour's chicken that had wandered into their property, the Lady wept, explaining she was sad that their poverty required them to resort to such meanness. The mother-in-law then threw the chicken away.

Finally, a man came and wanted to rape her, but he first seized her mother-in-law and swore to kill her unless the Lady did his bidding. Instead, the Lady cut her own throat. The assailant let Yue Yangzi's mother go; he was later caught and killed. The commandery Administrator gave a grant of cloth for the Lady's funeral, and awarded her title as Pure and Honourable 貞義.

The Lady's biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2792-93*; Ch'ü 72:289-290.

Yue Yin 樂隱 (d.189); Anping. A scholar and teacher, Yue Yin became Chief Clerk to the General of Chariots and Cavalry He Miao at Luoyang. As He Miao was killed in 189, Yue Yin shared his fate. -SGZ 26:730.

Yun 允 [surname unknown] [Ziyou 子游] (d.115); Wei. Nominated as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, he became an Inspector and an Administrator and was commemorated with a stele at his death. -Nagata 94:50.

Yunqi Yao 運期耀 [Houguang 侯光] was a pseudonym adopted by Liang Hong when taking refuge from Emperor Zhang in 80. The surname and personal name may be rendered as "Splendour of the Age" and the style, reading 候 for 侯, as "Awaiting the Light;" both reflect the names of Liang Hong's wife the Lady Meng Guang 孟光, styled Deyao 德曜 "Virtuous Splendour." -HHS 83/73:2767.

Yufuluo 於夫羅 (d.195); Xiongnu. Elder son of the Southern Shanyu Qiangqu, in 184 he was sent by his father with a contingent of horsemen to assist the Han against the Yellow Turban rebels.

After Qiangqu was killed in 188, Yufuluo inherited his position, with the title Zhizhi shizuhou 持至尸逐侯 Shanyu. He was tainted by his father's policy of support for China, and the Xiuchuge clan and its allies, the same faction as had killed Qiangqu, drove Yufuluo from his territory. They set up a marquis of the collateral Xubu clan in his place, and when the pretender died in the following year, they named an elderly king to hold the nominal headship of the state, without the authority which the title Shanyu might imply.

Yufuluo took refuge at the court of Han, and sought help to regain his position, but after the death of Emperor Ling in 189 the government fell into complete disorder and no-one was concerned with the problems of the Xiongnu. Yufuluo moved north into Henei, where he attempted to support himself and his followers by plunder, and though it is likely that his father had aided the Chinese authorities against the Bobo bandits of Xihe, Yufuluo made alliance with that group. The people of the region, however, had largely gathered into self-defence units, and Yufuluo was obliged to withdraw to Pingyang on the Fen River in northern Hedong.

In 191 Yufuluo joined the Chinese leader Zhang Yang in an association with Yuan Shao, leader of the eastern rebellion against Dong Zhuo, but soon afterwards he took control of Zhang Yang and led their combined forces to oppose Yuan Shao in Wei commandery. They were driven back south of Ye city, but then defeated the General on the Liao Geng Zhi at his base in Liyang and took over territory.

As Zhang Yang regained his independence and returned to Henei soon afterwards, Yufuluo continued to operate in Wei commandery in association with the Black Mountain bandit Sui Gu. Heavily defeated by a raid from Cao Cao in Yan province, Yufuluo moved south into Chenliu to join Yuan Shu. In the following year Cao Cao drove Yuan Shu away to the Huai, and Yufuluo was obliged to return to Hedong.

Yufuluo's career as an unsuccessful soldier of fortune ended with his death in 195, and his claim as Shanyu fell to his younger brother Huchuan. More than a hundred years later, the Xiongnu chieftain Liu Yuanhai 劉元海 [or Liu Yuan], founder of the short-lived state which he named as Han, captured Luoyang from the Chinese Jin 晉 dynasty in 311. Liu Yuan claimed to be a son of Bao 豹, who was a son of

Yufuluo. -HHS 89/79:2965, JS 101:2644-45; deC 84: 347-349.

Yugui 榆鬼; Qiang. A member of the Dangdian tribe, in 117 Yugui and four companions were sent by the Chinese commander Ren Shang to assassinate the renegade Chinese leader Du Jigong. For his success Yugui was rewarded with the title Marquis Who Destroys the Qiang 破羌侯. -HHS 87/77:2891.

We may note that the Xiongnu leader Xushen was also named Marquis Who Destroys the Qiang about this time. The award to Yugui seems a little surprising, does he was himself a Qiang, but the Chinese were not always known for their tact.

Yule 疏勒 see *sub* King Zhong 忠 of Shule 疏勒 [Kashgar].

Yulin 榆林 of Yutian [Khotan]. King of Yutian in the 50s, Yulin was transferred by the regional hegemon King Xian of Suoju to be ruler of neighbouring Ligui, while his younger brother Weishi took his place in their home state. -HHS 88/78:2925.

Yuqiu Bing 余丘炳 was an Imperial Clerk in the Censorate. -FSTY 5f:123.

Yuyan 育延; Xianbi. A chieftain of his people, he led a number of raids against China, but about 210 he came with five thousand horsemen and asked Liang Xi the Inspector of Bing province for opportunity to trade. Believing there would be serious trouble if he refused, Liang Xi agreed, and a market was established outside his headquarters city.

Before the end of the arrangement, the market officers had occasion to arrest one of the non-Chinese people. Others became angry, mounted their horses and surrounded Liang Xi. Though his subordinates were frightened, Liang Xi called up the market officers and confirmed that the prisoner had indeed robbed someone. He sent a messenger to summons Yuyan, abused him for the unlawful and threatening conduct of his men, and had him executed.

Yuyan's followers were so startled that they took no action, and they did not come raiding any more. -SGZ 15:470.

Yuzhiju 於秩屠; Wuhuan. A chieftain of Liaodong loyal to Han, Yuzhiju was a personal enemy of the Xianbi leader Lianxiu. As Lianxiu attacked Chinese positions on the frontier in 117, Yuzhiju joined the commandery troops to pursue and defeat the raiders, and they took 1300 heads. -HHS 90/80:2987; deC 84: 391.

Yuqiuben 於仇賁 see Yuchouben 於仇賁.

Yuqiutai/Yuqiuzhi 尉仇台/治 see Weiqiutai 尉仇台.

Z

Zai Chao 宰曷. In the time of Emperor Guangwu Zai Chao was a Commandant of Kuaiji, acting as Administrator. He intended to kill a county prison officer for some minor fault, and when the clerical officer Zhongli Yi protested he sentenced him too. The Officer of Merit Peng Xiu dissuaded him with flattery. -HHS 81/71:2674.

Zai Xuan 宰宣; Hongnong. In 150, wishing to gain favour with the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, Zai Xuan sent in a memorial comparing him to the legendary Duke of Zhou 周公, and urged that his wife Sun Shou should be enfeoffed. An edict duly granted Sun Shou an estate and honours comparable to those of an imperial princess. -HHS 34/24:1179.

Zang 臧, the Lady; Zangke. Wife of Li Yi, who died in 173, she was honoured with a stele. -LS 12:16a-17b.

Zang Ba 臧霸 [Xuangao 宣高]; Taishan. Zang Ba was the son of Zang Jie. About 180, when he was aged eighteen, Zang Jie was arrested and sent to the commandery capital to be punished for disobeying the Administrator. Zang Ba gathered retainers to rescue him. They escaped together to Donghai, and Zang Ba became known for his strength and courage.

About 185 Zang Ba fought under the new Inspector Tao Qian against the local Yellow Turbans. He was appointed a Commandant of Cavalry.

Tao Qian's government deteriorated, and in 193 he was attacked by Cao Cao and repeatedly defeated. Zang Ba then established himself at the head of the Mount Tai bandit groups led by Wu Dun, Yin Li, and the brothers Sun Guan and Sun Kang. He set his base at Kaiyang city in the north of Langye, formerly the capital of the commandery or kingdom. It was probably about this time that he acquired the nickname of Nukou 奴寇 "Outlaw Slave."

Zang Ba entered a loose alliance with Lü Bu, who was operating in Xu province further to the west, and in 197 he attacked Xiao Jian the Administrator of Langye, whose headquarters were at Ju city. He defeated him and captured his treasury and supplies. Lü Bu expected him to turn over the booty, but Zang Ba did not do so, and when Lü Bu came in person to make the claim

Zang Ba and his associates defended themselves and drove him away. As Lü Bu was attacked by Cao Cao in 198, however, Zang Ba led the chieftains from Mount Tai to his support.

When Lü Bu was captured and killed Zang Ba tried to hide, but Cao Cao captured him. He spoke with him and was impressed, so he took him into his service and sent him to bring over his bandit colleagues. He named Zang Ba Administrator of Langye and awarded equivalent titles to the other leaders, establishing a series of small commanderies in the region about Mount Tai, with Zang Ba holding authority over Qing and Xu provinces.

Then Cao Cao sent Liu Bei with a demand that Zang Ba sent him the heads of Mao Jun and Xu Xi, renegades from Yan province who had supported Lü Bu and had since fled to take refuge with **Zang Ba**. Zang Ba explained that the reason he had been able to establish his position in the past was because he did not behave in such a way to men who had come to him for shelter. He felt obliged to obey Cao Cao's orders, but he asked him to be magnanimous, as befitted a true national leader. Comparing Zang Ba's code of conduct to that of the heroes of old, Cao Cao indeed pardoned Mao Jun and Xu Xi, and he appointed them as commandery administrators.

Though the east of China was still in turmoil, Zang Ba was able to prevent the region from being unduly unruly and troublesome, and as Cao Cao faced Yuan Shao in 199 and 200, Zang Ba and his men secured his eastern flank along the lower reaches of the Yellow River. In 205, after Cao Cao had attacked and killed Yuan Tan in Bohai, Zang Ba and his associates came for the celebratory assembly. Zang Ba offered to send members of his family as hostages to Cao Cao's headquarters in Ye city, but Cao Cao expressed complete confidence and trust, and refused the offer; it appears that the kinsmen of other leaders took up residence in Ye.

Zang Ba and his associates now restored order in the east, and they were rewarded with enfeoffments: Zang Ba became marquis of a chief village and was named as a general. In the autumn of 206 he joined Yu Jin to destroy Chang Xi in Donghai, and soon afterwards he accompanied Xiahou Yuan in his attack on Yellow Turbans in Ji'nan and Le'an by the mouth of the Yellow River. Once again distinguishing himself, he was given formal appointment as Inspector of Xu

province.

In 209 Zang Ba led a contingent to join Cao Cao's army as he advanced across the Huai to attack Sun Quan north of the Yangzi. Zang Ba was a leader in the capture of Juchao in Lujiang, and was then sent with Zhang Liao against the local leaders Chen Lan and Mei Cheng. These two men had a form of alliance with Sun Quan, and Zhang Liao was concerned he might send them support. Zang Ba, therefore, was sent to oppose Sun Quan's officer Han Dang in Huan city, to ensure no reinforcements could be sent from the south. He was driven back by Han Dang and forced to take refuge in She city, north of Juchao.

Sun Quan did send several thousand men on ships to assist Chen Lan and Mei Cheng. He put covering troops to observe Zang Ba, but Zang Ba left his defences, made a forced march by night, and launched a dawn attack on the main relief force. The surprise was so complete that many of the enemy were unable to regain their ships and were drowned in rivers, lakes or marshland. So Chen Lan and Mei Cheng were isolated, and they were destroyed by Zhang Liao.

In 216 and 217, Zang Ba again took part in an offensive against Sun Quan, and he joined Zhang Liao in the advance guard. They met heavy rain and flooding, were isolated from the main army and under threat from Sun Quan's ships. The troops were anxious and Zhang Liao wanted to withdraw, but Zang Ba persuaded him to hold on until he received orders from Cao Cao. Zhang Liao then reported Zang Ba's loyal conduct, and Cao Cao appointed Zang Ba as a full general with the Staff of Authority, still holding title as Inspector of Xu province. Cao Cao withdrew soon afterwards, but he left Zhang Liao, Zang Ba and several other commanders in position under the command of Xiaohou Dun, and under this pressure Sun Quan offered a form of submission; the garrisons were withdrawn in 219, after Sun Quan aided the Wei by destroying Guan Yu in the Han valley.

Presumably because of his bandit background, Zang Ba's command included the Qingzhou Troops, remnants of the Yellow Turbans who had surrendered to Cao Cao in the early 190s. When Cao Cao died at Luoyang in 220, these men rioted, beating drums and leaving their barracks. They were brought under control, partly through the work of Jia Kui, but they were not regarded as fully reliable. Cao Pi nonetheless raised Zang Ba's fief to county level, and gave him general

command over military affairs in Qing province. As he took the imperial title, he awarded Zang Ba two further advancements in fief, and Zang Ba was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele.

After Sun Quan withdrew his allegiance in 222, Zang Ba joined the attack by Cao Xiu across the Huai, and made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to establish a bridgehead across the Yangzi. Recalled to court, he did not hold command again, but he was regularly consulted on military affairs.

Cao Rui added to the value of Zang Ba's fief, and when he died about 230 his achievements were further recognised by the award of enfeoffment to four of his sons. -SGZ 18:536-38*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Zang Gong 臧宮 [Junweng 君翁] (d.58); Yingchuan. As a young man Zang Gong held local office as head of his village and then of his district. Later, however, he led his personal followers to join the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, and took title as colonel in this bandit force.

When the Troops joined the Han rebels led by Liu Bosheng, Zang Gong became an officer under Liu Bosheng's brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who admired him and appointed him a lieutenant-general. A taciturn man, Zang Gong was known for his courage, and on several occasions in the campaigns of the north he commanded the strike force which broke the enemy line. As Liu Xiu took the imperial title in 25, he named Zang Gong as a Palace Attendant and Commandant of Cavalry, and in 26 he enfeoffed him as marquis of a county in his home commandery of Yingchuan.

That year Zang Gong accompanied the general Zhai Zun in operations against bandits in Hongnong, and in 27 he commanded a strike force of cavalry against Zuo Fang and Wei Yan, officers of the late Gengshi Emperor in Nanyang. Both men surrendered, and Zang Gong then accompanied Cen Peng to drive the warlord Qin Feng from Nanyang.

In 29, as Cen Peng called the commanderies of the south to accede to the new Han regime, Zang Gong was sent into Jiangxia, where he forced the surrender of several localities and obtained the submission of the Gengshi Administrator Hou Deng. Guangwu sent an envoy to award him insignia as a full general. In 31 Zang Gong's fief was transferred to a county in Runan, and in that year he led his men to pacify Liang and Jiying on the North China plain.

In 33 Zang Gong was sent to Nan commandery to support the chief general Cen Peng in his attack up the Yangzi against Gongsun Shu. The non-Chinese people in the hill country between the Han and the Yangzi were inclined to support Gongsun Shu, and Zang Gong's troops were too few to bring them under control. As the various counties of the region sent supplies for the army, Zang Gong had the wooden sill at the base of the city gate sawn away, then had every cart driven repeatedly in and out during the night. The tribesmen believed he was receiving great numbers of reinforcements, and their leaders came to offer meat and wine. This was in fact an excuse to spy out the situation, so Zang Gong drew up his men in their best array and welcomed the visitors with a feast of his own. The tribesmen were suitably impressed and kept the peace thereafter.

When the main offensive began in 35 Zang Gong and his men accompanied Cen Peng up the Yangzi. At Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, Zang Gong was reinforced with surrendered troops who had changed allegiance, and he accompanied Cen Peng up the Fu River into Guanghan, approaching Gongsun Shu's capital Chengdu from the east. The new recruits became unsettled, and Yan Cen and other generals of Gongsun Shu had defences in depth further upstream, so Cen Peng left Zang Gong to hold that front while he took his own men back to the Yangzi to advance up the Min River directly against Chengdu.

Though the problems with the troops were overcome, Zang Gong's supplies began to run low. He considered withdrawing, but then learnt of a convoy of reinforcements on its way to Cen Peng. Forging the necessary orders, Zang Gong commandeered the men and horses and pressed the advance. As he approached Yan Cen's defences at Guanghan city, he spread flags and banners to emphasise his strength, set his horsemen on the left bank, foot-soldiers on the right and sent the boats upstream. Unaware that the Han forces were so close, Yan Cen was taken completely by surprise and was defeated with thousands of casualties, so many that the river is said to have run red.

As Yan Cen fled west over the watershed to Chengdu, his surviving troops surrendered and Zang Gong seized his weapons and treasure; the emperor rewarded him with six thousand bales of silk. Continuing up the Fu River, Zang Gong received the surrender of Wang Yuan, another of Gongsun Shu's

commanders, then turned west to Mianzhu, north of Chengdu, arriving there early in 36. His success isolated Gongsun Shu from the east, and Zang Gong continued to eliminate local resistance, with sorties northeast to destroy Gongsun Hui and west to encircle Chengdu. It is said that he took the seals of almost two thousand of Gongsun Shu's officials.

Cen Peng had been assassinated in the winter of 35, disrupting the advance of the main army. The offensive was eventually resumed under the Grand Marshal Wu Han, who approached Chengdu in the latter part of 36. Zang Gong led his troops to meet him, marching in full array past the gates of Chengdu. Wu Han received him with a banquet, but warned against repeating such a vulnerable manoeuvre; Zang Gong nonetheless returned in the same fashion to his camp north of the city, and the defenders dared not attack him.

It does not appear that Zang Gong and his men were directly involved in the fighting which brought the death of Gongsun Shu and the fall of Chengdu, but at the end of 36 he was made Administrator of Guanghan to establish control after the conquest. In the following year his fief was increased in value.

In 39 Zang Gong was recalled to the capital. His fief was finally transferred to a county in Runan, but he was granted the title Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside there, and in 42 he was named a Palace Counsellor.

In 43 Zang Gong was recalled from this semi-retirement to deal with a group of religious rebels led by Dan Chen, who had seized the county city of Yuanwu in the east of Henan. His command included troops from the Northern Army, the strategic reserve of the empire, and recruits from the eastern base camp at Liyang on the Yellow River, but the rebels were well entrenched, and initial assaults gained nothing but casualties. On the suggestion of his son Liu Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, Emperor Guangwu sent instructions for Zang Gong to ease the pressure, and the rebels saw a chance to escape from the siege. As they broke from their lines, they were defeated in detail and their leaders were killed.

Returning to the capital, Zang Gong was named Colonel of the City Gates and then General of the Household on the Left.

He was later sent to deal with raiding against Nan commandery by the non-Chinese people of the hills west of Wuling. He drove them back, but the

tribesmen were not seriously affected: they raided widely in Wuling and in 48 they destroyed the army of the general Liu Shang.

In 46 the Xiongnu of the northern frontier were seriously affected by drought and their state began to show signs of weakness. As Guangwu asked Zang Gong's advice, he promptly volunteered to lead a cavalry raid to take advantage of their difficulties; the emperor laughed and delayed. In 51, after the establishment of the puppet Southern Xiongnu state, the Northern Shanyu Punu sent messengers to seek a treaty. Again advised by his son Liu Zhuang, Emperor Guangwu refused to accept the contact and sent the envoys back. Zang Gong and his colleague Ma Wu urged a full-scale attack to destroy the northern state, but their ambitious plan was firmly rejected, and the imperial government contented itself with a divided neighbour. For debate on this policy, compare Bn 67: 126-126 and deC 84:247-250, 430.

When Zang Gong died in 58 he was awarded a posthumous title, and when Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Zang Gong was among those honoured. -HHS 18/8:692-98*; Bn 59:188-196, 222, 67:117-126, Bn 76:26, Bn 79:82.

Zang Hao 臧昊 is a miswriting for Zang Min 臧旻.

Zang Hong 臧洪 [Ziyuan 子淵] (d.195); Guangling. Son of Zang Min, Zang Hong was extremely good looking. At the age of fifteen, on account of his father's achievements he was made a Junior Gentleman and attended the Imperial University. Distinguishing himself by his knowledge of the classics, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery and became a county magistrate in Langye.

In 189 Zang Hong left office to return home. The Administrator Zhang Chao invited him to become his Officer of Merit, and Zang Hong persuaded Zhang Chao to join the forces gathered at Chenliu to oppose Dong Zhuo. He became a close friend of Zhang Chao's brother Zhang Miao and of the Inspectors Liu Dai and Kong Zhou. Admired by all the leaders, Zang Hong was chosen to proclaim their oath of alliance.

Soon afterwards Zhang Chao sent him north to consult Liu Yu about action against Gongsun Zan, but as fighting had already broken out he could not get through. Yuan Shao admired him and appointed him his Inspector of Qing province; Zang Hong

restored order after the disturbances which had troubled his predecessor Jiao He. Two years later Yuan Shao transferred him to be Administrator of Dong commandery, where his capital at Dongwuyang faced Cao Cao's territory south of the Yellow River.

In 194 Zhang Chao joined his brother Zhang Miao in a plot against Cao Cao, but Cao Cao recovered his position and in the following year he attacked Zhang Chao in Yongqiu city of Chenliu, two hundred kilometres southwest of Dongwuyang. Zang Hong begged to lead troops to aid his former master, but Yuan Shao, unwilling to quarrel with Cao Cao, refused permission. Then Yongqiu fell and Zhang Chao died with his family.

Zang Hong, furious and ashamed, broke with Yuan Shao and defied him in Dongwuyang. Seeking to regain his loyalty, Yuan Shao had Chen Lin, a man of literary talent from Zang Gong's homeland, write to him, but Zang Hong replied with eloquent fervour, criticising Yuan Shao for failing to support his allies and the cause of Han, and concluding with imprecation to Chen Lin: "Seek advantage where you will. You say I shall die and my name will be lost; yet I laugh at you, living in ignominy."

As the besiegers starved the city, Zang Hong's followers remained loyal, and it is said that he killed his favourite concubine to provide meat for his officers. Despite such fierce defence, the place was taken and Zang Hong was captured. He still refused allegiance, with great reluctance Yuan Shao killed him, and he also killed Zang Hong's country-man Chen Rong when he criticised the deed.

Zang Hong and Chen Rong were celebrated for their loyalty, while Yuan Shao's reputation suffered considerably. -HHS 58/48:1884-92*, SGZ 7:231-36*, XC 3:10a; deC 96:178-182.

Zang Jie 臧戒; Taishan. About 180 Zang Jie was prison officer in his county. For some reason of his own, the commandery Administrator ordered a prisoner to be killed, but Zang Jie considered it unlawful and refused to carry out the instruction. Furious, the Administrator had Zang Jie arrested and sent under escort to the commandery capital. Zang Jie's son Ba gathered a group of retainers to waylay the convoy. They set Zang Jie free and escaped with him to Donghai. -SGZ 18: 536-37.

Zang Min 臧旻; Guangling. First appointed as an Assistant Officer in Xu province, Zang Min joined

the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang and then became a county magistrate in Zhongshan. He did well in all posts, and was noted for his eloquent submission asking pardon for the disgraced Diwu Zhong.

In 172 Zang Min was appointed Inspector of Yang province to coordinate operations against the religious leader Xu Chang of Kuaiji. After three years the rebellion was put down, and Zang Min was promoted to be Administrator of Danyang.

Soon afterwards Zang Min was made Emissary to the Xiongnu, and in 177 he took command of one of the three columns of Xiongnu cavalry and local levies in the great attack on the Xianbi led by Xia Yu. The expedition was disastrously defeated, and the unsuccessful generals were brought back in cage-carts, paid ransoms and were reduced to commoner status.

Zang Min was nonetheless noted as an expert on non-Chinese affairs, and he compiled a detailed report on the Western Regions, which the Excellency Yuan Feng compared favourably to the relevant chapter in the *Han shu* of Ban Gu. He later returned to office as a Consultant and as a colonel in the Northern Army, and was later Administrator in Taiyuan and Zhongshan. -HHS 58/48:1884, SGZ 7:231, XC 3:9b-10a; deC 84: 340.

Zang Song 臧松; Yingchuan. Elder son of Zang Zhen, he succeeded to the family marquise. In 117 he was found guilty of committing incest with his mother; the fief was ended. -HHS 18/8:696.

Zang Xin 臧信; Yingchuan. Son of Zang Gong, in 58 he succeeded to his fief. In 71, at the time of the alleged conspiracy involving Liu Ying the King of Chu, Zang Xin and other marquises were implicated by the confessions of Yan Zhong and Wang Ping. They were liable to execution, but the censorial officer Han Lang persuaded Emperor Ming to doubt the accusations. -HHS 18/8:696, 41/31:1417, HHJ 10:123.

Zang Xuan 臧宣. In the early 200s Zang Xuan was Chancellor of Langye. At the request of Sun Quan's minister Zhang Hong he looked for the remnants of the family of Zhao Yu, who had been killed ten years earlier by Zhai Rong. A five-year-old boy was found, able to perform the ancestral sacrifices. -SGZ Wu 8: 1244.

Zang You 臧由; Yingchuan. A descendant of Zang Gong, general under Guangwu, Zang You was a son of Zang Zhen and younger brother of Zang Song. The family marquise was abolished in 117 because

of Zang Song's wrongdoing, but in 120 the regent Dowager Deng restored the fief in favour of Zang You. -HHS 18/8:696.

Zao Chuzhong 棗處中; Yingchuan. Son of Zao Zhi, about 220 Cao Cao granted him enfeoffment in recognition of the contribution his father had made to the prosperity and success of the state. -SGZ 16:490.

Zao Zhi 棗祗; Yingchuan. The original family surname was Ji 棘, but it was changed by one of Zao Zhi's forebears to avoid some trouble, either with the law or on account of a private vendetta.

Sometime Administrator of Chenliu, in 190 Zao Zhi joined the levy of troops to oppose Dong Zhuo. Yuan Shao invited him to enter his service, but he committed himself to Cao Cao, and in 194 he was magistrate of Dong'a in Dong commandery. When Lü Bu attempted to take over Yan province, Dong'a was one of only three counties which held out for Cao Cao, and Zao Zhi provided essential supplies for Cao Cao's army in the field. He was later named a General of the Household.

Early in 196, with his base at Xu city in Yingchuan, Cao Cao defeated a large group of Yellow Turbans from that commandery and Runan, and he also acquired the tools and agricultural equipment which they carried with them. Zao Zhi proposed these people be placed in agricultural colonies 屯田 in the area of Xu city. He wanted the settlers' contributions to be assessed according to the land that they held. Cao Cao's adviser Hou Sheng argued that payments should be based upon the number of oxen they leased, calculating that a land-based assessment would benefit the government but disadvantage the tenants. Zao Zhi argued that if payments were based upon oxen there would be no increase to the state in good years, while in bad years the government would be obliged to grant exemptions on grounds of hardship.

Cao Cao accepted Zao Zhi's arguments, and appointed him Commandant of the Colonies, subject to the broader supervision of his trusted officer Ren Jun, whom he named Commissioner for Agriculture. The experiment at Xu city was successful, and the program was extended in several further areas, notably on the frontier against Sun Quan along the Huai after 200 [see *sub* Liu Fu]. Cao Cao was thus able to rely upon regular supplies and stock-piles of grain, and the historians observed that "the prosperity of the army and the state began with Zao Zhi and was accomplished by

Ren Jun."

Zao Zhi died a few years later, but about 220 Cao Cao recalled his contribution and granted enfeoffment to his son Chuzhong. -SGZ 16:490, JS 26:783-84; Yang 63:163, Hsü 80:319, deC 96:204-205.

Zang [Zhongying] 臧仲英; Youfufeng. When Zang Zhongying was an Imperial Clerk, he and his family were plagued by a poltergeist. The diviner Xu Jun told them that it was caused by the spirit of a black dog which had possessed their maid-servant Yi Xi. When they sent Yi Xi away, the trouble ended.

Zang Zhongying became Chief Clerk to the Grand Commandant and was later Chancellor of Lu. -FSTY 9:73; Nylan 83:542-543.

Zeng Jing 曾旌 or Zeng Yu 於; Kuaiji. In 132 Zeng Jing and a band of pirates ravaged the southern coast of Hangzhou Bay, destroying three county seats and killing the magistrates. -HHS 6:259 [as Zeng Jing 旌], 101/11:3244 [as Zeng Yu 於].

Zeng Yu 曾於 see Zeng Jing 曾旌.

Zhai Can 祭參 or Zhai Shen (d.97); Yingchuan. Zhai Can was the son of Zhai Tong, who died in 73. In the following year Zhai Can went with Dou Gu on his expedition to the Western Regions. They obtained submission from the kingdoms of Jushi in Turfan, and Zhai Can was recognised for his role in the success. He was appointed Administrator of Liaodong, the same post that his father had held.

In 97 a thousand Xianbi horsemen came to raid the commandery, and though Zhai Can fought them he gained no success. Found guilty of "allowing himself to be defeated" 坐沮敗, he was died in prison. [This raid of 97 is the first recorded occasion that the former allies of Han, who were now taking over the territory of the Xiongnu on the steppe, turned against China.] -HHS 4:183, 20/10:746, 90/80:2986; G/deC 77:5.

Zhai Chao 翟超 (d.169). Administrator of Shanyang in 165, Zhai Chao appointed Zhang Jian as Investigator for the eastern division of the commandery. The powerful eunuch Hou Lan and his mother bullied and oppressed the people of their home country, and when his mother died Hou Lan raised a vast tomb for her. Reports were sent to the capital, but Hou Lan had agents intercept them. Then Zhang Jian destroyed Hou Lan's extravagant constructions and confiscated his property; he reported again, but the message still did not get through.

About the same time, Huang Fu the Chancellor

of Donghai arrested and executed the eunuch relative Xu Xuan, and the eunuchs now reported against both him and Zhai Chao. The two men were dismissed and sentenced to convict service. The Grand Commandant Chen Fan wrote an eloquent appeal for Zhai Chao and Huang Fu, and also, more particularly for Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi, whose cases developed at the same time and who were later executed.

Celebrated for their opposition to the eunuchs, Zhai Chao and Zhang Jian were numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformist students of the University. In the Second Faction Incident of 169, however, Zhai Chao was arrested and died in prison. -HHS 67/57:2210 & 2187-88, 66/56:2164; deC 89:71-73, Ch'ü 72:481-482.

Zhai Deng 翟登. Former students of Chang Qia, after his death near Chang'an in 195 Zhai Deng and Zhang Shun took his body home to Shu. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Zhai Feng 祭逢; Yingchuan. Zhai Feng was a son of Zhai Tong, who died in 73 after being blamed for the failure of an expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. In a last testament, Zhai Tong told Zhai Feng to distribute his treasure among the soldiers in camp, as token of his regret for having received rewards from the state without being able to perform his duties. Zhai Feng reported his father's instructions, and everyone admired them. Zhai Feng himself is not heard of again. -HHS 20/10:746.

Zhai Fu 翟輔 or Zhai Pu 酺 [Zizhao 子超]; Guanghan. Member of a family with a long tradition of scholarship of the *Classic of Poetry*, when he was young Zhai Fu served an apprenticeship under Duan Yi, an expert on the *Book of Changes* and divination by wind. Zhai Fu studied *Chunqiu* under Zhang Ba, he knew the *Laozi*, and he was skilled in the trigrams, apocryphal texts, astrology and the calendar.

Having killed a man in vendetta to avenge his uncle, Zhai Fu was threatened with exile to the far south, but escaped to Chang'an. He made a living there as a fortune-teller and physiognomist, and was later a sheep-herder in the northwest.

Following an amnesty, Zhai Fu was able to return to his home country and he held local office in the commandery. He was invited to the capital as a Consultant and then became a Palace Attendant.

Soon afterwards there was a vacancy in the Imperial Secretariat, and an examination was offered to middle-range officials in government affairs, Taoist

arts 道術 and astronomy 天文; the man who scored highest would be given the position. Though confident of his own abilities, Zhai Fu was concerned that the former Court Astronomer Sun Yi 孫懿 might be a rival. He warned Sun Yi of a prophecy that a man named Sun Deng 登 would prove to be a wicked official, and would be killed by the eunuchs of the court who resented his ability. The surname was the same, the personal name included half the character of Sun Yi's, and Zhai Fu, weeping, added that Sun Yi's physical appearance matched the omen. Sun Yi was frightened, and withdrew from the examination. Zhai Fu came first and received the appointment.

At this time, 121, Emperor An had taken over the government after the death of the Dowager Deng. He gave posthumous honours and granted fiefs to the family of his grandmother the Honoured Lady Song of Emperor Zhang, and he allowed great power to his nominal uncle Geng Bao and the Yan family of his empress. Zhai Fu presented a long memorial criticising this policy of favouritism, and citing portents to warn against it. No action was taken, but he was now seen as an enemy by the faction of relatives by marriage.

In 124 Zhai Fu was sent out as Administrator of Jiuquan, where he defeated an attack by rebel Qiang from Dunhuang, inflicting heavy losses, and acquired an awesome reputation on the frontier. He was then Intendant of Jingzhao, and when Emperor Shun came to the throne in 125 he returned to the capital as Palace Counsellor and then Court Architect.

In the following year, when Li He was dismissed as an Excellency, Zhai Fu told Emperor Shun how Li He had planned to attack the Yan group and restore him to power; the plot had been forestalled by the coup of the eunuch Sun Cheng and his colleagues, and the court had not heard of it. The emperor offered Li He a marquise.

As Architect, Zhai Fu heavily reduced costs, while he made use of portents to encourage more general reform. One achievement was his successful proposal for the restoration of the University at Luoyang, which had been neglected for many years and was in serious disrepair. The work did not begin until 131, long after Zhai Fu had left office, but although he was not directly responsible, a stele was set up in his honour at the new complex.

As a consequence of his influence, Zhai Fu had powerful enemies. In 126-127 he was involved in an

accusation of conspiracy with the eunuch Zhang Fang, Gaotang Zhi and other members of the Secretariat, and several provincial officials. Some of those accused were executed, but Zhai Fu and others were permitted to purchase a pardon.

Zhai Fu returned to his home country, but a further allegation claimed that he had plotted treason with Zhang Kai, and he was ordered to report to the office of the Minister of Justice for investigation. The local scholar Du Zhen presented a petition on his behalf, and though Zhai Fu was flogged he was eventually found innocent. He retired and died at home, leaving two works of commentary on the apocrypha to the *Book of Filial Piety*. -HHS 48/38:1602-05* [輔], XC 2:12a [輔], HYGZ 10B:145-46 [輔]; Bn 76:69.

Zhai [Jingbo] 翟敬伯; Nanyang. In the time of Emperor Ming Zhai Jingbo was a colleague of Deng Biao in local office. With three other young men, all of whom were talented and ambitious and had the character *bo* in their styles, they were known locally as "the five elder brothers" 五伯. -DGJ 18:2a.

Zhai Pu 翟輔 see Zhai Fu 翟輔.

Zhai Rong 笮融 (d.195); Danyang. About 191 Zhai Rong brought a few hundred men to join his fellow-countryman Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, who appointed him Chancellor of Xiapi and put him in charge of the transport of tax grain for Guangling, Xiapi and Pengcheng. Zhai Rong, however, took the grain for himself and used the proceeds to build a vast temple to the Buddha 浮屠祠 and establish a monastery with five thousand devotees, all of whom were exempted from corvée. He also held lavish public festivals: at the ceremony of Washing the Buddha 浴佛, wine and food and seating mats were set out along the roads and thousands came to enjoy the spectacle and hospitality.

When Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian in 193, Zhai Rong fled south with a following of more than ten thousand. He betrayed and killed the Administrator Zhao Yu of Guangling, then moved across the Yangzi to take service with Liu Yao.

In 195 Zhai Rong's forces were defeated by Sun Ce. Murdering his ally Xue Li, he went west to Yuzhang, killed the Administrator Zhu Hao and sought to take the territory for himself. Liu Yao then came against him, and after an initial set-back he drove Zhai Rong into the hill country, where he was killed by the people there.

Not surprisingly, despite his status as an early follower of the faith in China, Zhai Rong is little celebrated by Buddhists. -HHS 73/63:2638, SGZ Wu 4:1185*; Zürcher 59:27-28 & 327-328; deC 89:175-177, deC 90:162-164.

Zhai Shen 祭參 see Zhai Can 祭參.

Zhai Tong 祭彤 or Zhai Yong 彤 [Zisun 次孫] (d.73); Yingchuan. Zhai Tong was a younger cousin of Zhai Zun. His parents died when he was young, but he became known for his filial piety. As the empire fell into disorder at the end of the reign of Wang Mang, he took refuge in the wilderness; even bandits admired him for his virtue and pitied his youth and his sad condition.

As Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, established his government, Zhai Tong was appointed a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates on account of his cousin Zhai Zun, and he was regularly in the imperial presence. When Zhai Zun died without children in 33, Guangwu made Zhai Tong a magistrate in Henan so that he would be able to present seasonal offerings at Zhai Zun's tomb. Zhai Tong proved thoroughly competent, and within five years he had eliminated banditry in the county. Graded Number One, he was transferred to a magistracy in Donghai.

Though the major civil war was now over, the empire was by no means peaceful, and in Zhai Tong's county there were criminals carrying out their depredations in broad daylight. Zhai Tong attacked and executed the chiefs and eliminated their associates, and within a few years the territory was calm and peaceful. He received an imperial letter of commendation, with an increase of rank/salary and a donation of silk.

In the early 40s the Xiongnu, Xianbi and Red Mountain group of Wuhuan formed an alliance to raid along the frontier. Concerned about this, the court increased troop levies and ordered that each commandery should raise several thousand men to be stationed in camps on the borders. Recognising his ability, in 41 Emperor Guangwu appointed Zhai Tong Administrator of Liaodong. He immediately began military preparations, including the training of troops and the establishment of watch-posts. A man of uncommon courage and strength, he could draw a bow of three hundred pounds tension, and in later years this mighty engine was preserved at the capital. Each time raiders appeared, Zhai Tong led his men against them, and they drove back many local incursions.

In the autumn of 45, ten thousand Xianbi came to attack Liaodong. Zhai Tong brought a few thousand men to face them and dressed in full armour to break the enemy line. The Xianbi fled, and half of them were drowned as they sought to cross a river. As Zhai Tong maintained the pursuit across the frontier, in their haste to get away the raiders abandoned their arms and scattered naked before him. He took three thousand heads and several thousand horses, and thereafter the Xianbi were afraid to enter the commandery.

On the other hand, noting that the alliance of the Xianbi, Wuhuan and Xiongnu was a constant threat to the empire, Zhai Tong resolved to break it. In 49, therefore, taking advantage of the disruption within the Xiongnu caused by the secession of the Southern Shanyu Bi, he sent messengers with gifts to the Xianbi. The chieftain Pianhe sent a return party with tribute, and Zhai Tong entered negotiations. Aided by further substantial gifts, they established long-term peace and allegiance.

In similar fashion, a tribe of the Xianbi, and the people of Gaogouli [Koguryo], who had formerly raided as far as Youbeiping, Yuyang, Shanggu and Taiyuan, well to the west of You province, came with tribute of sable fur and fine horses. Through Zhai Tong, the emperor responded with gifts twice the value of those he received. The Gaogouli ceased their incursions, while Pianhe and other Xianbi chieftains came to offer their services to the Han.

As earnest of their good faith, Zhai Tong proposed that his new allies attack the Xiongnu and send him the heads of the enemy they killed. Pianhe and his comrades responded with enthusiasm, and their first campaign produced two thousand such grisly trophies. From this time on the Xianbi attacked the Xiongnu year after year, and the Chinese paid a bounty for each head they received.

In 58 Zhai Tong likewise directed Pianhe against the Red Mountain Wuhuan who were troubling Shanggu and Yuyang. The enemy leaders were killed, their followers submitted, and all the borders were peaceful.

The situation in the north had been vastly improved by the secession of the Southern Shanyu Bi and the consequent division of the Xiongnu state, but Zhai Tong's diplomacy, noted for honest and generous dealing, also eased the situation in the east, and the alliance with the Xianbi and Wuhuan and the peace

with Gaogouli held good for half a century.

We should note that during this period of peace the two provinces of Qing and Xu, extending south of the frontier You province, were responsible for an annual payment of 270 million cash to the Xianbi. More than two and a half times the subsidy paid to the Southern Xiongnu, this was evidently a local tax and not a responsibility of the central government of the empire. It may have represented commutation for military service from the men of the two provinces who might otherwise have been conscripted to the frontier, and some of the money probably went as payment to the Xianbi for their services against the Xiongnu. In any case, the amount of this Danegeld indicates both the importance of the Xianbi and the real level of "generosity" ascribed to Zhai Tong.

After almost thirty years in the northeast, in 69 Zhai Tong was called to the capital to become Minister Coachman. As he returned, he was still dressed in plain clothing, and Emperor Ming admired his honesty and lack of greed. On the day he was appointed minister, Zhai Tong was awarded a million cash, three fine horses, robes and swords, and everything required for his official residence. The emperor held him in the highest esteem, and on one occasion compared him to Confucius' disciple Zilu 子路, a brave man who had acquired learning [e.g. Legge CC I:115].

In 73 Zhai Tong was given command of the main central column for a punitive expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. He was accompanied by the General on the Liao Wu Tang and the Worthy King of the Left Xin of the Southern Xiongnu, and they were to meet at Zhuoye Mountain with an eastern force under Lai Miao. Xin, however, quarrelled with Zhai Tong, and six hundred kilometres from the frontier he identified the wrong ridge of high ground as Zhuoye Mountain. So Zhai Tong and his men missed the rendezvous, and the enemy were able to avoid them.

On the return of the expedition, Zhai Tong was accused of "delay and lack of zeal" 逗留畏懦 and was sent to prison. Though soon released, he was bitter at the disgrace, and a few days later he vomited blood and died. In a final testament he expressed his regret at having received favour and rewards without being able to perform his duty to the empire, and instructed his son Feng to take his treasure and distribute it among the troops in camp. Zhai Feng reported this wish, and the emperor, the court and all the people sighed with

admiration.

The people of Liaodong erected a shrine and held seasonal worship in Zhai Tong's honour, and the Xianbi and Wuhuan likewise remembered him: every embassy to Luoyang would visit Zhai Tong's tomb and pay respects with tears. -*HHS* 20/10:744-46*, 85/75:2814, 90/80:2985, *SGZ* 30:833; Bn 79:83, deC 84:260, 291-292; G/deC 77:4.

Zhai Wu 祭午; Yingchuan. Elder brother of Zhai Zun, Zhai Wu became Administrator of Jiuquan. -*HHS* 20/10:744.

Zhai Yong 祭彤 see Zhai Tong 祭彤.

Zhai Zun 祭遵 [Disun 弟孫] (d.33); Yingchuan. Nothing is known of Zhai Zun's ancestry, but his family was well-to-do. Having studied the classics when he was young, he was frugal in his conduct and he and his wife both dressed in simple clothing. His neighbours considered him a weakling, but when a local official was discourteous Zhai Zun gathered retainers and killed him.

As Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, came to Yingchuan in 23, Zhai Zun went with a number of county officers to see him and Liu Xiu, impressed by his bearing, appointed him to his personal guard. He accompanied Liu Xiu on his commission to the north, and he was put in charge of the army markets. When a boy of Liu Xiu's household acted wrongly, Zhai Zun executed him. Liu Xiu was furious and had him arrested, but the Registrar Chen Fu persuaded him that such attention to the law was valuable to a new regime. Zhai Zun was pardoned and became an inspector in the army, and Liu Xiu warned his officers of his strictness, which applied even to his own close attendants.

Soon afterwards Zhai Zun was made a lieutenant-general. He took part in the campaigns on the North China plain, was enfeoffed for his good work, and in the spring of 26 he received a county marquisate in his home commandery of Yingchuan. Promoted also to be a general, Zhai Zun was sent under the chief general Jing Dan west into Hedong and then south to attack bandits in Hongnong. During one engagement he was badly wounded in the mouth by a cross-bow bolt. His troops began to waver, but he raised his collar to conceal the injury, and though the blood showed through he urged his men on. They fought with increased determination and gained the victory.

Jing Dan then returned to the imperial army north of the Yellow River, while Zhai Zun was left to besiege

the local rebel Zhang Man in the hill country south of Luoyang. He cut supplies to Zhang Man's base, and though the rebels made several attempts to break out, while other groups sought to come to their aid, Zhai Zun held the encirclement. After twelve months the defenders were starving, the stronghold was taken by storm, and Zhang Man was captured and executed.

Following that success, early in 27 Zhai Zun defeated and killed Deng Zhong, younger brother of the renegade Deng Feng. He was then sent against Zuo Fang and Wei Yan, officers of the Gengshi Emperor in Nanyang; both men surrendered.

In the summer of 28 Zhai Cun was sent north with Liu Xi against Zhang Feng the Administrator of Zhuo commandery, who had joined the rebel Peng Chong of Yuyang. Within a few weeks Zhang Feng was taken and executed, and the two generals then attacked Peng Chong. Though Peng Chong tried a counter-offensive, a column of his Xiongnu auxiliaries was routed, and as Geng Shu and his father Geng Kuang attacked from Shanggu, Zhai Cun and Liu Xi advanced from the south. In the spring of 29 Peng Chong was killed by his own slaves.

Having established control over Zhuo commandery, in 30 Zhai Zun returned to Luoyang to command the van in the great army which was to advance through the Wei valley and attack Gongsun Shu in present-day Sichuan. The warlord Wei Ao was ordered to support the campaign, but he refused. When the emperor called a council, the majority held that they should not attack Wei Ao at once, but should seek to subvert his officers by offering rewards for changing sides. Zhai Zun argued that it was important to move before Wei Ao was fully prepared and could obtain support from Gongsun Shu. Guangwu agreed, and the Han troops went forward.

Zhai Zun and his vanguard gained initial success, but the main army was dramatically defeated on the Long Slope and forced to retreat. Wei Ao's men attacked towards Chang'an, but Zhai Zun drove back Wei Ao's commander Wang Yuan, and further north Feng Yi defeated the enemy general Xing Xun.

Zhai Zun remained on guard until the spring of 32, when he was again given command of the van for a renewed campaign. He was taken ill and forced to retire, but gave his best troops to his junior colleague Lai Xi, who invaded Tianshui and laid the foundations for success. As Guangwu returned east to deal with

rebellion in Yingchuan in the autumn, he visited Zhai Zun and showed him favour and ceremony.

Zhai Zun died a few months later, at the beginning of 33. He was granted honours comparable to those of the great minister Huo Guang 霍光 of Former Han, including a great sacrifice, a ranking escort for his funerary cortege, and a special edict of mourning. He left no sons, and his fief was ended, but his elder brother Wu was a commandery Administrator, and his cousin Zhai Tong gained renewed honour for the family.

Recognising Zhai Zun as one of the great assistants of the founding emperor, Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had his portrait painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. -HHS 20/10:738-44*, 22/12:789-91, DGHJ 9:4b-5b, XC 1:4a; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:83.

Zhan Qian 棧潛 [Yanhuang 彥皇]; Rencheng. Having served as a county magistrate, and held command at Ye city, about 217 Zhan Qian joined the household of Cao Pi, Heir of Wei. His remonstrances about Cao Pi's love of hunting had some effect, but they were not well received, and he held a low-ranking position at court under the new imperial government. In 222 he presented an eloquent but unsuccessful memorial against the proposal to appoint the Lady Guo, a woman of lowly family, as Empress, and in the time of Cao Rui he protested against the level of *corvée* services. Transferred to an outlying kingdom, he pleaded ill-health and indeed died soon afterwards. -SGZ 25:718-19*; C/C 99:106-107.

Zhan Qiang 詹彊; Kuaiji. A local leader of Houguan by present-day Fuzhou, Zhan Qiang joined the magistrate Shang Sheng to raise troops in support of Wang Lang, Administrator of Kuaiji, against Sun Ce. After Wang Lang was defeated, Shang Sheng was going to surrender to Sun Ce's officer He Qi, but Zhan Qiang and his associate Zhang Ya killed him and maintained resistance, while Zhan Qiang took the title of Administrator of Kuaiji for himself. Taking advantage of such quarrels among the enemy, He Qi defeated them and forced them to surrender. -SGZ Wu 15:1377-78.

Zhan Shan 詹山 see Zhanshan 詹山.

Zhan Zhong 湛重 [Wendie 文疊]. Although Zhan Zhong served as Minister of Finance, his household was poor and his family ate only simple food. -XC 6: 12b.

Zhan Yan 詹晏 (d.219). An officer of Liu Bei stationed by the Yangzi Gorges in Jing province, Zhan Yan was attacked and destroyed by Lu Xun's forces in 219. -SGZ Wu 13:1345.

Zhang, Emperor 章帝 (reg. 75-88) see Liu Da 劉烜.

Zhang 長; Xiongnu, see Chang 長.

Zhang 張, the Lady I; Shu. The Lady was the wife of Gongcheng Hui, who died young. The couple had no children, and the Lady's aunt and brothers wanted the young widow to marry again. The Lady refused, and as they continued to press her she cut her hair and chopped off her ears. She then stayed with the family to care for her aunt and her nephews and nieces. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Zhang 張, the Lady II; Nanyang. A younger sister of the Lady He, Empress and then Dowager of Emperor Ling, the Lady married an adopted son of the eunuch Zhang Rang. In 189, under the influence of her half-brother He Jin, the Dowager dismissed the eunuchs from the palace. Zhang Rang pleaded with his daughter-in-law that he might return, the Lady spoke to her mother Xing, and Xing persuaded the Dowager to allow the eunuchs back. -HHS 69/59:2251.

Zhang 張, the Lady III (d.200). Wife of the religious leader Zhang Heng, who died some time in the 180s, the Lady was herself an adept of popular religion. About 190 she acquired influence over Liu Yan the new Governor of Yi province, and as a result Liu Yan appointed her son Zhang Lu as a major in the provincial army and sent him with Zhang Xiu, another religious leader, to overthrow Su Gu the Administrator of Hanzhong. After Su Gu had been overthrown and killed the two chieftains set up their own regime and cut the roads to the north.

Despite the fact that he had thus lost control of Hanzhong, Liu Yan took no action against the "rebels," but kept the Lady Zhang and other members of her family at his court, no doubt as hostages for the good conduct of Zhang Lu, who soon afterwards killed Zhang Xiu and took all power in Hanzhong.

This situation continued for several years, but in 200 Liu Yan's son and successor Liu Zhang evidently attempted to apply pressure on Zhang Lu through his mother and brothers. Zhang Lu refused to submit, and Liu Zhang killed the Lady and her kinsmen. -HHS 75/65:2432-33, SGZ Shu 1:867-68; deC 96:83-84, 297.

Zhang 張, the Lady IV; Yanmen. Mother of Zhang

Liao, her husband was originally of the Nie 聶 surname, but the family name was changed in Zhang Liao's generation on account of a vendetta.

After his succession as King of Wei in 220, Cao Pi paid honour to Zhang Liao for his military achievements, and the favour extended to his family, including his mother. He granted the Lady, who must have been about eighty at this time, a special carriage and escort and an apartment in the imperial palace at Luoyang. -SGZ 17:520.

Zhang 張, the Lady V (d.227); Changshan. Wife of Zhen Yi of Zhongshan, she bore him three sons and five daughters, including the Lady Zhen, consort of Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of Wei. Her grandson Cao Rui, Emperor Ming, attended her funeral in person and granted her posthumous enfeoffment. -SGZ 5:159; C/C 99:96.

Zhang 張, the Lady VI; Wuwei. Daughter of Zhang Xiu, in 199 she was married to Cao Cao's son Jun 均. -SGZ 8:262.

Zhang 張, the Lady VII. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore him a son, Cao Gong 貢. -SGZ 20:590.

Zhang 張, the Lady VIII (d.237); Pei. Eldest daughter of Zhang Fei by the Lady Xiahou, she became empress to Liu Shan, Later Sovereign of Shu. -SGZ 9:273, SGZ Shu 4:907; C/C 99:118.

Zhang 張, the Lady IX; Pei. Daughter of Zhang Fei by the Lady Xiahou, she succeeded her elder sister as empress to Liu Shan, Later Sovereign of Shu. -SGZ 9:273, SGZ Shu 4:907; C/C 99:118.

Zhang 張 [personal name unknown]; Runan. Though Zhang Pu rose to the office of Grand Commandant, his father stayed at home, coming to the capital only as his son received some further appointment. When he died, the emperor sent messengers with oxen and wine as special offerings for his funeral. -HHS 54/35:1532-33.

Zhang 張 [personal name unknown]; Hongnong. Formerly Chancellor of Qinghe, he was commemorated with a stele. -LS 13:5b.

Zhang 張 [personal name unknown: style ?long ?龍] (d.123). Formerly Assistant Magistrate in Fuchun county in Wu commandery, he was remembered with a stele at his homeland in Yi province. -LS 17:3a-4b.

Zhang 張 [personal name unknown] (d.166); Henei. Son of Zhang Cheng, an expert at divination by the wind, he was advised by his father that there would soon be an amnesty, and now was the time to kill an enemy of the family. When the deed was done, the

Director of Retainers Li Ying ordered his arrest, but then the amnesty came and he had to let him go. Angry and suspicious, Li Ying made further investigation and found out about Zhang Cheng's fore-knowledge – which came more likely from friends at court rather than such esoteric means as divination by the wind. Zhang Cheng's son was executed. -HHS 67/57:2187.

Zhang 張 [personal name unknown]. Formerly a county magistrate in Zuopingyi, he died in the early third century. He was commemorated with a stele; only a fragment survives. -Nagata 94:284.

Zhang An 張安 (d.190). A member of the alliance against Dong Zhuo, Zhang An was captured and then boiled alive. In a somewhat macabre couplet, he and Li Min are said to have remarked to one another: "We were not born [生 *sheng*] on the same day, but we shall be boiled [烹 *peng*] on the same day." -HHSJJ 72/62:2550 Hui Dong quoting *Yingxiong ji*.

Zhang Ang 張印 or Zhang Yin 印 (d.25); Jiangxia. Early in the 20s Zhang Ang joined the bandits led by Wang Feng and Wang Kuang. When the group divided under the impact of disease and privation in 22, Zhang Ang, Wang Chang and Cheng Dan led a separate party west into Nan commandery. They were known as the Troops from the Lower Yangzi. The name may reflect only that they came from the region of Jiangxia, downstream from Nan commandery, but it may also indicate the presence of a number of refugees who had come to the lands of the middle Yangzi after disastrous flooding of the Yellow River over more than ten years: many of those driven south from the plain would have migrated gradually south across the Huai and then upstream along the Yangzi south of the Dabie Shan. See Bn 54:152 and *sub* Wang Kuang and Fan Chong.

As Wang Mang's government sent Zhuang You and Chen Mao with an army against them, Zhang Ang and his fellows were defeated. Regrouping, they resumed their career of plunder, and soon afterwards had regained sufficient strength to defeat the local levies of Jing province. They then moved north into Nanyang and, following negotiations conducted by Wang Chang, joined the Han rebels led by Liu Bosheng. With such reinforcements, Liu Bosheng destroyed the army of Zhen Fu and Liangqiu Ci, followed by that of Zhuang You and Chen Mao, who had also come north into Nanyang.

In the spring of 23, as the rebel army laid siege to Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, the leaders

of the allied Troops held a caucus meeting and chose Liu Xuan, the Gengshi Emperor, to be the imperial candidate against Wang Mang. Liu Bosheng, hitherto leader of the rebellion, was deliberately passed over, and when he sought to argue the case Zhang Ang was a vociferous and decisive opponent.

Under the new regime, Zhang Ang was named Minister of the Guards and given honorary title as a king. He was then sent east to Huaiyang to confirm control of the region after an initial attack by Zhu Wei. Zhang Ang's subordinate general Yao Wei rebelled, attacked him and drove him to flight, but the situation was rescued by the Commandant Cen Peng.

As the Gengshi Emperor established his court at Chang'an in 24, Zhang Ang was confirmed as King of Huaiyang. Unlike most of his colleagues, his fief was a full commandery, but he was dissatisfied with the allocation of positions and power at the court, and he and Wang Kuang ravaged the commanderies about the capital.

In the summer of 25 the chieftains attacked Liu Xiu's commander Deng Yu in Hedong, but they were heavily defeated and fled back to Chang'an. There Zhang Ang and Liao Zhan sought to persuade the Gengshi Emperor that they should abandon imperial pretensions, plunder the city, then fight their way back to Nanyang. When this project of banditry was rejected they made plans with the gentry leaders Wei Ao and Shentu Jian to rob their master and make their escape regardless. The plot was discovered and the emperor attempted to trap and kill the leaders, but his only victim was Shentu Jian.

Zhang Ang, Liao Zhan and Hu Yin then plundered the markets, attacked the palace and drove the Gengshi emperor out of the city. They were joined by Wang Kuang, but after a month of fighting they were in turn forced out of Chang'an by the loyalists Li Song and Zhao Meng. In the winter, as the Red Eyebrows came to the city, the chieftains went to join them; and when the Gengshi Emperor surrendered they persuaded the victors to have him killed.

At the end of the year, having now fallen out with the newcomers, Zhang Ang, Wang Kuang and Hu Yin surrendered to Guangwu's officer Zong Guang. They were taken under escort to the east, but "died while attempting to escape" before the party reached Luoyang. -HHS 11/1:467-74, 17/7:653; Bn 54:106-136, Bn 59:53, 60, 92-102.

Zhang Ba 張霸; Nan. A local rebel in 20, Zhang Ba was an early leader of the Troops from the Lower Yangzi, and an associate of Wang Kuang. -Dubs 55: 402-403, Bn 54:134.

Zhang Ba 張霸 [Borao 伯饒]; Shu. Known when still very young for his filial piety and courtesy, by the age of seven Zhang Ba had read the *Chunqiu*, and he then studied the classical corpus under Fan Shu, with particular emphasis on the Gongyang commentary; he was recognised as outstanding among his colleagues.

Considering the text of the Fan Shu's detailed commentary to the classic, the "Study of the Marquis Fan" 樊侯學 to be too cumbersome, Zhang Ba later abbreviated it to 200,000 characters, and this work was known as "Mr Zhang's Study" 張氏學.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Zhang Ba was made a senior assistant to the Minister of the Household, responsible for checking all probationary officials. During the 90s he served for ten years as Administrator of Kuaiji; his moral, scholarly government settled endemic local disorders in that frontier territory, and there were stories how storms were raised and calmed again as he went to deal with local pirates. The men he nominated for office, moreover, Gu Feng, Gongsun Song and others, achieved distinguished careers, while the whole territory, inspired by their example, turned to study: "on every road and in every street, the only sound to be heard was the chanting of the classics."

Zhang Ba then held posts at the capital, and became a Palace Attendant. Soon after 100 he was due to be honoured as Quintuply Experienced 五更 at the ceremony of Serving the Aged [Bodde 75:361-364], but he died at that time aged seventy. He was given the honorary title Wenfu 文父 "Father of Literature."

Zhang Ba's testament ordered that his body should not be returned to Shu, but be buried in Henan, near the capital, but his second wife and widow, the Lady Sima/Ma Jingsi, went back to Shu with their children. -HHS 36/26:1241-42*, XC 2:1a, HYGZ 10A:133; Tjan 49:149, Miyakawa 60:33.

Zhang Bao 張寶 (d.184); Julu. A brother of the religious leader Zhang Jue, when the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 Zhang Bao took title as Lord of Earth General 地公將軍 beside Zhang Jue, who styled himself Lord of Heaven, and their brother Liang, Lord of Man.

Zhang Jue may have held command of the initial rebellion, but he evidently fell ill soon afterwards, and

1034 Zhang Bao

Zhang Liang maintained the defence of Guangzong city in Julu until the tenth month. When Huangfu Song stormed the city, Zhang Liang was killed and Zhang Jue was already dead. Zhang Bao led the remnants of their forces to Xiaquyang in the north of the commandery, but they were pursued by Huangfu Song and finally defeated. Zhang Bao died in the slaughter. -HHS 71/61:2300-02; deC 89:177-186.

Zhang Bao 張苞; Shanyang. An Investigator in the commandery in the late 180s, Zhang Bao was greedy and corrupt and disrupted the government. The magistrate Man Chong, head of his native county, waited until Zhang Bao came to stay, then arrested him, examined him and reported his crimes. -SGZ 26: 721.

Zhang Bao 張苞. In 195 Zhang Bao was in the service of Li Jue, who had quarrelled with Guo Si and taken Emperor Xian hostage in Chang'an. Zhang Bao and his colleague Zhang Long changed sides and let Guo Si's men into the camp. The attack was unsuccessful, but an arrow came into the emperor's tent and wounded Li Jue in the ear. -HHS 72/62:2337.

Zhang Bao 張苞; Zhuo. Eldest son of Zhang Fei, Zhang Bao died young. -SGZ Shu 6:944.

Zhang Biao 章表. Zhang Biao was magistrate of a county in Shu commandery when there was an attack by non-Chinese. Zhang Biao was taken by surprise and fled. His Registrar Li Qing offered himself to the enemy in his stead, and Zhang Biao was able to escape. -HYGZ 10A:137.

Zhang Biao 張表 [Gongyi 公儀]; Henan. Younger brother of Zhang Feng, Zhang Biao shared his ideals and also lived as a hermit. -XC 7:15b; Vervooorn 90: 302.

Zhang Biao 張表 [Yuanyi 元異] (105-168). Having served as an Investigator and later as Registrar of his commandery, Zhang Biao became an Assistant Officer in Ji province. A funerary stele was erected in his honour. -LS 8:4a-5b; Ebrey 80:334.

Zhang Biao 張表; Nanyang. Son of Zhang Feng, when his father died he mourned so deeply that he was unable to see or to hear for more than a year, and even after that he would burst into tears when he sought to play the lute, or saw wine and food. -DGHJ 19:7b.

Zhang Biao 張彪. Director of Retainers at the time of Emperor Huan's coup in 159, Zhang Biao commanded the group of guards which surrounded Liang Ji and forced him to surrender his seals of office. He became

Administrator of Runan and was enfeoffed as a marquis.

Zhang Biao was later Administrator of Nanyang. He used his favour at court for private gain, but as Emperor Huan came on tour in 164, the Excellency Yang Bing had Zhang Biao investigated and put a halt to his intrigues. -HHS 34/24:1186, 54/44:1773.

Zhang Biao 張表 [Yuanlao 元老]; Henan. In 183 Zhang Biao was Commandant of the Capital in the kingdom of Dongping. -Nagata 94:236.

Zhang Bin 張奐. In the early 160s Zhang Bin was sent as an Imperial Clerk in command of troops against the rebel Qiang of the northwest. A number of them surrendered, but he killed them nonetheless. When Huangfu Gui came into Liang province in 162 he impeached Zhang Bin; he was dismissed and may have been executed. -HHS 65/55:2133-34.

Zhang Bing 張秉 [Zhongjie 仲節]; Wu. A man of common birth, Zhang Bing was developed and befriended by Gu Shao, son of Gu Yong and a noted judge of character, who showed him particular consideration at the time of his father's funeral. Zhang Bing became an Administrator in the service of Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 7:1229.

Zhang [Bin'gong] 張賓公. In 77 the tomb-site of Zhang Bin'gong, his wife and his family, was commemorated with a stele. -LS 13:9b-10a.

Zhang Bo 張帛, the Lady: see the Lady Huang Bo 黃帛. -HYGZ 3:41.

Zhang Bo 張伯; Liang. About 65 Zhang Bo found seven jade *bi*-rings 璧. He kept one of them and handed the others to the Chancellor Zhongli Yi. Zhongli Yi later had a bowl which had been left by Confucius opened, it contained a message that Zhang Bo had kept one of the rings. He was obliged to give that in also, and the rings were placed in the local Confucian temple. -HHS 41/31:1410.

Zhang Bo 張博; Wei. In 181 the commoner Zhang Bo was one of a party bringing equipment to the office of the Court Provisioner at Luoyang. While he was there, he climbed into the palace and caused a commotion in the harem apartments by his shouts. Arrested and interrogated, he could not explain his conduct. -HHS 107/17:3347-48.

Zhang Bo 張伯 (d.184). A leader of Yellow Turbans in the region of Yingchuan, Zhang Bo was defeated and killed by a troop of Huangfu Song's army led by Fu Xie. -HHS 58/48:1875.

Zhang [Boda] 張伯大; Nanyang. Having travelled to Henan and established a private academy close to Luoyang, Zhang Boda acquired a notable reputation. He later became a Consultant and was then Administrator of Yizhou. -*FSTY* 3:24: Ying Shao criticises Zhang Boda and his colleague Deng Zijing for proselytising personal opinions in the neighbourhood of the imperial capital.

Zhang [Bojie] 張伯階/階; Chenliu or Chen. The wife of Zhang Bojie's brother Zhongjie mistook him for her husband twice in a single day. -*FSTY* 3f:106.

Zhang Bolu 張伯路; Bohai. A pirate, with a troop of three thousand men he plundered the coast of the Gulf of Zhili from the Shandong peninsula to present-day Manchuria. In a crimson cap and robes of red silk, Zhang Bolu took title as a general and put to death all the imperial officials he could capture.

In 109 the Imperial Clerk Pang Xiong was sent to deal with him, with authority over all local troops of Qing, Ji and You provinces. Zhang Bolu surrendered.

In 110, however, Zhang Bolu rebelled again, this time in alliance with the bandit leaders Liu Wenhe and Zhou Wenguang, who called themselves "messengers" 使者. Capturing several cities in Pingyuan, they killed officials, burnt government offices and freed prisoners. As his followers increased in number, local leaders rose in support and paid him homage, and Zhang Bolu awarded himself an even more splendid cap and an official seal and ribbon.

The court now sent the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Wang Zong, head of the Censorate, and he took general command of the provincial and commandery troops, for a combined force of several tens of thousands. They defeated the enemy in a series of engagements, killed the old and weak, drove the remainder to flight, and captured great quantities of their goods and treasure.

Imperial orders arrived for a local amnesty, but it was only partially carried out, and when the bandits attempted to surrender in Donglai on the tip of the Shandong peninsula, they found hostile troops waiting for them. They escaped to islands off the coast.

Next year, short of food, Zhang Bolu and his followers returned to raid Donglai, but they were defeated by local forces under Fa Xiong the Inspector of Qing province. Fleeing once more across the sea to Liaodong, the last remnants of the group were killed and pacified by the local leader Li Jiu. -*HHS* 5:213-14,

38/28:1277.

Zhang [Boying] 張伯英 see Zhang Zhi 張芝.

Zhang Bu 張步 [Zibing 文公] (d.32); Langye. At the time of the Han loyalist rebellion against Wang Mang in 22, Zhang Bu and his brothers raised troops to seize their own and neighbouring counties, and Zhang Bu took title as a general. As the Gengshi Emperor set up government at Luoyang in 23 he named Zhang Bu as Chief General Who Supports Han 輔漢大將軍 and gave military and civil titles to his brothers Hong, Lan and Shou. When the central government sent Wang Hong as Administrator of Langye, however, Zhang Bu refused to accept him.

The Zhang now extended their power north across present-day Shandong, from Langye through Qi and Taishan to Donglai and Beihai, and in 24 Liu Yong, appointed King of Liang by the Gengshi regime, sought their association. He confirmed their titles and granted Zhang Bu enfeoffment as a marquis, with authority over Qing and Xu provinces: in practice Zhang Bu held independent control of twelve commanderies, and he had the support of the local gentry in Taishan and probably in much of the rest of his territory.

Following the defeat of Liu Yong at the end of 26, Guangwu's agent Fu Long persuaded Zhang Bu to pay allegiance to Luoyang. He was, however, named only as Administrator of the distant commandery of Donglai, and had no reason to feel secure in the longer term. In 27, moreover, Liu Yong regained some ground and offered Zhang Bu title as King of Qi. Zhang Bu agreed and killed Fu Long, but later that year Liu Yong was finally destroyed.

In 28 Guangwu turned to deal with Zhang Pu and the other warlords of the east. In the first year Taishan fell, and Zhang Bu was heavily defeated by Guangwu's Administrator Chen Jun. In 29 Guangwu's general Geng Yan took overall command, crossed the Yellow River in Pingyuan, eliminated Zhang Bu's flanking posts in Ji'nan, and drove back his advance defences in Qi. With his brothers Lan, Hong and Shou, and supported by auxiliaries from the Youlai and Datong bandits, Zhang Bu led his main army in a counter-attack. After a two-day battle, his troops were defeated and scattered, and Geng Yan moved against his headquarters at Ju city.

Zhang Bu fled east into Beihai, where he was joined by Su Mao, but imperial envoys urged each to kill the other. Zhang Bu struck first and came with his brothers

to surrender. He was rewarded with title as a marquis, and the whole family was brought to Luoyang.

In 32, however, taking advantage of troubles in Yingchuan and Guangwu's absence in the west against Dou Rong, Zhang Bu and his brothers Hong and Lan fled the capital. They hoped to re-establish a position in their former territory, but they were intercepted by Chen Jun, now Administrator of Langye, and the whole party was executed. -HHS 12/2:498-500, 19/9:709-12; Bn 59:58-59, 135-149.

Zhang Can 張參 or Zhang Shen; Zhao. A leader of local gentry, in 23 he joined Liu Lin and Li Yu in support of the claim of Wang Lang to the imperial title, and as Wang Lang took the throne at Handan in the winter of that year Zhang Can was named a chief general. In the summer, however, Wang Lang was destroyed and Zhang Can is not heard of again. -HHS 12/2:491-92.

Zhang Can 張參 or Zhang Shen; Chen. When Cao Pi came to the throne in 220 he appointed Zhang Can, son of Zhang Fan, to his court. -SGZ 11:338.

Zhang Chang 張昌; Guanghan. In the time of Emperor Shun Zhang Chang, a student at the Imperial University, was murdered by the local bully Lü Tiao. He was avenged by his friends Ning Shu and Wang Yan. -HYGZ 10B:150, 10C:175.

Zhang Chang 張敞. In 162 Zhang Chang was an officer under the general Feng Gun on his campaign against rebels in the south. After the army returned, Zhang Chang accused Feng Gun of having taken two female slaves with him in military garb, and of having a stele set up by the Yangzi with an inscription boasting of his achievements. The Director of the Imperial Secretariat Huang Jun, however, found that the offences were not specified by the codes and there was no call for a formal enquiry. -HHS 38/28:1281. [It is possible this is the same person as in the entry below.]

Zhang Chang 張敞; Nanyang. A younger brother of the future Grand Commandant Zhang Wen, Zhang Chang became commandery Officer of Merit. In 165 the newly-appointed Administrator Wang Chang was angry that his predecessors had acted subserviently to the great families and imperial kinsmen, and he began to govern with the utmost firmness. Zhang Chang protested that this was a region of distinguished men, and it was appropriate to apply a generous and courteous regime. Wang Chang accepted his advice

and achieved great influence and respect.

In 168 Zhang Chang was a clerk in the offices of the General-in-Chief Dou Wu. When Dou Wu was destroyed, the victorious eunuchs instigated a tight search for his infant grandson Dou Fu. Zhang Chang and his colleague Hu Teng spread a false report of the child's death, then took him to refuge in the south. -HHS 56/66:1823, 69/59:2244-45; deC 89:63, 102.

The Kyoto index lists the commandery officer in 165 separately to the clerk in 168, but there seems no strong reason to regard them as different people.

Zhang Chang 張昶 [Wenshu 文舒]; Dunhuang> Hongnong: see *sub* Zhang Huan. Son of Zhang Huan, like his brother Zhi he was well-known for calligraphy in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style", and he was regarded as superior to all Zhang Zhi's students. -HHS 65/55:2144, SGZ 1:54, JS 36:1065.

Zhang Chang 張敞. About 210, after the north-eastern warlord Gongsun Kang defeated Gaogouli and took some of its territory [see *sub* Yiyimo], he sent his officers Zhang Chang and Gongsun Mo down the coast of Korea to restore Chinese control of the region of Lelang. They gathered sufficient support among remnant settlers to defeat the local non-Chinese and establish the new commandery of Daifang, based at the estuary of the Han River near present-day Seoul. -SGZ 30:851; Gardiner 72A:89-90.

Zhang [Changzhong] 張長仲 (d.77). Son of Zhang Bin'gong and brother of Zhang Weibo, he died at the same time as his younger son Shuyuan. His elder son Yuanyi placed their bodies in the family tomb. -LS 13: 9b-10a.

Zhang Chao 張超 [Bozai 伯載]; Nanyang. An officer of the Imperial Secretariat, in 156 Zhang Chao was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhang Chao 張超 [Zibing 子並]; Hejian. Claiming descent from the great minister Zhang Liang at the beginning of Former Han, Zhang Chao was a man of great literary ability and was skilled in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style" of calligraphy. His collected works amounted to nineteen *pian* of rhapsodies, hymns, inscriptions, proclamations and letters.

In 184 Zhang Chao was a senior major under the general Zhu Jun in operations against the Yellow Turbans of Nanyang. -HHS 80/70B:2652*, 71/61:2309, JS 36:1065.

Zhang Chao 張超 (d.195); Dongping. Administrator

of Guangling in 190, Zhang Chao joined the eastern allies against Dong Zhuo.

In 194 Zhang Zhao joined his elder brother Zhang Miao in alliance with Lü Bu against Cao Cao in Yan province. Their campaign was unsuccessful, and in 195 Zhang Chao was besieged at Yongqiu in Chenliu. As Cao Cao captured the city Zhang Chao committed suicide and all his family was killed. -*HHS* 58/48:1885-87, *SGZ* 7:221-22.

Zhang Chen 張楨; Runan. In 92 Zhang Chen was Chancellor of Zhongshan. When Dou Xian returned from his triumph over the Northern Xiongnu all officials were instructed to send congratulations and gifts, but Zhang Chen and his colleagues Chen Chong and Ying Shun refused. Dou Xian was destroyed by Emperor He soon afterwards, and the three men were rewarded. Zhang Chen became Minister Herald. -*HHS* 46/36:1554.

HHS 42/32:1449 tells how in 72 the unnamed Chancellor of Zhongshan reported King Liu Yan for the murder of his concubine, the Lady Han. In *JJ* at 1547 Hui Dong identifies Zhang Chen as this officer. It is unlikely, however, that Zhang Chen held the same office for twenty years.

Zhang Chen 張楨; Anding. In 155 Zhang Zhen was Registrar to Zhang Huan, Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding. When leaders of the Qiang came with presents, Zhang Huan ordered Zhang Chen to prepare a reception for them. -*XHS* 4:19a.

Zhang Cheng 張成 (d.27). An officer of the warlord Qin Feng, in the summer of 27 his army, though reinforced by Yan Cen, was destroyed by Guangwu's general Zhu You. Zhang Cheng was captured and killed. -*HHS* 22/12:770.

Zhang Cheng 張成; Shanyang. Father of Zhang Jian, about the middle of the second century he was Administrator of Jiangxia. -*HHS* 67/57:2210.

Zhang Cheng 張成 (d.166); Henei. Expert on divination by the wind, Zhang Cheng was a favourite of the palace eunuchs and his techniques interested Emperor Huan. Early in 165 he discovered that there would soon be an amnesty, so he told his son to kill an enemy of the family. The young man was arrested, but was released under the amnesty.

In 166 Li Ying as Director of Retainers revisited the case and learned of Zhang Cheng's foreknowledge, which came more likely from friends at court rather than by reading of the winds. Li Ying had Zhang

Cheng's son executed, and Zhang Cheng probably shared his fate.

Following this, the palace eunuchs arranged for Zhang Cheng's disciple Lao Xiu to accuse Li Ying and his colleague reformists of protecting unruly students of the University and seeking support throughout the empire for their own interests. Emperor Huan, furious, he had Li Ying and his associates dismissed and imprisoned. This was the beginning of the First Faction Incident. -*HHS* 67/57:2187.

Zhang Cheng 張承 [Gongxian 公先] (d.215); Henei. Son of the former Grand Commandant Zhang Yan, Zhang Cheng was a younger brother of the hermit scholar Zhang Fan. Having served as a Consultant at Luoyang, in he became a Commandant at Yique, south of Luoyang and one of the eight passes which guarded the capital. When Dong Zhuo seized power, Zhang Cheng wanted to join the loyal rebellion against him, but was dissuaded by his brother Zhang Zhao. He left his post and returned to his home country.

During the 190s Zhang Cheng and Zhang Fan moved south to avoid the civil war, and in 196 Zhang Fan was invited to the court of the warlord Yuan Shu in Jiujiang. He would not go, but sent Zhang Cheng instead. Yuan Shu discussed his intention to claim the imperial throne, but Zhang Cheng warned him that virtue and agreement to the will of the people were more important than rank and ambition. Yuan Shu was not pleased, and Zhang Cheng left.

In the early 200s Cao Cao invited Zhang Fan, but he again sent Zhang Cheng in his place, and Zhang Cheng became a Counsellor Remonstrant and a senior member of Cao Cao's personal staff. In 212 he was among those who urged him to accept the Nine Distinctions, and in the following year he was one of the petitioners who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei.

Zhang Cheng served with success as Administrator of Zhao, but died at Chang'an as he accompanied Cao Cao on his campaign to the west in 215. -*SGZ* 11:337-38, *HHS* 75/65:2439; *deC* 96:192.

Zhang Cheng 張晟 *alias* White Rider 白騎 (d.205); Henei. A brigand who came to prominence after the Yellow Turban disturbances of 184, Zhang Cheng acquired his sobriquet because he always rode a white horse. By 205 he was operating in Hongnong, south of the Yellow River, and claimed ten thousand men under arms. He had contacts with Liu Biao in Jing province

1038 Zhang Cheng

and also within his home commandery of Hedong, where Gao Gan of the defeated Yuan party was still active.

Cao Cao appointed Du Ji as his Administrator of Henei and, with aid from the western warlord Ma Teng, Du Ji defeated Gao Gan and drove Zhang Cheng out of the commandery. Soon afterwards Cao Cao arranged for Ma Teng to attack Zhang Cheng directly; he was defeated and killed. -HHS 71/61:2310-11, SGZ 15:472, 16:494, 18:545; deC 89:340-343.

Zhang Cheng 張承 [Zhongsi 仲嗣] (178-244); Pengcheng. Son of Zhang Zhao, minister of Sun Quan, Zhang Cheng was known as a scholar and was a friend of Bu Zhi, Zhuge Jin and Yan Jun. In 209 he became a Commandant in Changsha, where he attacked the hills people and gathered fifteen thousand good soldiers. He then commanded the fortress garrison at Ruxu on the Yangzi, and later became a general and was enfeoffed. -SGZ Wu 7:1224.

Zhang Cheng 張盛 see Zhang Sheng 張盛.

Zhang Chi 張赤; Runan. About 208 Zhang Chi was chieftain of some five thousand families in the hills of the Dabie Shan. Described as a bandit, he was destroyed by Li Tong. -SGZ 18:535.

Zhang Chong 張充; Runan. A scholar of the *Classic of History*, Zhang Chong was a classmate of the young Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, at Chang'an during the time of Wang Mang. When Liu Xiu took the throne he looked for him, but Zhang Tong was already dead. -HHS 45/35:1528. [Another man of the same name was executed for his part in an attempted rising against Wang Mang in 9 AD: Dubs 55:253, QHX:678.]

Zhang Chong 張充 [Bochun 伯春]; Shu. About 65 Zhang Chong became Headquarters Officer of Yi province. The Inspector showed lack of respect for his officers by the informal manner in which he received them, but Zhang Chong refused to attend him, and he changed his ways. Zhang Chong also criticised his superior's reliance upon powerful local families and his appointing their representatives to office. -HYGZ 10A:136.

Zhang Chong 張种. Minister Herald in 141, Zhang Chong attended a banquet where the General-in-Chief Liang Shang and his companions got drunk and sang maudlin songs. When he told Liang Shang's staff officer Zhou Ju, who had not been at the function, Zhou Ju sighed at the ill omen. A few months later, Liang Shang was dead. -HHS 61/51:2028.

Zhang Chong 張寵; Henan. Administrator of Jiying in 175, Zhang Chong led a group of local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple of the sage Emperor Yao 堯. -LS 1:5a-7b.

Zhang Chong 張种. After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192 Wang Yun, head of the new government, sent Zhang Chong as an envoy to make peace with the rebels in the east of the empire. -HHS 9:372.

Zhang Chu 章初; Lecheng/Bohai. A commoner, Zhang Chu married Ai Zhi, who was formerly a woman of the imperial palace. Liu Dang the King of Lecheng had her come to his residence and had intercourse with her. As Zhang Chu intended to make an official complaint, Liu Dang became frightened and bribed Ai Zhi's younger sister Jiao to kill him. -HHS 50/40:1672.

Zhang Chun 張純 [Boren 伯仁] (d.56); Jingzhao. Zhang Chun's family had held high rank since the time that his great-great-grandfather Tang 湯 and Tang's son Anshi 安世: both became Excellencies, Zhang Anshi was enfeoffed and Zhang Chun's father Fang 放 was a close favourite of Emperor Cheng. On this earlier history of the family, see QHX *sub voce*.

Zhang Chun inherited the family fief while he was still young, served as a Palace Attendant to Emperors Ai and Ping, and became a minister under Wang Mang. Most Han marquises were abolished by the new Xin dynasty, but Zhang Chun was permitted to retain his, though it was reduced from a county fief to a district. After Emperor Guangwu took the imperial title, Zhang Chun came to join him, and the value of his accession was sufficiently great that he was again restored to his fief.

As Palace Counsellor in 29, Zhang Chun was sent with a strike force of cavalry from Yingchuan to take control in Xu, Yang and Jing provinces, with authority over all military units in the region, and he later brought troops to establish military colonies in Nanyang. He then returned to Luoyang as a General of the Household, and in that office he had frequent contact with the emperor. About 35 it was proposed by senior ministers that enfeoffments should be withdrawn from all but members of the imperial house. Noting that Zhang Chun had served him as a guard for over ten years, Guangwu exempted him from the ban; he did, however, transfer the fief to another, half its value.

Recognised as an authority on the customs and traditions of Former Han, Zhang Chun was regularly

consulted on matters of ceremonial, including state sacrifices, capping, marriage and funerary rites; there were occasions that Guangwu received him in audience as often as four times in a day. At the beginning of 43 Zhang Chun joined the minister Zhu Fu in urging a court conference to consider procedures for imperial ancestral worship. They argued that the emperor should carry out sacrifices to his predecessors of Former Han, but it was not proper for him to maintain ceremonies for his own, non-imperial, blood lineage.

The Excellencies Dai She and Dou Rong presented a variation of this argument, and this was accepted: the emperor in person should sacrifice to the Former Han rulers Yuan and Xuan; senior ministers should make offerings to emperors Cheng, Ai and Ping; ceremonies for Guangwu's own direct ancestors were to be carried out by local officials.

In the following year Zhang Chun took over from Zhu Fu as Minister Coachman, and in 47 he became Excellency of Works. He followed the model of Cao Shen/Can 曹參 of Former Han, making no major policy changes [無為 *wuwei*], but paid particular attention to recruiting respected Confucian scholars of high quality as clerks in his office, a gateway to the commissioned civil service. In 48, moreover, he was responsible for the completion and imperial opening of the Yang Canal, which ran parallel to the last, unnavigable, reaches of the Luo and brought supplies upstream from the Yellow River.

In 50 Zhang Chun was invited to comment on the timing of the *Di* 禘 and *Xia* 袷 sacrifices to the imperial ancestors and ancient predecessors, and his proposal for three- and five-year frequencies was approved [Bn 79:170]. About the same time, since peace had lately been achieved with the Southern Xiongnu and the Wuhuan, Zhang Chun urged the establishment of a Bright Hall and a Hall of the Circular Moat. His proposal may have been anticipated by the Academician, later Minister of Ceremonies, Huan Rong, but the project was in any case endorsed by a court conference. Work began in 56 and the buildings were inaugurated by Emperor Ming in 59.

In 54, basing his argument on the emperor's achievement in restoring the dynasty and its good government, and accompanied by reference to the classics and apocrypha, Zhang Chun urged Guangwu to carry out the Feng and Shan ceremonies. He was one of several officials who put forward this proposal,

which sought to take advantage of a planned imperial progress to the east. The emperor at first rejected the idea, on the ground that bad omens continued, so the ceremony was an unjustified extravagance. When he was eventually persuaded, Zhang Chun was among those who gave advice on procedure, and he played a leading role in the occasion, held in the spring of 56, and in the composition of the commemorative stele.

Within a month, perhaps exhausted by the strains of the journey, the climb of Mount Tai and the descent, Zhang Chun died. He was granted a posthumous honorific title, but as he lay on his deathbed, believing that he had failed to carry out the full responsibilities of his office as Excellency, he instructed his household assistant Xi that his fief should be ended. -HHS 35/25: 1193-97*, SJZ 16:15b; Bn 76:16, Bn 79:169-173.

Zhang Chun 張純 (d.189); Yuyang. A former Chancellor of Zhongshan, in 187 Zhang Chun was passed over for the command of a troop of Wuhuan to serve against the rebels in Liang province. He was resentful at this and in the summer, after a mutiny broke out among the levies, Zhang Chun brought his fellow-countryman Zhang Ju and the Wuhuan chieftain Qiuliju to raise rebellion in the northeast. Joined by Xianbi, they plundered the frontier.

The insurgents were initially very successful, aided by a parallel rebellion and mutiny among the Xiongnu immediately to the west. Zhang Ju took the imperial title in Liaoxi, and Zhang Chun styled himself King and General. With forces numbered at a hundred thousand, they killed the Protector Gongqi Chou and the Administrators of Youbeiping and Liaodong, then sent raiding parties to the south and messengers to seek support.

In 188 Zhang Chun and Zhang Ju were thoroughly defeated by Gongsun Zan and fled across the frontier. In the following year the new Governor Liu Yu offered a reward for the renegades' heads, and Zhang Chun was killed by one of his own retainers. -HHS 73/63:2353-54, 90/80:2984; deC 84:398-401.

Zhang Chunhua 張春華, the Lady (189-247); Henei. Daughter of Zhang Wang, the Lady married Sima Yi and bore him Sima Shi, Sima Zhao and other children.

In 202, when Sima Yi was first summoned to office under Cao Cao, he tried to avoid the call by pleading that he was ill with rheumatism. As a sudden shower of rain came, Sima Yi forgot that he was supposed to

be paralysed and got up to rescue some books which were exposed to the storm. They had only one maid-servant in their household, but she saw him. The Lady Zhang was afraid the woman might tell of the incident and bring disaster on the family. She was still only in her teens, but she killed the servant with her own hand and thereafter did the cooking herself. Sima Yi was very impressed – though we are not told whether it was his wife's readiness to kill or her willingness to do the housework that touched him most deeply.

Sima Yi later acquired another concubine and rejected the Lady Zhang, but she refused to eat and her children joined in the hunger strike; Sima Yi apologised.

Almost twenty years after the Lady's death, as her grandson Sima Yan took the imperial title in 265, he awarded her posthumous title as an empress. -*JS* 31: 948-49.

Zhang Cun 張存 [Churen 處仁] (d.214); Nanyang. About 208 Zhang Cun became an Assistant Officer under Liu Bei in Jing province, and later followed him to the west, where he was named Administrator of Guanghan.

Zhang Cun had never liked Liu Bei's adviser Pang Tong. When Pang Tong was killed in battle in 214, Liu Bei wept for him, but Zhang Cun made his opinion known. Liu Bei was furious and dismissed him. Zhang Cun took ill and died soon afterwards. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1085.

Zhang Cun 張琮 see **Zhang Zun** 張珩.

Zhang Da 張達. In 221 Zhang Da was an officer of the guard with Zhang Fei at Langzhong on the Jialing River. Zhang Fei was notorious for his cruelty, and Zhang Da and his colleague Fan Qiang evidently suffered harsh treatment. As Zhang Fei was about to go south to join Liu Bei's expedition down the Yangzi against Sun Quan, Zhang Da and Fan Qiang killed him. Taking his head, they sailed down the river to the junction with the Yangzi, avoided Liu Bei's men, and went with their booty to join Sun Quan. -*SGZ* Shu 6: 944.

Zhang Dan 張耽. In 140 Zhang Dan was Emissary to the court of the Southern Xiongnu based at Meiji in Xihe. Since the suicide of Xiuli, the position of Shanyu was empty, and rebels led by the Xiongnu chieftains Wusi and Che'niu extended their ravages across all the northern frontier.

In the winter Zhang Dan put together a combined

force of militia from You province and Wuhuan auxiliaries, and he defeated the rebels in Yanmen. They killed three thousand, captured quantities of supplies and plunder, and forced the surrender of Che'niu and his followers. Though Wusi and his men escaped, they were defeated by Ma Xu early in 141 and Wusi was later assassinated.

In that year Zhang Dan also defeated Wusi's Wuhuan allies, killing their leaders Ajian and Qiangqu. He freed a number of Chinese whom they had held captive, and again collected quantities of animals and other booty.

As a military commander, Zhang Dan was brave and fierce, but he cared for his men so well that they had no hesitation in following his orders. -*HHS* 89/79:2962, 90/80:2983.

Zhang Dang 張瑤. In the early 120s Zhang Dang was Administrator of Dunhuang. His territory and that of his neighbours suffered constant raiding from the Xiongnu and their allies among the states of central Asia. In 123 he presented three plans to the court for dealing with the Western Regions: send two thousand men to destroy the Xiongnu position near Lake Barkol; establish and support a military colony of five hundred men in Nearer Jushi; or withdraw the people of Shanshan and other allied states within the frontiers of China – this last was obviously a counsel of despair.

Faced with such choices, the court of Emperor An appointed Ban Yong as Chief Clerk for the Western Regions and sent him with five hundred men to establish a military colony. -*HHS* 88/78:2911.

Zhang Dao 張導 [Jingming 景明]; Henei. Administrator of Julu in 149, Zhang Dao planned and executed a major project of water control on the Zhang River. An altar was set up to commemorate the achievement. -*SJZ* 10:17a.

Zhang Daoling 張道陵 see **Zhang Ling** 張陵.

Zhang De 張德 [Boya 伯雅]; Henan. Formerly Administrator of Hongnong, Zhang De had an impressive tomb complex. It was enclosed by a stone wall, had a temple, stele and columns, and an avenue of stone-carved men and animals. There was also an artificial lake, with fountains in the form of toads, which were supplied by the flow of the neighbouring river. -*SJZ* 22:11b-12a.

Zhang Diao 張貂. The magician Zhang Diao and his colleague Xie Nugu could make themselves invisible and could travel through walls. -*HHS* 82/72B:2749*;

Ngo 76:140, DeWoskin 83:86-87.

Zhang [Dibo] 張弟伯; Nanyang. In the time of Emperor Ming Zhang Dibo was a colleague of Deng Biao in local office. Together with three other young men, all of whom were talented and ambitious and had the character *bo* in their styles, they were known locally as "the five elder brothers" 五伯. -*DGHJ* 18:2a.

Zhang Die 張疊. A county magistrate in Shanyang, Zhang Die was executed for corruption about 120. -*HHS* 79/69A:2564.

Zhang Du 張篤. Administrator of Jincheng in 126/127, Zhang Du was accused of conspiring with the eunuch Zhang Fang, with Gaotang Zhi and members of the Imperial Secretariat, and several provincial officers. Two men were executed, but Zhang Du and others were allowed to purchase relief. -*HHS* 101/11:3243 and *cf. sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Zhang Duliao 張度遼: *i.e.* Zhang the General on the Liao: see Zhang Huan and *sub* the Lady Zhang Huiying.

Zhang Dun 張惇; Dunhuang. Administrator of Hanyang, probably during the reign of Emperor Shun, Zhang Dun became the father of Zhang Huan. -*HHS* 65/55:2138.

Zhang Dun 張敦. In 126 Zhang Dun was Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat. With the Director Gaotang Zhi and other staff, he was accused of involvement in conspiracy with the eunuch Zhang Fang and several provincial officials. Two members of the Secretariat were executed, but Zhang Dun, Gaotang Zhi and others were allowed to purchase relief. -*HHS* 101/11:3243 and *cf. sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Zhang Dun 張敦 [Shufang 叔方]; Wu. A moral man of considerable presence, Zhang Dun was a fine composer of literary works. He served on Sun Quan's staff from about 208, and later became a magistrate in Yuzhang, where he settled the people by generous treatment. He died at the age of thirty-two *sui*. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1229.

Zhang Duo 張多. In 199 Zhang Duo was a local gang leader south of the Huai. -*SGZ* 14:443.

Zhang Fan 張汎. Zhang Fan's friend Yin Xing was a confidant of Emperor Guangwu. Despite his affection for him, Yin Xing believed Zhang Fan to possess only superficial ability, and he would not recommend him for office. -*HHS* 32/22:1131. [This may be the same person as Zhang Si 汜 the magistrate in Henan.]

Zhang Fan 張蕃; Runan. Son of Zhang Pu, in 93

Zhang Fan was a gentleman cadet when his father was named Grand Commandant. Zhang Pu sought to refuse on grounds of ill health, but Emperor He had his eunuchs apply pressure to Zhang Fan, and Zhang Pu felt compelled to accept the appointment. -*HHS* 45/35: 1532-34.

Zhang Fan 張汎/汜 [Zijin 子禁] (d.165); Nanyang. A wealthy merchant of Wan city, capital of the commandery, Zhang Fan traded in trinkets and objects of art. Relying on his close connection to the imperial harem and household at Luoyang, he acted arrogantly and unlawfully in the local community.

In 165, at the instigation of his officers Cen Zhi and Zhang Mu, the Administrator Cheng Jin arrested Zhang Fan and his associates. An amnesty was current at the time, but Cheng Jin had Zhang Fan killed, together with two hundred of his kinsmen, clients and retainers. Only after the event did he report the case to the throne.

The eunuch Hou Lan had Zhang Fan's wife send a letter of complaint to the emperor. Cheng Jin was arrested, and after considerable debate at court he died in prison. -*HHS* 67/57:2212, *XC* 4:3b-4a, 8b; *deC* 89: 70.

Zhang Fan 張範 [Gongyi 公儀] (d.212); Henei. Son of the former Grand Commandant Zhang Yan, who had been killed at the instigation of the palace eunuchs, Zhang Fan lived in retirement. During the 190s he moved south into Pengcheng to avoid the civil war, and in 196 he was invited to the court of the warlord Yuan Shu in Jiujiang. He would not go, but sent his younger brother Zhang Cheng instead.

In the early 200s Zhang Fan was invited by Cao Cao, but again sent Zhang Cheng in his place. Soon afterwards his son and his nephew were taken by bandits. Zhang Fan went to plead for them, and was given his own son Zhang Ling. He asked, however, that if only one was to be freed it should be his nephew Jian. Impressed by such generosity, the kidnappers returned both children.

When Cao Cao returned north after the defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208, Zhang Fan did go to him. He was appointed a Consultant and became a member of his staff, but still lived most frugally. He was treated with great respect, and when Cao Cao was on campaign he left Zhang Fan at headquarters as guardian for his sons. -*SGZ* 11:336-38*, *HHS* 75/65:2439.

Zhang Fan 張汎; Yanmen. Elder brother of Zhang

Liao, when Cao Pi succeeded his father as King of Wei in 220 he enfeoffed Zhang Fan as a marquis in honour of his brother's achievements. -*SGZ* 17:520.

Zhang Fang 張昉; Yingchuan. Son of Zhang Xing, Zhang Fang maintained his scholarship of the Liangqiu interpretation of the *Book of Changes*, but does not appear to have achieved any official post in that regard. He held office as Commandant of the Dependent State of Zhangye, on the north-western frontier. -*HHS* 79/69A:2553.

Zhang Fang 張防 or 昉?: see the entry below. A eunuch Regular Attendant, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun Zhang Fang held great favour and influence, but in 126 the Director of Retainers Yu Xu accused him of extortion and conspiracy. The eunuchs Sun Cheng, Zhang Xian and others, leaders of the coup which had set the emperor on the throne two years earlier, supported Yu Xu's allegations, and Sun Cheng obliged Zhang Fang to descend from his place beside the throne to face the charges in the body of the court. Emperor Shun referred the matter to the Imperial Secretariat, and Jia Lang, an old associate of Zhang Fang, reported in his favour.

When Gao Fan, another eunuch, was persuaded to add his voice to the accusations, Zhang Fang was banished to the frontier, while his associates were variously executed, sentenced to convict service, or dismissed. We may note that though Yu Xu was successful and rose to high position in the Secretariat, he had at one time been imprisoned and tortured, while even after the affair was resolved against Zhang Fang the emperor was angry at Sun Cheng and his fellows and banished them to their fiefs outside the capital.

Another report of a conspiracy involving Zhang Fang appears in the Treatise of Astronomy, *HHS* 101/11. There it is said that Guo Fan was an associate of Zhang Fang, and that two members of the Secretariat were executed, but there is no mention of Jia Lang. Though Zhang Fang may have been restored to favour [see *sub* Zhang Fang 張昉 below], it is unlikely it would have happened so swiftly, nor that he would immediately become involved in a second conspiracy, this time with his former enemy Guo Fan. The record in the Treatise is surely confused.

On the other hand, while the biography of Yu Xu in *HHS* 58/48 refers only to Jia Lang and five other people being punished, the Treatise lists ten men besides Guo Fan and Zhang Fang, including a number of provincial

officers. I accept that information, noting that the affair probably began in 126, with repercussions continuing well into 127. See *sub* Zhai Fu, Gaotang Zhi, Zhang Dun, Yin Jiu, Jiang Shu, Yang Feng, Bao Jiu, Zhang Guo, Zhang Du, Zhang Lang. -*HHS* 58/48:1870-71, 101/11:3243.

Zhang Fang 張昉. The Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16:3330, refers to Zhang Fang 張昉 in 128 and in 137 as a eunuch Regular Attendant closely associated with Song E, former wet-nurse of Emperor Shun. This may be a variant writing of Zhang Fang 張防, discussed above.

HHS 58/48:1870-71 and *HHS* 78/68:2517 tell how Zhang Fang 防 was disgraced and exiled in 126/127, despite support from Song E and the favour of the emperor, who was angry at his accusers, notably the eunuch group led by Sun Cheng. Zhang Fang 防 may later have returned to the capital, but there is no further reference to him under that name.

Zhang Fang 張方 [Gongshi 公始]; Jianwei. Son of Zhang Gang, he became Inspector of Yu province. -*HYGZ* 10B:157, 12:229.

Zhang Fang 張昉 [Shaoyou 少游]; Henan. In 165 Zhang Fang was Assistant to Zhu Jie the Magistrate of Huayin in Hongnong. They were ordered by the Administrator Sun Qiu to complete work on the temple at Mount Hua commenced by Sun Qiu's predecessor Yuan Feng. -*LS* 2:3a.

Zhang Fang 張方; Changshan. Son of Zhang Yan/Feiyan, he succeeded to his father's fief. -*SGZ* 8:261.

Zhang Fei 張飛 [Yide 益德] (d.221); Zhuo. Zhang Fei and Guan Yu took Liu Bei as their leader when they were young, and Zhang Fei, some years junior to Guan Yu, treated him as an elder brother. There are anecdotes describing Zhang Fei as a man of literary taste who composed verse in the midst of battle, but he is more generally known as arrogant, impetuous and brutal. While Guan Yu was said to be harsh towards men of the gentry but treated his soldiers well, Zhang Fei was courteous towards his betters but cruel to his rank and file. The two men were nonetheless regarded as the finest fighting men of their time.

In 196 Liu Bei left Zhang Fei in command of his base city, Xiapi, against Lü Bu. He quarrelled with the Chancellor Cao Bao and killed him, there was rioting in the city, and when Lü Bu appeared the gates of the city were opened to him. Liu Bei's position was destroyed, his army scattered, and his family was captured by Lü

Bu.

After the destruction of Lü Bu in 198 Liu Bei accompanied Cao Cao to his base at Xu city, and Zhang Fei was appointed a Gentleman of the Household at the Han court under Cao Cao's control. He accompanied Liu Bei on his various escapes and travels to support Yuan Shao and then take refuge with Liu Biao. Zhang Fei and Guan Yu were initially jealous of the intimacy Liu Bei granted to his new counsellor Zhuge Liang, but Liu Bei insisted that he needed Zhuge Liang's advice and assistance and his two old companions gave way.

When Cao Cao came into Jing province in 208 Liu Bei fled south with a large following, but he was caught at the Chang Slope in Nan commandery and heavily defeated. As he abandoned his family and fled, he sent Zhang Fei with a few horsemen to hold off the enemy advance. Armed with a long lance, Zhang Fei broke down a bridge over the river and defied Cao Cao's men; none dared to approach.

As Liu Bei established himself south of the Yangzi after the victory at the Red Cliffs, he named Zhang Fei Administrator of Yidu, a new commandery based on the county of that name by the mouth of the Gorges, with title as a general and enfeoffment as a village marquis. When Sun Quan proposed to attack Liu Zhang in Yi province, Zhang Fei commanded one of the troops that blocked the way along the Yangzi.

Zhang Fei was later named Administrator of Nan commandery. As Liu Bei went to Yi province in 211, his wife the Lady Sun III, sister of Sun Quan, attempted to return to the east and take Liu Bei's young son Liu Shan with her. Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun intercepted her and brought the boy back.

When Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang in 212, Zhang Fei and Zhuge Liang came through the Gorges and took over the south of Yi province. After Cao Cao defeated Zhang Lu in 215 and occupied Hanzhong, Liu Bei named Zhang Fei Administrator of Baxi commandery to defend the vulnerable frontier from further incursion. After a two months campaign Zhang Fei brought his men by side-roads to catch Cao Cao's officer Zhang He in a surprise attack. Zhang He withdrew to the Han valley, while Zhang Fei established himself at Langzhong on the upper Jialing River.

In 217 Zhang Fei was involved in a preliminary attack on Hanzhong through the hill country of Wudu, but was compelled to retreat when his associate Wu Lan

was defeated by Cao Hong. In 219, Liu Bei conquered the territory, and as he proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong in the autumn Zhang Fei was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor. He was named General of the Right, and when Liu Bei took the imperial title in 221 he appointed him General of Chariots and Cavalry and Director of Retainers, and raised his fief to a district marquisate.

Later that year, while Liu Bei prepared the great offensive against Sun Quan to recapture Jing province and avenge the betrayal of Guan Yu, he sent orders for Zhang Fei to come south and join him at Jiangzhou. Just as Zhang Fei was about to leave, two of his subordinate commanders, Zhang Da and Fan Qiang, who had evidently suffered ill treatment at his hands, cut off his head and went to join Sun Quan.

The officer in charge at Langzhong sent a message to Liu Bei with the news, but as soon as he heard the courier had arrived Liu Bei knew Zhang Fei was dead. He granted him posthumous title as a full marquis. - SGZ Shu 6:943-44*.

Two of Zhang Fei's daughters became consorts of Liu Bei's son Liu Shan and empresses of Shu-Han: when the elder died, the younger succeeded her [C/C 99:49].

Zhang Fei 張飛, wife of: see the Lady Xiahou 夏侯 II.

Zhang Feiyan 張飛燕 [Flying Swallow Zhang] see Zhang Yan 張燕.

Zhang Fen 張奮 [Zhitong 稚通] (d.102); Jingzhao. When Zhang Chun died in 56, his elder son Gen was sickly, and Emperor Guangwu proposed to pass the succession of the family marquisate to Gen's younger brother, Zhang Fen.

Zhang Chun, feeling that he had failed to achieve the full responsibilities of his office as Excellency of Works, had left deathbed instructions that the fief should not be maintained, so Zhang Fen sought to refuse the inheritance. The emperor, however, had Zhang Fen imprisoned for his failure to obey an imperial command, so he was obliged to accept the title. In 61, after the accession of Emperor Ming, he left the capital for his estates in Wei commandery.

Fond of learning when he was young, Zhang Fen was a man of high moral quality with a strong sense of honour. He divided his income and revenues with his kinsmen, even to the last of his resources. In 74 the non-Chinese people of Dan'er on Hainan island

1044 Zhang Fen

sent tribute to the imperial capital, and Zhang Fen came to court for the ceremony of congratulations. Noticed and admired by the emperor, he was named a Marquis Attending Sacrifices, an honorary position which permitted him to remain at the capital rather than returning to his fief.

Under Emperor Zhang, from 81 Zhang Fen commanded two different corps of the Gentlemen of the Household, was transferred to be a colonel in the Northern Army, and became Court Architect in 83. He was dismissed from that office in 87, but two years later, in the reign of Emperor He, he was appointed Colonel of the City Gates.

After the power of the former regent Dowager Dou and her family was overthrown by Emperor He in 92, Zhang Fen was made Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager; he was evidently responsible for holding her under house arrest. In the following year he became Minister of Ceremonies, and in 94 he was appointed Excellency of Works, the same office that his father had held.

There was a serious drought that year, and in the autumn Zhang Fen presented a memorial urging a review of those held in jail. Accompanied by the Excellencies, the emperor went to Luoyang Prison, released all those wrongfully held, and ordered the arrest of the Prefect Chen Xin. There followed immediately three days of heavy rain.

Zhang Fen held his position with honour but without notable incident. Forced to resign on account of ill health in 99, he wrote expressing regret that good order was still not achieved, despite the fact that his family had held high position since the time of his great-great-great-grandfather Zhang Tang 湯. In particular, Zhang Fen urged the establishment of an official system of rites and music 禮樂 to consolidate the authority of government; in this he echoed the opinions of Cao Bao and others at that time.

Invited to return to office as Minister of Ceremonies in 101, Zhang Fen renewed arguments for a consolidation of ritual, to be determined by the emperor and senior officials. Though Emperor He is said to have thought this an excellent idea, the objections evidently remained the same as in the time of his father: the process would be controversial, divisive and ultimately fruitless [see *sub* Cao Bao]. In the winter, Zhang Fen retired once more on grounds of illness, and he died in the following year. -HHS 35/25:

1198-1200*.

Zhang Fen 張奮; Henan. As Cao Cao came into Henan on a sortie from the east against Dong Zhuo in 190, Zhang Fen and the gentry leader Ren Jun persuaded the people to accept him. -SGZ 16:489.

Zhang Fen 張奮; Pengcheng. A nephew of Zhang Zhao, at the age of twelve Zhang Fen designed a war chariot to serve as a siege engine. Though Zhang Zhao disapproved of his precocity, he was recommended for a commission by Bu Zhi and later rose to high military rank and enfeoffment. -SGZ Wu 7:1224*.

Zhang Feng 張豐 (d.28). Administrator of Zhuo commandery for the restored Han dynasty, Zhang Feng was persuaded by a soothsayer that he would become emperor. The man tied a five-coloured bag with a stone inside to Zhang Feng's arm, and told him that the stone contained an imperial seal. Publicising this prophecy and using it to gather support, at the end of 27 Zhang Feng took title as a general and joined Peng Chong of neighbouring Yuyang.

In the summer of 28 an imperial army under Zhai Cun and Liu Xi came against him, and after an initial attack Zhang Feng was seized by his officer Meng Gong and taken to the enemy camp. There he was executed, but not before his talisman had been broken open and shown to be false. -HHS 20/10:739-40.

Zhang Feng 張封. In 75 Zhang Feng was a major under the Wu Colonel Geng Gong in Further Jushi, east of present-day Urumqi. Their small force was attacked by a great army of the Xiongnu, and Geng Gong and his troops defended themselves with utmost courage for a year. Early in 76 the remnant garrison was relieved, though only thirteen men returned alive to Dunhuang: in a campaign during which hundreds of lower ranks perished, the commander and two of his majors, the next senior officers, survived.

The gallant defence was widely admired, but the heroes were not treated with great generosity: Zhang Feng was appointed as a major, the same rank he had held before, in the Camp at Yong in Youfufeng. -HHS 19/9:723.

Zhang Feng 張奉 [Gongxian 公先]; Henan. Towards the end of the second century Zhang Feng and his brother Biao were men of high standards, who lived as hermits with poor food and clothing. The Excellency Yuan Wei admired Zhang Feng and gave him his daughter to wife. She arrived splendidly dressed with an entourage of a hundred maid-servants, but only

when she adopted his ideals of asceticism was he prepared to accept her. -*XC* 7:15b; Vervorm 90:302.

Zhang Feng 張奉, wife of: see the Lady Yuan 袁 I.

Zhang Feng 張奉; Nanyang. Admiring the reputation held by Mao Yi for filial piety, Zhang Feng went to call upon him. Just as they met, Mao Yi received an imperial letter giving him provisional appointment as a county magistrate. With every sign of pleasure, he went into his private apartments to tell his mother. Zhang Feng was offended and went away.

Later, when Mao Yi's mother died, he left office and refused all further invitations. Zhang Feng found his admiration restored. -*HHS* 39/29:1294; *XC* 7:14b.

Zhang Feng 張鳳 (d.139). In 139 Zhang Feng was Administrator of Hongnong. He was implicated in the plot of the eunuch attendant Zhang Kui against the Liang clan, was sent to prison and died there. -*HHS* 6:268.

Zhang Feng 張鳳. In 162 the frontier commander Huangfu Gui was slandered by palace eunuchs for his alleged bribery of Qiang rebels to surrender, and was sent to prison on the grounds that rebellion in the northwest was still continuing. Though he was only a student at the Imperial University, Zhang Fang joined the Excellencies in leading several hundred people to the gates of the palace in protest on Huangfu Gui's behalf. Soon afterwards there was a general amnesty and Huangfu Gui was released. -*HHS* 65/55:2135-36.

Zhang Feng 張奉; Changshan. A eunuch, Zhang Feng became a Regular Attendant under Emperor Ling. In 178 his brother Zhang Hao was appointed Grand Commandant. -*XHS* 1:6b, *SGZ* 6:179 PC.

Zhang Flying Swallow 張飛燕 see Zhang Yan 張燕.

Zhang Fu 張甫; Jingzhao. Son of Zhang Fen, he inherited the family fief at his father's death in 102. Zhang Fu himself, however, rose in office no higher than the captaincy of a gate on the city wall at Luoyang. -*HHS* 35/25:1200.

Zhang Fu 張浮 of Guanghan was a celebrated scholar of his day. -*HYGZ* 10B:144.

Zhang Fu 張富; Shu. Eldest son of the theocratic warlord Zhang Lu, when his father surrendered Hanzhong to Cao Cao in 215 Zhang Fu was enfeoffed with his brothers. When Zhang Lu died in the following year, Zhang Fu inherited his larger marquisate. -*SGZ* 8:265.

Zhang Gang 張綱 [Wenji 文紀] (109-144); Jianwei. Son of Zhang Hao, Zhang Gang was a keen scholar

of the classics and celebrated as an author, but though he was the son of an Excellency he lived extremely simply. He refused commandery nomination, but later joined the offices of the Excellency over the Masses, graded First Class and was recruited to the Imperial Censorate.

Emperor Shun was influenced by the eunuchs who had arranged his succession to the throne, and in 135 he granted them the right to adopt heirs and thus transmit their honours and privileges. Very likely inspired by this new policy, Zhang Gang sent in a memorial of protest against their power, but his strictures were predictably ignored.

In 142 a special commission of eight, whose members were chosen for their reputation as Confucianists, were sent to make a tour of inspection across the empire. Despite his youth, Zhang Gang, now a Household Counsellor, was one of their number.

There are two accounts of Zhang Gang's actions and their effect. According to his biographies in *HHS*, *XHS* and *XC*, while his colleagues left the capital Zhang Gang remained at Luoyang, for he believed the root of the trouble was at the centre. He presented an indignant report on the excessive favour shown to the Liang family of the empress, headed by her brother the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Though the emperor appreciated his honesty, nothing was done.

According to *HYGZ*, however, Zhang Gang impeached the Excellencies Huan Yuan and Liu Shou for their failure to take action, and they were dismissed soon afterwards. He then turned on the Director of Retainers Zhao Jun, the Intendant of Henan Liang Buyi, brother of Liang Ji, and the Administrator of Runan Liang Gan: Zhao Jun was dismissed and the others were reprimanded and degraded. Finally, he reported against Kou Yi the Chancellor of Lu; Kou Yi killed himself.

So *HYGZ* claims that Zhang Gang's efforts brought a vast improvement of conduct among the administrators and the people, but *HHS* says that none of the commissioners, including Zhang Gang, achieved significant results. While it is true that Huan Yuan and Liu Shou left office soon after the despatch of the commission, *HYGZ* is contradicted by the record of the Annals, *HHS* 6:272, that the Director of Retainers Zhao Jun, far from being dismissed, took Huan Yuan's place as Grand Commandant. There is no reference to Kou Yi nor to Liang Gan at this time in *HHS*, but it is

1046 Zhang Gen

known that Liang Buyi continued to serve as Intendant and later became a minister.

Based upon the career of Zhao Jun, therefore, it appears that *HYGZ* has exaggerated Zhang Gang's achievements: he may have had an effect upon the unfortunate Kou Yi and possibly on Liang Gan, but it is unlikely his strictures were permitted to interfere with the security of the Liang clan and their allies.

Zhang Gang had nonetheless made enemies by his reports, and in the following year, 143, Liang Ji had him sent out as Administrator to Guangling. The rebel Zhang Ying had ravaged the lower Yangzi and the Huai for more than ten years, killing an Administrator of Guangling and a provincial Inspector. When he reached the territory, Zhang Gang went with a small escort to the bandit camp, asked about grievances and promised pardon. Zhang Ying came to meet him, apologised for his crimes and was duly reassured. On the following day a great feast was held, Zhang Ying brought all his people and their families to surrender, and Zhang Gang gave local office to any of the former rebels who wished to enter the imperial service.

As a result of this settlement, the whole of the southeast became peaceful. Many people argued that Zhang Gang should receive enfeoffment, but the Liang group prevented it.

After Zhang Gang had been in the commandery for a year he was recalled to the capital for another appointment. Zhang Ying and the others sent a petition for him to remain, but he took ill and died at this time. Zhang Ying and five hundred others, including many former rebels and bandits, escorted his body home to Jianwei for burial, an edict praised his fine service, and his son Zhang Xu was awarded a million cash and appointment as a gentleman cadet. Zhang Ying, however, soon reverted to his old ways. -*HHS* 56/46: 1816-19*, *HYGZ* 10B:157, *XC* 3:6b, *XHS* 4:4a-6a, also cited in *SGZ* Shu 15:1074 PC, *XTS* 72C:2707.

Zhang Gen 張根; Jingzhao. Son of the Excellency Zhang Chun, Zhang Gen suffered a serious illness when he was young. He should have inherited his father's fief in 57, but because of his poor health Emperor Guangwu ordered that it be transferred to Zhang Gen's younger brother Fen. -*HHS* 35/25:1198.

Zhang Gen 張根; Runan. When the former Excellency Zhang Ji died in 184 he was given posthumous title as a secondary marquis. Such fiefs could not be inherited, so later that year, at the request of Zhang Ji's former

colleague Yang Ci, Emperor Ling awarded Zhang Ji's son Zhang Gen a village marquise. -*HHS* 45/35: 1534.

Zhang Gong 張躬. Administrator of Yuzhang during the 90s, Zhang Gong carried out major works of flood control on the Gan River. -*SJZ* 39:16a.

Zhang Gong 張貢 (d.155). As Administrator of Hanyang in 143, Zhang Gong joined the Protector of the Qiang Zhao Chong in an attack on the rebel Shaohe tribe of the Qiang, who were at that time in Anding commandery. They killed 1500 men and captured 180,000 head of animals.

When Zhao Chong died in 144 Zhang Gong became Protector in his stead. He held that office until his death ten years later. -*HHS* 6:273, 87/77:2896-97.

Zhang Gong 張恭. A eunuch, Zhang Gong was a Regular Attendant during the 180s. -*HHS* 78/68:2534.

Zhang Gong 張恭; Dunhuang. A man of learning, about 220 Zhang Gong was Officer of Merit in the commandery when the Administrator Ma Ai died. Chosen by the people to govern the territory as Chief Clerk, he sent his son Zhang Jiu to the capital to ask for a new Administrator.

A group of Chinese and non-Chinese, led by Zhang Jin of Zhangye and Huang Hua of Jiuquan, sought Zhang Gong's support, and they took Zhang Jiu hostage. Father and son resisted the pressure, and Zhang Gong led troops against Huang Hua while the Han/Wei general Su Ze attacked Zhang Jin. Pinned down by Zhang Gong's offensive, Huang Hua was unable to support Zhang Jin. He was compelled to surrender to Su Ze, and Zhang Jin was defeated and killed.

The court's appointee Yin Feng was then installed as Administrator in Dunhuang, while Zhang Gong was rewarded with enfeoffment and named Wu and Ji Colonel for the Western Regions. When he retired after many years service his son Zhang Jiu succeeded him, and when Zhang Gong died about 230 he was posthumously honoured as Bearer of the Mace. -*SGZ* 18:550-51*; Fang 52:6-7.

Zhang Gongzu 張恭祖; Dong. During the 150s Zhang Gongzu was the teacher of Zheng Xuan. His eclectic studies included *Zhou li*, *Ritual*, *Zuo zhuan* according to the Old Text tradition, the New Text Han interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, and the Old Text *Classic of History*. -*HHS* 35/25:1207.

Zhang Gu 張固. A county magistrate in Hongnong in

218, Zhang Gu was ordered to conscript troops for a campaign in Hanzhong, but faced a rebellion led by Sun Lang. With advice from Hu Zhao, he restored the situation and drove Sun Lang and his fellows south to Guan Yu in Jing province. -SGZ 11:362.

Zhang Guang 張光. In 177 Zhang Guang held probationary appointment as a member of the Suite of the Heir, but was attached to the Bureau of Astronomy and responsible for the sacred pitchpipes 律 which were used in the ceremony of Watching for the Ethers. He and his colleagues attempted to tune the ash-filled pipes with a stringed instrument designed by the expert Jing Fang 京房 of Former Han, but as the relevant music had been lost there was no means to judge the tension required for the strings. The experiment was quite unsuccessful. -HHS 91/1:3015; MBeck 90:59.

Zhang Guang 張廣 [Sizong 嗣宗]; Shu. Zhang Guang was a son of the theocratic warlord Zhang Lu. When their father surrendered Hanzhong to Cao Cao in 215, Zhang Guang and his brothers were enfeoffed. -SGZ 8:265 & JJ 48a.

Zhang Guangchao 張光超; Shu. Zhang Guangchao was a son of Zhang Ba and his wife the Lady Sima/Ma Jingsi, and younger half-brother to Zhang Kai. He benefited from his mother's moral teaching and example, and became a scholar and teacher. -HYGZ 10A:139.

Zhang Gui 長貴 "Headman Gui" see Ren Gui 任貴.

Zhang Guo 張國 I. In 65 Zhang Guo was a colonel on garrison in Wuyuan under the newly-appointed General on the Liao Wu Tang. -HHS 89/79:2949.

This may be the same man as Zhang Guo II below, for both men operated on the northern frontier, but the gap of sixty years between the two records makes it unlikely.

Zhang Guo 張國 II. Emissary to the Xiongnu in 127, Zhang Guo sent one of his senior officers with the Southern Shanyu on a punitive expedition against the Xianbi. Defeating one group of Xianbi, they returned with some treasure, and the enterprise may have had a deterrent effect.

Soon afterwards Zhang Guo was accused of having entered as conspiracy with the eunuch Zhang Fang, with Gaotang Zhi and members of the Imperial Secretariat, and several provincial officers. Two men were executed, but Zhang Guo and others were allowed to purchase relief. -HHS 90/80:2988, 101/11:3243 and *cf. sub* Zhang Fang 張防; deC 84:302. See also Zhang

Guo I above.

Zhang Han 張邯; Jingzhao. During the troubled period of the mid-20s, at the time of the fall of the Gengshi Emperor and the invasion of the Red Eyebrows, Zhang Han acted as a warlord. He and other local leaders in the old capital district were recognised as generals by Gongsun Shu, who had taken the imperial title in Yi province.

When Emperor Guangwu's general Feng Yi came to take control in the region in 27, Zhang Han joined the *condottiere* Yan Cen to attack him. As their army was defeated, Zhang Han and his colleagues Lü Wei and Jiang Zhen asked Gongsun Shu for help. Gongsun Shu sent an army under his officer Cheng Wu, but Feng Yi again defeated the allied force, and Zhang Han is not heard of again. -HHS 17/7:647; Bn 59:161.

Zhang Han 張邯. As Liu Liang, uncle of Emperor Guangwu and King of Zhao, was returning after the state funeral of the general Lai Xi in 35, his carriage met that of Zhang Han, General of the Household on the Right, at a gate of Luoyang city. Angry that his way was blocked, Liu Liang shouted at Zhang Han to turn back, then called the captain of the gate Cen Zun, abused him and forced him to kowtow and ordered him to walk in front of his chariot.

Liu Liang's conduct was reported by the Director of Retainers Bao Yong, who described it as wilful and unfitting to a king, and categorised it as Great Disrespect. Guangwu took no action. -HHS 29/19:1020; Bn 79:139.

Zhang Han 張漢; Le'an. Leader of a group of bandits in the 90s, Zhang Han was so impressed by the virtue and generous conduct of the new Chancellor Lu Gong that he brought his followers to surrender. Lu Gong appointed Zhang Han a county commandant, and as his former associates then quarrelled among themselves, they were attacked and crushed. -HHS 25/15:878.

Zhang Hanzhi 張漢直; Chen. During the 160s Zhang Hanzhi travelled to Nanyang to study *Zuo zhuan* with the celebrated Yan Du. A few months later his sister saw him in a dream, saying that he had died, and telling her of two business matters. The family went out to look for his funerary cortège, but it turned out that he was perfectly well and was on his way home.

Ying Shao cites this as examples of false popular beliefs in the reliability of such apparitions; he ascribes them to indigestion. -FSTY 9:71.

Zhang Hao 張皓/浩 [Shuming 叔明] (50-132);

Jianwei. Son of Zhang Yin, from a family which claimed descent from Zhang Liang 良, celebrated minister of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han, Zhang Hao was a student of legal administration and the *Chunqiu*. Having attended the University at Luoyang, during the 90s he held local office in his commandery and in Yi province.

About 109 Zhang Hao was recruited to the offices of the General-in-Chief Deng Zhi at the capital, and for eight years he was Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat. He became Chancellor of Pengcheng, returning to the capital in 120 as Minister of Justice.

In 124, as Emperor An proposed to dismiss his Heir Liu Bao, Zhang Hao and his fellow-ministers Huan Yan and Lai Li argued against the decision in open court. Zhang Hao pressed the case also in a letter to the emperor, noting that the prince was innocent of any fault but was in any case below the age of responsibility. He compared the situation to the treachery and disorder which arose when Emperor Wu of Former Han deposed his Heir in 91 BC [e.g. Loewe 74:41 ff].

The pleas were unsuccessful, but at the end of the following year Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, was placed upon the throne through a coup led by the eunuch Sun Cheng, and in the winter of 126 Zhang Hao was appointed Excellency of Works.

In 129, as an excess of natural disasters indicated imbalance in the spiritual order, Zhang Hao resigned his office. He was re-appointed Minister of Justice in 132, but died in that year. Imperial messengers were sent to his funeral, and he was granted burial ground near the capital. -HHS 56/46:1815-16*, SGZ Shu 15: 1073, HYGZ 10B:155.

Zhang Hao 張顗 [Zhiming 智明]; Changshan. A younger brother of the eunuch Zhang Feng [SGZ 6:179 PC quoting XHS 1:6b] Zhang Hao became Chancellor of Liang and was later Minister of Ceremonies. In the spring of 178 he was promoted Grand Commandant. He presumably paid for the appointment.

Zhang Hao was criticised by Cai Yong, who claimed that his advancement had come also through the influence of the Lady Huo Yu, and he that should resign his office because he was unworthy. He was also attacked by Cai Yong's relative Yang Zhi, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, who alleged that he was a member of a corrupt cabal of senior officials connected to the palace eunuchs. Zhang Hao left office in the

autumn of that same year. -HHS 8:341, 60/50B:1999, 67/57:2209; deC 89:506.

Zhang He 章河/何. In 131 and 132 Zhang He was leader of a wide-spread religious rebellion in Yang province. -HHS 6:260, 101/11:3244.

Zhang He 張合 [Zhongyi 仲翼]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate, in 156 Zhang He was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhang He 張郃 [Junwen 儁文 or Jun'ai 儁义] (d.231); Hejian. In 184 Zhang He fought the Yellow Turbans and gained rank as a major. He then served Han Fu, and when Yuan Shao took over Ji province in 190, Zhang He was made a colonel. He was promoted further after the victory over Gongsun Zan in 199.

At the final stage of the Guandu campaign in 200 Zhang He was sent with Gao Lan to attack Cao Cao's camp. Though he argued that it was more important to protect the army's own supplies under Chunyu Qiong, he was over-ruled. Then Cao Cao did destroy the supply train. Accused of defeatism, Zhang He went over to Cao Cao.

Welcomed, promoted and enfeoffed, Zhang He became a leader of shock troops for Cao Cao. He took part in the campaigns which destroyed the Yuan family in 204 and defeated the Wuhuan in 207. Promoted to be a general, he was sent to conquer Donglai, then joined Zhang Liao on some minor campaigns. When Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 Zhang He commanded one of seven divisions in Nanyang under the Area Commander Zhao Yan.

In 211 Zhang He accompanied the army to the northwest, and acted as Cao Cao's body-guard as he crossed the Yellow River under fire. He took part in the pacification, and under the command of Xiahou Yuan in 214 he defeated Ma Chao in the Wei valley and then the Qiang of Xining across the Yellow River. After Hanzhong was captured in 215, Zhang He was sent forward into present-day Sichuan, but he was driven back by Zhang Fei.

In 218 Zhang He held the southern defences against fierce attack from Liu Bei, but in the following year Xiahou Yuan was defeated and killed at Dingjun Mountain. Regrouping the troops after this disaster, Zhang He took a holding position on the Han River. Cao Cao came himself, but Hanzhong was lost, and the army was withdrawn to defend the Wei valley. In the following year Zhang He led a contingent which

removed the last rebel groups from the hill country to the north of Zuopingyi.

After Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220, Zhang He was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. He was further promoted, and in 222-223 he took part in the great offensive against Sun Quan's position in Nan commandery. Under Cao Rui in 228 he defended the Wei valley against Zhuge Liang. He died of wounds in 231. -SGZ 17:524-27*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:196.

Zhang Heng 張衡 [Pingzi 平子] (78-139); Nanyang. One of the finest intellectuals of Later Han, a brilliant scientist and mathematician, Zhang Heng was also a notable composer of rhapsodies and a competent official.

Zhang Heng's grandfather Zhang Kan had been a leading supporter of the founding Emperor Guangwu, but though the family was distinguished and substantial it was not notably wealthy. About 95 Zhang Heng travelled to Chang'an and then to Luoyang, where he studied for some years at the Imperial University. With a broad knowledge of the Confucian classics and other arts, he was recognised for his brilliance and became a close friend of Cui Yuan, Ma Rong, Wang Fu and Dou Zhang. A modest man, he refused nomination as Filial and Incorrupt and several invitations to the offices of Excellencies. Returning home aged about twenty, he became Officer of Merit in Nanyang under the Administrator Bao De.

During his time at Luoyang, Zhang Heng had been inspired to compose a pair of rhapsodies in emulation of Ban Gu's *Liangdu fu* 兩都賦 "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals", which described Chang'an and Luoyang and praised the quality of Later Han. Zhang Heng's two works, *Xidu fu* 西都賦 "Rhapsody on the Western Metropolis" and *Dongdu fu* 東都賦 "Rhapsody on the Eastern Metropolis," followed the pattern of his predecessor, but where Ban Gu sought only to praise the current dynasty, Zhang Heng sounds a note of warning: the present dynasty is morally superior to the extravagant old regime, but it must be careful not to go the same way and suffer the same fate.

Zhang Heng worked on the pieces for ten years, completing them about 108, when his patron the Administrator Bao De was recalled to the capital. He retired to his home, and there composed a third, *Nandufu* 南都賦 "Rhapsody on the Southern Capital," celebrating the city of Nanyang, home of Liu Xiu the

founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. [All three rhapsodies are translated by Knechtges 82, and the works of Ban Gu and Zhang Heng are compared by Hughes 60.] In these and other literary works Zhang Heng is noted for his frequent and intense references to the classics and to earlier texts of philosophy and history.

Zhang Heng was also known for his ability at mathematics, astronomy and natural phenomena, including divination by the wind. When he was again nominated for office, a special carriage was sent for him, and after a period as a gentleman cadet and service in the Imperial Secretariat he was appointed Court Astronomer. Under the personal reign of Emperor An after the death of the regent Dowager Deng, Zhang Heng was transferred to be Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages under the ministry of the Guards; the two Gates for Official Carriages, one in the Northern and one in the Southern Palaces, accepted memorials to the throne and received special nominees for office.

Zhang Heng retained his concern for astronomy. In 123 the Internuncio Dan Song proposed that the calendar should be changed to accord with the teachings of the apocrypha, but Zhang Heng argued that such amendments would only add errors, while the apocryphal writings, not being written by the sages, were unworthy of serious attention. This opinion was supported by many discussants, and the calendar was not changed.

Zhang Heng further suggested that the apocrypha should be rejected and proscribed, but such opinion was not acceptable. Probably about this time Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu, members of the second committee of compilation for the history of the dynasty later known as *Dongguan Hanji*, asked to consult with him, but permission was refused. Zhang Heng was interested in historical work and had commented on items in the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian and the *Han shu* of Ban Gu, but he also found fault with the arrangement of the first recension of the history of Later Han: where *Dongguan Hanji* and the present-day *Hou Han shu* begin with the Annals of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, he objected to the relegation of the Gengshi Emperor Liu Xuan, true first ruler of Later Han, to a minor position. This approach, combined with his views on the apocrypha, evidently made him unsuitable as an official historian, and after the death of Liu Zhen and Liu Taotu the opportunity

was ended. We are told that Zhang Heng deeply regretted the rejection, and a Treatise on Astronomy which he also prepared was likewise not accepted.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun in 126 Zhang Heng was once more appointed as Court Astronomer. Though it was a responsible position, the rank/salary was only 600 *shi*: at this time he published *Ying xian* 應閒 "Response [to Criticism] of my Idleness," a rhymed dialogue in which a protagonist criticises his failure to obtain higher office but Zhang Heng replies that virtue, not greed for power, is the mark of a true gentleman.

Despite Zhang Heng's rejection of the apocrypha he was prepared to believe in some phenomena which could apparently not be explained by rational means. He accepted the claims of shamans and diviners, he compiled a commentary to the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery" by Yang Xiong 楊雄, and his *Ling xian* 靈憲 "The Spiritual Constitution of the Universe" saw the movements of the heavenly bodies, and unusual events such as eclipses and comets, as guides to the situation of the state, while the rules of the heavens provided a model for government. *Ling xian* became the chief authority for the *Hun tian* 渾天 "Celestial Sphere" school of cosmology as opposed to the *Gai tian* 蓋天 "Hemispherical Dome" theory, based on the ancient *Zhou bei suan jing* 周髀算經.

During his time at the Bureau of Astronomy, and also as a private scholar, Zhang Heng was responsible for major developments in both theoretical and practical science. In *Ling xian* Zhang Heng counts more than 14,000 stars, and the official star maps of Later Han, lost at the end of the dynasty, were ascribed to him. He wrote a commentary on the armillary sphere, *Hunyi zhu* 渾儀注, describing how it was rotated by means of a clepsydra water-clock, and was the first to complete such a mechanism with horizon and meridian rings; he also developed a system of compensating tanks to make the clepsydra itself more accurate [Needham 59:315-317].

About 130 Zhang Heng attempted to calculate the value of π by comparing the volumes of a cube and of a cylinder and sphere within it, possibly by weighing: his figure of 3.1622 was some distance from the 3.1428 found by Archimedes some four hundred years earlier, and was markedly improved by scholars of the third century. On the other hand, Zhang Heng laid the foundations for the rectangular grid system of

cartography in China, and in 132 he constructed the first seismograph 候風地動儀. The mechanism was based upon a pendulum which indicated the direction of the shock by knocking a ball from one of eight dragons' mouths to be caught by a toad underneath; for discussion, description and reconstructions see Needham 59:626-632.

After a series of earthquakes at the capital in 133, officials and candidates were asked to comment. Zhang Heng presented a sealed memorial criticising the reforms to recruitment lately introduced by Zuo Xiong, requiring Filial and Incorrupt nominees to be more than forty years old, and shifting responsibility for their assessment to the Excellencies rather than the Generals of the Household who were traditionally in charge of the corps of gentlemen cadets. Though we are told his objections were not accepted, Zhang Heng was soon afterwards awarded the high court rank of Palace Attendant.

Now a close adviser to the emperor, he opposed the palace eunuchs and, pointing to the troubles caused by their intrigues in the past, urged Emperor Shun to exercise power for himself. About this time he compiled a commentary to *Zhou li* 周禮, but as his enemies began a campaign of slander against him he also composed the rhapsody "Contemplating the Cosmos" *Sixuan fu* 思玄賦: with imagery reminiscent of the *Li sao* 離騷 of Qu Yuan 屈原 he debated whether a good man should flee the corrupt world or maintain his virtue within it.

In the rhapsody, Zhang Heng resolves to retire to his home, but though he resigned his court appointment in 136 he then took office outside as Chancellor of Hejian. He remained there two years, curbing the conduct of the arrogant king Liu Zheng and bringing powerful local families under control. His writings at that time are again depressed and bitter, and the poem "Four Sorrows" *Si chou* 四愁, in a genre which became very popular, tells how the protagonist seeks to woo a beautiful woman but finds his way blocked by mountains, snow and rivers – in the same way his contact to the emperor had been impeded by unworthy rivals.

In 138 Zhang Heng did return home, and composed *Guitian fu* 歸田賦 "Rhapsody on Returning to the Fields" to praise the life of retirement with his books and his lute. A few months later he was recalled to appointment in the Imperial Secretariat, and he died

in that office in the following year, leaving thirty-two *pian* of works, literary, philosophical, scientific and mystical. He was buried in his home country, and his friend Cui Yuan composed the inscription for his tomb. -HHS 59/49*, XHS 4:10a-b, LS 19:18b-21b; Hughes 60:35-47, Knechtges 82:181-310, 481-483, Needham 56:556-557, 59 *saepe*, 65 *saepe*, Loewe 86E:673-682, MBeck 90:23, 26, 50, 59, 167, Sun 56.

Zhang Heng 張衡; Pei. Though Zhang Heng came nominally from the east of the empire, about 140 he accompanied his father Zhang Ling into Yi province, where Zhang Ling established a religious sect based upon the use of written charms and amulets. There were a number of such groups in the region at the time: it is claimed that Zhang Ling was the founder of the Five Dou of Rice sect 五斗米道, also known as the Rice Rebels 米賊, but it is possible that was a separate movement, initially led by Zhang Xiu *q.v.*

Zhang Ling passed on his teachings to Zhang Heng, who died some time in the 180s. [Some theories identify Zhang Heng with Zhang Xiu, but this appears unlikely.] Zhang Heng's widow was also an adept, and during the early 190s she held influence over Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province. By this means their son Zhang Lu became leader of the Rice Sect and established a theocratic state in Hanzhong.

Zhang Ling, Zhang Heng and Zhang Lu are regarded as the founding Celestial Masters 天師 of the modern Taoist church. -HHS 75/65:2435, SGZ 8:263; deC 89:557, deC 90:357-359, deC 96:83-84.

Zhang Heng 張衡 of Pei, wife of: see the Lady Zhang III.

Zhang Heng 張橫. In 211 Zhang Heng was one of the north-western warlords who opposed Cao Cao and were defeated at the battle of Huayin. -SGZ Shu 6:946.

Zhang Hong 張弘 (d.32); Langye. Brother of Zhang Bu, during the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang the family established a warlord regime, and as the Gengshi Emperor set up government in 23 he named Zhang Hong General of the Guards.

Zhang Hong shared the fortunes of Zhang Bu and his brothers, and he was with the army defeated by Geng Yan at Linzi in 29. He accompanied the family to Luoyang after their surrender, but joined the abortive escape to the southeast in 32 and was killed with the rest of the party by Chen Jun.

Zhang Hong 張鴻 (d.57). In the autumn of 57 Zhang

Hong was sent as an Internuncio to take command of operations against the Qiang leader Dianyu in Longxi. His force included local militia from Longxi, levies from Tianshui, and convicts pardoned for the occasion. They were heavily defeated in Jincheng, and Zhang Hong was killed. -HHS 2:97, 87/7:2879; deC 84:79.

Zhang Hong 張弘. In 198 Zhang Hong was in Lü Bu's service at Xiapi, besieged by Cao Cao and his ally Chen Deng. As three brothers of Chen Deng were held in the city, Lü Bu told Zhang Hong to kill them. Zhang Hong was afraid of the consequences, so he fled by night and brought them to safety. -SGZ 7:230.

Zhang Hong 張紘 [Zigang 子綱] (153-212); Guangling. When Zhang Hong was young he went to study at the University in Luoyang, specialising in the Jing interpretation of the *Book of Changes* and the Ouyang scholarship of the New Text *Classic of History*. He also attended the private academy of Puyang Kai in Chenliu, and studied the Han interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry, Ritual and Chunqiu* with Zuo zhuan. Returning home, he was at various times nominated by the Administrator Zhou Yu and by the provincial authorities and was invited to join the offices of the Excellencies, but refused each offer.

Zhang Hong was an old friend of the Sun family, and when Sun Ce first approached Yuan Shu he left his mother the Lady Wu and his younger brothers in Zhang Hong's care. They were later threatened by Tao Qian, warlord Governor of Xu province, and went for safety to the south of the Yangzi. As Sun Quan established himself there in 195, Zhang Hong joined him. He was given title as a colonel, and he and Zhang Zhao became Sun Ce's chief counsellors, one accompanying him on campaigns while the other stayed at headquarters.

Zhang Hong was known for his literary skills, and when Sun Ce made his formal peace with the Han court under Cao Cao's control in 197 he had Zhang Hong write the memorial. In 199 he sent Zhang Hong with a message to the imperial court at Xu city, and Cao Cao had him appointed as a member of the Secretariat.

A close friend of such leading scholars as Kong Rong, Zhang Hong was an effective ambassador for the Sun family: through his agency, Cao Cao recognised Sun Quan's succession to Sun Ce in 200, granted him title as a general and named him Administrator of Kuaiji. On the other hand, Cao Cao sent Zhang Hong back to the southeast as Commandant of that commandery, with the embarrassing indication that

he might serve as an agent of the north. At the same time, moreover, the Lady Wu encouraged Zhang Hong to supervise the government, and there is reason to believe Sun Quan was uneasy with the tutelage from this senior friend of the family.

No doubt to ease the situation, Zhang Hong compiled and presented an account of the careers of Sun Jian and Sun Ce. Sun Quan was delighted, and the document probably formed the basis of the two biographies in the first chapter of the Wu section of *Sanguo zhi*. About 202, however, Zhang Hong was sent east to his post as Commandant in Kuaiji. We are told Sun Quan always addressed Zhang Hong with his title as "Eastern Division" 東部, not with his personal name: this may have been a mark of respect, but it was also a reminder of his distant status.

At this time Zhang Hong instigated a search for survivors of the family of his old patron Zhao Yu, sending one of his officers to Langye to enlist the aid of the Chancellor Zang Xuan. A five-year-old boy was found to maintain the ancestral sacrifices, and Zhang Hong was admired for his loyalty and concern.

As Sun Quan moved east against Jiangxia in 207 he recalled him to headquarters, and had him take his former position in charge of affairs at the base while the army was on campaign. As Chief Clerk in 208 Zhang Zhao accompanied the unsuccessful campaign against Hefei, and dissuaded Sun Quan from risking his life too freely in the heat of battle.

In the following year, as Sun Quan was planning a further campaign, Zhang Hong persuaded him to consolidate his rule at home rather than seek immediate adventures, and he encouraged him to set his capital at Jianye, present-day Nanjing. In 212 he went back to Wu to collect his family, but took ill on the road and died at the age of sixty.

Besides official documents, Zhang Hong left ten *pian* of poetry, rhapsodies, inscriptions and eulogies, and he was also celebrated for his calligraphy both in the formal *kai shu* 楷書 style and in the ancient Seal Script 篆勢. His work was greatly admired by Kong Rong, and also by Chen Lin, one of the Seven Masters of the Jian'an period. -SGZ Wu 8:1243-47*, 1:1104-06.

Zhang Hu 張虎 [Tiger Zhang]; Jiangxia. In 190 the new Inspector of Jing province, Liu Biao, advised by Kuai Yue, invited a number of local leaders to a banquet, but then killed them and took over their

followers. Zhang Hu and Chen Zuo/Sheng, two bandit chieftains from Jiangxia, escaped the massacre. They took refuge in Xiangyang city, but Kuai Yue and Pang Ji persuaded them to surrender. -HHS 74/64B:2420, SGZ 6:212.

Zhang Hua 張化 of Shu was Administrator of Yongchang under Later Han. -HYGZ 4:60.

Zhang Hua 張化; Runan. When the magistrate Zhang Xi threw himself onto a funeral pyre in an attempt to bring rain which might end a drought, his Registrar Hou Chong and the junior officer Zhang Hua followed his example. Their prayers were answered. -SJZ 21: 16b.

Zhang Hua 張華. During the 170s Zhang Hua worked with Cai Yong on the treatises of Later Han. As a Consultant in 178, together with Cai Yong, Yang Ci and other scholars, he was consulted by Emperor Ling on a series of portents. -HHS 60/50B:1998, 93/3:3083.

Zhang Huan 張奐 [Ranming 然明] (104-181); Dunhuang>Hongnong. Son of Zhang Dun, as a young man Zhang Huan attended the Imperial University. He was widely read in the classics, but his particular teacher was Zhu Chong, expert in the New Text *History* according to the Ouyang interpretation. Zhang Huan himself made an abbreviated edition of the Mou commentary to the *History* 牟氏章句, reducing it from 450,000 to 90,000 characters, and he presented it to the throne of Emperor Huan about 150: see *sub* Mou Zhang.

Zhang Huan studied privately for a time in Youfufeng, not only traditional works but also horsemanship and archery. He was then sponsored by the palace eunuch Cao Teng and obtained a clerical position in the offices of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. After his work on the *History* was received he was appointed to the library of the Eastern Pavilion in the Southern Palace, but left that post on account of illness. He later received nomination as Worthy and Good, was graded First Class for his responses to questions, and became a Consultant. In 155 Zhang Huan was made Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding, in present-day southern Ningxia. He was fifty years old, and this was his first military or administrative command.

Just at this time the Xiongnu chieftains Taiqi and Bode rebelled and led seven thousand men to attack the Shanyu's capital at Meiji in Xihe. The Qiang people of Liang province were prepared to join the insurrection,

and Zhang Huan, with only two hundred men, was directly between the would-be allies. His officers had no wish to act, but Zhang Huan sent his officer Wang Wei to face the Qiang, called further troops from garrisons to the west, and occupied the city of Qiuzi in Shang commandery, on the line of the Great Wall, which was not normally manned. Having thus blocked communications between the two groups of rebels, he bluffed the Qiang into surrender. When they did so, Zhang Huan led them against the Xiongnu. Taiqi and Bode were defeated and surrendered.

The Qiang offered Zhang Huan tribute of gold and horses, but he invited them to a banquet and gave the presents back. His predecessors had been greedy for such things, so Zhang Huan's reputation gained greatly, and he was known throughout his career in the north for his honest treatment of the non-Chinese.

Zhang Huan was transferred to be Emissary to the Xiongnu. The Xiuchuge clan rebelled, joined forces with the Wuhuan of Shuofang, and burned the camp of the General on the Liao in Wuyuan. Zhang Huan withdrew to camp outside the city; his troops wanted to flee further, but he sat at ease in his tent and discussed the classics with his pupils. His men returned to order, and he then persuaded the Wuhuan to submit once more. Again using the technique of dividing barbarians, he had Wuhuan agents assassinate the leaders of the rebels, then attacked their followers. Peace was restored.

In 158 Zhang Huan led the Shanyu Juche'er and his men on a punitive expedition against the Xianbi led by Tanshihuai, who was raiding the borders. In the following year, however, the power of the Liang clan was destroyed by Emperor Huan at Luoyang, and since Zhang Huan had served under Liang Ji he was dismissed and proscribed from office. Of his colleagues and associates, only Huangfu Gui spoke on his behalf, sending seven petitions to plead his case. Eventually, after four years in private life, Zhang Huan was named Administrator of Wuwei, where he reformed the tax collections and cared for refugees. He treated his subordinates most courteously, and restored good order throughout the northwest.

There was a local superstition whereby children born in the second or fifth months, or the same month as either of their parents, were killed. Zhang Huan taught the people differently, and enforced his will by rewards and punishments. The custom was abandoned,

the people built temples and shrines in his honour, and the provincial authorities commended his Exceptional Quality.

About 164 Zhang Huan was made General on the Liao, and in the summer of 166 he led a counter-attack in response to a massive raid by the Xianbi chieftain Tanshihuai. He was recalled to the capital as Minister of Finance, but as soon as they learned of his departure the Xianbi returned and joined Wuhuan and Xiongnu to ravage Chinese positions. By autumn the rebel alliance included the Qiang, and raiding extended west to Wuwei and Zhangye.

Zhang Huan was sent back north as General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, ranking as a full minister with emergency powers across the frontier and authority to assess the conduct and capacities of all local officials. The Xiongnu and Wuhuan promptly surrendered, the Xianbi withdrew into the steppe, and Zhang Huan executed the rebel leaders. He recommended that the Southern Shanyu Juche'er, who taken part in the rising, be dismissed on account of his disloyalty and his evident lack of authority over his people, but Emperor Huan allowed Juche'er to keep his position.

Though the Xiongnu were settled, the Qiang remained active through 167, ravaging the region about Chang'an until the end of the year, when Zhang Huan was able to send Yin Duan and Dong Zhuo with a detachment. The enemy were defeated in Hanyang and the rebellion was ended.

It was widely believed that Zhang Huan should be enfeoffed, but because he was known as an opponent of the emperor's eunuch favourites he only received 200,000 cash and the right to have a member of his family appointed as a gentleman cadet. He asked instead for permission to move his registered place of residence from the frontier of Dunhuang to the inner commandery of Hongnong. Regulations forbade such a transfer, but Zhang Huan received it as a special reward.

In 168 Zhang Huan returned from the north. Just at that time Dou Wu, father of the regent Dowager, and his ally Chen Fan attempted to eliminate the eunuchs at court. As their plan was discovered, Dou Wu gathered troops inside the city, but the leading eunuch Cao Jie put Zhang Huan in command of the Northern Army to face Dou Wu. His prestige was so great that Dou Wu's followers changed sides; Dou Wu was isolated

and committed suicide, Chen Fan was killed, and the reform movement was destroyed.

Most of the reform party were city-based officials, and though the distinguished Li Ying had held substantial appointments on the frontier in the 140s and 150s, he appears to have had minimal contact with the later commanders Zhang Huan and Huangfu Gui. If the reformers had contacted Zhang Huan at an early stage, he might not have supported the eunuchs against Dou Wu.

Zhang Huan became Minister Steward, then again Minister of Finance. It was once more proposed that he should be enfeoffed, but Zhang Huan was ashamed at the way he had been used by the eunuchs, and he returned the insignia.

In the summer of 169 a great snake appeared, and there were strong winds and fierce storms of rain and hail. Submissions were invited on the source of these portents, and Zhang Huan sent in a memorial attacking the eunuchs and praising the reformists' program. Emperor Ling was impressed, but the eunuchs persuaded him to take the matter no further.

Zhang Huan became Minister of Ceremonies, then joined Liu Meng and other officers of the Secretariat in recommending Wang Chang and Li Ying, known enemies of the eunuch group, to take part in the selection of Excellencies to replace Dou Wu and Chen Fan. Cao Jie and the eunuchs were furious, and had Zhang Huan and his associates put in prison. They were released after a few days, but were required to forfeit three months' salary.

Soon afterwards Zhang Huan spoke against the Director of Retainers Wang Yu, a eunuch ally, who wanted his powers extended to supervise the most senior ministers. Wang Yu accused Zhang Huan of faction, and he was dismissed and barred from office.

When Zhang Huan was General on the Liao in the middle 160s, he had quarrelled with Duan Jiong, Protector of the Qiang, and in 168, at the height of Duan Jiong's campaign of extermination against the Qiang, Zhang Huan presented a memorial calling for a halt to the slaughter. Duan Jiong was angry, and when he became Director of Retainers in 172 he took his revenge by arguing that Zhang Huan should be sent back to his original home in Dunhuang. As Zhang Huan begged for mercy, Duan Jiong had pity and withdrew his recommendation.

Though he maintained a thousand retainers, Zhang

Huan now withdrew into private life and composed *Shangshu jinan* 尚書記難, a commentary to the *Classic of History* in over 300,000 characters; this was in some contrast to his earlier work abbreviating the Mou commentary. He died at the age of seventy-eight, leaving a quantity of literary and scholarly material, including letters to friends and colleagues such as Yan Du, Cui Yuan and Xu Xun. The temples and shrines set up in his honour in Wuwei were maintained for several generations. -HHS 65/55:2138-44*, XC 4:2a-b; Tjan 49:148; Young 84, deC 84:318-329.

Zhang Hui 張恢. Administrator of Jiaozhi in the late 50s, he was found guilty of embezzlement. -HHS 41/31:1407.

Zhang Huiying 張惠英, the Lady. We are told that the Lady's father was a General on the Liao, and it is likely that he was Zhang Huan: no other such officer of that surname is recorded.

The Lady married the elder son of Chen Sheng and the Lady Yang Ligui of Hanzhong. She came of wealthy family, with several maid-servants, but her mother-in-law admonished her to treat her people generously in order to gain their best work. The Lady respected her advice, and in time of trouble later the members of the household showed their loyalty.

The Lady Zhang was also known for her womanly virtues. -HYGZ 10C:171.

Zhang Ji 張伋 (d.40). Intendant of Henan in 40, Zhang Ji and several other heads of commandery units were found guilty of having presented false returns for population and farmland. They were sent to prison and Zhang Ji was executed. [See *sub* Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming.] -HHS 1B:66.

Zhang Ji 張稷 [Weijun 衛君]. In the time of Emperor Ming, Zhang Ji was a junior officer of the Imperial Secretariat. He impressed the emperor with his fine comments in court, and was appointed Chancellor of Jiaodong. -XC 7:5b. [There is anachronism here, for Jiaodong had ceased to be a royal fief in 37, and was incorporated into Beihai; Beihai was itself a kingdom from 52 to 87.]

Zhang Ji 張吉; Jingzhao. Son of Zhang Fu, he inherited the family marquisate. When he died in 110, he left no sons to succeed him and the fief was ended. -HHS 35/25:1200.

HHS notes that the enfeoffment had lasted eight generations over almost two hundred years, since the minister Zhang Anshi 安世 in the time of Emperor

Zhao in Former Han. No other noble house could match that longevity. It was, of course, exceptional that Zhang Ji's great-grandfather Zhang Chun had been able to retain the rank of marquis from Former Han through Wang Mang and again under Emperor Guangwu of the restored dynasty.

Zhang Ji 張機; Shanggu. As a commandery officer in the 150s, Zhang Ji committed some fault. He made offerings at the local temple to the sage Emperor Shun 舜 in hope of escaping detection, but the Administrator Qiao Xuan found out, forced a confession and punished Zhang Ji for his bad attitude. -*HHSJJ* 51/41:1831.

Zhang Ji 張濟 [Yuanjiang 元江] (d.184); Runan. Son of Zhang Pan and a noted Confucian scholar, Zhang Ji was a magistrate in Henan about 170. When a slave of the eunuch Regular Attendant Duan Gui rode an ox-cart down the highway, Zhang Ji had him executed, then displayed the body in the market-place.

From Minister of Ceremonies in 179, Zhang Ji was made Excellency of Works, possibly paying a fine for the privilege [but see *sub* Long Yuan]. In 182 he was reprimanded for taking bribes, favouring the eunuchs, and condemning good and popular administrators from the frontiers. He continued to hold office until 184, however, when he resigned on account of illness and died soon afterwards.

Emperor Ling granted Zhang Ji posthumous honours as a General of Chariots and Cavalry and a secondary marquise. Later that year, in further show of recognition at the request of Zhang Ji's former colleague Yang Ci, he granted a full marquise to Zhang Ji's son Gen. -*HHS* 45/35:1534.

Zhang Ji 張機 [Zhongjing 仲景]; Hongnong. A noted medical man of the late second century, Zhang Ji was nominated for office in the time of Emperor Ling and served as Administrator of Changsha.

A number of impressive cures were recorded for Zhang Ji, his writings included *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 "Dissertation on Typhoid Fever," and it is believed that he and his contemporary Hua Tuo developed the pharmacopeia *Shen Nong bencao jing* 神農本草經, forerunner of the modern *Bencao jing*; see also *sub* Wu Pu. -Needham 86:245-248.

Zhang Ji 張吉; Anping. Zhang Ji was a local bandit in his native commandery. In 192 Dong Zhao, Administrator of Julu, claimed Zhang Ji was going to attack, and used this as an excuse to declare a military emergency. -*SGZ* 14:436.

Zhang Ji 張濟 (d.196); Wuwei. An officer of Dong Zhuo, in 192 Zhang Ji accompanied Li Jue and Guo Si on campaign to the east under the command of Niu Fu. They attacked Zhu Jun and then raided Yingchuan and Chenliu. As they were on their way back, Dong Zhuo was assassinated in Chang'an and Niu Fu was killed in a mutiny. Zhang Ji joined Li Jue and others to storm Chang'an and take over government. A junior partner in the enterprise, he received enfeoffment and title as a general, but returned to Hongnong to guard against the east.

As Li Jue and Guo Si fought within the capital in 195, Zhang Ji attempted to make peace, and he wanted to take the emperor to Hongnong. In the autumn, as the situation remained confused, Zhang Ji arranged for Emperor Xian to leave, but events escaped his control and he joined Li Jue and Guo Si as they sought to recapture the imperial hostage. After a series of running fights the emperor and the remnants of his party escaped north across the Yellow River from Hongnong to Hedong, travelling eventually to Luoyang and Xu city with Cao Cao.

Zhang Ji was now isolated in the land within the passes, with his men short of supplies. In 196 he attacked Nanyang but was killed in battle. When Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province expressed sympathy at his fate, Zhang Ji's kinsman and successor Zhang Xiu, gave him allegiance with his troops. -*SGZ* 8:262.

Zhang Ji 張濟, wife and widow. In 197 Zhang Ji's successor Zhang Xiu surrendered to Cao Cao. Cao Cao, however, took the widow of Zhang Ji as a concubine. Together with other provocations and apparent threats, this caused Zhang Xiu to make a surprise attack, defeating Cao Cao and driving him back. -*SGZ* 8:262.

Zhang Ji 張既 [Derong 德容] (d.223); Zuopingyi. A man of humble family, at the age of sixteen Zhang Ji was a clerical officer on the personal staff of the Administrator. His family later became rich, but Zhang Ji maintained his post and used his money to support officials and gentlemen who had fallen upon hard times. He gained local reputation, became a magistrate in Jingzhao about 196, and was admired for his fine administration.

As envoy in Cao Cao's service in 202, Zhang Ji persuaded Ma Teng to send troops to defeat Guo Yuan in Hedong. A Consultant in 205, he again called Ma Teng and other leaders in the west to defeat rebels

and bandits in Hedong and Hongnong, and in 208 he persuaded Ma Teng to move east into Cao Cao's control at Xu city.

In 211 Zhang Ji followed Cao Cao against the north-western warlords, and after the victory at Huayin he was appointed Intendant of Jingzhao to restore civil government. He later joined the Secretariat of Cao Cao's kingdom of Wei, and then became Inspector of Yong 雍 province, covering the Wei valley and the further northwest.

After Cao Cao's forces were driven from Hanzhong by Liu Bei in 219, Zhang Ji recommended and arranged that Chinese and Di people be encouraged to leave the frontier region of Wudu and resettle along the valley of the Wei. He also urged Cao Cao to concentrate on the south and to ignore the quarrels of local warlords in the far northwest.

In 220, however, when Cao Cao's successor Cao Pi established a new Liang 涼 province in that region, Zhang Ji mobilised forces from Yong province to assist Su Ze establish control, and in the following year, after further disturbance Zhang Ji was appointed Inspector of Liang. He defeated the enemy and settled the territory.

After ten years on the frontier Zhang Ji died in 223. He was noted for his recruitment of good men into official service. -SGZ 15:471-77*.

Zhang Jia 張嘉 I see Zhang Xi 張喜 I. -HHS 9:375.

Zhang Jia 張嘉 II; Nan. As Guan Yu was besieging Xiangyang in 219, the local farmers Zhang Jia and Wang Xiu presented him with a jade seal which they had found in the Han River. This was later taken as a sign that Liu Bei should claim the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 2:888.

Zhang Jian 張琚 see Zhang Zun 張筠.

Zhang Jian 張儉 [Yuanjie 元節]; Shanyang. Zhang Jian's family claimed descent from Zhang Er 張耳, who had been enfeoffed as King of Zhao by the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. Zhang Jian's father Zhang Cheng had been a commandery administrator. Zhang Jian was nominated Abundant Talent by his province, but he regarded the Inspector as a man of poor moral quality 非其人 and was unwilling to accept him as his patron. He excused himself on grounds of ill health.

In 165, when Zhang Jian was in his late forties, Zhai Chao became Administrator of Shanyang and appointed him Investigator for the eastern division of the commandery. The powerful eunuch Hou Lan and

his mother oppressed the people of their home country, and when the Lady died he raised a vast tomb for her. Reports were sent to the capital asking that Hou Lan be punished, but he had agents intercept them. Zhang Jian then destroyed Hou Lan's constructions and confiscated his property; the commandery office sent another report to explain his actions, but the message still did not get through. [It is said that Zhang Jian killed Hou Lan's mother, but this story is probably false: *cf. sub* the Lady Hou.]

About this time Huang Fu, Chancellor of Donghai, had executed the eunuch relative Xu Xuan, and the eunuchs reported against both him and Zhai Chao. The two men were sentenced to convict service, but while his master received the penalty, Zhang Jian did not suffer for his actions. He and Zhai Chao were praised by the reform-minded students and junior officers at the capital and were included in their published lists of heroes. It appears that Zhang Jian now came to Luoyang as a political activist. Though he held no office, he was recognised as a leader of the men from Shanyang; he and twenty-three fellow-countrymen swore an oath of brotherhood, erecting an altar and inscribing their names on a stele.

After the eunuchs destroyed Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168, they restored the proscription of the reformers but still sought occasion to attack them. In 169 another man from Shanyang, Zhu Bing, encouraged by Hou Lan, reported on the association and charged Zhang Jian and his fellows with plotting treason. A warrant was issued for their arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription.

In desperate flight, seeking lodging and shelter from house to house, Zhang Jian made his way through Lu, Donglai and Beihai to Yuyang and across the frontier to the north. Many admired his reputation and gave him assistance, but pursuit was fierce, scores of people who helped him were executed, while members of his clan and others linked to him were killed or lost their property. [For a negative opinion on Zhang Jian, see *sub* Xia Fu.]

Zhang Jian remained in exile until the ending of Proscription in 184, then returned to his home. Despite the earlier pursuit and persecution, no action was taken against him. On the contrary, he received invitations from the Excellencies and from the General-in-Chief He Jin, and he was nominated as Plain and Honest,

with a special carriage sent to bring him to Luoyang for appointment as Minister Steward. Zhang Jian refused all such offers.

In the early 190s, as the empire fell into civil war and hunger became widespread, Zhang Jian distributed supplies to the local people, so that several hundred were saved from starvation.

When Cao Cao brought Emperor Xian and his court to Xu city in 196, an invitation was sent for Zhang Jian to become Minister of the Guards. Now eighty years old, he felt obliged to accept, but he was aware of Cao Cao's ambitions. He kept the doors of his residence closed and took no role in public affairs. He died about 200. -HHS 67/57:2210-11*, XC 4:8a-b; Ch'ü 72:482, deC 75A:9, 28-30, deC 89:79, 109-114.

Zhang Jian 張戢; Chen. Son of Zhang Cheng, in the early 200s Zhang Jian and his cousin Zhang Ling were kidnapped by bandits. Zhang Ling's father Zhang Fan went to beg for them. The bandits handed over Zhang Ling, but Zhang Fan offered to exchange his own son if they would release Zhang Jian. Admiring this, the kidnappers released both boys. -SGZ 11:337.

Zhang Jian 張儉. In 220 the general Mei Fu of Wei sent his officer Zhang Jian to negotiate his surrender to Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 2:1121.

Zhang Jiang 張江; Nanyang? Early in the first century Zhang Jiang was Administrator of Wuwei and became Marquis of Zhe 析 county in Nanyang. By the time of Zhang Jiang's great-grandson Guo, the family had taken the name of the fief and changed the surname to Zhe 折. -HHS 82/72A:2720, HYGZ 10B:149; Ngo 76:100, DeWoskin 86:62.

Though HHS 82/72A and HYGZ 10B agree, it must be noted that the surname Zhe 折 varies slightly from the name of the county 析. There is, moreover, no record of Zhang Jiang and his enfeoffment anywhere else in the texts, while service as Administrator of a frontier commandery did not normally justify a county fief. The family may have claimed greater lineage than it deserved.

Zhang [Jili] 張季禮; Chen. Some time during the 180s Zhang Jili travelled to Runan to attend the funeral of a former teacher. It was the middle of winter, his carriage broke down and his oxen became ill. The travelling philanthropist Liu Yi, seeing his distress, gave him his own carriage and rode away. He did not tell Zhang Jili his name, but Zhang Jili guessed his identity. He attempted to return his property, but

Liu Yi made excuses and refused to see him. -HHS 81/71:2695, XC 6:3b.

Zhang Jin 張斤 miswritten for Zhang Ang 張印. -HHJ 1:5.

Zhang Jin 張禁. Administrator of Changsha in the 40s, Zhang Jin embezzled quantities of money. His successor Zhi Yun was demoted for having failed to report it. -HHS 29/19:1032, DGHJ 15:4a.

Zhang Jin 張津 [Ziyun 子雲]; Nanyang. A close client of He Jin in 189, Zhang Jin supported Yuan Shao's proposal to destroy the palace eunuchs.

About 201 the Han court under Cao Cao sent Zhang Jin south as Inspector of Jiaozhi in succession to Zhu Fu, who had been driven from the territory by rebellion. Based upon the Pearl River, his nominal territory extended north of the Nan Ling range into Lingling and Guiyang, and he was granted title as Governor of a renamed Jiao province.

Zhang Jin attempted to build a position against Liu Biao in Jing province, and it is said that he used esoteric rituals and regalia to gain authority, but he had strong opposition. By 204 he was dead, either at the hands of local non-Chinese or as a result of a mutiny among his own troops. -HHS 69/59:2248; deC 90:206, 348.

Zhang Jin 張進; Zhangye. About 220 Zhang Jin named himself Administrator of Zhangye and joined Huang Hua of Jiuquan to gather an alliance of Chinese and non-Chinese groups in the northwest. He was attacked and killed by Su Ze. -SGZ 2:59, 16:492; Fang 52:6-7.

Zhang Jing 張景; Nanyang. In 159 Zhang Jing arranged that he and his family would provide clay figures and models for the annual ceremony to encourage agriculture at Wan city, capital of the commandery. In exchange, he was excused all corvée work and also any requirement to hold local office. A stele was set up at the *yamen* gate to confirm the agreement. -Nagata 94:136; Ebrey 80:338-339.

Zhang Jun 張敬 I. Prefect of Insignia and Credentials in 124, Zhang Jing joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125, Zhang Jing and several of his colleagues were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet

gentlemen. -HHS 15/5:591-93.

This may be the same man as Zhang Jing II below, but if so he would have had an official career of almost forty years at the comparatively low rank/salary of 600 *shi*. Considering his support for the future emperor, and the rewards which followed, this is unlikely.

Zhang Jing 張敬 II. A member of the Secretariat in 159, Zhang Jing was one of the non-eunuch supporters of Emperor Huan who were enfeoffed for their aid in the coup which destroyed Liang Ji. As Inspector of You province soon afterwards, Zhang Jing impeached Kou Rong for leaving his territory to return to the capital without permission.

Following the disgrace of the emperor's former favourites Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan in 165, Zhang Jing and others who had been rewarded in 159 were deprived of their fiefs. -HHS 7:305, 16/6:627, 57/47:1858 and see Zhang Jing I above.

Zhang Jing 張靖; Guangling. As Zhang Hong was on his deathbed in 212 he presented a statement of his political philosophy to his son Zhang Jing. Zhang Jing does not appear otherwise in the histories. -SGZ Wu 8:1245.

Zhang Jing 張景. In 215 Zhang Jing was an officer under the Area Commander Liang Xi, when the Wuhuan chieftain Luxi, known for his skill with a bow, took his wife and fled from Jinyang, capital of Taiyuan commandery. The local Chinese officers were afraid to pursue him, but Liang Xi ordered Zhang Jing to call up a group of Xianbi and send them in chase. They caught Luxi and killed him. -SGZ 15:470.

Zhang Jiong 張炯; Henei. In 197 Zhang Jiong found an auspicious omen for Yuan Shu to proclaim himself emperor of his new Zhong 仲 dynasty. -HHS 75/65:2442, SGZ 6:209.

Zhang Jiu 張就; Dunhuang. About 220 Zhang Jiu was sent to the capital by his father Zhang Gong to ask that a new Administrator be sent to the commandery. On his way back he was kidnapped by rebels and held hostage for his father's co-operation, but he sent a secret message urging his father to attack. Huang Hua was forced to surrender to the Han/Wei commander Su Ze, and Zhang Jiu was freed.

Zhang Jiu later succeeded his father as Wu and Ji Colonel for the Western Regions and was then Administrator of Jincheng. The family was celebrated in the west of the empire. -SGZ 18:550-51*.

Zhang Ju 張舉; Yuyang. Formerly Administrator of

Taishan, in 187 Zhang Ju joined Zhang Chun and the Wuhuan chieftain Qiuliju in rebellion against Han. Supported by the Xianbi, their troops ravaged the northeast. They defeated and killed the Administrators of Youbeiping and Liaoxi and the Protector of the Wuhuan Gongqi Chou.

Zhang Ju took the imperial title in Liaoxi, but in the following year the rebels were heavily defeated by Gongsun Zan. Zhang Chun was killed, and Zhang Ju fled across the frontier. -HHS 73/63:2353-54.

Zhang Jue 張角 (d.184); Julu. An adept of Huang-Lao 黃老, the popular cult concerning the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and Laozi 老子, Zhang Jue acquired wide popularity through the 170s. His teaching, known as the Way of Great Peace 太平道, was based upon faith-healing, using charmed water and a confession of sins, and was highly relevant at a time when major epidemics were reported almost every second year. It appears very likely that this period marked an occasion when a new and thus virulent disease, possibly a version of smallpox or measles, began to affect humans.

Though there were other teachers of similar style, Zhang Jue's influence spread widely. It is said that he sent disciples across the east of the empire, that people sold all they had to follow him and pilgrims clogged the roads. Eventually he set up thirty-six Divisions 方, like armies under a general, each with as many as ten thousand adherents, while the faithful were counted in the hundreds of thousands. Since the population of the empire was some forty million, the numbers may not have been overwhelming, but members of the sect were devoted, and they had considerable influence in their communities.

At first, local officials reported only that Zhang Jue's doctrines were an influence for good, and that people were reformed by his teaching. At some stage, however, this popular religious movement turned against the government of Han. There was tradition of religious rebellion in China, and the hostility of heterodox sects to the formally Confucianist state appears particularly prevalent in the second century AD.

A belief that the blue sky of Han would give way to the yellow of a new era was attested in a tomb of the Cao family as early as 170 [Barrett 86:876], but Zhang Jue developed this into a symbol of his own cult's rise to greatness. By 180 the change had been forecast for the beginning of the next sexagenary cycle

in 184: the characters *jiazi* 甲子, first of the new series, were written as a threat on the walls of the capital city itself and government offices throughout the empire.

Concerned at such development, the Excellency Yang Ci urged that local officials should be ordered to halt the pilgrimages and other gatherings and to resettle the people. His memorial, however, was pigeon-holed, and though the clerical officer Liu Tao later returned to the charge, requesting a clear edict for the arrest of Zhang Jue and his senior supporters, still nothing was done.

In the ominous year of 184 the rising indeed took place. It was planned to be simultaneous from Jing province to You, including the capital, where the sect had adherents even amongst the palace eunuchs, but the plot was betrayed before the due time. More a thousand of Zhang Jue's followers were taken and executed in Luoyang, and imperial messengers were sent with orders for the arrest of Zhang Jue and his associates.

So the rebellion had to be called ahead of time. In the second month Zhang Jue proclaimed himself Lord of Heaven General 天公將軍 while his younger brothers Bao and Liang took the titles of Earth and Man; it is said they held human sacrifice to bless their cause. With yellow bands about their heads as a sign of the yellow heaven to come, the insurgents were known as Yellow Turbans 黃巾. They received wide response across the empire: towns and villages were looted, government offices were destroyed and officials driven from their posts, while in Anping and Ganling the people forced their kings to make cause with the rebels.

Despite initial confusion and disruption, the Han response was remarkably prompt and energetic. As eight passes guarding Luoyang were fortified and garrisoned, the general Lu Zhi was sent directly against Zhang Jue, while two further armies were despatched under Huangfu Song and Zhu Jun to attack the rebels in Yingchuan. Though the imperial forces included elements from the professional Northern Army, the majority were conscripts or volunteers; the rebels were likewise untrained and inexperienced.

Lu Zhi, who also had Wuhuan auxiliaries, achieved swift success. Killing or capturing more than ten thousand of the enemy, he drove Zhang Jue and his companions to refuge at Guangzong city in Julu, east of present-day Wei in Hebei. As he prepared to storm

the place, however, he was slandered by the eunuch Zuo Feng and was recalled in disgrace. The frontier general Dong Zhuo took his place, but achieved no success, and it was not until winter that the commander Huangfu Song, fresh from victories further south, defeated and destroyed Zhang Liang and stormed the city.

Zhang Jue had died of illness some weeks earlier, but the victorious imperialists dug up his body, desecrated it, and sent the head to Luoyang. -HHS 70/60:2299-2302; deC 89:174-186.

Zhang Jujun 張巨君 "Great Gentleman Zhang." About 100 the young man Xu Jun went on pilgrimage to Mount Tai, seeking a cure for a serious illness. He claimed he met the Taoist sage 道士 Zhang Jujun on that journey, and that Zhang Jujun taught him magical arts. -HHS 82/72B:2731; Ngo 76:111, DeWoskin 83: 70.

Zhang Jun 張峻; Shanyang. Formerly a magistrate in Henei, Zhang Jun was a friend of Song Yang, father of the imperial concubines nee Song. When the Ladies Song were disgraced, Song Yang was arrested by the authorities of his home commandery, Youfufeng. Zhang Jun spoke on his behalf, and through his efforts and those of Liu Jun, Song Yang was released. -HHS 55/45:1800.

Zhang Jun 張俊; Shu. Zhang Jun and his brother Zhang Kan were both members of the Imperial Secretariat. A young man of talent, about 115 Zhang Jun was sent to assess the qualities of Yin Fang, who had been proposed as an Excellency; he found him inadequate.

In 117, believing that two of his colleagues, Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng, were remiss in their duties, Zhang Jun resolved to report them. The two men were afraid, and though they sent two other officers, Chen Zhong and Lei Yi, to approach Zhang Jun on their behalf, he remained adamant.

Then Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng bribed a servant to find something against Zhang Jun, and they got hold of some private correspondence with Yuan Xu, son of the Excellency Yuan Chang. The conspirators sent the letters to the emperor, claiming Zhang Jun had divulged matters which should have remained secret within the palace. Zhang Jun and Yuan Xu were imprisoned and sentenced to death, and Yuan Chang was obliged to commit suicide.

Zhang Jun persuaded one of the prison officers

to take a letter to the throne appealing for justice. By the time it arrived, he had already been sentenced and was on the way to the execution ground, but the regent Dowager Deng sent orders post-haste that the death penalty was to be reduced.

Zhang Jun's memorial of thanks was admired for its elegant expression of emotion. He went into exile, but Yuan Chang was posthumously rehabilitated and Yuan Xu was able to resume his official career. -HHS 45/35:1524, HYGZ 10C:178-79.

Zhang Jun 張鈞/均 (d.184); Zhongshan. At the time of the Yellow Turban uprising in 184, Zhang Jun sent in a memorial criticising senior eunuchs, blaming them for the rebellion, and suggesting that they should be publicly executed as a means to settle the trouble.

Emperor Ling showed the document to the eunuchs, who apologised profusely and offered quantities of money for the cause. The emperor in any case refused to accept Zhang Jun's arguments, and the Imperial Censorate then falsely accused him of having studied the teachings of the Yellow Turbans. Zhang Jun was arrested and flogged to death. -HHS 78/68:2535 [as 鈞], HHJ 24:293 [as 均]; deC 89:179-180.

HHS 78/68, followed by ZZTJ 58:1867, says that when Zhang Jun presented his fatal memorial he was only a gentleman cadet. HHJ 24:293 describes him as a General of the Household, and this is more probable.

Zhang Kai 張楷; Henan. Known as a scholar and diviner, Zhang Kai was invited to the court of Emperor Shun in 127, at the same time as the hermit Fan Ying. He later criticised Fan Ying for being prepared to accept official positions but then failing to offer any good advice to the government; he argued that a man should either stay in private life or commit himself whole-heartedly to the benefit of public affairs.

Soon afterwards, the former Court Architect Zhai Fu, who had been driven from office by allegations of conspiracy and corruption, was also accused of having been involved in a treasonous plot with Zhang Kai. The charge was later dropped, but no more is heard of Zhang Kai. -HHS 82/72A:2724, 48/38:1605.

Zhang Kai 張楷 [Gongchao 公超]; Shu>Henan. Son of Zhang Ba by his father's first wife, he was registered as a man from Shu commandery and spent much of his childhood there with his step-mother, the Lady Sima/Ma Jingsi, who inspired him to scholarship. He later went to live at the capital, where he maintained his father's interest in the Yan interpretation of *Chunqiu* and

studied the Old Text *Classic of History*. Maintaining a private academy with hundreds of students, he also attracted a vast number of clients and guests, many of them from his father's former school. So many came to call upon him that their carriages blocked the roads and their attendants had nowhere to rest, while a number of families, including some connected to the court nobility and the palace eunuchs, set up inns and stalls to profit from them.

Finding this distasteful, Zhang Kai moved into the country to avoid the crowds. His own household was poor, and he would ride in a donkey-cart and sell medicinal drugs in the market at the county city. As soon as he had enough money for food he would return to his village.

Recommended Abundant Talent by the Director of Retainers, Zhang Kai was appointed a magistrate in Jingzhao but refused to take up the post and went into the mountains west of Hongnong. Enthusiastic scholars still pursued him there, and a market developed about the place where he lived: it was known from his style as Gongchao Market 公超市.

The Excellencies, the General-in-Chief and the Grand Tutor all sent invitations to a position in their offices, and Zhang Kai was also recommended as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, but he would not go.

In 142, soon after the failure of the latest recommendation, Emperor Shun sent special instructions to the Intendant of Henan, comparing Zhang Kai to the most virtuous recluses of ancient times. Concerned that the earlier summons might have appeared insufficiently polite, the Intendant was instructed to offer a most courteous and particular invitation. This was done, but Zhang Kai pleaded ill health. A similar approach in 149, with a comfortable carriage and special gifts, received the same response, and Zhang Kai died at home, aged over seventy, a short time later.

Besides his Confucian studies and his ability to find medicinal drugs, it is said that Zhang Kai was also an expert in magical arts. In particular, he could create a mist that spread for five *li*. A certain Pei You, who could arrange a mist for only three *li*, came to seek further instruction, but Zhang Kai would have nothing to do with him. In the late 140s Pei You used his own mist-making to carry out a series of robberies and then proclaimed himself as emperor. When he was caught, it was found that he was using techniques similar to

those taught by Zhang Kai. Zhang Kai was arrested and spent two years in prison before his innocence was proven. It is said that during his time there he compiled a commentary to the *History*, but the whole story is suspect. -HHS 36/26:1242-43*, XC 2:1a-b, HYZ 12: 213; Ch'ü 72:384-385, Vervorm 90:191.

Zhang Kai 張愷. A major under Duan Jiong, in 169 Zhang Kai commanded the troops on the eastern hillside in the battle and subsequent massacre of the Qiang at Shoot-Tiger Valley. -HHS 65/55:2153.

Zhang Kai 張闔. In 193 Zhang Kai was Commandant of Langye. As the former Excellency Cao Song was journeying to join his son Cao Cao, Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province put Zhang Kai in charge of his escort. Zhang Kai, however, killed Cao Song and plundered his baggage train, then fled south of the Huai. Cao Cao blamed Tao Qian and attacked Xu province in revenge. -SGZ 1:11. [It is possible this is the same man as Zhang Kaiyang below.]

Zhang Kaiyang 張闔陽. A leading retainer of Yuan Shu, in 197 Zhang Kaiyang was sent to assassinate Luo Jun the Chancellor of Chen. He journeyed privately to Chen, was received with a banquet, then took advantage of his host's generosity to kill him. -HHS 50/40:1670. [It is possible this is the same man as Zhang Kai immediately above.]

Zhang Kan 張堪 [Junyou 君游]; Nanyang. Member of a leading clan in the capital county Wan, Zhang Kan's father died when he was young. Zhang Kan passed all his inheritance, several million cash, to his brothers and their family.

At the age of sixteen, about 20 AD, Zhang Kan went to Chang'an to study. He was noted for his fine ambition and steady work, and scholars of that time described him as the "Young Sage" 聖童. Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, admired him, and when he took the imperial throne in 25 he followed a recommendation of Lai Xi and appointed Zhang Kan as a Palace Attendant.

Zhang Kai later became an Internuncio, and at the end of 36 he was sent with seven thousand horsemen to take a load of silk to the Grand Marshal Wu Han, outside the city of Chengdu, capital of Gongsun Shu. He was also designated Administrator of Shu, to take office after the conquest was complete. When Zhang Kan arrived, he found Wu Han to be short of supplies and planning to withdraw. He persuaded him to change his mind, so Wu Han only pretended to retreat, and by

this means he enticed Gongsun Shu to the sortie which led to his death.

Zhang Kan then prepared a full inventory of Gongsun Shu's treasury, taking nothing for himself. Though Wu Han then allowed his soldiers to loot, Zhang Kan was admired for his honesty, and he was later able to restore order and good government among the people.

After two years in Shu, Zhang Kan was sent to the north as a Commandant of Cavalry, leading a regiment under the general Du Miao. He became Administrator of Yuyang, where he withstood attacks from the Xiongnu and opened up farmland for settlement. The people sang his praises and for the eight years he was there the border region was peaceful.

About 46 Emperor Guangwu asked the annual Reporting Officers from the various commanderies for their opinion of officials they had known. Fan Xian of Shu praised Zhang Kan for his scrupulous honesty in cataloguing the treasures left by Gongsun Shu [another account ascribes the praise to Li Shan]. Impressed by this long-maintained reputation, the emperor called Zhang Kan to court, but just at this time he was taken ill and died. Guangwu mourned him, and gave valuable gifts for his funeral.

Despite the imperial favour, it appears Zhang Kan's family was later poor and distressed. His widow and children were aided by his fellow-country-man Zhu Hui, to whom Zhang Kan had nominally entrusted them in the mid-20s. Though the two men had no contact thereafter, Zhu Hui honoured the ancient request.

The great scholar Zhang Heng was a grandson of Zhang Kan. -HHS 31/21:1100-01*, XC 1:9a; Bn 59: 196-197.

Zhang Kan 張龕; Shu. Elder brother of Zhang Jun, he too was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. About 115 Deng Feng, son of Deng Zhi and a nephew of the regent Dowager Deng, wrote to urge him that the scholar Ma Rong, then a gentleman cadet, be appointed to that office. -HHS 45/35:1524, 16/6:616.

Zhang Kang 章康 (d.28). An officer of the warlord Qin Feng, Zhang Kang was defeated and killed in Nanyang by Guangwu's troops under Zhu You. -HHS 22/12:770.

Zhang Kuang 張況 (d.24); Zhao. A younger cousin of the wife of Liu Hui 回, grandfather of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, Zhang Kuang was a regular

visitor to the family and knew Liu Xiu when he was young.

When Liu Xiu was appointed commissioner in the north by the Gengshi Emperor in 23, he met Liu Kuang at Handan, where he was a junior officer in the commandery. Pleased to see him again, Liu Xiu appointed him a magistrate and then Administrator of Zhuo commandery. Now eighty years old, Zhang Kuang asked to be spared such responsibility. Liu Xiu transferred him to a county in Changshan, but then the city was attacked by a group of Red Eyebrows and Zhang Kuang was killed in battle. -*HHS* 44/34:1496.

Zhang Kuang 張匡 [Wentong 文通]; Shanyang. A scholar of the Han version of the *Poetry*, Zhang Kuang compiled a detailed commentary to the classic. Recommended as Knowing the Way, he was invited to become an Academician, but did not accept and died at home. -*HHS* 79/69B:2575.

Zhang Kuang 章誼; Danyang. In 196 Zhang Kuang was a major under Xu Dan of Danyang, an officer of Liu Bei in Xiapi. As the garrison commander Zhang Fei killed the Chancellor Cao Bao, Xu Dan sent Zhang Kuang to invite the enemy Lü Bu, and had his troops open the gates to him. -*SGZ* 7:223.

Zhang Kui 張遂 (d.139). A eunuch, in 139 Zhang Kui was a Regular Attendant to Emperor Shun. Concerned at the growing power of the Liang family, Zhang Kui, Yang Ding, Qu Zheng and others claimed that the father of the empress, Liang Shang, together with their rival eunuchs Cao Teng and Meng Ben, were planning to bring princes of the imperial house to the capital and choose a replacement for the emperor. When Emperor Shun doubted the story, they followed up by issuing unauthorised instructions that Cao Teng and Meng Ben should be arrested and held within the palace.

The emperor, furious, ordered the eunuch Li Xi to release the prisoners and to arrest Zhang Kui and his fellows. They died in prison. -*HHS* 6:268, 43/24:1175-76, 101/11:3245, 106/16:3333, 108/18:3367. [*HHS* 101/11 says that some of the conspirators committed suicide and others escaped.]

Zhang Lan 張藍 sometimes miswritten as 張蘭 (d.32); Langye. Zhang Lan was a younger brother of Zhang Bu and Zhang Hong. During the troubles at the fall of Wang Mang the family established a warlord regime, and when the Gengshi Emperor set up his government in 23 he named Zhang Lan as a chief general.

Zhang Lan shared his brothers' fortunes, and in 29

he held command of defences in Qi against Guangwu's general Geng Yan. Driven from his position, he joined Zhang Bu for a counter-attack by the main army, but they were defeated and scattered. As Zhang Bu surrendered later that year, Zhang Lan accompanied the family to Luoyang. He joined their abortive escape to the southeast in 32, and was killed with the rest of the party by Chen Jun. -*HHS* 19/9:709-11, 12/2:598-99.

Zhang Lang 張朗. Administrator of Dunhuang in 127, Zhang Lang was sent with three thousand men to join Ban Yong in forcing the submission of Yanqi [Karashar]. Having lately committed some fault, he was eager to rehabilitate himself and so arrived early. After a brief engagement King Yuanmeng and his allied rulers of Weili and Weixu sent hostages and tribute. Zhang Lang therefore escaped any penalty for his earlier wrong-doing, but Ban Yong was unjustly punished for arriving too late at the rendezvous.

Zhang Lang was soon afterwards accused of having conspired with the eunuch Zhang Fang, with Gaotang Zhi and members of the Imperial Secretariat, and several provincial officers. Two men were executed, but Zhang Lang and others were allowed to purchase relief. -*HHS* 6:254, 101/11:3243 and *cf. sub* Zhang Fang 張防.

Zhang Leigong 張雷公 [Lord of Thunder]. Probably named for his loud voice, in 185 he was a leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range. -*HHS* 71/61:2310-11, *SGZ* 8:261-62.

Zhang Li 張禮; Yingchuan. When Yin Xiu was Administrator of Yingchuan during the 180s, he appointed Zhang Li to his local staff and later nominated him as Filial and Incorrupt. -*SGZ* 13:392.

Zhang Li 張立 miswritten for Zhang Xuan 張玄. -*HHS* 23/13:800-01.

Zhang Liang 張亮. A eunuch, in 168 Zhang Liang was a member of staff at the residence of the regent Dowager Dou. Very strong, he was a friend of the eunuch officer Zhu Yu. When Zhu Yu learned that Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to arrest the senior eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu, he called Zhang Liang, Gong Pu and others, and they took an oath in blood to destroy Dou Wu.

After the successful coup Zhang Liang, Gong Pu and three of their comrades were enfeoffed. -*HHS* 69/59:2243, 78/68:2524; Ch'ü 72:491.

Zhang Liang 張梁/良 (d.184); Julu. A brother of the

religious leader Zhang Jue, when the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184 Zhang Liao took title as Lord of Man General 人公將軍 beside Zhang Jue, who styled himself Lord of Heaven, and their brother Bao, Lord of Earth.

Though Zhang Jue may have initially held command, after the first assault by Lu Zhi it appears that he was taken ill, and Zhang Liao maintained the defence of Guangzong city in Julu. As Lu Zhi was succeeded by Dong Zhuo the rebels withstood the imperial attacks, and when Huangfu Song took over in the ninth month they again scored some success. In the tenth month, however, Huangfu Song inflicted a heavy defeat, and Zhang Liao was killed. -HHS 71/61:2300-02; deC 89:177-186.

Zhang Liao 張梁; Henan. An émigré, Zhang Liao was well-treated by Sun Jiao, Sun Quan's commander in the west about 215, and became a most loyal officer. An aide in command of troops, he later served Sun Jiao's brother Huan with similar commitment.

In 226 Zhang Liao accompanied Zhang Huan on a successful campaign and was rewarded with a secondary marquisate. In 229 he encouraged Sun Quan to move his capital back downstream to Jianye, present-day Nanjing. He was later an Area Commander on the Han River. -SGZ Wu 6:1207-08.

Zhang Liangze 張亮則 or Zhang Ze [Yuanxiu 元脩]; Hanzhong. As Administrator of Zangke, and known as the Sleeping Tiger 臥虎, Zhang Liangze over-awed the non-Chinese as far afield as Yongchang and Yuexi, and dissuaded them from rebellion. He was transferred north to be Protector of the Qiang, then Administrator of Youfufeng, but was later sent back south to Guiyang to put down insurgency there.

When the Banshun people of Ba commandery rebelled in 179, Zhang Liangze was sent to hold Hanzhong against them. He later became Inspector of Liang province and was then Administrator of Wei commandery; in every post he maintained a good government.

As civil war followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189, Zhang Liangze refused an invitation to become chief of staff to Yuan Shao. He became General on the Liao for Cao Cao. -HYGZ 10C:166.

Zhang Liao 張遼 [Shugao 叔高]; Jiangxia. Having retired from a position as a county magistrate, Zhang Liao bought a piece of land. In the middle was an great tree, whose shade prevented seed from sprouting over

a large area. Zhang Liao ordered one of his servants to cut it down, but the tree emitted blood and the man was frightened. Zhang Liao then took it down himself, and as a four-headed demon leapt at him from the ruins, he killed it.

Ying Shao, who tells the story, goes on to say that on that same day Zhang Liao was appointed to the office of the Excellency of Works, and later became Inspector of Yan province; the ill will of the supernatural had thus no effect upon his career. -FSTY 9:74-75; Nylan 83:547.

Zhang Liao 張遼 [Wenta 文達] (165-222); Yanmen. Zhang Liao was originally a man of the Nie clan, claiming descent from Nie Yi 聶壹 of Former Han, but he changed his surname to avoid a vendetta. He became a local officer in the commandery, and was noted his strength and ability as a fighting man.

Recruited to the staff of Ding Yuan, Inspector of Bing province, in 189 Zhang Liao accompanied Ding Yuan to Luoyang for He Jin's demonstration of strength against the eunuchs. He was sent to raise troops north of the Yellow River and collected a thousand men, but by the time he returned to the capital He Jin had been destroyed and Dong Zhuo had taken over power, killing Ding Yuan as a potential rival. Zhang Liao nonetheless took service with Lü Bu, assassin of his former master.

As Lü Bu was driven from the capital in 192, Zhang Liao accompanied him to the east. He became Chancellor of Lu in Xu province and was then named Administrator of Beidi; the latter title was meaningless, for Lü Bu had no hope of control in that distant region. He assisted Gao Shun to defeat Liu Bei and Cao Cao's general Xiahou Dun in 198, but when Cao Cao himself destroyed Lü Bu, Zhang Liao brought his men to surrender. He was appointed a General of the Household and enfeoffed as a secondary marquis.

Distinguishing himself on several occasions, Zhang Liao was promoted major-general, and after the defeat of Yuan Shao in 200 he was sent east again to take over Lu kingdom. In 201 he accompanied Xiahou Yuan to attack Chang Xi in Donghai. As their supplies were getting low, they were going to retreat, but Zhang Liao suggested that Chang Xi might be ready to surrender. He went on embassy alone, treated Chang Xi and his wife with respect and courtesy, and indeed persuaded him to submit.

Zhang Liao then joined the campaign against Yuan

Shao's sons Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang in Ji province, and in 203 he was sent to take control of Zhao and Changshan, where he obtained the surrender of several leaders of the old Black Mountain bandit group. In 204 he took part in the final destruction of Yuan Tan, then led a separate expedition to the eastern coast, where he defeated Liu Yi and others who had been raiding across the sea from Liaodong. As he returned to Ye city Cao Cao came out in person to welcome him, and Zhang Liao was awarded a full marquise.

Now likewise a full general, Zhang Liao was sent south through Yingchuan to face Liu Biao in Jing province. As Cao Cao was planning his northern campaign against Tadu and the Wuhuan allies of Yuan Xi and Yuan Shang in 207, Zhang Liao warned of the potential danger from Liu Biao and his associate Liu Bei, but he accompanied the army and commanded the van in the victory at White Wolf Mountain.

On return from the north, Zhang Liao was again stationed in Yingchuan. His colleagues Yu Jin and Yue Jin were in the same area, but the three could not co-operate and Cao Cao was obliged to send his Registrar Zhao Yan to enforce agreement. Soon afterwards, as Cao Cao invaded Jing province and received the surrender of Liu Biao's son Liu Zong, Zhang Liao was given command of one of seven divisions in Nanyang under Zhao Yan, now Area Commander.

A year later Zhang Liao accompanied Cao Cao's main army in his offensive against Sun Quan across the Huai, and was sent with a detached column against the bandits Chen Lan and Mei Cheng in Lujiang. Yu Jin, leading a second troop, forced the surrender of Mei Cheng, but as soon as he had withdrawn Mei Cheng brought his men to join Chen Lan, and the combined force took refuge in the hills. Advancing into the wilderness, Zhang Liao attacked the enemy's stronghold and took the heads of their leaders. He was now granted the Staff of Authority and his fief was increased in value.

As Cao Cao withdrew from direct attack against Sun Quan, he left Zhang Liao, Yue Jin and Li Dian with some seven thousand men to hold the city of Hefei in Jiuchang, guarding the line of the Huai from Sun Quan's attack across the Yangzi. In 215, as Cao Cao was attacking Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, Sun Quan brought a major army against Hefei. For such a contingency, Cao Cao had left instructions that Yue Jin should hold the city while Zhang Liao and Li Dian

operated outside. At first the commanders felt they had too few men to divide and expose their forces in such a fashion, but Zhang Liao urged the policy and was supported by Li Dian, who had in the past been an enemy and a rival.

Zhang Liao gathered eight hundred volunteers, held a feast to confirm their comradeship, and led them against Sun Quan. Breaking the enemy lines, they threw them into utter confusion and threatened Sun Quan himself. The Wu attack was disrupted, the Wei forces became confident, and Sun Quan withdrew after a siege of only ten days. Zhang Liao harassed the retreat, and a sudden attack at a river crossing almost captured Sun Quan. It is said there was sickness in the Wu camp, which may have explained part of the debacle, but it was an embarrassment to Sun Quan as a war leader, and he never commanded another major campaign.

In 217 Cao Cao returned for another offensive. This too was unsuccessful, but as he withdrew he left his leading general Xiahou Dun with Zhang Liao and a number of other divisional officers. Zhang Liao was stationed with Zang Ba in Lujiang, facing Huan city, held by Wu. The threat of these garrisons persuaded Sun Quan to make formal submission to Wei.

In 219, as Guan Yu attacked northwards in Jing province, Zhang Liao and his colleagues were called to assist. By the time they arrived the emergency was over, but Cao Cao came out to meet Zhang Liao, and transferred him to Chen commandery. After Cao Cao died early in the following year, his successor Cao Pi named Zhang Liao as General of the Van, awarding him silk and grain, while his elder brother Zhang Fan and one of Zhang Liao's sons were granted enfeoffment.

Soon afterwards Zhang Liao was sent back to camp at Hefei, but he was again raised in fief and his mother was awarded a special carriage and a mounted escort.

When Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220 he awarded Zhang Liao additional revenues, and Zhang Liao was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. When he came to court at Luoyang in 221 Cao Pi received him in private audience, seeking his advice on how to attack Sun Quan. He had a residence built for him at the capital, and granted his mother an apartment in the imperial palace. For his part, Zhang Liao gathered volunteers to prepare an attack on Wu.

Sun Quan proclaimed his formal independence in the following year, and Zhang Liao went with other

generals under Cao Xiu to attack across the lower Yangzi. Taken ill, he was cared for by the emperor's own physician and Cao Pi came to visit him. He recovered slightly, and took part in the defeat of the enemy general Lü Fan, but died soon afterwards. -SGZ 17:517-20*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:196.

Zhang Liao 張遼, mother of: see the Lady Zhang IV.

Zhang Lin 張林. A county magistrate in Changshan in the early 80s, Zhang Lin was recommended for appointment to the Imperial Secretariat by Dou Xian, brother of the empress. Emperor Zhang asked Chen Chong about him, and Chen Chong observed that Zhang Lin had ability, but was greedy and corrupt. Zhang Lin was nonetheless granted the position.

About this time the government of Emperor Zhang was concerned that official revenue was inadequate because of the high prices of grain and silk. Zhang Lin argued that the reason for imbalance was an over-supply and thus comparative cheapness of money. He recommended that coins should be hoarded in the government treasuries and taxes made payable in cloth and silk, which should be used exclusively as the medium of exchange; this would change the balance and reduce prices. He also proposed that the court should make use of the jewels and precious goods which came as tribute from the far south and southwest. On a larger scale and perhaps more practically, he urged the re-introduction of state monopolies on salt and official trading in other commodities on the model of the *junshu* 均輸 system of Emperor Wu of Former Han, whereby government used tax revenues to compete with private merchants and control aspects of general commerce.

There was opposition to this plan, notably from Zhang Lin's senior colleague in the Secretariat Zhu Hui. The proposal was shelved, but it was revived about 85 and received the emperor's approval. Zhu Hui returned to the debate, with Confucian argument that it was wrong for the government to engage so deeply in trade, and traditional gentry opposition to official monopolies. Emperor Zhang angrily rejected Zhu Hui's protests and Zhang Lin's proposals were adopted, but they were abolished again soon afterwards.

In 87 the Grand Commandant Zheng Hong charged Zhang Lin with personal corruption, and private association with Dou Xian. He was dismissed. -HHS 33/23:1156, 43/33:1460-61; Yang 63:188-189.

Zhang Ling 張陵. Son of Zhang Weibo and grandson

of Zhang Bin'gong, he died young and was buried with them. -LS 13:9b-10a.

Zhang Ling 張陵 or Zhang Daoling 道陵; Pei. About 140 Zhang Ling migrated from the east of the empire to Yi province, where he established a sect of popular religion in the western hill country. There were several such groups in the region at the time, while Zhang Ling's homeland in the region of the Huai was likewise a centre of esoteric beliefs. It appears that his teaching was based upon the use of written charms and amulets.

It is frequently said that Zhang Ling was the founder of the Five Dou of Rice sect 五斗米道, but it is possible that was a separate group until its forcible take-over by Zhang Ling's grandson Zhang Lu [see also *sub* Zhang Xiu]. Zhang Ling in any case passed on his teachings to his son Zhang Heng, and Zhang Ling, Zhang Heng and Zhang Lu are regarded as the founding Celestial Masters 天師 of the modern Taoist church. -HHS 75/65:2435-37*, SGZ 8:263; deC 89:557, deC 90:357-359, deC 96:83-84.

Zhang Ling 張陵 [Chuzhong 處沖]; Shu/Henan. Elder son of Zhang Kai, Zhang Ling may have been registered, like his father and grandfather, as a man from Shu commandery, and he is recorded as such in *Huayang guo zhi*. Like his father, however, he resided in the region of the capital and, as we see below he was nominated for office by the Intendant of Henan, indicating he was a citizen of that territory.

About 152 Zhang Ling was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. At the court held for the New Year, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji attended the ceremony with a sword at his waist. Zhang Ling denounced him, ordered him to leave and had the guards in attendance remove the weapon. Liang Ji knelt to seek pardon, but Zhang Ling would not relent, and he sent in a memorial that the matter should be referred as a criminal case to the Minister of Justice. An imperial edict ordered Liang Ji to pay a fine amounting to a full year's salary; all the officials were impressed by Zhang Ling's courageous stand.

Zhang Ling had originally been nominated for commissioned office by the Intendant of Henan Liang Buyi, Liang Ji's younger brother, and Liang Buyi was predictably angry that Zhang Ling had turned against the family of his patron in such a fashion. When he taxed him, Zhang Ling replied that it was only by fulfilling his official responsibilities that he could repay

the duty he owed his patron. Liang Buyi was suitably embarrassed. -HHS 36/26:1243-44*, HYGZ.12:213, XC 2:1b-2a [this last describes Zhang Ling as a man from Qinghe, but is surely not correct].

During the First Faction Incident of 166/167 we are told that a certain Zhang Ling, a member of the Imperial Secretariat, was commended to Emperor Huan by Dou Wu; he is not mentioned again. Given the dating, it is not certain this is the same man, but Dou Wu is also said to have praised Bian Shao, who had likewise been active in the 140s and 150s. Both citations may be anachronistic. -HHS 69/59:2240, XC 2:1b-2a.

Zhang Ling 張陵; Chen. In the early 200s Zhang Ling and his cousin Zhang Jian were kidnapped by bandits. Zhang Ling's father Zhang Fan went to beg for them, and the bandits handed Zhang Ling over. Zhang Fan then offered to leave Zhang Ling if they would only release Zhang Jian. Admiring this, the kidnappers let both boys go. -SGZ 11:337.

Zhang Lixiu 張禮脩, the Lady; Hanzhong. The Lady was married to Zhao Song, but her husband's aunt, evidently the senior woman of the family, treated her badly. Though the Lady made no protest, her parents found out, and the aunt realised her fault and began to show affection. The neighbours were most impressed.

The aunt later became ill and died, but urged her own daughter to entrust herself to the Lady Zhang. After Zhao Song died a hero's death against the Rice Rebels 米賊 in 190, the enemy came to threaten the family. The Lady told them that there was sickness, and they went away.

The Lady remained a widow, but brought up the children in her father's household. -HYGZ 10C:172.

Zhang Long 張隆. Administrator of Guiyang in 25, when Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, took the imperial title and the Gengshi Emperor was trapped in Chang'an, Zhang Long attacked Liu Xin, Administrator of Yuzhang appointed by the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Xin was defeated and went to surrender to Guangwu at Luoyang.

Zhang Long remained independent in Guiyang until 29. As Cen Peng, Guangwu's general in Jing province, prepared to attack Gongsun Shu, he issued summons to all the administrators south of the Yangzi, and Zhang Long sent his son Ye with a contingent to assist in the campaign. He was made a full marquis and Zhang Ye was also enfeoffed. -HHS 14/4:566,

17/7:659.

Zhang Long 張隆 or Li Long 李隆. Minister of the Household under the claimant imperial regime of Gongsun Shu, he joined his colleague Chang Shao the Minister of Ceremonies in urging their master to acknowledge Emperor Guangwu of Han. As Gongsun Shu, however, insisted upon his imperial claim, the two men are said to have died of grief 以憂死 soon afterwards – surely a euphemism for enforced suicide. None of Gongsun Shu's officials dared raise the proposal again.

Dating is uncertain: HYGZ says the discussion took place in 35, after Guangwu had begun his final campaign and sent a letter calling on Gongsun Shu to surrender, but the text is corrupt; the incident probably took place in 30, when it appears Lai Xi and Ma Yuan came on an embassy. See HYGZ/BTZ:335.

After the destruction of Gongsun Shu at the end of 36, Guangwu gave Zhang Long and Chang Shao posthumous recognition as ministers of his own court, and had them reburied with appropriate honours. -HHS 13/3:542-44 [Zhang Long], HYGZ 5:68-69 [Li Long]. **Zhang Long** 張隆. A former officer of the Bureau of Astronomy, during the reign of Emperor Ming Zhang Long was ordered to investigate whether the *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system would be superior to the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar which was currently in use. His report was negative.

In 85, however, the *Sifen* calendar was nonetheless introduced, and when Jia Kui presented *Li lun* 歷論, his "Essay on the Calendar" in the early 90s, he claimed that Zhang Long's calculations had been mistaken. -HHS 92/2:3030 and see *sub* Li Fan.

Zhang Long 張龍. In 195 Zhang Long was in the service of Li Jue, who had quarrelled with Guo Si and held Emperor Xian hostage in Chang'an. Zhang Long and his colleague Zhang Bao secretly changed sides and let in an attack by Guo Si; it was not successful. -HHS 72/62:2337.

Zhang Lu 張路; Guangling. A pirate chieftain on the lower Yangzi about 120, Zhang Lu was dealt with by the Administrator Yuan Liang II. -LS 6:6a.

Zhang Lu 張魯 [Gongqi 公旗/祺]; Pei/Shu. Zhang Lu's grandfather Zhang Ling is said to have come from Pei, but migrated to the west about 140. His son Zhang Heng is said to have succeeded to Zhang Ling's teaching and passed it on to Zhang Lu. These three are identified as the patriarchs of the modern Taoist

church, but the genealogy is uncertain, and there is great confusion about the origins and nature of Zhang Lu's teaching and his relationship with Zhang Xiu *q.v.* and below.

Soon after Liu Yan came as Governor to Yi province in 188, it appears that he fell under the influence of the Lady Zhang, widow of Zhang Heng and mother of Zhang Lu, who was herself an expert in spiritual matters. In 190 he gave official positions to Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu, also a religious leader, and sent them to attack the Administrator of Hanzhong Su Gu, whom he regarded as an impediment to his authority. Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu killed Su Gu and took over his territory, but they then established a degree of independence and cut the road from Yi province to the imperial capital. Though he had lost control of Hanzhong, Liu Yan was not entirely dissatisfied with the situation: he took no action against the "rebels," while the Lady Zhang and other members of her family remained at his court as hostages for restrained behaviour by Zhang Lu.

At some stage in the 190s Zhang Lu appears to have killed Zhang Xiu, and after Liu Yan's death in 194 he showed small respect for his son and successor Liu Zhang, eventually rejecting his authority. Liu Zhang had held Zhang Lu's mother and other kinsmen hostage at his capital Chengdu, but he was provoked into killing her. As defiance turned to open hostility, Zhang Lu occupied the north of Ba commandery and withstood attacks from Liu Zhang's Administrator Pang Xi. By 200 he was essentially independent.

Zhang Lu had established a theocratic state, with religious Libationers 祭酒 holding civil authority. Like many others of the time, his doctrine emphasised confession of sins and the use of charms to cure illness, accompanied by a donation of five *dou* [ten litres] of rice, from which came the popular name of the Five Dou of Rice sect 五斗米道: see also *sub* Zhang Xiu. Minor wrongdoers were required to take part in public works, notably on the roads, which were well maintained and provided with pavilions for the refreshment of travellers; wine, however, was forbidden. Many crimes were not punished until the third offence, presumably to give the spirits opportunity to inflict their own penalties of ill health.

Numbers of refugees came to Zhang Lu from other troubled regions, and when he later sent formal tribute to the nominal court of Han he received title as a General of the Household and Administrator of

Hanning commandery, a new name for Hanzhong. Some of his followers urged him to take title as a king, but he resisted the temptation and his modesty later served him in good stead.

In 211 Cao Cao began operations against Zhang Lu, though his initial enterprise stirred up the north-western warlords and he was obliged to settle them first. At the same time, the threat from Cao Cao worried Liu Zhang, and he called Liu Bei from Jing province, hoping he could take Zhang Lu's territory before Cao Cao did. In fact, Liu Bei did very little against Zhang Lu but instead turned on Liu Zhang, and in 214 he took over as warlord of Yi province.

For his part, Zhang Lu did not join the leaders of the northwest in their opposition to Cao Cao, but he received Ma Chao when he was defeated and driven away. He gave him office, and was prepared to have his daughter marry him, but was then persuaded that he was unreliable and treated him with more caution. In 214 he allowed Ma Chao some troops for an attempt to recapture the north, but when that was unsuccessful Zhang Lu refused him more support., Ma Chao went to join Liu Bei.

In 215 Cao Cao came with force. Zhang Lu was willing to surrender. His brother Zhang Wei attempted to oppose the invaders but was heavily defeated, Zhang Lu then sealed his treasury and other stores, left them for Cao Cao, and took refuge with allied tribespeople. Cao Cao sent messages of reassurance and at the end of the year Zhang Lu came to submit. Generously received, he was named a general and enfeoffed as a marquis, while his five sons were similarly honoured and his daughter was married to Cao Cao's son Yu.

Zhang Lu, his family, and his leading associates were brought to the east, and Zhang Lu died at Ye city in 216. -*HHS* 75/65:2435-37*, *SGZ* 8:263-66*; Eichhorn 55, Welch 66:113-116, deC 89:557-558, deC 90:356-361, deC 96:83-84, 306-307, 490-497, Goodman 96:82, Liu 2006.

Zhang Man 張滿 (d.27); Henan. A warlord in the hill country south of Luoyang, Zhang Man had imperial pretensions: he claimed to have a favourable prognostication and he offered sacrifice to Heaven and Earth.

In 26 Zhang Man was attacked by Guangwu's general Zhai Zun, who surrounded his headquarters and drove off an attack by some bandit groups which sought to come to his aid. Early in 27 Zhang Man was taken and killed, together with his wife and children.

He remarked at that time that his omens had proved false. -HHS 1A:28, 32, 20/10:739; Bn 59:150-151, 235.

Zhang Man 張璠 is probably a miswriting for Zhang Tuan 張湍 *q.v.* -HYGZ 1:5, 10B:145, 12:219.

Zhang Mancheng 張曼成 (d.184); Nanyang. A leader of local Yellow Turbans, in 184 Zhang Mancheng killed the Administrator Chu Gong and besieged Wan city, but he was defeated and killed by the succeeding Administrator Qin Jie. -HHS 71/61:2309.

Zhang Mao 張卯 see Zhang Ang 張印.

Zhang Meng 張猛 [Shuwei 叔威] (d.210?); Dunhuang >Hongnong: see *sub* Zhang Huan. Zhang Meng was a son of Zhang Huan. His father was Administrator of Wuwei when his mother was pregnant. She dreamt that she was climbing a tower and singing, while carrying the insignia of his office. A diviner interpreted the dream as indicating that she would bear a son who would die upon that tower, and the prophecy was fulfilled as described below.

In 194 the commanderies of the far west, which had been cut off by the rebellion in Liang province, were established as a separate Yong 雍 province. Handan Shang was sent out as Inspector and Zhang Meng, who had served as Officer of Merit in Hongnong, was made Administrator of Wuwei on account of his father's past connection. According to HHS 65/55, Zhang Meng killed Handan Shang but the provincial troops he had commanded came to take vengeance. Realising he would be taken, Zhang Meng climbed the tower, set fire to himself and died. The annals of HHS 9 date the death of Handan Shang to 206.

SGZ 18 PC quotes another account from *Wei lue*, which tells how Handan Shang and Zhang Meng, men of the same age, had always annoyed one another, and when they were on the road to the west together they quarrelled. Handan Shang intended to kill Zhang Meng, but Zhang Meng took him prisoner and later killed him instead. In the following year Zhang Meng was attacked by the rebels of Liang province. His troops deserted him, and he killed himself on the tower as foretold. *Wei lue* implies that the quarrel and killing came soon after the two men arrived in the west, but dates all the events to 209 and 210. Another extract from *Wei lue*, in SGZ 15 PC, says that the attack on Zhang Meng was led by the veteran leader Han Sui.

A third variation appears in the biography of Pang Yu, which says that after he had killed Handan Shang

Zhang Meng ordered that no-one should attend his body under pain of execution. Pang Yu, however, an Attendant Officer stationed in Jincheng, left his post to carry out the mourning rites, then went to Zhang Meng's residence in hope of killing him. Recognising his sense of loyalty, and with some remorse for his treatment of Handan Shang, Zhang Meng did not put Pang Yu to death.

It seems probable that Zhang Meng killed Handan Shang in 206, but was not destroyed by his men at that time. He remained in command at Wuwei until the attack from Liang province in 210. -HHS 9:384, 65/55:2144, SGZ 18:547-48, 15:476; deC 96:351.

Zhang Mengchang 張孟嘗. Wang Chong refers to Zhang Mengchang, Administrator of Yulin, as a man with wide knowledge of things ancient and modern. He was probably a contemporary, living in the first century. -*Lun heng* 11; Forke 11:106.

Zhang Mengcheng 張孟成; Zhuo. XTS 72C:2675 says that Zhang Mengcheng was a son of Zhang Yu, and grandfather of the great minister Zhang Hua 華 of Jin. It also gives him title as Marquis of Feiru 肥如侯, a county in Liaoxi; the significance of this is uncertain.

Zhang Miao 張妙; Runan. During a drunken frolic after a wedding party about 80, Zhang Miao tied up his friend Du Shi in such a way that he died. The case was brought to the Excellency Bao Yu, who found that acts committed while a man was drunk should be considered as a joke, that there had been no intention to kill, and that Zhang Miao should be spared the death penalty. -FSTY 3f:107.

Zhang Miao 張邈 [Mengzhuo 孟卓] (d.195); Dongping. As a young man Zhang Miao was a celebrated adventurer, generous to his retainers. He joined the offices of the Excellencies, graded First Class, and became a Commandant of Cavalry. During the late 160s the reformists and students of the University included him in their lists of popular heroes.

In 189 Zhang Miao was named Administrator of Chenliu by Dong Zhuo, but then joined the eastern alliance against him. He was an old friend of both Yuan Shao and Cao Cao, but he criticised Yuan Shao's arrogance, and Yuan Shao urged Cao Cao to kill him. Cao Cao refused, and trusted Zhang Miao even with his own family, though Zhang Miao remained uncertain how long this relationship could last.

In 194, encouraged by Chen Gong and supported

by his brother Zhang Chao, Zhang Miao turned against Cao Cao while he was engaged on his second campaign into Xu province. The conspirators called Lü Bu to take over Yan province, and they swiftly gained much of the territory. The enterprise, however, was ultimately unsuccessful, and in 195 Zhang Miao and Lü Bu were forced to flee to Liu Bei in Xu province.

Zhang Miao left his family with his brother Zhang Chao at Yongqiu city in Chenliu. As Cao Cao attacked, Zhang Miao went to seek aid from Yuan Shu, but was killed by his own men. Cao Cao took Yongqiu and destroyed the whole clan. -SGZ 7:221-22.

Zhang Min 張敏 [Boda 伯達] (d.112); Hejian. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt in 77, Zhang Min held a number of appointments, and in 80 he joined the Imperial Secretariat.

About this time there was the case of a man who killed another for insulting his father. In a show of leniency, Emperor Zhang pardoned him, and a Statute against Insult and Abuse 輕侮法 was proclaimed. Zhang Min objected, but his views were not accepted. Some time after Emperor Zhang's death in 88 Zhang Min returned to the debate: it was right for sons to avenge their fathers, and rulers of the past had been generous and humane, but such principles should not be formalised as precedents 科. Emperor He later changed the policy.

About 95 Zhang Min joined the Grand Commandant Zhang Pu in protest against the complex New Rituals 新禮, which had been presented to Emperor Zhang by the scholar Cao Bao and used for the capping ceremony of Emperor He in 91. They criticised Cao Bao for having confused the procedures laid down by the sages, and called for his execution. The emperor did not accept the recommendation, but Cao Bao's system was in practice largely abandoned.

In 97 Zhang Min was appointed Director of Retainers and in 99 he became Administrator of Runan. He governed smoothly and effectively, maintained just punishments, and was known for good principles and competence. He was later dismissed for some fault, but in 106, after the Dowager Deng became regent following the death of Emperor He, Zhang Min was reappointed, first in the holding position of a Consultant and then as Administrator of Yingchuan.

In 107 Zhang Min was appointed Excellency of Works. In this high position, he maintained the laws but took no initiatives. After three years he asked to retire

on grounds of ill health, but was refused permission. He then fainted twice during the Great Archery ceremony in the spring of 112, and in the summer he was allowed to leave office. He died of illness at home soon afterwards. -HHS 44/34:1502-04*.

Zhang Min 張敏; Nanyang. Formerly a Chief Clerk to the Grand Commandant, Zhang Min was remembered with a stele. -SJZ 29:13a.

Zhang Min 張旻. About 208 Zhang Min was sent by Shi Xie to take tribute to the Han court under Cao Cao at Xu 徐 city. -SGZ Wu 4:1192.

Zhang Ming 張明. A Palace Counsellor, Zhang Ming was sent to Jiangxia in 29 to grant insignia as a general to Zang Gong. -HHS 18/8:692.

Zhang Ming 張明; Guanghan. Zhang Ming killed the gentleman Ru Kun. Ru Kun's friend Yang Kuan, however, captured and bound Zhang Ming, then sent him to Ru Kun's household to confess. -HYGZ 10B: 150.

Zhang Mu 張胤 [Xuangong 玄公]; Jianwei>Wu. A brother of Zhang Yin, and a distant descendant of the great minister Zhang Liang 良 at the beginning of Former Han, early in Later Han Zhang Mu became Administrator of Shu commandery. He later moved his formal residence to Wu. -XTS 72C:2708.

Zhang Mu 張穆. Formerly an officer under Lian Dan 廉丹, Governor of Yi province in the time of Wang Mang, Zhang Mu became Administrator of Shu commandery. Lian Dan's son died in the west, and about 40 Lian Dan's grandson Lian Fan came to take his father's body back to his homeland near Chang'an. Zhang Mu offered assistance, but Lian Fan insisted upon arranging the transport with his own retainers.

In 42 Zhang Mu was attacked by the mutineer Shi Xin and was driven from his capital at Chengdu. The rebellion was put down by Guangwu's general Wu Han, but we are not told how much longer Zhang Mu held his appointment. -HHS 32/21:1101, 18/8:683.

Zhang Mu 張牧; Nanyang. In 165 Zhang Mu was Officer for Criminals 賊曹吏 at the commandery capital, Wan city. He and his colleague Cen Zhi urged the arrest of Zhang Fan, a wealthy merchant who was alleged to have used his influence at court to act unlawfully in the local community. The Administrator Cheng Jin eventually approved the arrest, but there was an amnesty current at the time. Despite this, and without reference to the throne, Cheng Jin killed Zhang Fan and more than two hundred of his kinsman,

1070 Zhang Mu

clients and retainers.

Cheng Jin was arrested and died in prison, but Zhang Mu and Cen Zhi escaped to the east. They later benefited from an amnesty themselves, and were able to return home. -*HHS* 67/57:2212; deC 89:70.

Zhang Mu 張睦. In 220 Zhang Mu was Administrator of Xihai commandery, on the upper reaches of the Xining River. He was attacked by a rebel alliance under Zhang Jin of Zhangye, but was relieved by Guanqiu Xing, Administrator of Wuwei. -*SGZ* 28:761-62.

Zhang Na 張納 [Zilang 子郎]; Bohai. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Zhang Na became a gentleman cadet, then joined the Imperial Secretariat and was later a magistrate in Ganling. He left that post on grounds of ill health, but later accepted appointment to the offices of the Grand Commandant, graded First Class and became an officer of the Censorate.

When there was banditry in Yang province, probably in 189, Zhang Na was given command of operations; he was successful and was rewarded with a village marquisate. He later became Administrator of Ba commandery, and in 193 seventy-five of his officers set up a stele in his honour. -*LS* 5:10b-15a.

Zhang Nan 張南. Officers under Yuan Xi in You province in 205, Zhang Nan and Jiao Chu rebelled and drove him away. Cao Cao rewarded them with enfeoffment. -*SGZ* 1:27, 6:206.

Zhang Nan 張南 [Wenjin 文進] (d.222). Having joined Liu Bei when he was in Jing province in the early 200s, Zhang Nan was commander of the vanguard as Liu Bei attacked down the Yangzi against Wu in 221. He was killed in the defeat which followed. -*SGZ* Shu 15:1088, *SGZ* Wu 13:1346; Fang 52:100-102.

Zhang Ning 張寧/寧; Shu. A private scholar, Zhang Ning had several students. -*HYGZ* 10B:149, 12:215.

Zhang Niuju 張牛角 [Oxhorn Zhang] (d.185); Zhongshan/Boling. A bandit leader in the Taihang Mountains, he was killed in a raid on Julu, but left his command to Chu/Zhang Yan. -*SGZ* 8:261, but cf. Qing Niuju 青牛角 [Green Oxhorn].

Zhang, Oxhorn 張牛角 see Zhang Niuju 張牛角.

Zhang Pan 張磐; Runan. Son of Zhang Fan, he was the father of Zhang Ji and Zhang Xi. -*HHS* 45/35:1534.

Zhang Pan 張磐 [Zishi 子石]; Danyang. In 165 Zhang Pan was appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi. When remnants of a group of bandits formerly commanded by Hu Lan fled into his territory from Jing province, Zhang Pan drove them back. Du Shang, now Inspector

of Jing province, had earlier been rewarded for destroying Hu Lan's band, and he was embarrassed by their return. He sent in a false report that this was a new group out of Cangwu, and Zhang Pan was sent to prison for having allowed them to spread from his territory.

Zhang Pan protested his innocence, and even when an amnesty was issued he refused to leave prison until his case was heard. The Minister of Justice investigated, and Du Shang was indeed found to be at fault. Zhang Pan was admired for his honesty.

He was then appointed Administrator of Lujiang. A strict man, he had an attendant flogged for giving his son some oranges, claiming that he was attempting to bribe the boy.

On another occasion Zhang Pan gave a banquet to welcome the new magistrate Tao Qian, whose father had been a friend, but his courtesy was rejected. -*HHS* 38/28:1286-87, *SGZ* 8:248, *XC* 8:7b-8a; deC 89:61-62.

Zhang [Pingzhong] 張平仲; Zhongshan. A stele was set up at this man's tomb about 180. He had formerly been a Consultant and then Administrator of Shanggu. -*SJZ* 11:18b. [This stele is probably cited at *LS* 27:2b.]

Zhang [Pingzi] 張平子; Nanyang. A man of literary and scholarly ability, during the reign of Emperor An he assisted Liu Qianqiu in the preliminary compilation of a comprehensive guide to the offices of Han. He later became a member of the Imperial Secretariat and was then Court Astronomer.

In the time of Emperor Shun Zhang Pingzi became a Palace Attendant and was in charge of collation in the imperial library. He completed *Zhouguan jieshuo* 周官解說, a study of the official system of the Zhou dynasty, and intended to prepare one for Han, following the work already done with Liu Qianqiu. He was then transferred to be Chancellor of Hejian, and the work went no further.

Zhang Pingzi is praised by Cao Pi in his *Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature." -*HHS* 114/24:3556, *HHSJJ* 80/70B:2870 Hui Dong, *Guwen yuan* 19:13a-14b.

Zhang Pu 張酺 [Menghou 孟侯] (d.104); Runan. Zhang Pu claimed descent from Zhang Ao 敖, King of Zhao in the time of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. He was a diligent student of the *Classic of History* under the celebrated New Text scholar Huan Rong. *HHS* 45/35 says that he also studied with his grandfather Zhang Chong, but *DGHJ* says that Zhang

Chong was dead by the middle 20s. Since Zhang Pu died in 104 he can have benefited from Zhang Chong's teaching only as a very young child.

Zhang Pu later ran a private academy with hundreds of pupils. When Emperor Ming established the Palace School for Noble Families in 66, Zhang Pu was appointed Tutor for the *History* and took part in many discussions before the emperor. Admired for his ability to deal with difficult texts, he was made a gentleman cadet, was rewarded with robes and a chariot and horses, and later became a tutor to the Heir, Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang.

A man of strict morality, Zhang Pu spoke firmly against extravagance and waste, and his imperial pupil admired and respected him. When he came to the throne in 75, the new emperor made Zhang Pu a Palace Attendant and General of the Household, and in the following year Zhang Pu took part in the philosophical discussions on the Old Texts led by Jia Kui.

Later that year Emperor Zhang appointed Zhang Pu Administrator of Dong commandery. Concerned that his training as a Confucian scholar and experience in the imperial household had not prepared him for the real work of government, he sought to excuse himself, but the emperor encouraged his former teacher with a quotation from the *History*, rewarded him substantially, and insisted he take up his duties.

Despite his scholarly upbringing, Zhang Pu proved a strict administrator. He gave clear rewards and punishments, recruited a strong police force to break the power of the leading local families, and refused to allow any of his officers to ill-treat poor vagabonds, on the grounds that if they were provided with food and employment they would not offend the law.

Zhang Pu may have returned to the capital in 79 to take part in the Discussions at the White Tiger Hall, the imperial conference which confirmed the position of New Text Confucianism. Tjan 49, however, discounts the idea, and in any case Zhang Pu continued in his provincial office.

Emperor Zhang continued to express admiration for Zhang Pu, and when he made a join his personal staff and officials, and treated him with the courtesy owed by a student to his former teacher. He had him give a lecture on a chapter of the *Classic of History*, and only after that did he revert to the standard ceremonial of ruler and subject. He granted Zhang Pu special rewards and signs of favour, and everyone was

impressed by his show of respect.

After fifteen years in Dong, early in the reign of Emperor He Zhang Pu was transferred to the neighbouring territory of Wei. About that time the Director of Retainers Zheng Ju, a native of Wei, had the Bearer of the Mace Dou Jing, brother of the regent Empress-Dowager, dismissed on account of the brutal conduct of his officers. Dou Jing was reinstated soon afterwards, and he sent his officer Xia Meng to Zhang Pu, claiming that Zheng Ju's brother, an officer in the commandery, was behaving unlawfully, that the whole family was tainted by misconduct, and that Zhang Ju should inflict punishment as a warning to all.

Zhang Pu was furious at such interference in his administration and at the attempt to involve him in a personal vendetta. He arrested Xia Meng and then reported the matter to Dou Jing's office, claiming to be concerned lest Xia Meng be harmed by members of the Zheng family. An order came promptly that Xia Meng was to be released on payment of a fine.

A short time later Zhang Pu was appointed Intendant of Henan, and again had to deal with Dou Jing. This time members of the Dou household attacked the police of the capital market-place, but were themselves arrested. Dou Jing sent five hundred of his official guards under the command of Hou Hai to attack the offices of the market, but Zhang Pu's own men, led by Yang Zhang, investigated the affair, arrested Hou Hai, and had him exiled to Shuofang.

Dou Jing now ordered that Yang Zhang and five of his colleagues should be transferred from the Henan administration to his own command, so he could also punish them with banishment. As Yang Zhang and the others asked Zhang Pu for help, Zhang Pu reported the matter to the throne; the Dowager Dou gave orders to protect them.

When the power of the Dou family was destroyed by Emperor He and his eunuch allies in 92, Zhang Pu sent in a memorial to apologise and explain his position as an officer of the former regime; but he also requested consideration for Dou Xiang, who had behaved far better than his brothers. The young ruler accepted his arguments, and though his brothers were obliged to kill themselves Dou Xiang was only ordered out to his fief.

In 93 Zhang Pu became Minister Coachman, and a few months later he was named Grand Commandant. In another display of reluctance, he claimed to be ill,

and recommended Xu Fang the Administrator of Wei commandery in his stead. Emperor He, however, did not approve. He sent one of his eunuch attendants to enquire after Zhang Pu's health, taking presents and an award of 300,000 cash, and when Zhang Pu continued to make excuses he had the eunuchs apply persuasion to Zhang Pu's son Zhang Fan, then a gentleman cadet. Zhang Pu felt obliged to accept.

About 95 Zhang Pu presented a series of memorials arguing against the complex New Rituals 新禮, which had been presented to Emperor Zhang by the scholar Cao Bao and had been used for the capping ceremony of Emperor He in 91. Zhang Pu and Zhang Min of the Imperial Secretariat claimed Cao Bao had confused the traditional procedures set down by the sages, and called for his execution. The emperor did not accept the recommendation, but Cao Bao's system was largely abandoned.

In 97 Zhang Pu investigated the claims of Liang Hu on behalf of his family, and recommended that the emperor should indeed recognise the late Honoured Lady Liang as his natural mother.

In 100 Zhang Pu became involved in a quarrel with the Director of Retainers Yan Cheng. Zhang Pu had made a private comment on the poor quality of some of the clerical officers under the Excellencies, and Yan Cheng used this casual remark to justify a major enquiry. As each accused the other of improper and abusive conduct, Emperor He called a full court assembly to resolve the affair. The Excellency Lü Gai argued that Zhang Pu should have known better than to attack the Director of Retainers, who was fully entitled to carry out an investigation, and that he had set a poor example to the empire. So Zhang Pu was dismissed.

Returning to his estates, Zhang Pu sent away his clients and students and lived in seclusion, but the official He Chang and others continued to praise his loyalty and public spirit at court, and the emperor remembered him with affection and approval. In 104 Zhang Pu was recalled as Minister of the Household, and in the autumn he was promoted Excellency over the Masses. He died a few weeks later.

As he lay on his deathbed, Zhang Pu mourned the fact that despite the high offices he had held and the trust he had been given as tutor to a ruler, he had not been able to extend full moral influence. He ordered that no temple should be established in his honour, but only a pavilion for sacrifices. Emperor He, however,

showed the utmost respect, accompanied his funeral dressed in white silk, and awarded land for his tomb. -HHS 45/35:1528-34*, XC 2:11a; Tjan 49:160-162; MBeck 90:87.

Zhang Pu 張普. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Zhang Pu and five colleagues, Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒, received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -LX 3:8a-9a.

Zhang Qi 張岐. A former Administrator of Lelang, in 191 Zhang Qi was sent by Han Fu, Yuan Shao and other leaders of the eastern alliance to offer the imperial title to Liu You. Liu You refused. -HHS 73/63:2355, SGZ 8:241; see also *sub* Bi Yu.

Zhang Qian 張鉗 [Zi'an 子安]; Guanghan. Having been a student of Xie Pou in Jianwei, when his master died Zhang Qian personally built his tomb mound. Later Xie Pou's son was killed, and Zhang Qian avenged him. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Zhang Qian 張遷 [Gongfang 公方]; Chenliu. Having served as a local officer in his commandery and his province, Zhang Qian was invited to become a gentleman cadet and was then appointed as magistrate of a county in Dong commandery. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, his county was spared, and it was believed that this was due to his good administration. Transferred to Henei, he was equally successful, and in 186 a subscription stele was erected in his honour. -Nagata 94:252-54.

Zhang Qiao 張喬; Nanyang. As Inspector of Yi province in 117, Zhang Qiao took over military command from Yin Jiu against Qiang who had entered the territory from the north. He persuaded the invaders' local allies to make peace, and the enemy dispersed.

In 119 the non-Chinese people of Yizhou, Shu, Yuexi and Yongchang commanderies rebelled under the leadership of Fengli, destroying Chinese settlements and killing imperial officials. Zhang Qiao raised local troops and sent them under his Attendant Officer Yang Song, who defeated them and restored order. In 123 Zhang Qiao again took part in putting down a rebellion of non-Chinese in Yuexi.

In 138, when there was disturbance among the non-Chinese of Rinan, Zhang Qiao was appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi and went south with Zhu Liang the new Administrator of Jiuzhen, who also had experience in region. They settled the hill tribes by personal

authority, military action and judicious bribery, and the region was at peace for several years.

Zhang Qiao later became Bearer of the Mace, chief of police at Luoyang. In the winter of 141/142, after the fatal defeat of Ma Yuan by the Qiang, he was named acting General of Chariots and Cavalry and sent to protect Chang'an with troops from the Northern Army and local levies. Late in 142, through the efforts of the Protector Zhao Chong, the emergency was reduced and Zhang Qiao's command was ended. -HHS 5:230, 6:268-72, 86/76:2838-39, 2853-54, 2857, 87/77:2896.

Zhang Quan 張權; Guangling. About 165, as a former officer of Xun Tan, Zhang Quan sought to attend his tomb. Xun Tan's grandson You, however, urged his uncle Xun Qu to investigate, and Zhang Quan was found to be a murderer fleeing justice. -SGZ 10:321.

Zhang Quan 張泉; Wuwei. Son of Zhang Xiu, he succeeded to his father's fief in 207. In 219 he took part in the conspiracy of Wei Feng. He was executed and the marquise was abolished. -SGZ 8:263.

Zhang Rang 張讓 (d.189); Yingchuan. A eunuch, when Zhang Rang was young he entered the harem of Emperor Huan and became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. In the time of Emperor Ling he was promoted to be a Regular Attendant, received enfeoffment, and held great influence at court. Emperor Ling described Zhang Rang as his father and his colleague Zhao Zhong as his mother.

In 185 there was a great fire in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. Despite the damage done to the country by the recent rebellion of the Yellow Turbans, Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong persuaded the emperor to levy a special land tax to pay for rebuilding, and when materials were sent in they falsely claimed they were unsatisfactory and forced down their price. The project was corrupted at every level, while Zhao Zhong and his fellows built themselves great mansions at the capital. Concerned that the emperor might see their massive constructions, they persuaded him that it would bring ill fortune if he climbed a tower, and so they were able to conceal their extravagance.

In 189 the eunuchs were under threat from the General-in-Chief He Jin. He persuaded his sister the Dowager to dismiss them from the palace, but another sister had married an adoptive son of Zhang Rang. Zhang Rang pleaded with his daughter-in-law that he and his colleagues should be allowed to return. She then spoke to her mother the Lady Xing, and she in

turn persuaded the Dowager to allow the eunuchs back.

Soon afterwards, on 22 September, He Jin called again upon the Dowager. Zhang Rang and his colleagues had someone spy upon him and heard him urging her to agree to kill all the eunuchs. Zhang Rang and the others gathered several dozen followers and waylaid He Jin as he was leaving. Abusing him for his lack of gratitude for the help they had given his family, they killed him.

Zhang Rang and Duan Gui then composed an edict appointing their allies Fan Ling and Xu Xiang to office at the capital, and when members of the Secretariat asked to confirm this with He Jin, they showed them his head.

He Jin's officers now brought their troops to attack the palaces and slaughter the eunuchs. On 24 September Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and a few dozen followers fled the capital with the imperial children, the Little Emperor Liu Bian and his brother Liu Xie. They were pursued by Lu Zhi and a posse under Min Gong, who caught the fugitives at the Yellow River and killed Zhang Rang and his companions. -HHS 78/68:2534-37*, 69/59:2251-52; Bn 76:98-100, deC 89:191, deC 96:11-18.

Zhang Rao 張饒. A bandit of Ji province, about 192 Zhang Rao invaded Beihai and defeated the Administrator Kong Rong. -HHS 70/60:2263.

Zhang Ren 張任 (d.213); Shu. Though a man of poor family, Zhang Ren was ambitious and brave; he became an Assistant Officer under Liu Zhang the warlord Governor of Yi province.

As Liu Bei turned against Liu Zhang in 212, Zhang Ren and other commanders were sent to oppose him, but were defeated and driven back.

Zhang Ren was then at the defence of Luo city in Guanghan, and in the following year he was captured as he attempted a sortie. He refused to change sides, so Liu Bei killed him. -SGZ Shu 2:882-83.

Zhang Shao 張劭 [Yuanbo 元伯]; Runan. While attending the University at Luoyang, Zhang Shao became a close friend of Fan Shi of Shanyang. As they parted, Fan Shi agreed to visit him precisely two years later, and he was as good as his word.

Zhang Shao later became mortally ill. He was cared for by two friends, Zhi Junzhang and Yin Zizheng, but told them how much he regretted not seeing Fan Shi, whom he described as his "death friend" 死友 – they,

1074 Zhang Shao

by contrast, were his "life friends" 生友. When he died, he appeared to Fan Shi in a dream. At that time Fan Shi held local office in his commandery, and though the Administrator was sceptical he gave him permission to attend the funeral. The ceremony was due to begin before Fan Shi could arrive, but Zhang Shao's coffin became so heavy it could not be moved, and only when Fan Shi came did it become light again. More than a thousand people observed the phenomenon. - *HHS* 81/71:2676, *XC* 5:13b, *XHS* 5:13b-14a.

Zhang Shao 張少; Pingyuan. Zhang Shao's friend Hu Tan was unable to have proper intercourse with his wife, so he allowed Zhang Shao to couple with her in the hope she might bear a child. - *FSTY* 3f:108.

Zhang Shao 張紹; Ba. A local officer in 154, Zhang Shao joined his colleagues in urging the Administrator Dan Wang to send in a report describing the difficulty of maintaining control over the vast area of the commandery, and recommending that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies. The court did not agree. - *HYZ* 1:5.

Zhang Shao 張紹; Zhuo. Zhang Shao was the second son of Zhang Fei, but his elder brother Bao died before their father, and Zhang Shao therefore succeeded to Zhang Fei's fief in 221. He later held court office and was appointed to the Secretariat of Shu. - *SGZ* Shu 6: 944.

Zhang Shen 張申; Hongnong. A local county officer in the 40s, Zhang Shou committed a number of crimes but had sufficient influence to cover them up. The Administrator Liu Xing later found out and punished him. All the territory was impressed and fearful. - *HHS* 14/4:556.

Zhang Shen 張慎. A eunuch Regular Attendant, in 102 Zhang Shen was commissioned by Emperor He to investigate a charge of witchcraft laid against his Empress Yin. With Chen Bao of the Imperial Secretariat, he interrogated the Empress and her grandmother the Lady Deng Zhu in the harem Prison of the Lateral Courts. They obtained confessions and the Empress was deposed. She and some kinfolk died, while others were exiled. - *HHS* 10A:417.

Zhang Shen 張參 see Zhang Can 張參 [2 entries].

Zhang Sheng 張盛 or Zhang Cheng. In 62 the officer of the Bureau of Astronomy Yang Cen reported to the throne that the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] calendar, which had been in use since 104 BC, slightly adjusted by the *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences]

system of Liu Xin 劉歆 in the time of Wang Mang, was now quite inaccurate, so that the moon was out of kilter with the months. Emperor Ming set Yang Cen in charge of a special Office for the Phases and Eclipses of the Moon 弦望月食官, but at the same time he had his colleagues Zhang Sheng, Jing Fang and Bao Ye compare his calculations with the old *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter-Remainder] calendar. That proved more accurate than Yang Cen's system, and in 69 Zhang Sheng and Jing Bao took Yang Cen's place at the Office for the Moon.

This was the first time the *Sifen* system had been used for centuries, and Zhang Sheng and Jing Bao proved unable to calculate the adjustments needed for a full calendar of the year. The *Taichu*/*Santong* calendar therefore remained in use, with *ad hoc* changes to match the phases of the moon. - *HHS* 92/2:3025.

Zhang Sheng 張盛 or Zhang Cheng; Zhao. Eldest son of the Grand Commandant Zhang Yu, in 103 Zhang Sheng was made a gentleman cadet, and when his father died in 113 Zhang Sheng inherited his marquise.

About 140 Zhang Sheng was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. The reforms of Zuo Xiong had provided that Filial and Incorrupt nominees should be examined by the Excellencies and then by the Secretariat. Zhang Sheng suggested that the latter test might be abolished, but he was opposed by the Director Huang Qiong and the system was maintained. - *HHS* 44/34:1498-99, 61/51:3035, *DGHJ* 11:4a.

Zhang Sheng 張升 [Yanzhen 彥真] (121-169); Chenliu. Zhang Sheng's family claimed descent from Zhang Fang 放, a close favourite of Emperor Cheng of Former Han, but the lineage is questionable: see *sub* Zhang Chun. Fond of learning from the time he was young, Zhang Sheng had great literary ability, but was emotionally unrestrained: he took intense likes or dislikes for other people, regardless of rank, and claimed that life was too short for time-wasting courtesies and distinctions.

Zhang Sheng nonetheless became a senior staff officer in the commandery and was for some time an acting county magistrate. When one of the local officers was found guilty of taking bribes, Zhang Sheng had him killed. Someone questioned whether he should have used his brief authority in such a way, but Zhang Sheng cited Confucius as justification for appropriate action in any circumstances.

Zhang Sheng was then involved in Faction. He

lost his post in the First Incident of 166/167, and in the Second Incident of 169 he was executed, aged forty-nine. A prolific composer, he left sixty *pian* of rhapsodies, hymns, eulogies, inscriptions and letters. -HHS 80/70B:2627-28*.

Zhang Sheng 張盛 or Zhang Cheng [Yuanzong 元宗]; Shu. Sons of the theocratic warlord Zhang Lu, when their father surrendered Hanzhong to Cao Cao in 215 Zhang Sheng and his brothers were granted fiefs. -SGZ 8:265 & JJ at 48a.

Zhang Shi 張時; Hedong. Administrator of Jingzhao for Cao Cao, Zhang Shi was an old friend of Du Ji, and when Du Ji came back from Jing province about 200 he appointed him as his Officer of Merit. Du Ji was later appointed Administrator of Hedong, and the two men met again as equal colleagues. -SGZ 16:494-96.

Zhang Shi 張世. In 218 Sun Quan was on a tiger-hunt when one of the beasts wounded his horse. As Sun Quan threw a lance at it, the tiger ran away, but his attendant/body-guard 常從 Zhang Shi speared and captured the animal. -SGZ Wu 2:1120.

Zhang Shiping 張世平; Zhongshan. A wealthy merchant, about 180 Zhang Shiping and his colleague Su Shuang went to Zhuo commandery to trade in horses. They met and were impressed by the fighting man Liu Bei, and gave him gold and other valuables so that he might recruit a large troop of followers. -SGZ Shu 2:872.

Zhang Shou 張壽; Langye. Youngest brother of Zhang Bu, during the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang the family established a local warlord regime, and when the Gengshi Emperor set up his government in 23 he named Zhang Shou as Administrator of Gaomi.

Zhang Shou shared his brothers' fortunes. He held command in the great army defeated by Geng Yan in Qi in 29, and accompanied the family to Luoyang after their surrender later that year. He did not, however, join the family's abortive attempt to escape to the southeast in 32, and may have died before that time.

Zhang Shou 張壽 [Zhongwu 仲吾] (89-168). A man of scholarly family, Zhang Shou was recommended Filial and Incorrupt. After probation as a gentleman cadet he became an Internuncio and then transferred to be chancellor of a county fief in Pei. Well respected, when he died at the age of eighty he was honoured with a stele. -LS 7:18a-20a, Nagata 94:166.

Zhang Shou 張壽 [Boxi 伯僖]; Guanghan. As a young

man Zhang Shou became a junior officer in his native county. After the county Assistant Yang Fang was captured by raiders, probably about 110, Zhang Shou sold the family salt well for 300,000 cash, purchased five horses, and went in search of him. On the way he was robbed by the Qiang, but after several years he found the bandits, who took pity on his pleas and released Yang Fang.

As the commandery gave him local office and an imperial letter appointed him a county commandant in Nan commandery, Zhang Shou distributed the family property among his brothers. He later returned to Guanghan, where he was responsible for raising taxes of 3,500,000 cash per year; he died in senior local office. -HYGZ 10C:175.

Zhang Shu 張舒; Shangdang. In 25, as Bao Yong held out in Taiyuan for the lost cause of the Gengshi regime, he sent his younger brother Bao Sheng and his son-in-law Zhang Shu to capture Huangcheng county in Shangdang, which had been held by Guangwu's Administrator Tian Yi. In response, Tian Yi arrested Zhang Shu's family. Bao Yong later surrendered, and one trusts the hostages were released and reunited. -HHS 28/18A:975-76.

Zhang Shu? 張叔; Hanzhong. One reading of HYGZ 10C:172 suggests that the father of the Lady Zhang Lixiu had the personal name Shu.

Zhang Shuang 張爽. A local scholar, about 220 Zhang Shuang was an Assistant Officer for Education 勸學從事 in Yi province under Liu Bei. Following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han he joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 2:887.

Zhang [Shuji] 張叔紀, the Lady; Shu. Granddaughter of Zhang Ba, Zhang Shuji became the wife of Wang Zun VI of Guanghan and the mother of the celebrated scholar Wang Shang. She paid great attention to training in good conduct, and she and her mother-in-law, the Lady Yang Jin, and her stepmother-in-law, the Lady Wen Ji, were all celebrated for their excellent teaching.

When the Lady died a hymn was composed to her virtues. -HYGZ 10A:139.

Zhang [Shuliao] 張叔遼; Shu. About 160 Zhang Shuliao was one of a group of scholars gathered about Liu Zong. When Liu Zong held senior local office in his commandery and the province, he arranged for Zhang Shuliao and three of his colleagues to receive

1076 Zhang Shun

appointment in the imperial bureaucracy. Nothing is known about Zhang Shuliao's subsequent career. - *HYGZ* 10A:134-35.

Zhang Shun 張順; Nanyang. A clerical officer of the commandery in 22, Zhang Shun was an early associate of Li Tong and his family in their plans for rebellion against Wang Mang. - *DGHJ* 1:2a; Bn 54:102.

Zhang Shun 張順. Former students of Chang Qia, after his death near Chang'an in 195 Zhang Shun and Zhai Deng took his body home to Shu. - *HYGZ* 10A:140.

Zhang Shuo 張朔; Yingchuan. Younger brother of the eunuch Zhang Rang, Zhang Shuo became a county magistrate in Henei. He governed with cruelty, but when Li Ying became Director of Retainers about 165 he fled back to the capital and took refuge in Zhang Rang's house. Li Ying then brought his men to break into the building, took Zhang Shuo to prison and then executed him.

Zhang Rang complained to Emperor Huan, who reprimanded Li Ying for putting a commissioned official to death without prior reference to the throne. When Li Ying justified his swift action, however, the ruler turned to Zhang Rang and observed, "Your brother was a criminal. What did the Director of Retainers do wrong?" Thereafter the eunuchs were afraid of Li Ying. - *HHS* 67/57:2194; deC 89:65. See also *sub* Zhang Yu 與.

Zhang [Shuyuan] 張叔元 (d.77). Younger son of Zhang Changzhong and grandson of Zhang Bin'gong, he died at the same time as his father. His elder brother Yuanyi had them buried in the family tomb. - *LS* 13:9b-10a.

Zhang Si 張汜. In 34 Zhang Si was a county magistrate in Henan. He reported to the throne that the broken dykes on the Yellow River and the Vast Canal complex, which had not been repaired since the initial failure thirty years earlier, were causing frequent flooding, and that this was a source of trouble and resentment among the people. Emperor Guangwu ordered that repair work be carried out, but the neighbouring magistrate Yue Jun argued that the work was not essential and would be a misuse of resources at a time when the empire was still not yet settled. The program was abandoned. - *HHS* 76/66:2464; Bn 54:148. [This may be the same person as Zhang Fan 張汎/汜.]

Zhang Si 張汜 see Zhang Fan 張汎/汜; but note that this may be the same person as Zhang Si immediately

above.

Zhang Song 張松 [Ziqiao 子喬] (d.212); Shu. In 208 Zhang Song succeeded his brother Zhang Su Attendant Officer to Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province. As Cao Cao took over Jing province Zhang Song was sent to him on embassy. This was the third such mission. On a previous occasion Cao Cao had used imperial authority to name Zhang Su as Administrator of Guanghan, but he had evidently tired of the pattern and he now was fully engaged in the pursuit of Liu Bei. Despite advice from his officers, he gave Zhang Song nothing, and he left disappointed.

Soon afterwards Cao Cao was defeated at the Red Cliffs, and Zhang Song then urged Liu Zhang to break with him and support Liu Bei. Liu Zhang did so.

Zhang Song, however, was also resentful of Liu Zhang, and he and his friend Fa Zheng secretly became agents for Liu Bei. In 211 they persuaded Liu Zhang to invite him into Yi province. When Liu Bei arrived, Zhang Song recommended that he arrest Liu Zhang and seize power at once. Liu Bei refused, but Zhang Song planned a rising at Chengdu in his support.

In the following year, as Liu Bei announced that he was returning to Jing province, Zhang Song wrote again to urge him to attack Liu Zhang. His brother Zhang Su, anxious not to be involved in such treachery, told Liu Zhang. Zhang Song was arrested and killed. - *SGZ* Shu 1:868, 2:881-82, *HYGZ* 5:72-75, 12:216; deC 96:399, 428-432, 444.

Zhang Su 張肅; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath of fellowship and set up a stele. Zhang Su was a senior member of the group, and he may have been a kinsman of Zhang Jian. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. - *HHS* 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Zhang Su 張肅; Shu. Zhang Su is described as a man of short stature and erratic conduct. He became Attendant Officer to Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province. As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, Liu Zhang sent Zhang Su with three hundred troops and a variety of tribute goods, and Cao Cao rewarded him with imperial appointment as Administrator of Guanghan.

In 212 Zhang Su's younger brother Zhang Song planned a rising at Chengdu in support of Liu Bei. Zhang Su warned Liu Zhang, and Zhang Song was arrested and killed. -SGZ Shu 1:868, 2:881-82, deC 96:444.

Zhang Sui 張睢 [Bozong 伯宗]; Nanyang. Formerly Assistant Officer for Water Control 河隄從事 in Jing province, in 156 Zhang Sui was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Zhang Tai 張泰 Boqiang 伯彊; Hanzhong. Zhang Tai distinguished himself in the Dependent State of Guanghan. -HYGZ 12:233.

Zhang Tuan 張湍; Ba. Son of Zhang Xi, who was Administrator of Yuexi at the end of the first century, Zhang Tuan was noted for his fine conduct. About 120 the Administrator Wang Tang nominated him as Filial and Incorrupt.

Soon afterwards, following a period of rebellion in Yuexi, Zhang Tuan was sent there as Administrator on account of his father's excellent reputation in the region. Though the people were at first delighted, Zhang Tuan later became unpopular. There was threat of further rebellion, but when the local elders recalled the virtues of Zhang Xi, the trouble eased. -HHS 86/76:2854, HYGZ 1:5, 10B:145, 12:219. HYGZ has the personal name as 璚 Man, but this is probably incorrect.

Zhang Wan 張萬; Julu. In 24 Zhang Wan was an officer under the Administrator Pi Tong. When Wang Lang claimed the imperial title a great part of the region accepted him, but Pi Tong sent Zhang Wan and Yin Sui with two troops of cavalry to Xindu city to join his colleague Ren Guang and assist Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, against the pretender.

At an early stage of the campaign which followed, Pi Tong sent Zhang Wan and Yin Sui into the enemy-held city of Tangyang in Julu. They probably had family connections, and they were able to persuade the people to change sides and open the gates to Liu Xiu. Both men took part in later campaigns and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and Zhang Wan was enfeoffed as a marquis in Bohai. -HHS 21/11:758-59.

Zhang Wan 張宛; Jiyin. In 178 Cai Yong was accused of having sought private favours from the official Liu He and then of planning revenge when he was not successful. Cai Yong agreed that when Liu He was Administrator of Jiyin he had spoken on behalf of his local officer Zhang Wen. However he denied any

wrongdoing. -HHS 60/50B:2001.

Zhang Wang 張汪; Henei. A county magistrate under Wei, Zhang Wang fathered the Lady Zhang Chunhua, consort of Sima Yi. -JS 1:948.

Zhang Wang 張汪, wife of: see the Lady Shan 山.

Zhang Wei 張惟. Zhang Wei married the Lady Cheng Zhenjue, but died young. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zhang Wei 張衛; Pei/Shu. Younger brother of Zhang Lu the theocrat warlord of Hanzhong, when Cao Cao attacked in 215 Zhang Wei was reluctant to surrender. He took up position at the Yangping Pass to resist Cao Cao's approach from Wudu. In a confused encounter, Zhang Wei's troops were thoroughly defeated, and Zhong Wei was killed as he fled. -HHS 75/65:2437, SGZ 8:264-65; deC 96:490-491.

Zhang [Weibo] 張偉伯. Son of Zhang Bin'gong, he and his wife were buried with his parents. -LS 13:9b-10a.

Zhang Wen 張文. In 24 and 25 Zhang Wen was a leader of the Five Towers bandit group operating in Ji province north of the Yellow River. In 26 he and his men were attacked by Wu Han and Feng Yi in Xindu. They were defeated and forced to surrender. -HHS 1A: 16, 18/8:679; Bn 59:80, 121.

Zhang Wen 張溫 [Boshen 伯慎] (d.191); Nanyang. A protégé of the palace eunuch Cao Teng, Zhang Wen became a member of the Imperial Secretariat under Emperor Huan and accompanied him on his tour south to the Yangzi in 164. Among other appointments, he served for a time as Administrator of Yingchuan.

In the summer of 184 Zhang Wen was promoted from Minister of Finance to be Excellency of Works, though despite his recognised quality he was obliged to pay a fine to take the office. He advised Emperor Ling not to dismiss Zhu Jun from his command against the Yellow Turbans in Nanyang, and Zhu Jun indeed brought the campaign to a successful conclusion.

In the autumn of 185 Zhang Wen was named General of Chariots and Cavalry and sent to replace Huangfu Song in operations against the Liang province rebels, who were at this time in the area of Chang'an. Zhang Wen led an army of a hundred thousand men to face the enemy at Meiyang in Youfufeng. At first he gained no success, but in the winter his subordinate general Dong Zhuo defeated the enemy and forced their withdrawal. Zhang Wen sent Zhou Shen in pursuit, while Dong Zhuo was ordered to attack the Qiang, potential allies of the rebels. Both columns,

however, were forced back.

It is said that at this time Dong Zhuo refused to obey a summons from Zhang Wen, and that Sun Jian, then a staff officer, urged Zhang Wen to execute him by military law. Zhang Wen refused, for Dong Zhuo had great personal following in the northwest, and the army would lose all support if he acted against him.

We must note that much of Sun Jian's argument was given in private, so it cannot have been well recorded, and he is said to have referred to Dong Zhuo's failure in battle – hardly borne out by the history of the campaign. Sun Jian may have spoken against Dong Zhuo, and the story demonstrates Sun Jian's enterprise (he was later a leading general against Dong Zhuo) and the caution of Zhang Wen (who was later killed by Dong Zhuo). Details of the incident, however, are lost, and it may be no more than an ideal, ironic, anecdote.

In the spring of 186 Zhang Wen was appointed Grand Commandant, but still kept command in the lower Wei valley; this was the first time one of the three Excellencies had held such a post outside the capital. At the end of the year he was brought back to the capital, but in the summer of 187, after Geng Bi was killed in Liang province, Zhang Wen resigned in acknowledgement that the situation was still out of control.

After a period as Director of Retainers about 189, in 191 Zhang Wen was Minister of the Guards in the government at Chang'an controlled by Dong Zhuo. He was involved with Wang Yun in conspiracy against Dong Zhuo, but then the Court Astronomer foretold that a great official would be killed. To fulfil the prophecy Dong Zhuo had Zhang Wen accused of communicating with the enemy in the east; he was flogged to death in the market-place. -*HHS* 69/59:2246, 8:348-54, 72/62:2320-21, *XC* 4:13a, *SGZ* Wu 1:1095; deC 84:150-159, deC 89:188-203, deC 96:76.

Zhang Wen 張文. A gentleman cadet, about 177 Zhang Wen presented a memorial highly critical of the government of Emperor Ling. Soon afterwards Cai Yong endorsed his good intentions and urged his promotion. -*HHS* 60/50A:1995.

The name of Zhang Wen appears in the colophon to the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the Stone Classics engraved in the early 180s. He is described there as a Gentleman of the Palace, which may be only a cadet appointment or may represent a more substantive rank. This is probably the same man. -*LS*

14:8b.

Zhang Wen 張溫 [Huishu 惠怒] (d.230); Wu. Son of Zhang Yun, Zhang Wen was widely admired for his moral quality. He became Tutor to the Heir of Wu.

In 224 he was sent to establish relations with Shu, but was soon afterwards dismissed for his involvement with over-zealous censorship of officials. -*SGZ* Wu 12: 1329-33*.

Zhang [Wensi] 張文思. A filial son, he was praised in a stele of 83. -Nagata 94:26.

Zhang [Wenming] 張文明. Formerly a teacher of Xuan Du from Dunhuang, Zhang Wenming became Minister of Ceremonies. -*FSTY* 3:21: this probably refers to Zhang Huan, with the style Wenming 文明 miswritten for Ranming 然明.

Zhang White Rider 張白騎 see Zhang Cheng 張晟.

Zhang Wu 張武; Kuaiji [see *sub* Zhang Ye]. Zhang Wu's father Zhang Ye was murdered by bandits in Henei, and Zhang Wu was too young to have known him. He always carried Zhang Ye's sword, however, and about 60, as he travelled to the capital to study, he made sacrifice at the place where he had disappeared.

Diwu Lun, Administrator of Kuaiji, admired Zhang Wu's devotion. He recommended him as Filial and Incorrupt, but Zhang Wu's mother died at this time and there was an error in the conduct of her funeral. Believing he had failed his father's spirit, Zhang Wu killed himself. -*HHS* 81/71:2681-82*, *XC* 5:15a.

Zhang Xi 張翕 [Shuyang 叔陽]; Ba. Towards the end of the first century Zhang Xi served almost twenty years as Administrator of Yuexi, obtaining the trust of the non-Chinese by his honest and peaceful government. When he died in office the people mourned him as if for a parent and sent offerings to his home country for the funeral. An imperial edict ordered that a temple be established in his honour.

Zhang Xi's son Tuan later held the same office, and his father's reputation protected him. -*HHS* 86/76: 2853-54, *HYGZ* 12:219.

Zhang Xi 張熹 [Jizhi 季智]; Guiyang. As Zhang Xi was a magistrate in Runan, a serious drought affected the county. After the usual prayers had failed, Zhang Xi lit a funeral pyre and threw himself onto it, followed by two of his officers, Hou Chong and Zhang Hua. Rain fell. -*SJZ* 21:16b.

Zhang Xi 張喜 I; Runan. Younger son of Zhang Pan, in 193 from Minister of the Guard Zhang Xi was named Excellency of Works in the government controlled by

Li Jue and his colleagues at Chang'an. Sent by Emperor Xian to make peace between the warlords in 195, he was briefly kidnapped by Li Jue, but was then able to accompany the emperor in his escape to the east. As Cao Cao received the imperial party in 196, Zhang Xi was dismissed. -HHS 9:375, 380, 45/35:1534. [HHS 9:375 TC quotes *Xiandi chunqiu* with the personal name as Jia 嘉.]

Zhang Xi 張喜 II. As Sun Quan attacked Hefei city in 209, Cao Cao ordered Zhang Xi to relieve the city, but he had a long way to travel and not many troops. The local officer Jiang Ji, however, sent messengers to Hefei with false news that Zhang Xi was close by with a strong army. Sun Quan captured two of these men, believed the story and abandoned the siege. -SGZ 14:450.

Zhang Xi 張喜 *i.e.* Zhang Xi 張喜 II. -SGZ 1:30-31.

Zhang Xia 張遐 [Ziyuan 子遠] of Yuzhang composed a supplement 外記 to the *Wu-Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 of Zhao Ye. -Yao Zhenzong:2355.

Zhang Xian 張顯 (d.106). In 106 Zhang Xian was Administrator of Yuyang when several hundred Xianbi horsemen came on a raiding party. Zhang Xian took commandery levies in pursuit beyond the borders, and though he was warned by his officer Yan Shou of the dangers of ambush he insisted on attacking the raiders' camp.

The Chinese were indeed taken by surprise, and though Zhang Xian attempted to rally and regroup his men, he could not regain control and was wounded by enemy arrows. Yan Shou died in the fighting. Two other officers, Wei Fu and Xu Xian, tried to protect Zhang Xian, but they too were all killed.

When the regent Dowager Deng heard of this, she issued an edict in honour of Zhang Xian and his men. The families of the local officers were granted 100,000 cash, and one son was appointed a gentleman cadet. Though Zhang Xian had been chiefly responsible for the disaster, his family received 600,000 cash and two cadet appointments. -HHS 81/71:2671-72, 90/80:2986.

Zhang Xian 張賢. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Zhang Xian took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county fief.

In 126 Zhang Xian joined Sun Cheng and others to support the Director of Retainers Yu Xu in his attack

on the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang. Though the emperor was eventually compelled to disgrace Zhang Fang, he was angry at the result. Sun Cheng, Zhang Xian and their colleagues were sent out to their fiefs, but in 128 the emperor formally recalled their good work and they were allowed to return to the capital.

Later, Zhang Xian was among a group of eunuchs associated with the former wet-nurse Song E. Found guilty in 137 of corruption and making false accusations, they were all sent out to their fiefs and their pensions were reduced by a quarter. -HHS 78/68:2516-18.

Zhang Xian 張賢. During the 170s Zhang Xian was an Assistant Officer to the Director of Retainers Duan Jiong. Disapproving of Su Buwei, Duan Jiong sent Zhang Xian to kill him, and he threatened to kill Zhang Xian's own father if he failed. Zhang Xian duly arrested Su Buwei and killed him and over sixty of his kinsmen. -HHS 31/21:1109.

Zhang Xian 張羨 (d.200); Nanyang. Having served as a county magistrate in Lingling and Guiyang, Zhang Xian was widely popular in the south of Jing province. Liu Biao appointed him Administrator of Changsha but in 198, resentful at a perceived lack of courtesy from Liu Biao, he was persuaded by Huan Jie to turn against him in distant alliance to Cao Cao.

Though Liu Biao sent an army against him, Zhang Xian controlled all the basin of the Xiang River, and Liu Biao's forces gained no success until Zhang Xian died of illness. -SGZ 6:211-12, HHS 74/64B:2421.

Zhang Xiang 張翔 [Yuanfeng 元鳳]; Julu. Probably in 208, Zhang Xiang was sent on embassy by Cao Cao to the far south. While he was there Xu Jing entrusted him with letters for his old friends in the north, but when Xu Jing refused to swear an oath of allegiance to Cao Cao Zhang Xiang became angry and threw the letters away. -SGZ Shu 8:964-66.

Zhang [Xianzhang] 章顯章, the Lady (94-170); Nan. In 108, at the age of fifteen *sui*, the Lady married the future Excellency Hu Guang. She bore him five sons, but out-lived all of them, and it is said that she died of grief after the death of her husband's foster-mother, the Lady Huang Lieying, in 169. -Cai 4:6.

Zhang [Xiaozhong] 張孝仲. Formerly a shepherd, he was taken up by Guo Tai and became well known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Zhang Xie 張協 [Jiqi/Jiji 季期]; Henei. XTS 72C:2711 says that Zhang Xie, brother of the Excellency Zhang

1080 Zhang Xin

Xin became Minister of the Guards.

Zhang Xin 張歆; Zhao. Son of Zhang Kuang, Zhang Xin was a provisional magistrate when a man was arrested for avenging his father in a feud. Admiring his conduct, Zhang Xin set him free, then fled to escape punishment. The local people praised his sense of honour, and he received pardon through an amnesty.

Zhang Xin later became Chancellor of Huaiyang. When the king, Liu Yan, came to reside in his fief in 52, he brought a number of followers who regularly disobeyed the law. Zhang Xin led local officers into the royal palace to arrest them, but Liu Yan complained to Guangwu and Zhang Xin was demoted to be a magistrate in Henei. When he died in that office, the local people wanted to contribute to his funeral expenses, but his son Zhang Yu refused the offer. -HHS 44/34:1496-97.

Zhang Xin 張歆 [Jingrang 敬讓]; Henei. In 149 Zhang Xin was promoted from Minister of Finance to be Excellency over the Masses. He left that office in 151. -HHS 7:294-97.

Zhang Xing 張興 [Junshang 君上] (d.71); Yingchuan. An expert teacher of the *Book of Changes* according to the tradition of Liangqiu He, during the time of Emperor Guangwu Zhang Xing was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and invited to become a gentleman cadet. Making his apologies on grounds of ill health, he returned home to teach privately. In the early 50s he entered the offices of the Excellency Feng Qin, was again nominated as Filial and Incorrupt, and was this time appointed as an Academician.

Early in the reign of Emperor Ming Zhang Xing was made chief of the Palace Attendants, and in 67 he became Junior Tutor to the Heir. He died in that office four years later.

Regularly consulted on the classics by Emperor Ming, Zhang Xing is said to have received thousands of students from far and near, and to have established the prosperity of the Liangqiu School. -HHS 79/69A:2552-53*.

Zhang Xiu 張修 [Zizhen 子慎]. According to XC 7:2a, when Zhang Xiu was Director of the Imperial Secretariat arranged the recall of several officials who had been wrongfully dismissed, and he controlled the imperial favourites, relatives and eunuchs. So the court was well governed. Zhang Xiu, however, is not mentioned in HHS and it is not possible to date him.

Zhang Xiu 張休. In 159 Zhang Xiu composed a stele

inscription at a river gorge among the mountains, probably in Sichuan. -LX 19:13a-b.

Zhang Xiu 張脩 (d.179). In 179 Zhang Xiu was Emissary to the Xiongnu. He quarrelled with the Shanyu Hucheng, arrested and killed him, then appointed the Worthy King of the Right Qiangqu as his successor. When this was reported to the court, Zhang Xiu was found guilty of having failed to seek permission before taking such action. Brought to the capital in a cage cart, he died in the prison of the Minister of Justice. -HHS 8:343, 89/79:2964; deC 84:345-346, deC 89:162.

Zhang Xiu 張脩; Ba. Records concerning Zhang Xiu, one of the founders of the Five Dou of Rice sect 五斗米道 [the Rice Sect], are confused and contradictory. Pei Songzhi of the early fifth century suggests Zhang Xiu is the same person as Zhang Heng, son of Zhang Ling and father of Zhang Lu, early masters of the present-day Taoist church, but it seems more likely that he was the leader of a separate cult in the region of present-day Sichuan. The account below is based upon that interpretation:

In the autumn of 184 Zhang Xiu, leader of a religious group identified as the Rice Sect, raised a rebellion in Ba commandery. There is no evidence of any direct connection with the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue in the east, and Zhang Xiu's rising broke out several months after that of Zhang Jue. The teachings, however, were similar, both being concerned with faith-healing and confession of sins, and devotees were no doubt encouraged by the frequent outbreaks of plague which affected the empire at this time. The *Dian lue* by Yu Huan of the third century says that the Rice Sect got its name because those who received treatment were required to pay a fee of five *dou* [10 litres] of rice; they were commonly known as the Rice Rebels 米賊.

It appears that Zhang Xiu's rising was soon ended, that he was permitted to make his peace with the provincial government, and that he continued to hold authority as a religious leader. It has been suggested that the Zhang Xiu of 184 and the Zhang Xiu described below were two different men, but this seems less likely.

When Liu Yan came to Yi province as Governor in the late 180s he fell under the influence of the Lady Zhang, mother of Zhang Lu and also an adept of popular religion. Seeking to broaden his authority in the region, he named Zhang Xiu and Zhang Lu as majors and sent

them to attack Su Gu the Administrator of Hanzhong. Su Gu was duly overthrown and killed, but Zhang Xiu and Zhang Lu then declared independence from both the Han dynasty and Liu Yan, and set up their own state in Hanzhong.

Liu Yan was not entirely dissatisfied with this development, for although he had lost control of Hanzhong he had an excuse to break off connection to the capital and establish his own regime. He took no direct action against the "rebels," and his policy was followed for several years by his son and successor Liu Zhang.

At some time in the 190s Zhang Lu killed Zhang Xiu and took all power for himself. It is impossible to assess the true relationship between Zhang Xiu on the one hand and the succession of religious leaders from Zhang Ling through Zhang Heng to Zhang Lu on the other. There were a number of different sects in the region at this time, and the conflict between Zhang Xiu and Zhang Lu may have represented the take-over of Zhang Xiu's Rice Sect by another, hitherto less influential, group. -SGZ 8:264, HHS 8:349, 75/65:2436; deC 89:557, deC 90:357-359, deC 96:83-84.

Zhang Xiu 張繡 (d.207); Wuwei. At the time of the Liang province rebellion in the 180s, Zhang Xiu was a local officer in his native county. When Qu Sheng of Jincheng attacked and killed the magistrate Liu Jun, Zhang Xiu waylaid and killed him in revenge; he gained reputation and a following among young men of the region.

Zhang Xiu later joined his kinsman Zhang Ji in the service of Dong Zhuo, and after Dong Zhuo was assassinated at Chang'an in 192, he followed Li Jue and others to attack and seize the capital. Distinguishing himself, he was named a general and enfeoffed, but stayed with Zhang Ji in Hongnong.

After Emperor Xian escaped to the east in 195, Zhang Ji's troops were isolated and short of supplies. He was killed in a raid on Jing province in 196, but the Governor Liu Biao then treated his men generously and they entered his service. Zhang Xiu took command of defence at Wan city in Nanyang, on the northern border of Liu Biao's territory.

In the following year, 197, Cao Cao came to attack. Zhang Xiu surrendered, but when Cao Cao took the widow of his former master Zhang Ji as a concubine, Zhang Xiu was humiliated and angry. Cao Cao planned to kill him, but Zhang Xiu learnt of it and

made a sudden attack. Taken by surprise, Cao Cao was wounded and compelled to flee, and his son Cao Ang was killed. When Zhang Xiu pursued him, however, he counter-attacked and drove him back. Zhang Xiu rejoined Liu Biao.

Late in that year and again in 198 Cao Cao made further attacks, with some success, but Zhang Xiu maintained his defensive position.

In 199, as Cao Cao and Yuan Shao sought allies for their approaching confrontation, Zhang Xiu, with the advice of his counsellor Jia Xu, rejected Yuan Shao and turned to Cao Cao. Cao Cao made Zhang Xiu a general and had his son Cao Jun marry his daughter.

Zhang Xiu served with distinction in the fighting about Guandu in 200 and in later operations against the Yuan in Ji province. In 207 he accompanied the army against the Wuhuan in the northeast, but died on that campaign. -SGZ 8:262-63*.

Zhang Xiu 張休 [Shushi 叔嗣] (205-245); Pengcheng. Younger son of Zhang Zhao, Zhang Xiu followed his teachings on *Han shu* 漢書. He was a close companion of Sun Quan's eldest son and Heir Sun Deng, and later became a senior officer and general at court. He inherited Zhang Zhao's fief at his death in 236, but was later involved in a faction struggle and ordered to commit suicide. -SGZ Wu 7:1225; Fang 52:694.

Zhang Xu 張續; Jianwei. Elder son of Zhang Gang, after the death of his father in 144 Zhang Xu was awarded a million cash and appointed a gentleman cadet. He was later a member of the Imperial Secretariat. -HHS 56/46:1819, HYGZ 10B:157.

Zhang Xu 張敘 (d.165). Administrator of Cangwu in 165, Zhang Xu was captured by rebels led by Hu Lan and Zhu Gai. After the rebellion was put down, he was brought to the capital and executed. -HHS 7:315.

Zhang Xuan 張玄 (d.30). In 29 the warlord Wei Ao sent his officer Zhang Xuan to seek alliance with the leaders of the further northwest. Dou Rong, chief of that region, however, made terms with Han, and when Zhang Xuan came again in the following year he was killed by the Administrator of Wuwei Liang Tong. -HHS 32/13:798, 800-01 [as Zhang Li 立], 806.

Zhang Xuan 張玄 [Junxia 君夏]; Henci. As a young man, Zhang Xuan studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan tradition and many other schools of classical interpretation. At the beginning of Later Han he was recommended as Understanding the Classics, became a Literary

Scholar in Hongnong and then an assistant magistrate in Youfufeng. Totally honest and with no personal desires, he devoted himself to scholarship and would go without food if there was a particularly difficult question to consider. In seeking solutions he chose eclectically among the various traditions, he was admired by his colleagues for his wide knowledge, and he had over a thousand students.

On one occasion he was required to report to the commandery headquarters. He could not find the right office, and was abused by the gate-keeper, but the Administrator Xu Ye knew of his teaching and invited Zhang Xuan to call. Vastly impressed, he treated him with great respect and kept him in conversation all day.

Zhang Xuan later left his minor office, but was then nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. When a vacancy appeared for the chair in the Gongyang commentary according to the interpretation of Yan Anle 顏安樂 of Former Han, Zhang Xuan was examined, graded first, and became the new Academician. Within a few months, however, the students complained that he was teaching by the Zhuang/Yan interpretation [of Zhuang Pengzu 莊彭祖 of Former Han (whose surname was written as Yan 嚴 to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Ming of Later Han)] as well as that of Yan Anle's disciple Ming Du 冥都. Though this showed Zhang Xuan's broad learning, it was claimed that he was not an appropriate person to hold a chair which should be devoted to the Yan 顏 school. Emperor Guangwu ordered him transferred, but Zhang Xuan died before this could be done. -HHS 79/69B: 2581*; Bn 79:189.

Zhang Xuan 張玄 [Boya 伯雅]; Henan. Zhang Xuan was a local officer. The inscription for his funerary temple 祠堂碑 was composed by Cai Yong. -Cai 6:2.

Zhang Xuan 張玄 [Chuxu 處虛]; Shu/Henan. A son of Zhang Kai, Zhang Xuan may have been registered like his father and grandfather as a man from Shu commandery, and he is recorded as such in *Huayang guo zhi*. Like his father, however, Zhang Xuan evidently resided in the region of the capital, while his brother Zhang Ling was nominated for office by the Intendant of Henan, which indicates that he was a citizen of that territory.

Zhang Xuan was known as a profound thinker and a man of great ability. When Zhang Wen was Excellency of Works in 184 and 185, he several times

offered Zhang Xuan appointment in his offices, but he always refused. When Zhang Wen was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry to attack the rebels of Liang province in 185, Zhang Xuan went to call upon him and urged that he take the opportunity of his command of the army to reform the government, with particular attention to destroying the eunuchs and their influence. As Zhang Wen explained that he could not take such action, Zhang Xuan prepared to take poison. Zhang Wen assured him that the fault was his for failing to take action, and in no way Zhang Xuan's for having given advice; their conversation would be kept quite secret [one may thus wonder how the historian found out about it: cf. a similar story concerning Dong Zhuo, Zhang Wen, and his adviser Sun Jian]. Zhang Xuan went away to the hill country south of Runan and Yingchuan in the Dabie Shan.

After Dong Zhuo had seized power at the capital in 189 he summoned Zhang Xuan to appointment as a Palace Attendant. When Zhang Xuan refused, Dong Zhuo sent troops to force him, but he fell ill and died on the way. -HHS 36/26:1244*.

Zhang Xuan 張宣; Pei. A local leader in the commandery, in 197 Zhang Xuan killed the warlord Han Xian. -HHS 72/62:2342, SGZ 6:187.

Zhang Xuan 張玄; Guangling. Son of Zhang Hong, Zhang Xuan was an honourable man but lacked his father's abilities. He became Administrator of Nan commandery for Sun Quan and was also a member of his Secretariat. -SGZ Wu 8:1246-47.

Zhang Xun 張恂. Intendant of Jingzhao in the early 70s, Zhang Xun appointed Yue Hui to his local staff. When he was later executed for some crime, Yue Hui was the only one of his former officers to carry out mourning ceremonies for him. -DGHJ 19:5a, HHS 43/33:1477.

Zhang Xun 張恂 see Feng Xun 馮恂. HHS 92/2:3041 has a single citation of Zhang Xun as an officer of the Bureau of Astronomy, whose system of forecasting eclipses of the moon was adopted in 179. It is probable that the character Feng 馮 was confused by a copyist for the more common surname Zhang 張. -Sivin 69: 60.

Zhang Xun 張馴 [Zijun 子儁]; Ji Yin. As a young man Zhang Xun studied *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan* at the Imperial University in Luoyang and taught the *Classic of History* according to the Elder Xiahou tradition. He joined the offices of the Excellencies, graded First

Class and was appointed a Consultant.

As Palace Attendant in the imperial library, Zhang Xun was admired for his meticulous editorial work. In 175 he joined Cai Yong and others to urge the engraving of the Stone Classics at Luoyang, and he probably took part in the editing of the texts.

Zhang Xun later served as Administrator of Danyang, and is said to have reformed the people there by his generous conduct. He returned to Luoyang in 184 to join the Imperial Secretariat, and later became Minister of Finance. He died about 190. -HHS 79/69A: 2558*, 60/50B:1990, XC 5:9a-b.

Zhang Xun 張勳. A general of Yuan Shu, in 197 Zhang Xun was sent with Qiao Rui to attack Lü Bu at Xiapi. As their allies Han Xian and Yang Feng, however, were persuaded to change sides, Zhang Xun and Qiao Rui were defeated and withdrew with heavy losses.

Later that year Zhang Xun was at Hu city in Chen when it was captured by Cao Cao. Qiao Rui and other commanders were killed, but he managed to escape.

After Yuan Shu died in 199, Zhang Xun sought to bring some of his people to Sun Ce south of the Yangzi. They were intercepted by Liu Xun the Administrator of Lujiang and went to join him at Huan city: cf. *sub* Yuan Yin. -HHS 75/65:2442, SGZ 7:225, SGZ Wu 1:1104.

Zhang Ya 張雅; Kuaiji. A local leader of Houguan, on the coast by present-day Fuzhou, he joined the magistrate Shang Sheng to raise troops for the Administrator Wang Lang against Sun Ce. When Shang Sheng later sought to surrender to Sun Ce's officer He Qi, Zhang Ya and his associate Zhan Qiang killed him and maintained resistance. Zhang Ya took title as a general, but his son-in-law He Xiong then set himself up as a rival. Taking advantage of the rift, He Qi defeated the disorganised enemy and forced them to surrender. -SGZ Wu 15:1377-78.

Zhang Yan 張晏. In 170 Zhang Yan was Chief Clerk in the Western Regions when Hede of Shule [Kashgar] killed his nephew and seized the throne. As the Inspector of Liang province Meng De sent an expeditionary force, Zhang Yan brought allied non-Chinese troops to join the major Cao Quan. They had no success, and Shule was effectively independent. -HHS 88/78:2927.

Zhang Yan 張延 [Gongwei 公威] (d.187); Henei. Son of the Excellency Zhang Xin, in 185 Zhang Yan was promoted from Minister Coachman to Grand

Commandant, probably paying for the honour. Slandered by the eunuchs, however, he left office in 186 and died in prison. -HHS 8:351-53.

Zhang Yan 張燕 or Zhang Feiyan 飛燕; Changshan. Zhang Yan's original surname was Chu 褚. About 184 he commanded a group of bandits in the Taihang ranges, then joined Oxhorn Zhang [Zhang Niujue] and accepted his leadership. Soon afterwards Oxhorn was fatally wounded and transferred his men to Chu Yan, who took the surname Zhang in honour of his patron. He was styled Feiyan 飛燕 "Flying Swallow" for his quick wit and swift action.

Zhang Yan created a loose confederacy across the Taihang ranges. Known as the Black Mountain bandits and numbered in the tens of thousands, they ravaged Changshan, Zhao, Zhongshan, Shangdang and Henei. Unable to halt his depredations, the Han court accepted a nominal surrender, granted him title as General of the Household Who Pacifies Disorder 平難中郎將 and gave him the right to nominate candidates for office like a commandery administrator: see also Yang Feng.

As the empire broke up in the 190s, Zhang Yan had a loose alliance with Gongsun Zan against Yuan Shao. In 193 Yuan Shao attacked the hill country, destroying the leaders in the south, but Zhang Yan held out in Changshan. As Yuan Shao made his final attack on Gongsun Zan in 199 Zhang Yan made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him.

As Cao Cao took over Ji province in 205, Zhang Yan went to submit. He was given title as a general and enfeoffed as a marquis; the fief continued in his family after his death. -SGZ 8:261-62*, 1:27, HHS 71/61: 2311.

Zhang Yan 張琰 (d.205); Hongnong. In 205 Zhang Yan was an associate of the bandit leader Zhang Cheng, or White Rider Zhang. That year Cao Cao arranged for the north-western warlord Ma Teng to attack and destroy Zhang Cheng; Zhang Yan was also killed. -SGZ 16:472.

Zhang Yang 張楊 (d.27); Nan. An officer of the warlord Qin Feng, Zhang Yang supported him in holding the line of the Han River against the attacks of Guangwu's general Cen Peng. In the autumn of 27 Cen Peng pretended to be planning to cross upstream to the west, and let prisoners escape to report the false plan. Leaving Zhang Yang with a minimal force, Qin Feng took the bulk of his men to face the false threat. Cen

Peng then crossed directly, and he defeated and killed Zhang Yang. -HHS 17/7:657.

Zhang Yang 張陽. In 71 it was alleged that Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan had sent his officers Zhang Yang and Dong Chen to make contact with Yan Zhong and other members of the alleged conspiracy about Liu Ying the King of Chu.

Zhang Yang 張楊 [Zhishu 稚叔] (d.198); Yunzhong. Noted for his fighting skills and courage, Zhang Yang became Assistant Officer for Military Affairs in the administration of Bing province. When Emperor Ling established his Western Garden corps under the eunuch Jian Shi in 188, the Inspector Ding Yuan sent Zhang Yang to join Jian Shi's staff, and he was appointed as an acting major.

In the following year Jian Shi was killed by the General-in-Chief He Jin. Zhang Yang accepted the new regime and He Jin sent him back to his home country to raise troops. He gathered a thousand men and attacked the hills bandits of Shangdang, presumably seeking to recruit them to his forces. Later that year, when He Jin was destroyed and Dong Zhuo seized power at the capital, Zhang Yang attacked the Administrator of Shangdang. He was unsuccessful, but he did plunder several counties, and his followers were now numbered in the thousands.

As the eastern alliance formed against Dong Zhuo, Yuan Shao came into Henei. Zhang Yang made contact with him, but he also joined the Xiongnu Shanyu Yufuluo, who then forced Zhang Yang to join him against Yuan Shao. Though their combined forces were defeated south of Ye city, they then drove the General on the Liao Geng Zhi from his base in Liyang.

Soon afterwards Zhang Yang received commission as general and Administrator of Henei from Dong Zhuo. Escaping from Yufuluo, he based himself at Yewang, northeast across the Yellow River from Luoyang, and maintained himself there for the next few years. At intervals in 192 and 193 he gave uncertain refuge to Lü Bu, a former officer of Ding Yuan and also a man from the north.

As Emperor Xian arrived in Hedong after his escape from Chang'an in 195, Zhang Yang sent aid and went to pay court. He wanted to escort him back to Luoyang, but the leaders who had brought the ruler so far were not prepared to allow an interloper's interest, and though Zhang Yang was granted a fief he was obliged to withdraw.

As the chieftains fell out soon afterwards, Zhang Yang was able to intervene. He arranged some rebuilding at Luoyang, and in the autumn of 196 he assisted Han Xian and Yang Feng to bring the emperor to the former capital. He was given title as Grand Marshal, but returned to his base in Henei; ostensibly this was to defend Luoyang, but in fact he was still kept out of the main leadership group about the emperor.

When Cao Cao attacked Lü Bu in Xiapi in 198 Zhang Yang attempted a diversion against his rear, but he was killed by his officer Yang Chou, who was a supporter of Cao Cao. It is said that Zhang Yang was a good and generous man, and even when he learned of plots against him he would forgive the conspirators. -SGZ 8:250-51*.

Zhang Yao 張曜; Zhao. Younger son of Zhang Yu, when his father the former Excellency died in 113 Zhang Yao was appointed as a gentleman cadet. -HHS 44/34:1499.

Zhang Ye 張曄 I. In 24 Zhang Ye was county magistrate of the capital of Dai commandery. The Gengshi Emperor sent orders to recall the Administrator Zhao Yong, but Geng Kuang the Administrator of Shanggu persuaded Zhao Yong to go instead to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was at that time commissioner in the northeast but was approaching a declaration of independence. Liu Xiu confirmed Zhao Yong in his appointment.

As Zhao Yong was returning to his territory, Zhang Ye mutinied. He obtained support from the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan, but Liu Xiu sent Geng Kuang's son Geng Shu to attack him. Zhang Ye was destroyed and Zhao Yong regained his post. -HHS 19/9:705.

Zhang Ye 張曄 II. In 29 Cen Peng, Guangwu's general in Jing province, sent summons to the south of the Yangzi for the campaign against Gongsun Shu, and Zhang Long the Administrator of Guiyang sent his son Zhang Ye with a contingent. Zhang Long was made a full marquis, and Zhang Ye was also enfeoffed. -HHS 14/4:566, 17/7:659.

Zhang Ye 張業 [Zhongshu 仲叔]; Kuaiji. A local officer of his commandery about 40, Zhang Ye was sent to escort the Administrator's wife and children to their homeland. They were waylaid by bandits in Henei, and Zhang Ye was killed as he attempted to defend the party. See further *sub* Zhang Ye's son Zhang Wu. -HHS 81/71:2681-82, XC 5:15a, XHS 5:15a. [XC and XHS describe Zhang Ye as a man of Wu, but this is an

anachronism, for the commandery was not separated from Kuaiji until 129.]

Zhang Yi 張異 [Zhongzong 仲宗]; Yuzhang. Administrator of Guangling, Zhang Yi nominated Wu Feng as Filial and Incorrupt. Wu Feng wanted to offer him a present, and though Zhang Yi refused he left a quantity of gold in the courtyard of his residence. Zhang Yi insisted upon returning it. -*XC* 7:7b.

Zhang Yi 張佚. In 52 a conference was held to consider who should be made formal Tutor to the Heir Liu Zhuang. A majority of officials supported the candidacy of Yin Shi, brother of the prince's mother the Empress Yin, but the Academician Zhang Yi protested that the appointments of the Heir and of his Tutor were decisions which should be made in the interest of the empire as a whole: "If it is just to benefit the Yin clan, then Marquis Yin is possible. But if the appointment is for the empire as a whole, then you must choose amongst all worthy and talented men." Emperor Guangwu observed that "You have not found it difficult to correct Us; and this will be still more true in dealing with the Heir," and he appointed Zhang Yi himself as Senior Tutor.

Zhang Yi, however, is not heard of again, and it appears that Liu Zhuang's closest and most favoured mentor was his Junior Tutor Huan Rong. -*HHS* 37/27: 1251; Bn 79:59.

Zhang Yi 張懿 (d.188). Inspector of Bing province, Zhang Yi was killed in Xihe in 188 by rebel Xiongnu led by the Xiuchuge clan. -*HHS* 8:354, *SGZ* Shu 1:865. [This man's personal name also appears as 益 and 壹: it was probably changed in the texts to avoid taboo on that of Sima Yi, a founder of the Jin dynasty.]

Zhang Yi 張逸 (d.193). A local officer of You province, when Liu Yu was killed by Gongsun Zan he and others came to show their loyalty. They cursed Gongsun Zan and accepted death together. -*SGZ* 8:244.

Zhang Yi 張義 (d.195). Minister of Finance, Zhang Yi accompanied Emperor Xian on his escape from Chang'an in 195. He was killed in one of the battles along the way. -*HHS* 9:378.

Zhang Yi 張擇; Nanyang. Son of Zhang Xian, in 200 Zhang Yi succeeded his father as warlord Administrator of Changsha. He sought to maintain a position independent of Liu Biao in the south of Jing province, but he was attacked and defeated. -*SGZ* 6: 211.

Zhang Yi 張顗. In 204 Zhang Yi was an officer under

Yuan Shang facing Cao Cao outside Ye city. As the armies engaged, he brought his troops over and changed sides. -*SGZ* 1:25.

Zhang Yi 張異. In 206 Zhang Yi was senior commander for Sun Quan in final operations against the recalcitrant camp of Mo in eastern Jiangxia. -*SGZ* 10:1296.

Zhang Yi 張裔 [Junsi 君嗣] (d.230); Shu. A loyal and generous man, Zhang Yi was a noted scholar of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* and of the Han histories. Recommended to Liu Zhang, warlord Governor of Yi province, as Filial and Incorrupt, he became a county magistrate in Ba commandery, then an Assistant Officer and a member of Liu Zhang's personal staff.

As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang in 214, Zhang Yi attempted to hold Guanghan against Zhang Fei's advance from the south, but he was defeated and driven back to Chengdu. There he negotiated the surrender to Liu Bei, who appointed him Administrator of Ba and then Commissioner for Metal, responsible for production of military weapons and agricultural equipment.

Following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han in 220 Zhang Yi, now ranked as a lieutenant-general, joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title. Soon afterwards he was appointed Administrator to settle Yizhou commandery, but was captured by the local warlord Yong Kai and sent as a prisoner to Sun Quan.

As Wu and Shu established a formal alliance in 223 Zhang Yi was permitted to return to the west. He later held charge of affairs at the capital while Zhuge Liang was on campaign, and received title as a general. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1011-13.

Zhang Yi 張嶷 [Boqi 伯岐] (d.254); Ba. As a young man Zhang Yi was Officer of Merit in his county. When hills people attacked about 215, the magistrate abandoned his family and fled, but Zhang Yi faced the enemy and brought the man's wife to safety. Now well known, he was respected and befriended by leading men of the region and became an Assistant Officer of Yi province.

Having served with success under Zhuge Liang, about 240 Zhang Yi became Administrator of Yuexi. He put down rebellion which had been endemic in the territory, and restored communications across

the frontier towards present-day Burma/Myanmar. A leading adviser and general of Shu-Han, he died in battle against Wei. -SGZ Shu 13:1051-55*.

Zhang Yi 張翼 [Bogong 伯恭] (d.264); Jianwei. A descendant of the Excellency Zhang Hao, Zhang Yi joined Liu Bei's staff as he took over Yi province in 214. He became a county magistrate in Hanzhong, Ba and Jianwei and served with Zhao Yun against Cao Cao in 219.

Zhang Yi was then Administrator of Guanghan and of Shu, and later Area Commander of Laixiang, the southern part of Yi province. He accompanied Zhuge Liang on campaign in that region, and later became a member of the Secretariat and a chief general. He was killed in the disorders at the end of Shu-Han. -SGZ Shu 15:1073-75*, HYGZ 10B:159.

Zhang Yi 張意. As General of Agile Cavalry, Zhang Yi held command of a campaign against the Dong'ou 東甌 people of present-day Fujian. He attacked by sea and was completely successful. -XC 7:4b.

Xie Cheng was a man of the south, and should be reliable in this area, but it is difficult to relate this campaign to any enterprise in the Later Han period recorded elsewhere, and Dong'ou was a state of the mid-second century BC, which appears to have been effectively abolished at that time [e.g. Yü 86:455-456]. It is moreover surprising that a man of such high rank as General of Agile Cavalry should not be mentioned in the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye. For most of the dynasty the rank was reserved for imperial relatives: see *sub* Liu Cang and Dong Zhong, also Bn 80:122. The historicity of this item is thus very doubtful.

Zhang Yin 張印 miswritten for Zhang Ang 張印. -XHS 2:1b.

Zhang Yin 張胤; Jianwei. A brother of Zhang Mu, and a distant descendant of the great minister Zhang Liang 良 at the beginning of Former Han, Zhang Yin was the father of Zhang Hao. -XTS 72C:2675.

Zhang Yin 張音. When the imperial kinsman Fan Shu died in 67, the eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates Zhang Yin was sent with offerings, and also to enquire about his testament. He reported that Fan Shu had been concerned about the ill-treatment of two groups of commoners, and Emperor Ming had both situations dealt with. -HHS 32/22:1124.

Zhang Yin 張隱; Shanyang. Some time in the late 160s twenty-four men from Shanyang, under the leadership of the reformist Zhang Jian, swore an oath

of fellowship and set up a stele. Zhang Yin was a member of the group, and he may have been a kinsman of Zhang Jian. Encouraged by the eunuch Hou Lan, in 169 the malcontent Zhu Bing claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210, ZF:16a [in SGZ 6:211 PC]; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

This Zhang Yin must be distinguished from another man of the same name, a scholar of the Jin dynasty who is one of the putative authors of *Wenshi zhuan* 文士傳 "Biographies of Scholars," cited in the commentary of Pei Songzhi to SGZ: SGZ 9:280 & JJ at 23a.

Zhang Yin 張胤 (d.188). An Assistant Officer in Yi province, in 188 Zhang Yin was in Guanghan with his colleagues Yan Bin and Dong Fu when the Inspector Que Jian was attacked and killed by rebels at his headquarters nearby. Yan Bin urged his fellows to turn against the enemy, but when they refused he fought alone and died. When Liu Yan arrived as Governor he honoured Yan Bin's heroism but executed Zhang Yin and Dong Fu for cowardice. -HYGZ 10C:170.

Zhang Yin 張音/愔. Minister of Ceremonies at the court of Emperor Xian of Han in 220, Zhang Yin was named Acting Imperial Secretary with the Staff of Authority in order that he might negotiate the abdication of Han to Wei and transfer the ritual insignia of the empire. -SGZ 2:62; Fang 52:11, Goodman 98:64-65, 164.

Zhang Ying 張嬰 (d.145); Guangling. Active as a bandit in the lower Yangzi from the late 130s, in 142 Zhang Ying killed the Administrator of Guangling and the Inspector of Yang province.

In 143 Zhang Gang the new Administrator to Guangling went to Zhang Ying's camp, asked about grievances and promised pardon. Zhang Ying apologised for his crimes, was duly reassured, and brought his people to surrender. Zhang Gang gave local office to any of the former rebels who wished to enter the imperial service.

In the following year, however, Zhang Gang was recalled to the capital, and though Zhang Ying and his fellows asked that he might stay he died on the road. About this time, moreover, Fan Rong and other bandits in Jiujiang defeated an attack by provincial forces under Feng Gun and Zhang Ying, inspired by this, reverted to his old ways.

In 145 Zhang Ying killed two county magistrates

and took over much of the commandery, but in the winter he was defeated and killed by local forces commanded by Teng Fu. -HHS 6:272, 277, 279, 38/28:1179, 56/46:1819.

Zhang Ying 張英. An officer of Liu Yao defending the line of the Yangzi, he was defeated by Sun Ce in 195. -SGZ Wu 1:1102, SGZ Wu 5:1197; deC 90:161-163.

Zhang You 張游. A chieftain of the non-Chinese Li people from the frontier of Jiuzhen, in 36 Zhang You brought his people to acknowledge the Han. Guangwu enfeoffed him as Lord of the Li Submissive to Han 歸漢里君. -HHS 86/76:2836; deC 90:161-163.

Zhang You 張攸; Zangke. A local man of wealth, in the early 160s he was accused on trumped-up charges by the Inspector Hou Can, brother of the palace eunuch Hou Lan. Zhang You and all the members of his family were killed and Hou Can seized their property. -XC 3:6a.

Zhang Yu 張雨, the Lady; Dongping. In the time of Emperor Ming, when the Lady was still only fifteen her father and her mother both died. Refusing offers of marriage she brought up her two younger brothers, educating them in the classics and making good marriages for them. The magistrate Xie Yiwu had both men nominated for office and arranged honours for the Lady herself. -XC 6:4b.

Zhang Yu 張魚; Jingzhao. As Han irregular troops gathered for a final attack on Wang Mang in 23, Zhang Yu, Zhu Di and other young men of Chang'an, afraid that the city would be plundered and sacked, took sides with the insurgents. Shouting slogans in support of Han and calling on Wang Mang to surrender, they broke into the imperial palace and set it on fire. -Dubs 55:462-463, Bn 54:131.

Zhang Yu 張禹 [Boda 伯達] (d.113); Zhao. Son of Zhang Qin, Zhang Yu was a scholar of the New Text *Classic of History* according to the Ouyang interpretation, and during the 50s he studied at the capital under Huan Rong. He was a generous and moral man: when his father died as a magistrate in Henei, the local people wanted to contribute to his funeral expenses but Zhang Yu refused to accept the gift.

In 65 Zhang Yu was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served in the Ministry of Justice and, after some minor appointments, became Inspector of Yang province about 80. When he planned to visit the south he was warned that the legendary hero Wu Zixu 伍子

胥 haunted the Yangzi. Observing that even if such a spirit existed it would recognise his good intentions, Zhang Yu crossed the river, travelled widely in the region and impressed the people there.

In 85 Zhang Yu was transferred to Yan province, and in the following year he became Chancellor of Xiapi. The Officer of Merit Dai Run had dominated the territory, but Zhang Yu found cause to send him to prison, and the people then accepted his authority. He established irrigation to open up a large area for farmland, and so many people came to colonise it that a town was founded within a year.

In 94 Zhang Yu went to the capital as Minister of Finance, and in 100 he was appointed Grand Commandant. Emperor He treated him with great courtesy, and as he went on tour to the south in 103 he left Zhang Yu in charge at Luoyang. Later, hearing that the emperor planned to visit the middle Yangzi, he sent a messenger post-haste to warn of possible danger: Emperor He went no further, and as the imperial cortège returned Zhang Yu received special rewards and his son Sheng became a gentleman cadet.

In 105 Zhang Yu and the Excellency Xu Fang recommended the posthumous enfeoffment of Deng Xun, father of the empress, and when Emperor He died in 106 the Lady Deng, now regent Dowager, appointed Zhang Yu as Grand Tutor for the Young Emperor Liu Long. He shared control of the Imperial Secretariat, which gave formal control over the imperial government, and resided in the palace as a guard for the infant ruler. Real power, however, was held by the Dowager, though Zhang Yu did persuade her to open waste-land in the imperial hunting parks near Chang'an and in Runan, to be taken up by poor people.

Later that year, following the death of the Young Emperor Liu Long and the accession of Emperor An, Zhang Yu sought to retire on grounds of ill health. Palace eunuchs, however, were sent to enquire after him, he was granted further gifts and rewards, and in 107 he was enfeoffed for his part in the selection of the new ruler.

In the autumn of that year, when the Excellencies Xu Fang and Yin Qin were dismissed on account of flooding and some outbreaks of banditry Zhang Yu was displeased and again asked to retire. This time he was transferred back to be Grand Commandant, and no Grand Tutor was appointed to replace him.

In 110 the Dowager went to stay at the residence of her mother the Lady Yin, who was on her death-bed. Zhang Yu and his fellow-Excellencies Xia Qin and Zhang Min protested firmly on grounds of protocol and security, and the Dowager was obliged to return to the palace.

Soon afterwards Zhang Yu noted that there had been a series of bad harvests and that the public treasury was empty. He recommended taxes be called in advance so that local authorities could loan out grain more easily. This was approved.

In 111 Zhang Yu left office because the *Yin* and the *Yang* were out of order. When he died two years later imperial officers were sent to his funeral and his younger son Yao was made a gentleman cadet. -HHS 44/34:1496-99*, DGHJ 11:3b-4a.

Zhang Yu 張紆. In 86 Zhang Yu was Administrator of Longxi. During the course of a raid by the Qiang from across the border, his troops captured the chieftain Haoyu. Zhang Yu intended to kill him, but Haoyu argued that if he let him go the Qiang would go away and trouble the frontier no further. Zhang Yu took the authority to accept the proposal, and the Qiang duly withdrew to their own territories.

In the following year, however, the Protector Fu Yu was killed in battle by Haoyu's brother Miyu, chief warlord of the Shaodang Qiang. Zhang Yu took his place, and soon afterwards his officer Sima Fang gained a victory against a raiding force in Jincheng. Miyu now asked to surrender, and Zhang Yu invited him to a banquet to settle terms. As the Qiang arrived, he had a body of men waiting in hiding, and he also drugged the wine. As his guests became affected, he had his soldiers attack, and they killed eight hundred of them.

Zhang Yu sent the heads of Miyu and four comrades as offerings to the tomb of his predecessor Fu Yu, while he himself led an attack against the Qiang home territories, killing a further four hundred and capturing another two thousand.

Miyu's son Mitang, vowing vengeance, gathered a consortium of tribes to attack Longxi, and he stirred up trouble across all the northwest. By 88, as the situation was out of control, Zhang Yu was recalled and replaced by the more humane and honourable Deng Xun. -HHS 87/77:2881-83.

Zhang Yu 張宇; Jianwei>Zhuo. HYGZ 72C:2675 says that Zhang Yu, son of the Excellency Zhang Hao, was

a county magistrate in Zhuo commandery and then Administrator of Youbeiping. He moved the family residence from the southwest to the northeast.

Zhang Yu 張御; Ba. A local commandery officer, Zhang Yu was killed by brigands about 150. -HYGZ 1:6.

Zhang Yu 張輿; Yingchuan. Younger brother of the eunuch Zhang Rang, Zhang Yu was a county magistrate in Yingchuan. He was cruel and corrupt, and about 165 the Intendant of Henan Li Ying had him arrested, examined and killed. -HHJ 22:260.

It was unusual for a man to hold such high office in his home commandery, and Li Ying must have arrested Zhang Yu after he had taken up residence at the capital: he had no jurisdiction in Yingchuan, which was also his home commandery. HHJ tells how the Imperial Secretariat questioned Li Ying, who cited Confucius' celebrated execution of Shao Zhengmao 少正卯, but HHS 67/57:2194 has him using the same defence to justify killing Zhang Shuo, also a brother of Zhang Rang, for similar wrongdoing. The stories of Zhang Yu and Zhang Shuo are very close, so there may be dittography; the Zhang Shuo case is administratively more straightforward.

Zhang Yu 張裕 [Nanhe 南和]; Shu. A celebrated sooth-sayer and physiognomist, Zhang Yu was an Assistant Officer to the Governor Liu Zhang, and when Liu Bei first came to Yi province in 211 Zhang Yu embarrassed him at court with his repartee.

Zhang Yu later joined Liu Bei's staff, and in 218 Liu Bei consulted him on his plans to attack Hanzhong. Zhang Yu warned against the idea, but the campaign proved successful. About the same time, moreover, he made the private comment that it was time for the dynasty to change, that fortune had left the house of Liu, and that Liu Bei would lose Yi province nine years from the time he gained it. His words leaked out and, despite protests from Zhuge Liang, Liu Bei had Zhang Yu executed for his treasonous prophecy and on account of the old insult. In fact Liu Bei died in 223, nine years after he had taken over Yi province, and his state did indeed fail. -SGZ Shu 12:1020-21.

Zhang Yuan 張員 see Zhang Zhen 張貞/眞.

Zhang [Yuanyi] 張元益. Elder son of Zhang Changzhong and grandson of Zhang Bin'gong, in 77 he buried his father and his own younger brother Shuyuan in the family tomb. -LS 13:9b-10a.

Zhang Yuanzu 張元祖; Yingchuan. During the 170s

Zhang Yuanzu was a gentleman traveller 行士. When he was in Chenliu he called upon Fu Rong, who had just suffered the death of his wife. Though Fu Rong was poor, he insisted he would accept no help with her simple interment, but Zhang Yuanzu persuaded him to accept the loan of his ox-cart for the cortège. -HHS 68/58:2233, XC 7:16b.

Zhang Yue 張悅. Nephew of Zhang Wei, Zhang Yue was cared for by Zhang Wei's widow, the Lady Cheng Zhenjue. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zhang Yun 張雲. Administrator of Yuzhang about 112, Zhang Yun nominated Chen Zhong as Filial and Incorrupt. Chen Zhong urged that his friend Lei Yi, Officer of Merit, be given preference. After long debate, Zhang Yun insisted on his choice, but in the following year he did recommend Lei Yi, so both men became gentleman cadets. -HHS 81/71:2686.

Zhang Yun 張惲 (d.159). A eunuch, in 159 Zhang Yun was a junior officer in the Yellow Gates. He was an agent of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, who sent him to take up residence in the private imperial apartments and watch for any trouble. His senior colleague Ju Yuan was conspiring with Emperor Huan against Liang Ji, and he arrested Zhang Yun on the grounds that he lacked proper authorisation. The coup was successful and Zhang Yun was presumably killed. -HHS 34/24:1186; deC 89:13.

Zhang Yun 張允. A friend of Gao Dai, about 193 Zhang Yun assisted him to escape with his mother from Xu Gong, Administrator of Wu commandery. -SGZ Wu 1:1109.

Zhang Yun 張允; Nanyang. Nephew of the Lady Cai, wife of Liu Biao, Zhang Yun supported Liu Zong against Liu Qi for Liu Biao's favour and inheritance. As Liu Biao was dying, Zhang Yun prevented Liu Qi from visiting him. -SGZ 6:213-14.

Zhang Yun 張允; Wu. Known locally for his virtues, Zhang Yun became a senior officer at Sun Quan's headquarters. He died about 220. -SGZ Wu 12:1319.

Zhang Zai 張載 miswritten for Zhang Yi 張異.

Zhang Zan 張瓚 (d.193). In 193 Zhang Zan was a local officer in You province when the Governor Liu Yu was killed by Gongsun Zan. Zhang Zan and others went to show their loyalty, cursed Gongsun Zan and accepted death together. -SGZ 8:244.

Zhang Ze 張則 see Zhang Liangze 張亮則.

Zhang Zhan 張湛 [Zixiao 子孝]; Youfufeng. A man of strict morality, Zhang Zhan lived in seclusion and

was so concerned for proper conduct that he behaved toward even his wife and children as if he were their father and grandfather. He played a balanced role in district politics, and all the capital region admired his fine behaviour. Some said it was a facade, but Zhang Zhan laughed and said that at least his facade was a good one; others presented an evil face.

During the reigns of emperors Cheng and Ai of Former Han, Zhang Zhan held high rank, and under Wang Mang he was Commandant of a commandery. When Guangwu claimed the empire in 25, Zhang Zhan was appointed Administrator of Zuopingyi, where he restored good order and conduct. Later, as he was returning to his home town, he got down from his carriage when he came to the gates, explaining that despite his rank he wanted to emulate Confucius' simplicity and sincerity [*Analects* 10:1:1].

In 29 Zhang Zhan was appointed Minister of the Household, and he was swift to criticise any breach of etiquette in the court. He was noted for the white horses that he drove and Guangwu referred to him as the White Horse Gentleman 白馬生; he frequently deferred to his opinion. In 31 Zhang Zhan retired from the ministry on grounds of ill health, but he then became a Household Counsellor and later succeeded Wang Dan as Senior Tutor to the Heir, Liu Qiang.

A close friend of Du Lin, Zhang Zhan was a member of the Ma faction, and when Guangwu dismissed his Empress Guo, mother of Liu Qiang, in 41, he claimed to be ill and did not attend court. He was reduced in rank to be a Palace Counsellor, but the emperor enquired after him regularly, gave frequent gifts, and allowed him to take up residence in the quarters of the captain of a city gate; Zhang Zhan became known as the Gentleman of the Central East Gate 中東門君.

After the disgrace and death of the Excellency over the Masses Dai She in 44, Zhang Zhan was summoned to take his place. Since the last three incumbents had suffered a similar fate, no-one was anxious to accept the honour and the risk. Guangwu compelled Zhang Zhan to accept, but as he stood in court his bladder gave way. Observing that the long ceremonies required good control, Bielenstein suggests that Zhang Zhan's embarrassment could have been self-induced; it may, however, have been a real medical condition, possibly a fault of the prostate.

It was in any case agreed that Zhang Zhan was unfit for service: he held no further office and died at

1090 Zhang Zhang

home a few years later. -HHS 27/17:928-30*; Bn 79: 63, 119.

Zhang Zhang 張璋. When He Jin was killed by the eunuchs in 189, his officer Zhang Zhang led his troops to attack the palace to slaughter them. -HHS 69/59:2252.

Zhang [Zhangzhong] 張長仲 see Zhang Changzhong 張長仲.

Zhang Zhao 張昭. In 175 an edict required that the boundary of Ji and You provinces should be formally marked. As Assistant Officer of You, Zhang Zhao joined his opposite number Wang Qiu from Ji province to set up an inscribed stele near Beiping county in Zhongshan. -SJZ 11:24a. [Though the dates are compatible, this man should not be the same as either of the men immediately below: an Assistant Officer was appointed locally and neither Chen nor Pengcheng were in You province.]

Zhang Zhao 張昭; Chen. A son of the Excellency Zhang Yan and younger brother of Zhang Fan and Zhang Cheng, in the late 180s Zhang Zhao became a Consultant. When Dong Zhuo took power he was obliged to follow the court to Chang'an, but later managed to return. He warned his brothers not to join the troops raised against the usurper, for Dong Zhuo would be destroyed without them, and they should be very wary of the troubled times ahead. -SGZ 11:337.

Zhang Zhao 張昭 [Zibu 子布] (156-236); Pengcheng. A scholar when he was young, and a fine calligrapher in the official *li shu* 隸書 style, Zhang Zhao studied *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan* with Bohou Zi'an. He was widely read, with good knowledge of *Han shu* 漢書, and he became a close friend and colleague of Zhao Yu and Wang Lang.

Recommended by his commandery, he would not accept office, but he joined Wang Lang, a magistrate in Pengcheng, to compile an essay on the ancient use of taboo names 諱, contradicting the arguments of the celebrated scholar Ying Shao. They were widely praised, and Zhang Zhao received provincial nomination. He again refused, and though the Governor Tao Qian was angry at the apparent insult Zhou Yu was on his staff and persuaded him to take no action.

In the early 190s, as the territory fell into disorder, Zhang Zhao sought refuge south of the Yangzi, where he joined Sun Ce and became his head of administration. Sun Ce named him a General of the Household, and went himself to pay his respects to

Zhang Zhao's mother. Zhang Zhao was consulted on all matters of civil and military policy, and though he received many flattering letters from scholars in the north Sun Ce maintained the utmost confidence in his ability and his loyalty. He compared him to the great Guan Zhong 管仲, minister to the hegemon Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公.

When Sun Ce died, Sun Quan went into mourning, but Zhang Zhao persuaded him there was no time for such luxury. He insisted that he show himself to his followers, and with Zhou Yu and other leaders he expressed confidence that Sun Quan would be able to maintain the nascent state. Zhang Zhao became chief minister, acting almost as a regent, and later, when Sun Quan was away on campaign with the army Zhang Zhao had charge of the government at headquarters.

At the same time, under both Sun Ce and Sun Quan, Zhang Zhao led campaigns: facing Chen Deng north of the Yangzi and destroying the bandit Zhou Feng in Yuzhang. On the other hand, when Cao Cao called for surrender in 208 Zhang Zhao was chief among those who wanted to accept, and he opposed Zhou Yu, who argued for resistance and who later triumphed at the Red Cliffs.

A man of great dignity and firm views, Zhang Zhao was always treated with respect by Sun Quan, though he had no effect when he remonstrated about his passion for dangerous tiger-hunting. When Sun Quan became King of Wu in 221 he enfeoffed Zhang Zhao as a marquis, but he did not make him his Chancellor passing him over initially for Sun Shao and then for Gu Yong. He claimed Zhang Zhou was too serious and inflexible, but he may not have forgiven his mistaken advice in 208. There is a story, probably false, that when he took the imperial title he observed in open court that if he had taken Zhang Zhao's advice at that time he would now have been begging on the streets; such an extraordinary public insult would have done little for Sun Quan's own reputation and authority.

Zhang Zhao, however, did resign all his offices at that time, ostensibly on grounds of age and ill health. He occasionally held office and attended court thereafter, but the relationship was uneasy and both men recalled the days of tutelage when Sun Quan first came to power.

During Zhang Zhao's periods of retirement he composed commentaries to *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, and to the *Analects* of Confucius. -SGZ Wu 7:1219-

23*; Mather 76:500.

Zhang Zhaoyi 張昭儀 "Brilliant Companion," the Lady (d.214); Shu. As Liu Zhang was besieged by Liu Bei at Chengdu in 214, the Lady and her husband Zhu Shuxian were in the city. Zhu Shuxian was found guilty of conspiracy to surrender and was executed. Liu Zhang intended to have the Lady marry again, but instead she took her own life. Everyone was sorry for her. -HYGZ 10A:140-41.

Zhang Zhen 張貞/眞 also as Zhang Yuan 員; Jianwei. Zhang Zhen travelled to study the *Book of Changes* with the master Han Zifang but was drowned on the journey. His body could not be found until his widow, the Lady Huang Bo, threw herself into the river at the site of his death and emerged fourteen days later with his hand. -HYGZ 10B:161, SJZ 33:10b.

Zhang Zhi 張志. Inspector of Yi province in the time of Emperor Ming, Zhang Zhi recommended the scholar and diviner Yang Tong as Sincere and Upright. -HYGZ 10B:143.

Zhang Zhi 張植 Guanghan. Eldest son of Zhang Gang, Zhang Zhi became a gentleman cadet, but he evidently died before his father and rose to no higher office. -HYGZ 12:229.

Zhang Zhi 張芝 [Boying 伯英]; Dunhuang, later Hongnong: see *sub* Zhang Huan. Eldest son of Zhang Huan, Zhang Zhi was a celebrated scholar who refused invitations to the offices of the Excellencies at Luoyang. He also refused an imperial summons as Knowing the Way, though he held the sobriquet Youdao 有道.

Zhang Zhi was admired for his calligraphy in the informal *cao shu* 草書 script, sometimes linking a whole column of characters in a single brush-stroke. He was known as the "Sage of the Grass Style" 草聖, and the great fourth century calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 modelled his style upon that of Zhang Zhi and his colleague Zhong Yao, who was expert in the more formal *kai shu* 楷書, also known as *zheng shu* 正書 or *zhen shu* 真書, the "Standard Script" of the present day. -HHS 65/55:2144, JS 36:1065.

Zhang Zhi 張陟. In 207 Zhang Zhi was Inspector of Bing province in Cao Cao's service. -SGZ 24:679.

Zhang Zhong 張忠. As the Gengshi Emperor established his capital at Chang'an in 24, he named Zhang Zhong Inspector of Yi province and sent him with his officer Li Bao to take over the territory. The warlord Gongsun Shu sent his brother Gongsun Hui to attack them as they approached Chengdu, and Li Bao and

Zhang Zhong were defeated. The Han troops withdrew into Wudu commandery, and Zhang Zhong is not heard of again. -HHS 13/3:534.

Zhang Zhong 張重 [Zidu 子篤]; Rinan. In the time of Emperor Ming Zhang Zhong was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. When he came to court, the emperor asked if indeed the people of his commandery had the sun at their north, as the name "South of the Sun" 日南 implied. Zhang Zhong replied that this was not the case, any more than the commandery of Yanmen 鴈門 had a gate formed by wild geese or Jincheng 金城 a city made of metal. -Anon.:1a.

[In fact, Rinan lay south of the Tropic of Cancer, so there was a period in the middle of summer when the sun did appear in the north at midday. The same phenomenon could be observed over much of the far south, for the line of the tropic is north of present-day Guangzhou.] .

Zhang Zhong 張忠; Hejian. A nephew of the Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, and thus himself a cousin of the emperor, Zhang Zhong was Administrator of Nanyang about 180. He was reported for corruption by the Inspector Xu Qiu. -HHS 48/38:1620.

Zhang Zhong 張种 see Zhang Chong 張种.

Zhang [Zhongjie] 張仲階/階; Chenliu or Chen. Ying Shao tells how the wife of Zhang Zhongjie twice in a single day mistook her brother-in-law Bojie for her husband. -FSTY 3f:106.

Zhang [Zhongran] 張仲然 (d.184); Runan. In 184 Zhang Zhongran was a member of staff of the Administrator Zhao Qian. When the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out the commandery militia was defeated. Zhang Zhongran and six other officers shielded Zhao Qian with their bodies, and though they were all killed Zhao Qian was able to escape. An edict ordered inscriptions placed on the gate of each officer's home in honour of the "Seven Heroes" 七賢. -HHS 45/35:1527.

Zhang [Zhongyu] 張仲瑜; Nanyang. A brevet magistrate in his native commandery, Zhang Zhongyu organised the repair of a trestle road after a landslide in the mountains. The work was commemorated with a stele. -SJZ 28:5b-6a.

Zhang Zhu 張助; Runan. The farmer Zhang Zhu found a plum stone, put it in a hollow mulberry tree, watered it and went away. The plum grew from inside the mulberry, and the local people found this so strange that they worshipped it as a god, claimed it had magical

curative powers, and presented offering. When Zhang Zhu returned a year later, he was amazed at the fuss. He disapproved, and chopped the tree down.

Ying Shao cites this among a number of examples of false popular beliefs in the divinity of various objects. -*FSTY* 9:70-71.

Zhang Zhu 張著. An officer under Zhao Yun, Zhang Zhu was wounded in battle against Cao Cao in 219, but was rescued by Zhao Yun. -*SGZ* Shu 6:950.

Zhang Zi 張咨/資 [Ziyi 子議] (d.190); Yingchuan. A man of reputation, in 189 Zhang Zi was made Administrator of Nanyang by Dong Zhuo. In the following year, as Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha came north to join the alliance against Dong Zhuo, Zhang Zi took the view that he had left his territory without authority. He refused him supplies, but Sun Jian enticed Zhang Zi into his camp, then executed him as a traitor and took over the commandery. -*SGZ* Shu 8:963, *SGZ* Wu 1:1096-97. *SGZ* 6:175 mistakenly lists Zhang Zi 資 among the allies against Dong Zhuo.

Zhang [Zijin] 張子禁 see Zhang Fan 張汎/汜 of Nanyang. -*XC* 4:8b.

Zhang Zilin 張子林; Kuaiji. A bandit chieftain, in the time of Emperor Guangwu Zhang Zilin ravaged the commandery. Impressed by the heroic conduct of the bravery of the magistrate Peng Xiu, he and his men surrendered. -*HHS* 81/71/.2674.

Zhang [Ziping] 張子平; Zuopingyi. When Tian Hui was struck mute through distress at the failure of his brother Weidu to receive recommendation for office, his friends Zhang Ziping and Ji Zhongkao doubted the affliction was real. They stole his bedding one night for a joke, and left him in the cold. When Tian Hui made no call for help, but only mumbled incoherently, they realised his case was real and apologised most sincerely. -*FSTY* 5:35-36; Nylan 83:451-453.

Zhang [Ziqian] 張子謙. An officer under Yuan Shang, Zhang Ziqian surrendered to Cao Cao. When Ye city fell in 204 and Shen Pei was captured, Zhang Ziqian jeered at him. Shen Pei in turn abused him as a turncoat. -*SGZ* 6:206; deC 96:329.

Zhang [Ziyang] 張子陽 was an Administrator of Hongnong. -*LX* 14:2b.

Zhang Zong 張宗 [Zhujun 諸君] (d.59); Nanyang. In the time of Wang Mang, Zhang Zong was a district officer. In 23, as men rose in arms throughout the empire, Zhang Zong gathered some three hundred

men and plundered his territory. He joined the Gengshi Emperor at Chang'an, who named him a lieutenant-general, but as he saw the regime was in trouble Zhang Zong led his men across the Yellow River into Hedong.

When Guangwu's commander Deng Yu came on campaign to the west in 25, he took control of Hedong and Zhang Zong went to submit. Deng Yu had heard that Zhang Zong was an effective leader and good at planning, and he confirmed Zhang Zong's appointment as a lieutenant-general.

The army advanced into Youfufeng and occupied Xunyi city. Believing that the Red Eyebrows were too strong to face immediately, Deng Yu proposed to make an oblique approach to Chang'an. At the same time, though Xunyi was not strong, he wanted to leave a garrison there to protect his rear. None of his officers were anxious to command this isolated defence post, and Deng Yu prepared to draw lots. To his surprise and admiration, Zhang Zong volunteered to command this rearguard.

As the main army withdrew, Zhang Zong set his men to strengthening the fortifications and prepared to hold his position to the last. Deng Yu realised that his men were too few to withstand the hordes the Red Eyebrows, and sent a further two thousand men to his aid. Rather than remaining on the defensive, Zhang Zong took advantage of these reinforcements to make a pre-emptive strike. He withdrew safely from the sortie, the bandits did not come back, and all admired his courage.

At the beginning of 26, as Deng Yu at last advanced on Chang'an, Zhang Zong led a night attack into the city. He was stabbed in the neck, and later hit by an arrow, both wounds close to being fatal.

At the conclusion of Deng Yu's campaign in 27, Zhang Zong was appointed Commandant of the Adjunct Capital Region, and he accompanied Feng Yi in his operations to bring control over the various gentry and warlords in the region about Chang'an. Zhang Zong was then appointed Commandant of Henan, to control the region of the new capital at Luoyang. The office of the Adjunct Capital Region about Chang'an was probably abolished at that time, and a few years later, in 30, the Commandant's office in Henan was likewise eliminated. Zhang Zong became a Palace Counsellor.

In 32 Zhang Zong was sent once more on active service against some bandits in Yingchuan, and he

was then engaged as an Internuncio in operations in the hills and marshes of Ji and Qing provinces by the lower course of the Yellow River. This was the area of the devastating floods which had disrupted local communities in the time of Wang Mang, and which brought the mass movement of the Red Eyebrows and other troops. Those attacked by Zhang Zong were presumably people who had remained behind and formed clan and self-defence groups.

In 40 Zhang Zong took command of combined commandery forces to deal with pirates and bandits in Beihai and Langye. He established clear strategy and a firm system of rewards and punishments, and the enemy were destroyed or scattered. As a result of this success, the various groups in the neighbouring regions of Pei, Chu, Donghai and Linhuai were so terrified that they turned against one another. Qing and Xu provinces were thus settled.

In the following year Zhang Zong was sent with several thousand men to deal with the religious leader Li Guang, who had seized Huan city in Lujiang. This time, he was defeated by the rebels, and Li Guang had to be destroyed later by Ma Yuan.

Probably soon after this set-back, Zhang Zong was appointed Chancellor of Langye, where he remained almost thirty years until he died in office. His government was always firm, and he had no hesitation in attacking or killing any dissident groups.

Zhang Zong was evidently a useful officer to Emperor Guangwu, but he was not sufficiently important to receive enfeoffment, nor did any later member of his family achieve distinction. -HHS 38/28:1275-76*; 24/14:838.

Zhang Zong 張宗; Hanzhong. About 150 Zhang Zong went to study in Nanyang. He was killed there by a certain Liu Yuan, but his former colleague Chen Gang killed Liu Yuan in revenge. -HYGZ 10C:167.

Zhang Zun 張尊. About 95 Zhang Zun was a physician in the service of Liu Cuo, Heir to the kingdom of Ji'nan. Liu Cuo fell in love with the Lady Song Run, a musician at his father's court, and had Zhang Zun serve as his go-between. When Song Run refused him, Liu Cuo was furious and killed Zhang Zun. -HHS 42/32:1432.

Zhang Zun 張臻 [Ziming 子明] (136?-240); Julu. As a young man, Zhang Zun studied at the University in Luoyang, then lived in retirement. During the 190s Yuan Shao offered him several appointments, but he

moved to Shangdang. Importuned also by Gao Gan, he moved once more to Changshan.

Returning later to his native region, Zhang Zun likewise refused office under Cao Cao and the succeeding state of Wei. With hundreds of students and a reputation for deciphering omens, Zhang Zun was widely respected and is said to have died at a great age. -SGZ 11:361.

Zhangba 丈八 see Zuo Zizhangba 左髭丈八.

Zhangyou 張游 see Zhang You 張游.

Zhanshan 詹山; non-Chinese. A tribesman of the hill county in the west of Wuling, in 151 Zhanshan led more than four thousand men in rebellion. They burnt local offices and killed officials, and established a series of defence posts in the mountains. In 153 the Administrator Ying Feng settled the trouble by negotiation and a show of good faith. -HHS 48/38:1608, 86/76:2833.

Zhao 趙, the Lady I; Nanyang. Daughter of Zhao Meng, in 24 the Lady became a favoured concubine of the Gengshi Emperor. -HHS 11/1:471.

Zhao 趙, the Lady II. Married to Liu Kai, King of Hejian, the Lady became the mother of Liu Yi, Marquis of Liwu, father of Liu Zhi the future Emperor Huan.

The Lady presumably died about the same time as her husband, in 131. After their grandson Liu Zhi was brought to the imperial throne in 146, Liu Kai and the Lady Zhao were granted posthumous imperial honours. -HHS 55/45:1809, 7:288.

Zhao 趙, the Lady III. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Mao. -SGZ 20:579.

Zhao 趙 [personal name unknown]. In 160, as Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, he was sent to take charge of local forces dealing with bandit groups under Lao Bing and Shusun Wuji in the region about Mount Tai. He was evidently not successful, for a few months later Zong Zi was sent on the same mission. -HHS 7:307.

Zhao [?]jian 趙?建 [personal name unknown] (121-188). Having held local office in his commandery and his province, about 177 he was invited to join the offices of the Excellency Yang Ci. Because of the recent death of his brother, he refused.

In 179 he did join the offices of the Excellency Yuan Pang, and later served as a magistrate in two counties. He died in office in Chenliu. A stele was set up in his honour two years later. -LS 11:8a-9a.

Zhao 趙 [personal name unknown]. Elder brother of Zhao Fan, he married the Lady Fan, one of the great

beauties of the empire, but died some time before 208. -SGZ Shu 6:949.

Zhao A 趙阿, the Lady; Pei. Daughter of Zhao Xiao, the Lady married Zhou Yu 郁. She was a woman of fine morality, but her husband was vicious. Her father-in-law told her that she had been chosen on account of her father's good qualities, and it was her duty to reform her new husband. He refused to change, however, and in despair she killed herself.

Zhao A's biography is in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2784*.

Zhao An 趙安 (d.179); Jiuquan. Murdered by Li Shou, Zhao An was avenged by his daughter, the Lady Zhao E, who became the mother of Pang Yu. -SGZ 18:548.

Zhao Ang 趙昂 [Weizhang 偉章]; Hanyang. A man of family who had served as a county magistrate in Wudu, in 213 Zhao Ang was a military adviser on the provincial staff at Ji, capital of Hanyang. Ma Chao took the city, and though Zhao Ang had argued against surrender, Ma Chao took his son hostage and compelled him to enter his service.

Despite this record of resistance, Zhao Ang's wife the Lady Wang Yi had influence upon Ma Chao's wife nee Yang. She persuaded Ma Chao to trust him, but in the autumn Zhao Ang joined Yang Fu and Jiang Xu in a rising. They tricked against Ma Chao into leaving Ji city, then closed the gates against him. Ma Chao fled south.

In the following year Ma Chao returned with reinforcements. He besieged Zhao Ang, Jiang Xu and others at Qi Mountain, on the edge of the Qin Ling ranges to the south of Hanyang, but after a month he was driven away by Xiahou Yuan. Zhao Ang received enfeoffment. -SGZ 25:701-02, 703.

Zhao Ang 趙昂, wife of: see the Lady Wang Yi 王異.

Zhao Anshi 趙安世; Xiapi. Grandson of Zhao Xing, Zhao Anshi became Chancellor of Lu and Director of Retainers. -HHS 46/36:1456.

Zhao Bao 趙苞 [Weihao 威豪]; Ganling. Zhao Bao was a cousin of the powerful palace eunuch Zhao Zhong; their families came from neighbouring commanderies. Zhao Bao was ashamed to have a eunuch relative, and refused all contact with his kinsman.

Having held office in his commandery, Zhao Bao was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a county magistrate in Guangling. After three years of good government he was commended by the commandery. He was appointed Administrator of Wu-

wei in the northwest and then transferred to Liaoxi in the northeast; he was evidently considered something of a specialist in dealing with the border regions and non-Chinese.

After a year in Liaoxi, Zhao Bao invited his mother and called his wife and children to join him. Travelling along the coast, they were captured by a raiding party of Xianbi, who then turned against Zhao Bao's headquarters. When he brought out his troops, the enemy showed him their captives and defied him to attack. Zhao Bao nonetheless ordered the advance; the raiders were defeated but all his family was killed.

As Zhao Bao took the bodies home for burial, Emperor Ling awarded him a marquisate. He observed to his neighbours, however, that he had faced an impossible choice: had he not attacked he would have failed in his duty, but he had sacrificed his family for the sake of honour. Unable to live with the consequences, he vomited blood and died. -HHS 81/71:2692-93*; deC 84:463.

Zhao Bing 趙秉; Youfufeng. After the fall of Wang Mang in 23 Zhao Bing fled west into Tianshui and became a client of the local warlord Wei Ao, and in 25 Wei Ao appointed him an official in his separatist government. About 30 Zhao Bing left Wei Ao and returned to the east. Recommended by his fellow-countryman Du Lin, he held office under Emperor Guangwu. -HHS 13/3:522, 27/17:937.

Zhao Bing 趙炳阿 [Gong'a 公阿]; Guangling. An expert in Yue magic 越方, and particularly in the *jin* 禁 "preventing" spells, it was said that Zhao Bing could paralyse a man by breathing on him, and if he blew on a tiger it would promptly lie down ready to be tied.

During the time of war and pestilence in the late second century Zhao Bing and his colleague Xu Deng swore to devote themselves to curing illness. They sealed their bond by a display of spells: Xu Deng halted the flow of a river, and Zhao Bing caused a dead tree to sprout again.

Younger than Xu Deng, Zhao Bing treated him as his master. They lived very simply, and even their offerings to the spirits were no more than river water and mulberry bark. They treated disease simply with chants and spells, but they were very successful.

Then Xu Deng died, and Zhao Bing went east into Kuaiji, a territory where he was not known. He demonstrated his abilities by cooking a meal on an open fire on top of a thatched roof, without harming the

building, and later crossing a river on a simple cloth, calling up winds to speed his passage. The people worshipped him, but the local magistrate, concerned that he was a rival to official authority, arrested him and put him to death.

A shrine was set up in his honour, and even mosquitos and gnats were held at bay by his influence. -HHS 82/72B:2741-42; Ngo 76:127-128, DeWoskin 83:76-77.

Zhao Bo 趙博. In 79 the scholar Yang Zhong proposed that an imperial council on the Confucian classics be held, and Emperor Zhang accordingly summoned the gathering in the White Tiger Hall.

Yang Zhong was at that time in custody for some crime, but the Academician Zhao Bo joined Ban Gu and Jia Kui in a request that, given Yang Zhong's great understanding of the *Chunqiu*, he should be released and allowed to take part. This was approved. It is probable, but not certain, that Zhao Bo himself took part in the discussions. -HHS 48/38:1599; Tjan 49:160-162.

Though they have the same name, it seems unlikely that this scholar was the same man as the military officer Zhao Bo below.

Zhao Bo 趙博. In 91 Zhao Bo was a major with the colonel Geng Kui in the final attack sent by Dou Xian against the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu.

Zhao Bo later became Chief Clerk in the Western Regions and was promoted Commandant of Cavalry in 107. With the Protector Duan Xi and the Senior Colonel Liang Qin, he was besieged for some months in Qiuzi [Kuqa]. The rising was suppressed, but the court ordered a full withdrawal from the Western Regions, and the process triggered the great East Qiang rebellion.

In 111 Zhao Bo was Administrator of Hanyang when Du Qi, a Chinese from the south of the Wei, led a rising in alliance with the rebel Qiang. As the court put a price on Du Qi's head, Zhao Bo sent his client Du Xi to kill him. -HHS 23/13:819, 47/37:1591, 87/77:2888, 5:218; deC 84:273, deC 90:106.

Zhao Bo 趙伯. A leader of rebels in Jing province, Zhao Bo was probably a non-Chinese of Wuling. In 162 he and other chieftains surrendered to the imperial army led by Feng Gun. -LS 7:13b.

Zhao Bo 趙播. A follower of the Yellow Turban leader Ma Xiang in 188, Zhao Bo was sent with Wang Yao to attack Luo city, headquarters of Que Jian the Inspector

of Yi Province. They captured the city and killed Que Jian. It is possible this is the same person as Zhao Zhi 祗. -HYGZ 5:70, 10C:170.

Zhao [Boying] 趙伯英; Hanzhong. In 147 Zhao Boying was the husband of Li Gu's daughter Wenyi. -HHS 63/53:2089, HYGZ 10C:172. HYGZ 12:234 suggests that his personal name was Ying 英.

Zhao Bu 趙部 (d.188). Administrator of Ba commandery in 188, Zhao Bu was killed by Yellow Turban rebels led by Ma Xiang. -HHS 8:358, 75/65: 2432.

Zhao Chang 趙暢; Dong. An Academician, he died quite young. -HHS 39/29:1313.

Zhao Cheng 趙承; Henei. When Li Gu was arrested at the behest of Liang Ji in 147, his former student Zhao Cheng led a demonstration of several dozen men, who presented themselves at the gates of the palace bearing the tools of execution to show their support. The regent Dowager Liang released Li Gu, but soon afterwards her brother Liang Ji had him arrested again and killed.

Zhao Cheng and other disciples then compiled the *De xing* 德行 "Virtuous Conduct," a record of their master's sayings. -HHS 63/53:2087-89, XC 3:14a [which gives Zhao Cheng's place of origin as Henan].

Zhao Chengkou 趙盛寇 see Zhao Rong 趙融.

Zhao Chong 趙冲 (d.144); Hanyang [On his place of origin, see *sub* Zhao Kai]. Administrator of Wuwei in 141, Zhao Chong attacked the rebel Gongtang tribe of the Qiang who were raiding Longxi with a force of three thousand men. He forced two thousand of the enemy to surrender and captured eight thousand horses, camels, oxen and sheep. He was then given general command of all troops from the north-western commanderies in the Gansu corridor, and joined Jia Fu the Administrator of Beidi in attacking other members of the Gongtang group who were attacking that commandery. They gained no success, while the Xianbi allies that Zhao Chong had brought to the campaign proved unruly. As raiding extended over Liang province, the headquarters of several frontier commanderies were withdrawn.

In 142 Zhao Chong was appointed Protector of the Qiang, and he managed to persuade five thousand households of the Han tribe to surrender. Only the Shaohe tribe held out in Anding with some three thousand campfire groups, and an imperial army which had been gathered under the general Zhang Qiao was now disbanded.

In the summer of 144 Zhao Chong joined Zhang Gong, Administrator of Hanyang, to attack the Shaohe. They killed 1,500 men and captured 180,000 head of animals. Further attacks in the winter killed another five thousand of the enemy, and thirty thousand households came to surrender to the Inspector of Liang province. Zhao Chong was rewarded by having one of his sons made a gentleman cadet.

Early in the following year Zhao Chong's officer Ma Xuan went over to the Qiang and sought to lead them outside the frontier. The Deputy Protector Wei Ju/Yao chased Ma Xuan and defeated him, but when Zhao Chong attempted to follow up this success he was caught in an ambush in Anding and killed.

Despite this loss, Zhao Chong's earlier successes had broken the back of Qiang resistance and there was no further major trouble. His son Zhao Kai was enfeoffed as a marquis. -*HHS* 6:270-276, 87/77:2896-97.

Zhao Chong 趙寵. In 190 Zhao Chong was a major in the service of Zhang Miao, one of the leaders of the rebellion against the Han court controlled by Dong Zhuo. -*SGZ* 18:544.

Zhao Chou 趙稠. As Emissary to the Southern Xiongnu in 133, Zhao Chou sent one of his officers with the Xiongnu king Fushen on a successful raid of reprisal against the Xianbi beyond the frontiers. -*HHS* 90/80:2988.

The Annals of *HHS* 6:262 also record this incident, but name the Emissary as Wang Chou 王稠. It is not possible to determine which is correct.

Zhao Ci 趙慈 (d.186); Jiangxia. In 186 Zhao Ci led a mutiny in Nanyang, killed the Administrator Qin Jie and ravaged the commandery. He was killed that year by Qin Jie's successor Yang Xu. -*HHS* 31/21:1110.

Zhao Da 趙達; Henan. Having studied at the capital in the 180s, Zhao Da divined by his magic arts that there was a royal emanation in the southeast. As civil war broke out, he travelled there, and foretold the future there by several varied arts, including calculations from magic squares 九宮 [Needham 59:58]. He refused to divulge his methods, but laughed at those who sought to prognosticate by means of astrology or the direction of the wind. He forecast the day he would die.

Zhao Da was admired by leading scholars and was consulted by Sun Quan on several occasions, but he lost favour when he refused to reveal his techniques. After his death, Sun Quan heard that he had left a

book; he questioned Zhao Da's daughter and dug up his coffin, but he could not find anything. So Zhao Da's art was lost. -*SGZ* Wu 18:1424-26*.

Zhao Dai 趙代 see Zhao Shi 趙世 [2 entries]. During Tang the personal name Shi was sometimes rewritten as Dai in order to avoid taboo on that of Emperor Taizong 太宗, Li Shimin 李世民. Some later editions changed the amendment back to the original, others did not.

Zhao Dao 趙荊 [Zi? 子?]; Hanzhong? A former gentleman cadet, Zhao Dao had a stele set up in his honour. Only fragments remain. -*Nagata* 94:292.

Zhao Dian 趙典 [Zhongjing 仲經] (d.168); Shu. Son of Zhao Jie by a concubine, Zhao Dian was learned in the classics and works of divination, and he attracted students from far and near. Early in the reign of Emperor Huan, when his father was an Excellency, he refused several recommendations for office but eventually accepted an imperial invitation with an official carriage. He became a Consultant and then a Palace Attendant. Noted for his direct advice, he persuaded the emperor against an extravagant project to enlarge the Vast Pond park east of Luoyang.

When Zhao Jie died in the mid-150s, Zhao Dian inherited his marquisate, and he served as Administrator of Hongnong and of Youfufeng. After some time out of office, he was appointed Colonel of the City Gates, Court Architect, Minister Steward and then Minister Herald. In that last capacity, as the official responsible for feudatories, he protested against Emperor Huan's enfeoffment of his favourites, notably eunuchs, after the destruction of Liang Ji in 159. Predictably, the emperor rejected his opinion, and Zhao Dian was transferred to be Minister Coachman. He was later Minister of Ceremonies and Minister of Finance, and was noted for his scrupulous honesty.

Whenever there was an adverse portent, officials were asked to give advice, but during the personal reign of Emperor Huan in the 160s Zhao Dian's firm criticisms eventually brought his dismissal. Admired by the reformists, he was named a "hero" [後 *jun*], second category in the major list of worthy men circulated by the students of the University.

When Emperor Huan died in 167, orders were sent out that marquises should not come to the capital for the funeral. Zhao Dian was indignant that as a former high official he should be forbidden to pay his last respects, and he handed in his insignia and went to Luoyang.

The local authorities and the Minister Herald reported this, but the senior ministers argued his case and the regent Dowager Dou approved it. Zhao Dian was made Steward of the Changle Palace, in charge of the Dowager's apartments, then Minister of the Guards. It was proposed that he should be made Grand Tutor for the new Emperor Ling, but just at this time he fell ill and died.

Xie Cheng says that Zhao Dian joined Dou Wu and Chen Fan in their plan to destroy the eunuchs, and that he died in the counter-coup of 168. *HHS* 27/17, however, refers to the award of posthumous honours, and this would have been most unlikely if he had been killed in the attempted coup. It is more probable that he had died of natural causes earlier in the year. *-HHS* 27/17:947-49*, *HYGZ* 10A:133, *XC* 1:7b, *XHS* 3:2a; deC 89:435.

Though Zhao Dian's name appears in the major list recorded in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, *HHS* 67/57:2187, Fan Ye's cross-referencing at 2190 has no reference to his biography in *HHS* 27/17. It has been suggested this indicates there were two men of the same name, but that is surely most unlikely.

Zhao Ding 趙定; Shu. Father of the future Excellency Zhao Jie, Zhao Ding was a local leader of retainers, known for his generosity to the poor. *-HYGZ* 10A:135.

Zhao Du 趙犢 (d.205); Zhuo. Local leaders in the commandery, Zhao Du and Huo Nu rebelled in 205, killing the Administrator and the Inspector of You province. They were attacked and killed by Cao Cao. *-SGZ* 1:27.

Zhao Dun 趙敦 or Zhao Gen 根; Yingchuan. A leader of bandits, Zhao Dun and his colleague were defeated early in 26 by Guangwu's general Feng Yi and driven to the north of the commandery. There they joined Jia Qi of Henan. Soon afterwards Kou Xun was sent as Administrator to Yingchuan, aided by the general Hou Jin. Jia Qi was captured and executed and the others were pacified. *-HHS* 17/7:645, 16/6:623.

Zhao Dun 趙敦 [Jianhou 建侯]; Jianwei. As a magistrate in Guanghan in the 150s, Zhao Dun gained a fine reputation. He was invited to the offices of the Excellencies at the capital, and to that of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, but refused them all. When Liang Ji was destroyed in 159 instructions were sent that no mourning should be held, but Zhao Dun carried out ceremonies for his former would-be patron. He was

liable to punishment, but received a special pardon from Emperor Huan. *-HYGZ* 10B:157.

Zhao E 趙娥, the Lady; Ba. Wife of Zhao Wan, she was celebrated for a reason now unknown. *-HYGZ* 12:219.

Zhao E 趙娥 or Zhao Ejin 娥親, the Lady; Jiuquan. The Lady Zhao was married to a member of the Pang family. In 179 her father Zhao An was killed by his fellow-countryman Li Shou. As other men of the Zhao were taken ill and died, Li Shou became confident there was no-one to maintain the vendetta against him, and he held a feast to celebrate.

It appears the Lady's husband was also dead, but she was told by her young son Pang Yu how Li Shou was boasting of his success. She bought a knife, and when she encountered Li Shou in broad daylight, she stabbed his horse so that he fell. She then fought and killed him, cut off his head, then went to the county office and asked to be executed. The magistrate Yin Jia resigned his position rather than punish her, and when Zhao E sought to insist, the commandery office had her escorted back to her home.

Then an amnesty was issued, so she was able to escape punishment with honour. Admiring her sense of duty, the provincial authorities set up a stele at her gate, while such enterprise and courage displayed by a woman were reported to the court and celebrated all over the empire.

The Lady's biography appears in Fan Ye's Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳, and her son Pang Yu also became known for his courage and loyalty. *-HHS* 84/74:2796-97*, *SGZ* 18:548-50*.

Zhao Ejin 趙娥親, the Lady, see Zhao E 趙娥 of Jiuquan.

Zhao Fan 趙範. As Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he sent Zhao Fan south of the Yangzi to be his Administrator of Guiyang. After Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs a few months later, Zhao Fan was compelled to surrender to Liu Bei, who appointed Zhao Yun to take his place.

Zhao Fan's elder brother had died, and his sister-in-law was one of the celebrated beauties of the region. Presumably seeking a useful alliance, Zhao Fan offered the Lady Fan as wife to Zhao Yun. Zhao Yun observed that they were men of the same surname, so if he married the Lady it would be like wedding the widow of his own brother. Though others also encouraged him, he firmly refused the offer.

Zhao Fan later escaped to rejoin Cao Cao in the north. -*SGZ* Shu 2:879, Shu 6:949.

Zhao Fen 趙芬; Ba. Commandery Officer for Education 文學掾 under the Administrator Dan Wang, in 154 Zhao Fen joined other members of the local staff in persuading Dan Wang to send in a report describing the problems of maintaining control over the great area of the commandery. It was recommended that the territory be divided into smaller commanderies, but the court did not agree.

Zhao Fen later became Officer for Households 戶曹 in the commandery. -*HYGZ* 1:5-6, 12:220.

Zhao Feng 趙豐 [Shuji 叔奇]; Jincheng. Claiming distant kinship with the general Zhao Chongguo 充國 of Former Han, Zhao Feng became Internuncio in charge of the Reserve Camp of the Trans-Liao Command 監度遼營謁者; this is probably another name for the Camp at Liyang in Wei commandery. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao Feng 趙封. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates in 125, Zhao Feng took part in the coup led by Sun Cheng which destroyed the Yan clan and placed Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, upon the throne. He was rewarded with a county marquissate in Nanyang.

In 127, after Sun Cheng forced the disgrace of the emperor's favourite Zhang Fang, he and Zhao Fang and their colleagues were all sent out to their fiefs, but in the following year the emperor recalled their good work and they were permitted to return to the capital. -*HHS* 78/68:2516-18.

Zhao Fu 趙浮. Officers of Han Fu commanding forces in the east in 191, Zhao Fu and Cheng Huan defied Yuan Shao with their troops and urged Han Fu not to yield to him. -*HHS* 74/64A:2378.

Zhao Gang 趙綱 (d.25); Dong. During the troubled times at the beginning of Later Han Zhao Gang, member of a leading local family, gathered a large following, set up an encampment, and plundered the people. He dressed in a feathered cape and carried an ornamented sword.

In 25 Li Zhang was appointed magistrate of the county for the new Emperor Guangwu. He invited Zhao Gang to a banquet, and Zhao Gang came with a hundred guards. Li Zhang took him by surprise, however, killed him and all his attendants, and went on to destroy the remainder of his following in their camp. -*HHS* 77/67:2492; Bn 79:134.

Zhao Gao 趙高. Administrator of Qinghe in 26, Zhao

Gao was visited by the angry ghost of his predecessor Xianyu Ji. -*SJZ* 9:27b-28a.

Zhao Gen 趙根 see Zhao Dun 趙敦.

Zhao Guang 趙光, the Lady, see the Lady Meng Guang 孟光.

Zhao Guang 趙廣. A stele of 173 from the region of Shu commandery tells how Zhao Guang, Zhang Pu and four other Libationers of the Rice Magicians 米巫祭酒 received a mysterious text. These men were evidently members of an early form of the Rice Sect which was later led by Zhang Lu. -*LX* 3:8a-9a.

Zhao Gui 趙璜; Ba. Zhao Gui was the father of the Lady Zhao Ying. -*HYGZ* 12:222.

Zhao Hong 趙閔 (d.24). A senior officer of the pretender Wang Lang, Zhao Hong commanded the garrison at Ji city in Guangyang. As Wu Han and others went south to join the Han commissioner Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, they captured the city and killed Zhao Hong. -*HHS* 18/8:676.

Zhao Hong 趙宏; Chen. In 33 Zhao Hong was leader of a group of bandits in the hills of Yingchuan. The Administrator Guo Ji persuaded him and his associate Shao Wu to surrender. They and their followers came with bound hands, but Guo Ji freed them and had them return to farming. Though he had granted the pardons without reference to the throne, Emperor Guangwu gave retrospective approval.

Zhao Hong and Shao Wu spread news of Guo Ji's generosity to their former colleagues south of the Yangzi and north across the plain, and great numbers of former rebels and bandits came to offer submission on such lenient terms. -*HHS* 31/21:1092.

Zhao Hong 趙弘/宏 (d.184); Nanyang. After the death of Zhang Mancheng, Zhao Hong became the local leader of the Yellow Turbans. The numbers under his command grew, and in the summer he seized Wan, chief city of the commandery. He was besieged there by Zhu Jun and other imperial commanders, and was killed in an attack. -*HHS* 71/61:2309.

Zhao Hou 趙侯 "Marquis Zhao" see Zhao Qian 趙謙. -*HYGZ* 10A:140, *HYGZJBT* 552-53.

Zhao Hua 趙華, the Lady; Ba. Widow of Zhao Manjun, who died when she was young, the Lady had refused to marry again. As Qiang raiders attacked her homeland about 110, she was afraid they would take her chastity. With the Lady Ma Yi and the Lady Wang Ji, two women in the same situation, she leapt into the Han River and drowned. They were celebrated as the

Three Virtuous Women三貞. -HYGZ 1:4.

Zhao Huang 趙璜 [Wenbo 文博]; Jincheng. Nephew of Zhao Kuan, he was involved in the erection of a stele to this family. -Nagata 94:226-27.

Zhao Hui 趙恢. When Wei Ao died in 33, Zhao Hui and others of his former officers rallied to his heir Wei Chun. They were forced to surrender to Han at the end of 34, and were sent to the east of Luoyang. -HHS 13/3:531.

Zhao Jia 趙嘉 [Taisheng 臺生] was the original name and style of Zhao Qi 岐 [Binqing 邠卿]. -HHS 64/54:2121.

Zhao Jian 趙堅; Nanyang. About 50 Zhao Jian killed a man. When he was sentenced to death his father and mother went to plead with the county magistrate Bao Yu, explaining that they were old and he was their only son; he was newly married and there were no children to carry on the lineage. Bao Yu allowed Zhao Jian's wife to visit him in prison, released his bonds so that he could couple with her, and delayed the execution until she was pregnant. -HHS 29/19:1021, DGHJ 14:2b.

Zhao Jian 趙建 also as Zhao Jianzhang 建章; Henan. Having mastered one of the Confucian classics by the age of twelve, Zhao Jian was nominated by the Director of the Secretariat Zuo Xiong and was named a Junior Gentleman, giving him early entrance to the University and probation for a commissioned post in the civil service. -HHS 61/51:2020-21.

Zhao Jian 趙堅 [Shuzhen 叔貞]; Nanyang. A member of staff of the Minister of the Household, in 156 Zhao Jian was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16a.

Zhao Jian 趙戡 [Shumao 叔茂]; Jingzhao. A nephew of Zhao Qi, in 158 he accompanied him on his flight from the enmity of Tang Xuan.

As a member of the Imperial Secretariat at Chang'an about 190, Zhao Jian was admired for his refusal to approve a number of Dong Zhuo's nominees for office.

Zhao Jian later became a county magistrate in Youfufeng. When Wang Yun was killed by Li Jue and his colleagues at Chang'an in 192, no-one dared attend his corpse, but Zhao Jian had at one time served under Wang Yun, and he gave him proper burial.

Zhao Jian then took refuge with Liu Biao, who treated him as an honoured guest, and when Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208 he gave him appointment.

About 217 Zhao Jian was a senior officer under the Chancellor of State Zhong Yao. He died soon afterwards. -HHS 64/54:2112, 66/56:2177-78, SGZ Shu 2:883.

Zhao [?]jian 趙?建 (121-188). Having served as a local officer in his commandery and his province, he was invited to the office of the Excellency Yang, but did not accept because his elder brother had died. This was most likely in the late 170s, when the Excellency was Yang Ci.

He later did accept appointment under the Excellency Yuan [Pang?] and served as magistrate in two counties. He retired from his last post, in Chenliu, on grounds of ill health, and died at the age of sixty-eight. In 190, two years after his death, a stele was set up to his memory. -LS 11:8a-9a, Nagata 94:256.

Zhao Jie 趙戒/誠 [Zhibo 志伯; later changed to Yibo 意伯 to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Huan]; Shu. Son of Zhao Ding, Zhao Jie was well versed in the Confucian classics. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, after several appointments he became Inspector of Jing province, where he reported on the misrule of Liang Rang, uncle of the empress of Emperor Shun. As Chancellor of Hejian he kept firm hold on local partisans of Liang Ji, and when he was transferred to Nanyang he controlled the leading families and supported his junior officers and the common people. He also memorialised against members of the eunuch faction who held county magistracies but were greedy and corrupt.

After a term as Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Zhao Jie became Intendant of Henan and then Minister of Ceremonies, and in 141 he was promoted from Minister Coachman to Excellency of Works.

In 146, following the death of Liu Zuan the young Emperor Zhi in suspicious circumstances, Zhao Jie joined his colleagues Li Gu and Hu Guang, with other senior officials, in recommending that Liu Suan the King of Qinghe, a young man of twenty and thus of full age, be chosen as emperor. Liang Ji, however, made his displeasure clearly known; Hu Guang, Zhao Jie and their fellows acceded to his will and the youthful Liu Zhi, Emperor Huan was placed upon the throne. Li Gu was destroyed soon afterwards, and Zhao Jie became Excellency over the Masses in the regent government of the Liang family. As reward for their compliance Zhao Jie and the other Excellencies were enfeoffed as marquises, with designation as Specially Advanced

which allowed them to remain at the capital.

In 147 Zhao Jie became Grand Commandant, leaving office in 149. In 152, he was once more Excellency of Works, and joined his colleague Wu Xiong in urging repairs to the Temple of Confucius in Lu. One year later he left office and retired. He died at home.

Zhao Jie had shown courage in dealing with imperial favourites early in his career, but the historian Fan Ye describes him and his colleague Hu Guang as "shit" 糞土 on account of their pusillanimity at the time of Emperor Huan's accession. -HHS 6:271, 282, 63/53:2085-87, 2095, HYGZ 10A:135, XC 1:7a, LS 21:19a-20a.

Zhao Jin 趙津 (d.165); Taiyuan. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates, Zhao Jin took advantage of his position at court to terrorise his home country. In 165 he was arrested and killed by Wang Yun, an officer of the commandery. Zhao Jin's associates protested to Emperor Huan, and the Administrator Liu Zhi was executed. -HHS 66/56:2172.

Zhao Jin 趙瑾. In 188 Zhao Jin was appointed a senior major in the First Regiment of the Western Garden 西園上軍別部司馬, the army raised privately by Emperor Ling. He was soon afterwards sent to deal with the Banshun people in Ba commandery, who had risen in sympathy with the "Yellow Turbans" led by Ma Xiang *q.v.* -HHS 86/76:2843.

Zhao Jing 趙京; Nan. Chancellor to the warlord Qin Feng, in 27 he held the city of Yicheng on the Han River in Nan commandery, just south of Qin Feng's base at Liqiu. In the autumn the Han commander Cen Peng crossed the Han and defeated Qin Feng. Zhao Jing surrendered to him. Appointed a general of Han, he brought his men to join the siege of his former master at Liqiu. -HHS 17/7:658.

Zhao Jun 趙峻 [Boshi 伯師] (d.145); Xiapi. Son of Zhao Xing, Zhao Jun was widely admired for his ability. He became a close associate of the Liang family of the empress of Emperor Shun, and was appointed Director of Retainers about 140.

HYGZ says that in 142 the censorial commissioner Zhang Gang accused Zhao Jun of corruption, and he was sent to prison in a cage-cart and then dismissed. HHS Annals, however, record Zhao Jun's appointment as Grand Commandant, highest administrative office of the empire, in that same year. The stories are incompatible and HYGZ is certainly wrong: see also

sub Zhang Gang.

When the infant Liu Bing, Emperor Chong, came to the throne under the regency of the Dowager Liang in 144, Zhao Jun was named Grand Tutor and shared control of the Imperial Secretariat with Liang Ji and Li Gu. The new emperor died in the following year, but Zhao Jun continued as Tutor for his youthful successor Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi. He died in the autumn, a few months before his nominal protégée. -HHS 46/36:1546, 6:272-79, 34/24:1179, HYGZ 10B:157.

Zhao Jun'an 趙君安 see Zhao An 趙安.

Zhao [Junqing] 趙君卿. This man, who probably lived at the end of Later Han, is the first recorded commentator to the early mathematical and astronomical treatise *Zhou bei suan jing* 周髀算經 "The Arithmetical Classic of the Gnomon and the Circular Paths of Heaven." His contribution very probably included diagrams to demonstrate the solution to Pythagoras theorem.

The bibliographical treatise of *Song shi*, at 207:5271, ascribes the *Zhou bei suan jing* [i.e. its commentary] to Zhao Junqing, but *Sui shu* 34:1018, *Jiu Tang shu* 47:2036 and *Xin Tang shu* 59:1543 all say that Zhao Ying 嬰 was the compiler of a commentary to the *Zhou bei* [suan jing] 周髀注. Yao Zhenzong:2394 prefers the variant personal name Shuang 爽; there may have been a miswriting, or the man had two personal names. He is commonly known, however, by his style: e.g. Needham 59:19-20.

Zhao Kai 趙愷; Hanyang. Son of Zhao Chong, Zhao Kai was presumably the son who was appointed a gentleman cadet in honour of his father's achievements against the rebel Qiang in 144. Zhao Chong was killed soon afterwards, and in the following year Zhao Kai was awarded a village marquisate.

During the 170s Zhao Kai was Inspector of Jing province. He reported falsely that Yang Xuan had wrongly claimed credit for success against rebels in Lingling, and because he had factional support at court his slander was at first believed. As Yang Xuan cleared his name, however, Zhao Kai was punished. -HHS 87/77:2897, 38/28:1288 & JJ at 1371 Hui Dong; deC 89:165-166. It seems likely that these two references to Zhao Kai relate to the same man.

Zhao Kang 趙康 [Shusheng 叔盛]; Nanyang. About 150 Zhao Kang was celebrated as a recluse scholar and teacher, living in the mountains to the west of the commandery and refusing invitations to court. The

official Zhu Mu declared himself his disciple, and when Zhao Kang died he carried out mourning for him. -HHS 43/33:1463.

Zhao Kuan 趙寬 [Boran 伯然] (88-152); Jincheng. Eldest son of Zhao Mengyuan, Zhao Kuan became a major under the Protector of the Qiang. At the time of the great rebellion about 110 he was caught up in the defeat and destruction and was the only one of his immediate family to survive. Taking refuge in Zuopingyi, he established a local reputation, but returned to the west in 131 under the resettlement program urged by Yu Xu.

The Administrator Yin Song invited Zhao Kuan to join his staff as an Investigator, but he declined on grounds of ill health, though as a leading member of the community he accepted appointment as a Thrice Venerable. He died at the age of sixty-five.

A stele was set up in 180 to commemorate Zhao Kuan and his family. -Nagata 94:226-27; Ebrey 80:334.

Zhao Kuang 趙匡; Nanyang. In 27 Emperor Guangwu sent Zhao Kuang to be Administrator of Youfufeng, with command of troops to assist Feng Yi take control of the lower Wei valley. The territory was short of food, and Feng Yi was greatly aided by the reinforcements and supplies brought by Zhao Kuang. They attacked the local warlords, killed those who would not submit, sent the others to Luoyang, and resettled their followers. In the following year Zhao Kuang took part in the defeat of Gongsun Shu's general Cheng Wu at Chencang, bringing a final settlement of the region. -HHS 17/7:647-48.

Zhao Kuang 趙匡 (d.34). A general of Gongsun Shu, after the death of Wei Ao in 33 Zhao Kuang and his colleague Tian Yan tried to support his son and successor Wei Chun and maintain a presence in the Wei valley. They were attacked by an imperial army under Lai Xi, and after a year of fighting Zhao Kuang was captured and killed by the general Feng Yi. -HHS 1B:55, 15/5:588, 17/7:651.

Zhao Lei 趙累. An officer with Guan Yu in Jing province in 219, Zhao Lei was captured by Ma Zhong, a major in the service of the Sun commander Pan Zhang. -SGZ 10:1300.

Zhao Li 趙歷. Administrator of Changsha in the early 140s, Zhao Li was commended by the Inspector Li Gu. -HYGZ 10C:165.

Zhao Li 趙禮; Pei: see *sub* his brother Zhao Xiao 趙

孝.

Zhao [Manjun] 趙蔓君; Ba. Husband of the Lady Zhao Hua, he died when she was young. -HYGZ 1:4.

Zhao Meng 趙萌 (d.25); Nanyang. A general under the Gengshi Emperor, in the winter of 23 Zhao Meng joined Deng Ye, Shentu Jian and Li Song to occupy Chang'an after the destruction of Wang Mang. By early 24 he and Li Song had emerged as leaders of the Nanyang gentry faction, and by sending away potential rivals the two men established a dominant position at court. Zhao Meng became Grand Marshal on the Right, and one of his daughters entered the imperial harem. He was treated with the utmost favour, and it is said that he killed a man for a private quarrel even in the presence of the emperor.

As the Red Eyebrows approached Chang'an in 25, the Gengshi Emperor sent Zhao Meng to hold Xinfeng, east of the capital, supported by the chieftains Wang Kuang, Chen Mu and Cheng Dan. Then the emperor was driven out by Zhang Ang and others, his former supporters, and came to Xinfeng. There he killed Chen Mu and Cheng Dan, as sympathisers with Zhang Ang, and Wang Kuang fled to join his fellows in Chang'an.

Zhao Meng and Li Song then fought their way into the capital and restored the emperor there, but the city fell to the Red Eyebrows soon afterwards. Zhao Meng was evidently killed in the fighting. -HHS 11/1:470-74; Bn 59:51-60, 98-101, 251.

Zhao [Mengchang] 趙孟長; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Mengyuan and brother of Zhao Kuan, he was killed during the great Qiang rebellion about 110. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao [Menglin] 趙孟麟; Jianwei. Commandant of a border county in Shu commandery in 112, Zhao Menglin had a stele set up to celebrate improvements he had made to the local road network. -LS 4:2b-3b.

Zhao [Mengyuan] 趙孟元; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Feng, Zhao Mengyuan became the father of Zhao Kuan. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao Min 趙旻; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Zhao Min was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai, in the mountains east of the commandery. -LS 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Zhao Min 趙敏; Ba. Towards the end of Han, Zhao Min was Administrator of Ba. The commandery had by this time been divided into three, and the truncated territory controlled by Zhao Min probably did not

include his home country. -HYGZ 1: 9.

Zhao Ming 趙明 miswritten for Zhao Bing 趙炳/炳.

Zhao Mu 趙牧 [Zhongshi 仲師]; Jingzhao. As a young man, Zhao Mu was known for his proper conduct of public affairs. A student of *Chunqiu*, he became a disciple of Yue Hui, and when Dou Xian forced Yue Hui to kill himself, Zhao Mu was one of those who protested at the injustice and obtained his posthumous rehabilitation.

Qualifying for office in the highest grade, Zhao Mu was appointed to the Imperial Censorate. He later became Administrator of Kuaiji, and obtained a high reputation in both offices.

Zhao Mu was then Chancellor of Lecheng. In 116 he reported how the king, Liu Gong, had forced his son to commit suicide; but he also presented a false accusation that Liu Gong had offered sacrifices to the deities against the interests of the dynasty. This was Impiety, and the senior officials urged Emperor An to have Liu Gong executed. Liu Gong defended himself, and on the basis of his past good conduct a full investigation was ordered. There was no evidence to support the charges, and Zhao Mu was sent to prison.

There was an amnesty soon afterwards, so Zhao Mu escaped the death penalty. He was released and died at home. -HHS 50/40:1671.

Zhao Mu 趙謨. In 189 Zhao Mu was Minister of the Guards. -SGZ 8:240.

Zhao Niao 趙嬈, the Lady: see the Lady Zhao Rao 趙嬈.

Zhao Ning 趙寧; Shu. In the late 180s the minister Zhao Qian sent his son Zhao Ning back to their home country, where the Administrator Gao Shun had him prepare *Xiangzu ji* 鄉俗記, "Record of Local Customs." -HYGZ 3:34.

Zhao Pan 趙磐 or Zhao Qing 磬; Jingzhao. Eldest brother of Zhao Qi, Zhao Pan held local office in the administration of the capital province. He died young. -HHS 64/54:2123.

Zhao Ping 趙評 (d.151). In 151 Zhao Ping was Chief Clerk for the Western Regions. When he was taken ill and died at Yutian [Khotan], King Chengguo of neighbouring Jumi claimed King Jian had poisoned him. Zhao Ping's son pressed the case, his successor Wang Jing followed it up with undue energy, and Chinese authority in the west was seriously weakened. -HHS 88/78:2916.

Zhao Qi 趙旂 [Ziluan 子鸞]; Jianwei. Having served

with distinction as a magistrate in Hongnong, Zhao Qi joined the Imperial Secretariat and was then appointed Director of Retainers. At this time the kinsmen of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji sought to bully the people, but Zhao Qi kept them under firm control and the alarm drums were always still. -HYGZ 10B:155.

Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧 [Binqing 邳卿] (d.201); Jingzhao. Of strong local lineage, Zhao Qi's grandfather was a member of the Imperial Censorate. Zhao Qi was born about 110, in a residence attached to the offices of the Censorate [御史臺 *yushi tai*]; his original style was Taisheng 臺生 "born at the office" and his personal name was Jia 嘉. He changed his personal name to Qi and his style to Binqing in 158 [XHS 4:18a has his style as Taiqing 臺卿].

Possessing great understanding of the Confucian classics when he was still young, Zhao Qi was also arrogant and independent. He married the Lady Ma Qiang [Zongmei], a junior cousin of the celebrated scholar Ma Rong, but he felt insulted by Ma Rong's informal conduct and did not respect his scholarship. He held local office in Jingzhao, but was resented and forced out because of his rigid honesty.

At the age of thirty [Xie Cheng says forty] Zhao Qi became extremely ill and was bed-ridden for seven years. Believing he would die, he spoke to a nephew of his regret that he had achieved nothing in his life, and asked that his tomb inscription observe that "He had the will, but not the time" 有志無時. Later, however, he regained his health.

In 154 Zhao Qi joined the offices at the capital, and later received appointment under the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Recommended as being Qualified to Deal with Complex Affairs, he became a magistrate in Hedong, where he encouraged local schools. When Zuo Sheng, brother of the palace eunuch Zuo Guan, became Administrator of the commandery, Zhao Qi refused to serve under him. He returned to his home country of Jingzhao, where he became Officer of Merit to the Intendant Yan Du.

In 158 Tang Xuan, brother of the eunuch Tang Heng, became Intendant. He had formerly been Commandant of the Tiger Tooth garrison by Chang'an, but was despised for having received his position through favouritism rather than ability. Zhao Qi and his cousin Zhao Xi had been leaders in this denigration, and Tang Xuan was bitterly resentful. Fearing his vengeance, Zhao Qi fled with his nephew Zhao Jian, but Tang

Xuan laid false charges against other members of his family and had them killed: cf. *sub* Zhao Xi.

It was at this time, as he journeyed incognito, that he changed his personal name from Jia 嘉 to Qi 岐 [after the famous mountain in present-day Shenxi] and his style to Binqing [Bin 邠 being the legendary place of origin of the Zhou dynasty], as signs that he would not forget his homeland.

Zhao Qi travelled across eastern China, and he was selling cakes in a market in Beihai when he encountered the young gentleman Sun Song. Recognising his quality, Sun Song introduced himself, and when he heard of Zhao Qi's situation he sheltered him in a concealed room of his house for several years. It was in these circumstances that Zhao Qi compiled much of his edition and commentary to the *Book of Mencius*.

After the death of Tang Heng in 164, followed by that of Tang Xuan, Zhao Qi took advantage of an amnesty and returned home. He received invitations from all the Excellencies, and in 166 he joined those of the Excellency over the Masses Hu Guang. Zhao Qi was then named Inspector of Bing province, to deal with trouble among the non-Chinese people of the frontier, but before he could put any policy into effect he was forced from office by the First Faction Incident of 166-167 and, after the second series of accusations and purges in 169, he was proscribed from office. He nonetheless he compiled a lengthy discussion on how to resist the insurgents, *Yukou lun* 禦寇論 in forty *pian*.

In 184 the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans brought a summons for all experienced officials. Initially named a Consultant, Zhao Qi was chosen as chief of staff by the general Zhang Wen for his campaign against the rebels of Liang province; he was then detached to be Administrator of Anding commandery, whose capital had been transferred south into Youfufeng in the 140s.

Zhao Qi was later named Administrator of Dunhuang, but on the way to the west he and other newly-appointed administrators were captured by rebels. They wanted Zhao Qi to act as their leader in the same fashion as Yan Zhong, but he escaped and went back to the east. He encountered another force of the enemy, but this time evaded them altogether, though he spent several days hiding in the open without food.

As the imperial court, now controlled by Dong Zhuo, moved west to Chang'an in 190, Zhao Qi was

again appointed as a Consultant, and soon afterwards he became Minister Coachman. As Li Jue and his fellows seized power at the capital in 192, they sent Zhao Qi and Ma Midi on an embassy to make peace with the leaders of the east. More successful than Ma Midi, Zhao Qi arranged a truce between Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan in 193.

Zhao Qi then went south to Chenliu, where he became ill. Now over eighty years old, he took no part in affairs for two years, but as Emperor Xian returned to Luoyang in 196 Zhao Qi was named Minister Coachman with the Staff of Authority as an envoy for the newly – and briefly – independent regime. He was able to persuade Liu Biao in Jing province to send aid to Dong Cheng in his efforts to restore the capital.

As he was now old and ill, Zhao Qi stayed with Liu Biao, though when Cao Cao took control of the court in the following year, he was given title as Minister of Ceremonies. He died in 201, aged over ninety.

Besides his work on *Mencius*, Zhao Qi left many other works of scholarship and literature, few of which have survived. The most notable was *Sanfu jue lu* 三輔決錄 "Evaluative Records of the Three Adjuncts," a collection of biographies of gentlemen from his native territory, the commanderies about Chang'an. Probably compiled during the period of proscription under Emperor Ling, it is an important representative of a genre of local history which had increasing influence upon concepts of thought and identity towards the end of the dynasty; only fragments remain. -HHS 64/54: 2121-24*, XC 4:1b-2a; Legge CC II:4-7; Texts:331-332 [Lau], Ebrey 86:645, deC 95:545.

Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧, wife of: see the Lady Ma Jiang 馬姜.

Zhao Qian 趙謙; Zuopingyi. Administrator of Zuopingyi at the time of an eclipse in 167, Zhao Qian recommended the scholar Dong Fu of Guanghan as a worthy man for office. As was his custom, Dong Fu pleaded ill health and would not attend court. -SGZ Shu 2:866.

Zhao Qian 趙謙 [Yanxin 彦信] (d.192); Shu. Grandson of Zhao Jie and a nephew of Zhao Dian, Zhao Qian was among those scholars who compiled a local history *Ba-Shu qijiu zhuan* 巴蜀耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Ba and Shu" [see also Zheng Qin and Wang Shang].

At the time of the Yellow Turbans rebellion in 184 Zhao Qian was Administrator of Runan. He faced the

rebels in the field but was defeated.

Zhao Qian later became Minister of the Household, and in the spring of 190 he replaced Huang Wan as Grand Commandant in the imperial court controlled by Dong Zhuo. As Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, he arranged the transfer of the government to Chang'an, and he was rewarded with enfeoffment.

In the autumn of 191 Zhao Qian resigned his office on grounds of ill health, but he was soon afterwards appointed Director of Retainers. In that position he executed the hostage prince of Jushi, who had relied upon Dong Zhuo's favour to repeatedly disobey the laws. Dong Zhuo, furious, killed one of Zhao Qian's staff, but had too much respect for the man himself to take direct action against him.

Sent out as General of the Van, Zhao Qian took a defensive position against possible attack from Liu Yan in Yi province, who had made alliance with the north-western warlord Ma Chao and his associates. He encouraged the local officer Jia Long to rebel against Liu Yan in the name of Han; though the rising was suppressed, the activity served to distract Liu Yan from ambitions further afield. Zhao Qian also defeated the Bobo bandits from Xihe.

After the assassination of Dong Zhuo in 192 and the subsequent destruction of Wang Yun by Dong Zhuo's former officers Li Jue and others, Zhao Qian became Excellency over the Masses. Leaving office a few months later on grounds of illness, he was named Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the ramshackle regime at Chang'an. He died before the end of the year. -*HHS* 27/17:949, *XC* 8:10a, *SGZ* Shu 1:869, *HYGZ* 10A:135, 140 [as "Marquis Zhao" 趙侯].

Zhao Qin 趙勤 [Yiqing 益卿 or Mengqing 孟卿]; Nanyang. Zhao Qin's mother was a sister of Liu Ci, favoured kinsman of Emperor Guangwu, but Zhao Qin took nothing from the relationship. Known for his sense of honour and concern for learning, during the 70s he held local office in the commandery, and he was Officer of Merit to the Administrator Huan Yu.

When the chiefs of two counties governed wrongly, Huan Yu sent Zhao Qin as his Investigator, and by moral authority he compelled both men to resign. -*DGHJ* 18:8a.

Zhao Qing 趙磬 see Zhao Pan 趙磐.

Zhao Qinglong 趙青龍 [Dark Dragon]; Zuopingyi. A hills bandit about 212, he was killed by troops of the Administrator Zheng Hun. -*SGZ* 16:511.

Zhao Qu 趙衢; Hanyang. In 213 Zhao Qu was in Ji city, capital of Hanyang, which had been captured by Ma Chao. He joined the conspiracy led by Yang Fu and Jiang Xu: as the local leaders raised arms Ma Chao left the city to attack them; Zhao Qu, Pang Gong and Liang Kuan then barred the gates against him and killed his family. Zhao Qu was rewarded with enfeoffment.

In 220, now a general, Zhao Qu was sponsor of a stele to commemorate Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial throne. -*SGZ* 25:702, *SGZ* Shu 6:946, *LS* 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Zhao Rao 趙嬈 also as Zhao Niao and as Zhao Yao 堯, the Lady; Hejian. Formerly wet-nurse to Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, when he was brought to the throne in 168 the Lady gained influence with the regent Dowager Dou and was enfeoffed as Lady of Pingshi in Nanyang.

The Lady argued against the proposals of Chen Fan and Dou Wu to purge the palace eunuchs, and when Cao Jie and the eunuchs led the young emperor in a coup against them, she escorted him to the Imperial Secretariat where the necessary orders were drawn up. She was rewarded with high honours.

In 178 Cai Yong described the Lady Zhao as a dangerous influence on the empire. -*HHS* 66/56:2169, 69/59:2242-43, 60/50B:1999, *YSS*:22a; deC 89.96-99.

Zhao Ren 趙任, the Lady. A member of the harem of Emperor An, the Lady was punished for some fault and became resentful of the regent Dowager Deng and her family.

After the death of the Dowager in 121, the former Excellency Li He suggested that there had been a plan to depose him. When the emperor made enquiries, the Lady Zhao supported the story, and the imperial favourites Li Run and Wang Sheng pressed the accusation. The Deng clan was disgraced and destroyed. -*HHS* 16/6:616, 108/18:3365.

Zhao Rong 趙融 [Zhichang 稚長?]; Hanyang? In 188 Zhao Rong was one of the eight colonels of the Western Garden, in the private army set up by Emperor Ling.

Some ten years later, when he heard how Yuan Shao had behaved discourteously to the great scholar Zheng Xuan, Zhao Rong foretold his failure. -*HHS* 69/59:2247, *SGZ* 6:195.

During the 190s the eccentric scholar and critic Ni Heng abused several members of Cao Cao's court, and *HHS* 80/70B:2653 refers to one of his victims as Zhao Zhichang 稚長. Commentary observes that this

man was General Who Restrains the Bandits 盛寇將軍, and the parallel passage of *SGZ* 10:2653 refers to him as Zhao Chengkou 盛寇. Shen Qinhan, in *SGZJJ* 10:9b, quotes a stele which identifies Zhao Rong with the style Zhichang, and also *Wei shu* 52:1145, where a distant ancestor of Zhao Yi 逸 of Tianshui/Hanyang is identified as Zhao Rong, who became a Household Counsellor of Han. It would appear, therefore, that Zhao Rong was a general under Cao Cao and a senior member of his court.

SJZ 17:17b has a confusing reference to a certain Zhao Rong, who is described as Inspector of Bin province 邠州刺史, and who had a stele erected in his honour in the first year of the Jian'an 建安 reign period of Emperor Ling. There was, however, no unit named 邠州 Binzhou during Han, and the first year of Jian'an, 196, was seven years after the death of Emperor Ling. There may have been a stele erected to Zhao Rong after his death, possibly in 196, but the other statements appear confused.

XTS 73B:2980 mentions Zhao Rong, whose style included the character *chang* 長 and whose family came from the region of Hanyang; he held office as Administrator of Youfufeng and as Minister Herald.

Zhao Rong 趙融. In 222 Zhao Rong was a commander in the army of Liu Bei which was defeated on the Yangzi by Lu Xun of Wu. -*SGZ* Wu 13:1346.

Zhao Rui 趙蕤. As the remnant imperial court came under Cao Cao's control in 196, the Consultant Zhao Rui was one of those enfeoffed for good service in the escape from Chang'an. -*HHS* 72/62:2342, *HHJ* 29:344.

Zhao Rui 趙叡 (d.200). An officer in the escort for Yuan Shao's supply train near Guandu, he was killed by Cao Cao's raiding party. -*SGZ* 1:22.

Zhao Shang 趙商 [Zisheng 子聲]; Henei. During the 180s Zhao Shang travelled to Beihai to study under the celebrated scholar Zheng Xuan. -*HHS* 35/25:1208.

Zhao Shao 趙邵 [Botai 伯泰]; Ba. Known for his filial conduct, Zhao Shao became a county magistrate in Runan. -*HYGZ* 12:219.

Zhao Shao 趙邵 [Ji'nan 季南]; Hanzhong. A staff officer to the Administrator Wang Sheng in 148, Zhao Shao was joint sponsor of a stele celebrating the repair of the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges and honouring his master's fellow-countryman Yang Huan, who had urged the work. -*LS* 4:5a.

Zhao She 趙舍. Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head

of the Censorate, about 185, he quarrelled with his subordinate Kong Rong, who resigned on grounds of ill health. -*HHS* 70/60:2263.

Zhao Shengkou 趙盛寇 *i.e.* Zhao Chengkou: see Zhao Rong 趙融.

Zhao Shengqing 趙聖卿 see Qu Shengqing 麴聖卿.

Zhao Shi 趙世 I also as Zhao Dai 代 *q.v.* (d.98); Nanyang. Son of the Grand Tutor Zhao Xi, Zhao Shi became a Palace Attendant, and in 75 he was given supernumerary office as Serving within the Yellow Gates. When Zhao Xi died in 80, he succeeded to his fief.

Zhao Shi became a colonel in the Northern Army, and he was second-in-command to Liu Shang against the Qiang chieftain Mitang in 97. In the following year Liu Shang was dismissed and imprisoned for lack of energy in pursuit, while Zhao Shi suffered the same penalty. He was taken ill and died in prison; in pity, Emperor He gave posthumous gifts, restoring his seal of office as a colonel and his fief as a marquis. -*HHS* 26/16:915.

Zhao Shi 趙世 II also as Zhao Dai 代 *q.v.* A Palace Attendant in 124, Zhao Shi joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators achieved no immediate success, but their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne in the following year Zhao Shi and his colleagues were rewarded with high office and the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen.

Zhao Shi became Minister of Justice, but was later transferred to another post after failing to attend the New Year court assembly. -*HHS* 26/16:915, 15/5:591-93, 87/77:2884, 115/25:2582-83.

Zhao Shu 趙淑; Nanyang. Son of Zhao Zhi, he inherited the family marquisate. He had no sons and the fief died with him. -*HHS* 26/16:915.

Zhao Shuang 趙爽 see Zhao Junqing 趙君卿.

Zhao [Shubao] 趙叔寶; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Mengyuan and brother of Zhao Kuan, he was killed during the great Qiang rebellion about 110. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao Song 趙松 [Junqiao 君橋]; Jianwei. As a young man Zhao Song accompanied Fei Yi as he evaded the demands of Gongsun Shu. After Gongsun Shu was destroyed in 36, Zhao Song was nominated Abundant Talent and he later became Administrator of Shang

commandery. -HYGZ 10B:156.

Zhao Song 趙誦 [Gongliang 公梁]; Hanzhong. A junior official, Zhao Song was responsible for repair work on the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. His contribution was recorded in a stele inscription of 148. -LS 4:5a.

Zhao Song 趙嵩 [Bogao 伯高] (d.190); Hanzhong. Su Gu, Administrator of Hanzhong, was killed by Zhang Xiu in 190. Seeking to avenge his master, his officer Zhao Song attacked Zhang Xiu's camp single-handed. He killed a dozen men, but was slain before he could reach Zhang Xiu. -HYGZ 2:17, 10C:170. [There is a similar story concerning Chen Tiao.] See also *sub* Zhao Song's wife, the Lady Zhang Lixiu.

Zhao Ta 趙達. About 214 Zhao Ta and Lu Hong were Examiners in the kingdom of Wei; this new style of appointment probably represents an attempt by Cao Cao to establish a Censorate over personal conduct and the sumptuary laws. When they were criticised by the regular official Gao Rou, Cao Cao defended the men as well-suited to their work, but he later found that they were corrupt and had them executed. -SGZ 24:684, 27:739.

Zhao Tai 趙臺 [Gongfen 公憤]; Jianwei Dependent State. As a county magistrate in Ba commandery in 169, Zhao Tai arranged a stele to honour the former local worthy Liu Min. -LS 8:8b.

Zhao Te 趙特 variant writing for Gongsun Te 公孫特? -HYGZJBTZ:537.

Zhao Teng 趙騰; Qinghe. An interpreter of portents, Zhao Teng came to court some time during the 120s and presented criticism of the government. There are, however, two different accounts of the date of his activity and of his fate.

According to HHS 54/44:1766, Zhao Teng sent in a letter in 124, at a time when the eunuch Fan Feng and his associates were attacking the Excellency Yang Zhen. Emperor An was furious at his criticism and ordered that he be executed for Impiety. Despite protests from Yang Zhen, the sentence was carried out.

HHS 56/46:1816 says that Zhao Teng made his comments to the court of Emperor Shun about 127. He and eighty supporters were arrested, but the Excellency Zhang Hao urged their good intentions, and the emperor accepted his argument. Zhao Teng was spared the death penalty, and his followers received just two years convict service.

It has been suggested there were two men of the same name and similar activity, but this is unlikely.

Zhao Wan 趙萬; Ba. The Lady Zhao E, wife of Zhao Wan, was celebrated for a reason now unknown. -HYGZ 12:222.

Zhao Wang 趙王 *i.e.* Zhao Yu 趙玉. HHS 55/45:1809 describes how in 121 the "Palace Counsellor Zhao Wang" 中大夫趙王 was accused of having attempted to persuade the late regent Dowager Deng to depose Emperor An. In JJ at 1949, Wang Xianqian suggests that the text should be corrected to 中大人趙, referring to the Lady Zhao Yu, an old associate of the Dowager. **Zhao Wei** 趙韋 (d.201); Ba. A man of local family, in 188 Zhao Wei was head of the Great Granary at Luoyang, but resigned his post in order to accompany the new Governor Liu Yan back to his home province.

When Liu Yan died in 194, Zhao Wei was a leader of those who supported the succession of Liu Yan's son Liu Zhang as Governor, to some extent because he was seen as a weak man who would allow them more autonomy. With title as a General of the Household, Zhao Wei led troops to drive away Hu Mao, nominee of the Chang'an government, who had been supported by Liu Biao, Governor of Jing province, and some local rebels. Establishing a camp at the head of the Gorges in the east of Ba commandery, to guard against further trouble from that direction, he proposed that the commandery be divided for easier administration, and his plan was adopted [*cf. sub* Dan Wang; and see HYGZ 1:8, where the name is miswritten as Zhao Ying 趙穎].

Zhao Wei remained in garrison for the next several years and acquired a strong local following, but in 200, as Liu Zhang, currently involved in a war with the theocrat Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, showed lack of confidence in Pang Xi the Administrator of Ba, Zhao Wei protested. As a native of Yi province, he was resentful of the migrant groups from the east: Liu Yan had recruited amongst these people, styling them the Dongzhou Troops, but Liu Zhang had proved unwilling or unable to restrain their conduct against the locals.

Zhao Wei now raised a rebellion. He paid money to establish formal alliance with Liu Biao in Jing province, found real support in Guanghan, Jianwei and Shu commandery, and led a large army to besiege Liu Zhang's capital of Chengdu. The Dongzhou Troops, however, fearful of their fate at Zhao Wei's hands, fought fiercely and drove back the attack.

Zhao Wei was forced south to Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, where he was killed by his own officers. -SGZ Shu 1:865-69, *HYGZ* 5:70-71; deC 96:298-305.

Zhao Weisun 趙威孫; Henei? A connection by marriage to Sima Lang, in 190 Zhao Weisun commanded troops at the military base in Liyang in Wei commandery. Believing that his home country of Henei was exposed to the coming civil war, Sima Lang led his household and others to take refuge under his protection. -SGZ 15:467.

Zhao [Weizhang] 趙偉章 see Zhao Ang 趙昂.

Zhao Wen 趙溫 [Zirou 子柔] (137-208); Shu. Younger brother of Zhao Qian, Zhao Wen became Assistant to the Intendant of Jingzhao, but left office in disgust at the low level of the position. Later, when there was a famine in his home country he distributed the family stores of grain, and it was said that he saved over ten thousand from starvation.

In the time of Emperor Huan, Zhao Wen was Administrator of Ba commandery. The non-Chinese Banshun people rebelled, but he settled the trouble by honest dealing and fair treatment.

As the government controlled by Dong Zhuo moved to Chang'an in 190, Zhao Wen's brother Zhao Qian was in charge of the transfer. Zhao Wen went to the court, was made a Palace Attendant and accompanied the imperial cortège. He was rewarded with a village fief and was later Minister of Ceremonies.

In the winter of 193 Zhao Wen was given title as Excellency of Works, with control of the Secretariat, under the ramshackle government dominated by Li Jue and his fellows. He was dismissed a few weeks later, but then became Minister of the Guards and returned to Excellency rank in the following year.

In 195, as Li Jue and his associate Guo Si quarrelled, Li Jue seized Emperor Xian, took him to his headquarters in Chang'an; it was thought that he intended to take him to his base territory north of the capital. Now Excellency over the Masses, Zhao Wen wrote to remonstrate against such abuse of power. Li Jue was furious, and he was dissuaded from killing him only by the intervention of his cousin Li Ying, who had served at some time under Zhao Wen.

As Emperor Xian fled east from Chang'an, Zhao Wen was captured by Li Jue but was saved by the intervention of Jia Xu. He eventually rejoined the imperial group and continued as Excellency at the court in Xu city under the control of Cao Cao.

In 208 Zhao Wen nominated Cao Cao's son Cao Pi as a candidate of Abundant Talent. Cao Cao was angry, claimed the proposal was false and insisted Zhao Wen be dismissed. The nomination may have been an attempt to curry favour, or it may, on the contrary, have represented a spark of independence at the puppet imperial court. In either case, Cao Cao regarded it as interference in his management of the state and of his family. Zhao Wen died later that year. -HHS 27/17:949-50*, 86/76:2843, SGZ 2:57, *HYGZ* 10A:135, XC 1:7b.

Zhao Wuji 趙無忌 [Shiqing 世卿] (d.158); Jingzhao. Elder brother of Zhao Qi, Zhao Wuji held local office in the capital province. He and other members of the family were killed by Tang Xuan the Intendant of Jingzhao, his home country, who had a quarrel with the family. See below *sub* Zhao Xi of Jingzhao. -HHS 64/54:2123.

Zhao Xi 趙熹/壹/熹 [Boyang 伯陽] (3 BC-80 AD); Nanyang. As a young man Zhao Xi was noted for his moral conduct. One of his cousins was murdered, leaving no sons to avenge him, and though Zhao Xi was at that time only fifteen he took up responsibility for the vendetta. Taking up arms and leading a band of retainers he went to take revenge, but then found that there was sickness in his opponent's household. He believed it would be wrong to take advantage of such a situation, so he told his enemies that when they were better they should go away. They were so impressed by this generosity that when they had recovered they went instead to him with bound hands. Zhao Xi refused to see them, and in the end he killed them.

When the Gengshi Emperor first took the imperial title in 23, the powerful Li 李 clan of Wuyin county in Nanyang initially refused to accept him. The general Li Bao was sent, but they said they would trust only Zhao Xi. As Zhao Xi was barely twenty, the new emperor was surprised at his wide reputation, but he named him a lieutenant-general and sent him to Wuyin. The Li duly submitted, and Zhao Xi then led troops into Yingchuan and Runan and took several more surrenders. Having served with distinction under Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, in the triumph at Kunyang, he was appointed as a General of the Household and granted title as a marquis.

As the Red Eyebrows destroyed the Gengshi Emperor in 25, Zhao Xi was caught in Chang'an, but he and a few dozen others broke out and fled. His

friend Han Zhongbo was accompanied by his beautiful wife, but was afraid she would attract attention and bring harm to the party, so he was going to leave her by the wayside. Zhao Xi refused to hear of it. He put dirt on the Lady's face and carried her along in a hand-cart, explaining to anyone they met that she was ill. When they came to Nanyang, they met a group of palace women who had also escaped from the capital but were now in desperate straits. Zhao Xi gave them food and clothing and helped them return to their homes.

Zhao Xi was an old friend of Deng Feng, but when Deng Feng rebelled in 26 he wrote to criticise him. Guangwu was suspicious, but when Deng Feng surrendered in the following year he obtained the letters and now appreciated Zhao Xi's loyalty.

Zhao Xi was then appointed to a county in Jing province south of the Yangzi. The roads were dangerous, but Zhao Xi refused any escort and went alone to his new post, impressing the local leaders with the imperial authority and bringing them to submit. The provincial Inspector admired his achievements, and Zhao Xi was transferred to a county in Nanyang, where he again put down banditry and pacified the territory.

About 40 Zhao Xi became a magistrate in Henei. A powerful family headed by Li Zichun dominated the county, but as soon as Zhao Xi arrived he arrested two of Li Zichun's grandsons for a murder. The young men committed suicide, and Zhao Xi went on to arrest and question Li Zichun himself. There were repeated appeals for clemency from the capital, but Zhao Xi paid no attention until the emperor himself reluctantly accepted the dying wish of his uncle Liu Liang and gave orders for a pardon.

Zhao Xi was promoted to be Administrator of Pingyuan. There were numbers of rebels and bandits, but Zhao Xi raised commandery troops to defeat them, killed the leaders, and persuaded the emperor to transfer some thousands of those who surrendered to the inner commanderies of Yingchuan and Chenliu. He established a strong moral government, and the people sang of how his virtue was so great that when Qing province was affected by a plague of locusts, all the insects which entered Pingyuan immediately dropped dead.

Zhao Xi's achievements in Pingyuan were raised at a court assembly in 50, and several women of his harem then told the emperor how he had rescued the

palace ladies after the fall of Chang'an in 25. Guangwu called Zhao Xi to court as Minister Coachman and rewarded him generously.

After the resignation of the former Grand Marshal 太司馬 [Bn: Commander-in-Chief] Liu Long in 51, Zhao Xi succeeded him. He was the first formal civilian to hold that office, which was now renamed Grand Commandant 大尉. As the precedent was followed thereafter, the military connection was abandoned, and the position became the most senior among the Excellencies, heads of the civil administration.

Following the surrender of the Southern Shanyu Bi, and the establishment of his puppet government in Xihe, Zhao Xi was given responsibility for the frontier and supervised the return of refugees to the border commanderies which had been abandoned. The program was not entirely successful, for many people preferred to remain in central China or travel even further to the south.

In 54 Zhao Xi proposed that the emperor should perform the Feng and Shan sacrifices, and in 56 he took part in the ceremonies and reported them at the Imperial Ancestral Temple. He also recommended the construction of the Three Enclosures, being the Bright Hall, the Hall of the Circular Moat and the Spiritual Terrace.

When Guangwu died in 57 Zhao Xi reported the matter at the Altar of Heaven and announced his posthumous dynastic title, and as Emperor Ming came to the throne he and the other Excellencies were awarded district marquises [see also *sub* Li Xin]. Concerned at the informality with which Emperor Ming treated his royal brothers, Zhao Xi enforced restrictions on their access to the palace and that of their servants to the court.

Early in 60 Zhao Xi was found guilty having failed to investigate properly an affair involving Xue Xiu, Chancellor of Zhongshan, the kingdom held by Emperor Ming's half-brother Liu Yan 焉. No further details are given of the incident, but Zhao Xi and his colleague Li Xin were both dismissed.

In the winter of that year Zhao Xi returned to office as Minister of the Guards, and in 64 he was named Acting Grand Commandant; in practice he had full tenure of the post. About this time the emperor, impressed and contented with the scholarly ceremonies conducted at the Hall of the Circular Moat, was thinking of abolishing the Imperial University; Zhao

Xi persuaded him that both institutions had a role and both should be maintained [HHS 46/36:1606].

When Zhao Xi's mother died, he sought leave for the funeral. The emperor refused, but sent messengers instead, and he showered Zhao Xi with gifts and favours. Zhao Xi was correct and conscientious both in public and in private life, though we are told the ruler criticised him for failing to keep his offices in proper style: he had sought to spare the tax-payers, but Emperor Ming believed his frugality was misplaced.

When Emperor Zhang succeeded to the throne in 75 Zhao Xi became Grand Tutor, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat with the new Grand Commandant Mou Rong, while seven of his sons were granted official positions.

Zhao Xi became ill and died in 80, at the age of eighty-four. Emperor Zhang visited his sick-bed and attended his funeral. -HHS 26/16:912-14*; Bn 79:61, 65, 172-181, 225.

Zhao Xi 趙熹. A eunuch, in 124 Zhao Xi was head of the household of the Empress Yan. He was evidently regarded as a supporter of the Heir Liu Bao: when Emperor An was persuaded to dismiss Liu Bao, Zhao Xi and some of his subordinates were accused on trumped-up charges and sent to exile in Shuofang.

After Liu Bao had been placed upon the throne by the coup of Sun Cheng at the end of the following year, Zhao Xi and his fellows were called back to the capital and made Regular Attendants. -HHS 78/68:2518.

Zhao Xi 趙襲/息 [Yuansi 元嗣]; Jingzhao. According to HHS 64/54, which writes the personal name as 襲, Zhao Xi was a cousin of Zhao Qi, who was Officer of Merit. Zhao Xi joined Zhao Qi in denigrating Tang Xuan, brother of the palace eunuch Tang Heng, who was Commandant of the Tiger Tooth garrison by Chang'an, but in 158 Tang Xuan became Intendant of Jingzhao and destroyed the Zhao family.

According to *Wei lue*, which writes the personal name as 息, it was Zhao Xi who was Officer of Merit, and he who took the lead in insulting Tang Xuan. Then Tang Xuan had his brother arrange his appointment as Intendant and proceeded to slaughter the Zhao clan, with orders that anyone who sheltered them would share their fate. Zhao Xi fled, as did Zhao Qi, here described as his uncle, who held a magistrate's appointment in Hedong; cf. *sub* Zhao Qi.

Years later, after the death of the Tang brothers in the mid-160s, Zhao Xi became Administrator of

Dunhuang.

*Sanfu jue*lu, compiled by Zhao Qi, describes how Zhao Xi and his colleague Luo Hun sought to emulate the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style" calligraphy of the earlier masters Cui Yuan and Du Bodu. The great Zhang Zhi, however, regarded their work as clumsy and inferior to his own. -HHS 64/54:2122-23, SGZ 18: 551-52.

Zhao Xi 趙熹. Administrator of Hanyang in the early 160s, Zhao Xi was old and incompetent. He failed to deal with trouble from the Qiang, but clung to the prestige of his office. When Huangfu Gui came to Liang province in 162 he impeached Zhao Xi, who was dismissed and may have been executed. -HHS 65/55:2133-34.

Zhao Xian 趙憲; Shu. Husband of the Lady He Xuan, Zhao Xian died young. -HYGZ 10A:140.

Zhao Xiao 趙孝 [Changping 長平]; Pei. Zhao Xiao was a son of Zhao Pu 普 [also known as Zhao Bing 並], who controlled agricultural colonies on the northern frontier under Wang Mang. Zhao Xiao became a gentleman cadet, but he would conceal his rank and pass modestly as a commoner.

In the troubles which accompanied the fall of Wang Mang, cannibalism was rife. When Zhao Xiao's brother Li was captured by hungry bandits, Zhao Xiao went to offer himself instead, as a tastier morsel. Amazed at this, the bandits asked only that he find them some more normal food. Though he failed to do this, they were so impressed that they let both brothers go. The local people admired him, and Zhao Xiao was nominated Filial and Incorrupt; he would not accept. [Cf. also *sub* Ni Meng and Che Cheng.]

In the time of Emperor Ming Zhao Xiao joined the offices of the Grand Commandant, and the emperor, who had heard his story, made him a Counsellor Remonstrant and Palace Attendant. He was then Commandant of the Guards at the Changle Palace, the apartments of the Dowager, while Zhao Li became head of the Censorate. Emperor Ming admired both brothers, showed them special favour and sought their company. When Zhao Li died, Zhao Xiao was given leave to arrange his funeral.

Zhao Xiao later retired and died at home. He left only a daughter, Zhao A q.v., but Zhao Li's two sons were appointed gentleman cadets. -HHS 39/29:1298-99*, XC 2:4a.

Zhao Xin 趙訢 [Gongfu 公甫]; Nanyang. Described

1110 Zhao Xing

as a private gentleman 處士, in 156 Zhao Xin was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Zhao Xing 趙興; Xiapi. Zhao Xing was Director of Retainers in the time of Emperor Zhang, and he also became Administrator of Shangdang and of Yingchuan. He was known for his rationalist rejection of superstition and his insistence on innovation and reform. Despite such defiance of custom, Zhao Xing's family prospered and his son Zhao Jun and grandson Zhao Anshi both held substantial office. -HHS 46/36: 1456.

Zhao Xing 趙興; Henan. A local commandery officer, in 135 Zhao Xing was involved in the construction of the Stone Bridge over the Gu River at Luoyang; see *sub* Ma Xian. -SJZ 16:14b.

Zhao Xu 趙序 (d.145). In 145 Zhao Xu was sent as a General of the Household to aid Teng Fu and the troops of Yang and Xu provinces against a major rebellion in the southeast. Their army defeated the bandits and killed most of its leaders, but Zhao Xu was then charged with embezzlement, of having been insufficiently energetic in the campaign, and of exaggerating the number of enemy dead. He was executed. -HHS 6:279, 38/28:1279.

Zhao Xuan 趙宣 [Ziya 子雅]; Hanzhong. Though a man of humble family, Zhao Xuan had fine manners and was very learned. The Administrator Yang Wenfang nominated him Filial and Incorrupt, and Zhao Xuan later became Administrator of Jianwei.

Zhao Xuan married the Lady Du Taiji. All seven of their sons were successful officials, while Zhao Yao and Zhao Yan rose very high. -HYGZ 10C:166.

Zhao Xuan 趙宣, wife of: see the Lady Du Taiji 杜泰姬.

Zhao Xuan 趙宣; Le'an. About 150 Zhao Xuan acquired great reputation for filial piety, because for twenty years after the death of his parents he refused to close their tomb but lived there with their bodies. When the Administrator Chen Fan called upon him, however, he found that Zhao Xuan had sired five sons during his ostensible mourning. Regarding such conduct as being rather a desecration of the dead than a sign of virtue, he had him executed. -HHS 66/56:2159-60.

Zhao Xuan 趙瑗. In 178 Zhao Xuan was a colonel in the Northern Army. Cai Yong claimed that he had received favour and honour beyond his due as a result of his contact with the favourites of Emperor Ling. -

HHS 60/50B:1999-60.

Zhao Xun 趙勳 [Ningbo 寧伯]; Pei. A county Assistant in Danyang, in 181 Zhao Xun was a leading sponsor of a stele in honour of the magistrate Pan Qian, his senior officer. -LS 5:4a.

Zhao Xun 趙峻 see Zhao Jun 趙峻.

Zhao Yan 趙晏 [Pingzhong 仲平]; Ba. Known for his fine character, Zhao Yan became Administrator of Wei commandery. -HYGZ 12:219.

Zhao Yan 趙彥; Langye. As a young man, Zhao Yan studied statecraft and esoteric arts. When Zong Zi came to command of operations against local bandits in 160, Zhao Yan made calculations: the enemy were in Ju 莒 county, present-day Juxian in Shandong, and five counties about Ju had the character *yang* 陽 in their names; Zong Zi should therefore recruit from five *yang* commanderies. As troops were called in from Danyang, Shanyang, Nanyang, and from as far away as Guangyang and Hanyang, Zhao Yan advised also on the timing of the attack. The bandits were duly destroyed.

During the late 190s Zhao Yan was a Consultant at Xu city. He kept Emperor Xian informed on events of the day, but Cao Cao objected to his influence and killed him. -HHS 82/72B:2732*, 74/64A:2396; Ngo 76:112-113, DeWoskin 83:71-72, deC 96:480.

Zhao Yan 趙琰 [Zhigui 稚珪 or Yagui 雅珪]; Hanzhong. Son of Zhao Xuan and the Lady Du Taiji, about 180 Zhao Yao was Inspector of Qing province and then Chancellor of Liang. Called to join the Imperial Secretariat, he died before he could take up the post. -HYGZ 10C:166-67.

Zhao Yan 趙延; Anping. A brother of the eunuch Zhao Zhong, in 186 he approached Fu Xie to seek a present; Zhao Zhong would then recommend him for the enfeoffment he deserved for his service against the Yellow Turbans. Fu Xie indignantly refused, and Zhao Zhong had him sent from away the capital. -HHS 58/48:1876.

Zhao Yan 趙儼 [Boran 伯然] (171-245); Yingchuan. During the disturbances of the early 190s Zhao Yan took refuge in Jing province, where he became a close associate of Du Xi and Po Qin.

In 197, after Cao Cao had set the imperial court under his control at Xu city, Zhao Yan brought his kinsmen and dependents to join him. Appointed a county magistrate in Runan, he brought order by strictly enforcing the law even against the most power-

ful families. That area was the power base of the titular Commandant and local warlord Li Tong, but when an uncle of Li Tong's wife committed a crime Zhao Yan still proposed to execute him. Li Tong had formal right to intervene, but despite appeals from his family he refused to over-ride Zhao Yan's decision. Instead, he took him as an adviser and showed him particular attention and favour.

As Yuan Shao prepared to attack Cao Cao in 200, he sent agents to seek allies in Yu province, and a number of local officials were wavering. Li Tong remained firm, but his demand for taxes caused popular resentment. When Zhao Yan urged him to be more lenient, Li Tong explained that he feared Cao Cao's advisers might doubt his loyalty if he failed to maintain the rate of payments. Zhao Yan was able to persuade Cao Cao that the tax should be reduced to reward the people who were remaining faithful to his cause.

Zhao Yan later became Registrar on Cao Cao's ministerial staff, and in 208 he was sent as a personal envoy to settle disputes and co-ordinate defences under the three commanders about Xu city, Zhang Liao, Yu Jin and Yue Jin. As Cao Cao moved into Jing province later that year, Zhao Yan was put in charge of Zhangling commandery, newly established in the north of the province, and was appointed Area Commander with authority over seven army groups.

After another period as Registrar, Zhao Yan was sent to the west as Administrator of Youfufeng and Area Commander with authority over the region about Chang'an. When the Qiang raided the borders Zhao Yan led Yin Shu and other generals, pursued them north to Xiping in Zuopingyi, and thoroughly defeated them. Soon afterwards he turned against the local rebel Lü Bing in Youfufeng and destroyed him.

In 215 Zhao Yan was ordered to lead newly-surrendered troops from the northwest to take part in the settlement of Hanzhong under the general Yin Shu. The men became restless, and though Zhao Yan was able to prevent outright mutiny and brought loyal troops to regain control, he persuaded Cao Cao that the original group should not be used on the southern front. They were instead brought east into territory which was more secure, and over twenty thousand people were eventually shifted from the sensitive frontier.

In 219 Zhao Yan was appointed a Consultant and

sent as an adviser to Xu Huang, in support of Cao Ren against Guan Yu. Xu Huang's officers urged an immediate attack, despite the numbers against them and the flooded river Han, but Zhao Yan argued that they should wait for reinforcements, and he accepted personal responsibility for any misfortune which might come through delay. His plan was accepted, and when the additional troops arrived Guan Yu was defeated.

Again, as Cao Ren and the other generals wanted to press the pursuit, Zhao Yan argued that they should not use their strength to destroy Guan Yu completely, but that he should be preserved as a threat against Sun Quan; his opinion agreed entirely with Cao Cao's.

When Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220, Zhao Yan was appointed a Palace Attendant and Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, serving as Administrator of Hedong and Commissioner for Agriculture with general authority over agricultural colonies. Enfeoffed in 222, he became a military adviser and Area Commander, with increasing responsibilities and occasional appointment to the Secretariat. A minister under Cao Rui and a general under Cao Fang, in 245, the year of his death, he was named Excellency of Works. -*SGZ* 23:668-71*; deC 96:228-229, 281, 499-501, 543-548.

Zhao Yao 趙瑤 [Yuanguai 元珪]; Hanzhong. Son of Zhao Xuan and the Lady Du Taiji, as a young man at Luoyang in the 160s Zhao Yao was a close associate of Li Xie and others.

About 180 Zhao Yao became a magistrate in Henan, where he ruled so well that it was said fierce tigers abandoned the area. He later served as Administrator of Youfufeng, of Shu commandery, and of Guanghan, where he died. -*HYGZ* 10C:166-67.

Zhao Yao 趙瑤; Hanzhong? At the time of an eclipse in 167 Zhao Yao was recommended as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright. He went as far as Chang'an, from where he sent a sealed letter to the court, but then pleaded ill health and returned to his home. -*HHSJJ* 82/72B:3008 Shen Qinhan quoting *Yibu qijiu zhuan*. [This is probably the same person as Zhao Yao 瑤 above.]

Zhao Yao 趙堯, the Lady: see Zhao Rao 趙嬈.

Zhao Ye 趙曄 [Changjun 長君]; Kuaiji. As a young man Zhao Ye became a local officer in his county, but when he was ordered to welcome the commandery Investigator he was angry at being treated like a servant and left his post.

Having travelled to Jianwei to study the Han version

of the *Classic of Poetry* under Du Fu, he stayed twenty years without any contact with his family, so that they held funerary ceremonies for him. Then Du Fu died and Zhao Ye returned home.

Though offered appointment in the provincial office, and recommended as Knowing the Way, Zhao Ye did not accept and died at home. During the early 190s, when Yu Fan discussed local worthies of Kuaiji with the Administrator Wang Lang, he gave special mention to Zhao Ye.

Zhao Ye compiled *Wu-Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋, a history of the conflict between the two states in the fifth century BC, though it is doubtful how much of the present-day text reflects his original work; it is also suggested that he may have written *Yue jue shu* 越絕書. He did compose *Shi xili shenyuan* 詩細歷神淵, interpreting the *Poetry* by calendrical calculations; it is said that this work was greatly admired by Cai Yong, who regarded it as superior to the *Lun heng* of Wang Chong, and that with Cai Yong's sponsorship it became the centre of a school at the imperial capital. -HHS 79/69B:2575*, XC 5:10b; Texts:473-476 [Lagerwey], 491 [Schuessler and Loewe].

Zhao Yi 趙壹 [Yuanshu 元叔]; Hanyang. Well-built and of fine appearance, nine foot tall [208 cm], Zhao Yi was a man of considerable ability. He was also extremely arrogant, and his neighbours got together to drive him away. He responded by composing *Jiebin fu* 解賓賦 "Rhapsody to Explain [my] Rejection," and also *Ce shibing ye fu* 刺世疾邪賦 "Rhapsody on the Ills of the Times." He later came into trouble with the law and was nearly executed, but a friend pleaded for him and he was released; he wrote a most eloquent and erudite letter of thanks.

In 178 Zhao Yi was sent to Luoyang as Reporting Officer for the commandery. That year the Excellency Yuan Feng was in charge of receiving the accounts. While all the other officers kowtowed to him, Zhao Yi made only a slow bow. Yuan Feng was surprised, and had one of his subordinates question his temerity. Zhao Yi replied that such was the courtesy the scholar Li Yiqi 酈食其 gave to Emperor Gao of Han [QH:234], and he doubted an Excellency should expect more than an emperor. Yuan Feng was most impressed, took him by the hand and brought him to sit with him at the dais.

In similarly arrogant fashion, Zhao Yi forced himself upon Yang Zhi the Intendant of Henan. Yang

Zhi nonetheless joined Yuan Feng in his praise, so Zhao Yi left the capital with a high reputation.

As he returned west through Hongnong Zhao Yi called upon the Administrator Huangfu Gui. The gate-keeper would not admit him, so he went away. Huangfu Gui sent after him to apologise, and asked him to return, but Zhao Yi sent an erudite letter of refusal. [For a similar story, see *sub* Gao Biao.]

Yuan Feng had arranged for an expert physiognomist to study Zhao Yi, and this man foretold that he would never hold more than local office. When he arrived back in Hanyang the commandery and provincial officials received him with honour, and he had many invitations to appointments at the capital. He accepted none of them, however, and died at home: so the prophecy was fulfilled.

Zhao Yi left sixteen *pian* of rhapsodies, hymns, eulogies, essays and other writings. -HHS 80/70B:2628-35*.

Zhao Yin 趙胤; Donglai. When Zhao Zi died he ordered a simple burial. His son Zhao Yin wanted a more impressive affair, but the trustees Zhu Zhi and Xiao Jian insisted on the terms of the testament. -HHS 39/29:1315.

Zhao Ying 趙英, the Lady; Ba. Daughter of Zhao Gui, she was celebrated for a reason now unknown. -HYGZ 12:222.

Zhao Ying 趙英, the Lady (b.205); Hanyang. Infant daughter of Zhao Ang and the Lady Wang Yi q.v., she was hidden and saved by her mother when Xi city was stormed by the rebel Liang Shuang in 210.

Zhao Ying 趙穎 miswritten for Zhao Wei 趙隄. -HYGZ 1:8.

Zhao Ying 趙英 see Zhao Boying 趙伯英. -HYGZ 12:234.

Zhao Ying 趙嬰 see Zhao Junqing 趙君卿.

Zhao Yong 趙永. In 24 Zhao Yong was Administrator of Dai commandery for the Gengshi Emperor. Orders were sent for him to return to the court, but his neighbour Geng Kuang, Administrator of Shanggu, persuaded him not to obey, and had him go instead to pay his respects to Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, who was then commissioner in the northeast but was approaching a declaration of independence.

Liu Xiu confirmed Zhao Yong in his office, but as he was returning to his territory his officer Zhang Ye mutinied and called the Xiongnu and Wuhuan to assist him. Liu Xiu sent Geng Kuang's son Geng Shu to

attack Zhang Ye. The enemy were destroyed and Zhao Yong regained his post. -*HHS* 19/9:705.

Zhao Yong 趙融. In 188 Zhao Yong was named a colonel in the new imperial corps of the Western Garden.

Zhao Yong later became an officer under the warlord Yuan Shao. At one time Yuan Shao called the scholar Zheng Xuan to visit him, but then behaved discourteously. Zhao Yong questioned how he could hope to hold the confidence of the people if he treated such a gentleman so badly. -*HHS* 8:356, 74/64A:2374, *SGZ* 6:195.

Zhao Yong 趙顥 (d.219). In 219 Zhao Yong was Cao Cao's claimant Inspector of Yi province. He was killed when Liu Bei's army defeated Xiahou Yuan at Dingjun Mountain in Hanzhong. -*SGZ* Shu 2:884.

Zhao [Yongjiang] 趙永姜, the Lady (134-187); Nan? Wife and then widow of Hu Ning, the Lady brought up their children after his death. At the time of troubles in the mid-180s, her son Hu Hao was appointed Administrator of Ji Yin. As the Lady was ill, he was obliged to leave her at Luoyang. She died there and he had Cai Yong compose a mourning elegy for her. -*Cai* 4:7.

Zhao You 趙祐; Chenliu. When Zhao You was drunk, he sometimes claimed to be an imperial officer. He was brought before the Excellency Bao Yu, but he found that such behaviour should be regarded as a joke, without ill intent. -*FSTY* 3f:107.

Zhao You 趙祐 or Zhao Yu 裕; Beihai. A eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates under Emperor Ling, Zhao You was respected for his honesty and loyalty and for the fact that, unlike Zhang Rang and others, he did not contend for power. A considerable scholar, Zhao You was also admired by Confucianists for his work on editing the classics at the time of their engraving in stone: see *sub* Cai Yong.

In 175 Zhao You joined the Consultant Bei Zheng to present a memorial urging that proper recognition be given to the Lady Yu, mother of the short-lived infant Emperor Chong, and to the Lady Chen, mother of Liu Zuan, Emperor Zhi. Emperor Ling approved: the Lady Yu was named Honoured Lady in attendance at the tomb of Emperor Shun, and the Lady Chen was formally ranked as a concubine of the late Liu Hong, King of Le'an. -*HHS* 10B:440, 78/68:2533.

Zhao Yu 趙玉, the Lady. A senior member of the imperial harem 中大人, about 100 the Lady was an

attendant of the Honoured Lady Deng, future empress of Emperor He.

The current Empress Yin was resentful of the Lady Deng, and at a time the emperor was extremely ill she remarked privately that the Lady Deng should not survive him for long. The Lady Deng heard of this, and was so distressed at the evidence of the empress's hostility that she thought of killing herself rather than bring scandal to the court and disaster to her family. The Lady Zhao arranged a false report that the emperor was getting better, so the Lady Deng did not kill herself and on the following day the emperor indeed recovered.

In 121 the Lady Zhao was accused of involvement in the alleged plan of the Dowager Deng and her relatives to depose Emperor An. She probably died soon afterwards. -*HHS* 10A:420, 55/45:1809 [miswritten as "the Palace Counsellor Zhao Wang" 中大夫趙王: see Wang Xianqian in *JJ* at 1949].

Zhao Yu 趙昱 [Yuanta 元達] (d.194); Langye. Celebrated for his filial piety, Zhao Yu studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* with the private teacher Qimu [Kai?]. At first he kept strict seclusion and refused invitations to local office, but he later accepted nomination, became a county magistrate in his home commandery and created a model government.

In 184 Zhao Yu led local levies against the Yellow Turbans. The Inspector Ba Zhi praised his conduct in the highest terms, but when he recommended him for a reward Zhao Yu saw it as an insult to his integrity; he left office and returned home.

In 191 Zhao Yu agreed to join the staff of the Inspector Tao Qian and became his Attendant Official, but only having first insisted that he be given authority in criminal matters. In 193 he persuaded Tao Qian to send tribute to the court at Chang'an, and when Tao Qian was promoted to be Governor he made Zhao Yu his Administrator of Guangling. Later, however, as Tao Qian's government deteriorated, the two men became estranged.

In 194 Zhao Yu was murdered by Zhai Rong, whom he had sheltered as a guest. -*XC* 5:1a-b, *HHS* 73/63:2368, *SGZ* 8:248-49, *Wu* 4:1185.

Zhao Yu 趙域. Zhao Yu's name appears in the colophon to the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the Stone Classics engraved in the early 180s. He is described there as a Counsellor Remonstrant. -*LS* 14:8b.

Despite the different writing of the personal name

and the different career, it seems possible this is the same man as Zhao Yu 昱 above. Both men were scholars of the Gongyang commentary and were active at the same time, and despite his reluctance to hold office Zhao Yu 昱 may have been persuaded to take part in such an important project.

Zhao Yu 趙裕 see Zhao You 趙祐.

Zhao [Yuanjiang] 趙媛姜, the Lady (d.201); Jianwei. In 200 the Lady's husband Sheng Dao joined the rebellion of Zhao Wei against the warlord Governor Liu Zhang. The enterprise was unsuccessful, and by the following year both Sheng Dao and his wife had been taken.

Sheng Dao was sentenced to death, but in order to maintain the family line the Lady Zhao arranged for him to escape with their five-year-old son Sheng Xiang, and she took his place long enough for him to get away. She was killed, but Sheng Dao was later amnestied. In honour of her sacrifice he never remarried.

Fan Ye included the Lady's biography in his Chapter on Worthy Women 列女傳. -HHS 84/74:2799*, HYGZ 10B:161.

Zhao Yuansi 趙元嗣. At the end of Han Zhao Yuansi and Luo Shujing were celebrated in the west of the empire for their calligraphy in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style." -JS 36:1065.

Zhao Yue 昭約 [Jiezai 節宰]; Guanghan. About 150 Zhao Yue was a disciple of Yang Hou, expert in the doctrines of Huang-Lao. -HYGZ 10B:144, 12:214.

Zhao Yue 趙越 [Yanshan 彥善]; Henei. Having held senior office in the Imperial Secretariat and as a General of the Household, Zhao Yue became Administrator of Guiyang and then Intendant of Henan. He died about 170, and had an impressive tomb in his home country. -S/JZ 9:6b.

Zhao Yue 趙月 (d.213); Hanyang. Son of Zhao Ang, in 213 he was taken hostage by Ma Chao to ensure his father's service. As Zhao Ang rebelled against Ma Chao a few months later, Ma Chao killed Zhao Yue. -SGZ 25:703-04.

Zhao Yun 趙雲 [Zilong 子龍] (d.229); Changshan. A handsome man eight foot tall [185 cm], Zhao Yun held military office in his commandery, and when rebellion broke out against Dong Zhuo in 190 he went to join Gongsun Zan.

In 191 Zhao Yun was sent with Tian Kai, Gongsun Zan's Inspector of Jing province, against Yuan Shao. He established a close relationship with Liu Bei and

became an officer of horse in his service.

In 208, as Liu Bei sought to escape southwards after Cao Cao's take-over of Jing province, he was heavily defeated at the Chang Slope in Nan commandery. Someone suggested that Zhao Yun had gone over to the enemy, but Liu Bei refused to believe it, and soon afterwards Zhao Yun returned with his concubine the Lady Gan and her son Liu Shan, future Later Sovereign, whom he had rescued and brought to safety.

After the victory of the Red Cliffs, Zhao Yun was named lieutenant-general and Administrator of Guiyang, taking over from Cao Cao's officer Zhao Fan. Zhao Fan offered him his widowed sister-in-law the Lady Fan as wife, but Zhao Yun observed that they were men of the same surname, so if he married the Lady it would be like taking his brother's widow. Though others also encouraged him, he refused the offer, adding that there were plenty of other women in the empire, and he was not sure he could trust Zhao Fan. Later Zhao Fan did escape back to the north to rejoin Cao Cao, but Zhao Yun had avoided any involvement. [One may contrast Zhao Yun's moral stand about the widow of a fellow-clansman to the marital arrangements later made by Liu Bei with the Lady Wu, widow of Liu Mao.]

Zhao Yun was later appointed General of the *Yamen* 牙門將軍 at Liu Bei's headquarters on the Yangzi, and when Liu Bei went to Yi province in 211 he stayed in charge at the base. Liu Bei's wife the Lady Sun tried to take Liu Bei's young son Liu Shan east to her brother Sun Quan, but Zhao Yun and Zhang Fei intercepted her and brought the boy back.

As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang at the end of 212 Zhao Yun and Zhang Fei went with Zhuge Liang to support him. Having taken the eastern part of Yi province, in 214 they captured Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing. As Zhuge Liang and Zhang Fei moved north up the Jialing Jiang, Zhao Yun was sent through Jianwei and up the Min River, rejoining the main army outside Chengdu.

When Liu Zhang surrendered Zhao Yun was named General of the Assistant Army 翊軍將軍. Liu Bei wanted to distribute the estates about Chengdu among his officers, but Zhao Yun argued that the struggle for the empire was by no means over and he persuaded Liu Bei that it would be a serious error to alienate the local people by such an act of plunder.

During the fighting in Hanzhong in 219 Zhao Yun,

accompanied by only a few dozen men, met a far larger force of Cao Cao. He drove them back briefly, but they pursued him to his camp. Zhao Yun opened the gates and kept his men hidden. The enemy was suspicious and withdrew, but as they did so Zhao Yun beat his drums, fired on them with his most powerful bows, and so terrified them that they fled with heavy losses. As Liu Bei visited the battlefield next day he remarked "Zilong is all bravery!" [The stratagem of the Empty City 空城計 is also attributed to Cao Cao's general Wen Ping in Jiangxia in 226 and, most famously but without good authority, to Zhuge Liang: deC 90:438, 585.]

After Sun Quan destroyed Guan Yu and seized Jing province, Zhao Yun urged Liu Bei not to embark on a campaign of revenge, but to concentrate on his main enemy to the north. Once the power of Wei was broken Sun Quan would be compelled to submit. Liu Bei ignored this advice, and in 221 he attacked down the Yangzi. Zhao Yun stayed in reserve at Jiangzhou and, after the army was routed by Lu Xun, he brought his men forward to hold the Gorges.

As Liu Bei's son Liu Chan, the Later Sovereign, succeeded his father in 223, Zhao Yun was again promoted as a general and was enfeoffed as a marquis. He took part in the northern campaigns of Zhuge Liang, but after a defeat by Cao Zhen in 228 he was slightly demoted in rank. He died in the following year and received a posthumous title. -SGZ Shu 6:948-50*; deC 96:382, 467.

The commentator Zhao Yiqing, in SGZJJ Shu 6: 17b, notes there is a record of a stele in Nanyang which purports to be that of Zhao Yun, but since it is clear from the history that he died in the west the account of the stele must be false.

Zhao [Yunjun] 趙雲君 see Zhao Manjun 趙蔓君. -HYGZ 12:222.

Zhao Zheng 趙徵; Anping. A former Assistant Officer of Ji province, Zhao Zheng had a stele erected in his honour. -SJZ 10:19a.

Zhao Zhi 趙直; Nanyang. Son of Zhao Shi, he succeeded to his fief. In 125 Zhao Zhi was a colonel in the Northern Army when the Little Emperor Liu Yi, who had been placed upon the throne by the Dowager Yan and her family, became ill. Zhao Zhi joined a plot with the Excellency Li He and the minister Tao Fan to restore Emperor Shun to the succession, but the eunuch Sun Cheng and his colleagues carried out their

own coup before they were ready to take action.

The aborted plan was not known at the time, but was revealed a year later. Li He was offered enfeoffment but it does not appear Zhao Zhi received any special favour. -HHS 26/16:915, 82/72A:2718.

Zhao Zhi 趙祉. A county magistrate in Jianwei in 126, Zhao Zhi sent his officer Xian Nihe with a message to Ba commandery, but Xian Nihe drowned on the way. -HYGZ 3:40, SJZ 33:14a.

Zhao Zhi 趙直. In the early third century Zhao Zhi was known as an interpreter of dreams, advising He Zhi, Jiang Wan and Wei Yan.

Zhao Zhi 趙祗. A bandit from Liang province, Zhao Zhi accompanied Ma Xiang into Yi province, where they styled themselves Yellow Turbans. Zhao Zhi is not mentioned after the beginning of the insurrection, but he may be the same person as Zhao Bo 播. -SGZ Shu 1:866.

Zhao [Zhichang] 趙稚長 see Zhao Rong 趙融.

Zhao Zhong 趙忠 (d.189); Anping. A eunuch, in 153 Zhao Zhong was an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. When his father died he misappropriated funerary insignia from the imperial workshops to ornament his tomb. Hearing of this, Zhu Mu the Inspector of Ji province ordered the local officials to retrieve the grave goods, the corpse was taken from its coffin, and members of the family were arrested. Zhao Zhong, however, was a favourite of Emperor Huan, and Zhu Mu was arrested and sent to convict service.

Zhao Zhong was not directly involved in the coup which destroyed Liang Ji in 159, but he was nonetheless awarded a marquissate. When Guan Ba and Ju Yuan were disgraced in 165, it was reduced to a secondary fief.

In the time of Emperor Ling, Zhao Zhong was promoted to be a Regular Attendant, and in 172 he was spokesman for his colleagues Cao Jie and Wang Fu as they argued that the late Dowager Dou of Emperor Huan should be buried with the rites only of a concubine. They were opposed by the Excellency Li Xian and the minister Chen Qiu, and lost the debate.

After the death of Cao Jie in 181, Zhao Zhong became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of the residence of the Empress He. Restored to a full marquissate, he was a favourite of Emperor Ling, who described Zhao Zhong as his mother and his colleague Zhang Rang as his father. At the time of the Yellow Turban uprising in 184, when the maverick eunuch Lü

Qiang persuaded the emperor to end the proscription of reformists and to restrict the power of the eunuchs, Zhao Zhong, Xia Yun and others accused him of treason and forced him to kill himself.

In 185, even after the devastation of the Yellow Turbans, Zhao Zhong and Zhang Rang persuaded the emperor to place a tax upon farmland in order to repair palace buildings which had been damaged by fire and to construct bronze statues. During the campaign against the rebels, the general Huangfu Song observed the luxurious mansion of Zhao Zhong at Ye city in Wei commandery, and had it confiscated. In turn, Zhao Zhong and Zhang Rang had Huangfu Song dismissed from his command against the rebels in Liang province, and his fief was heavily reduced.

At the same time, within Luoyang, Zhao Zhong and his fellows built themselves great mansions. Concerned the emperor might see them, they persuaded him that it would bring ill fortune if he climbed too high, so they were able to conceal their extravagance.

In 186 Zhao Zhong was named General of Chariots and Cavalry in honour of his notional role in the defeat of the Yellow Turbans. He retired from that office later in the year.

In 189 Zhao Zhong was consulted by Jian Shi about his plans to assassinate the General-in-Chief He Jin. Later, after the murder of He Jin, he was killed by Yuan Shao and He Miao in the general slaughter of the eunuchs. In 190 his intended tomb was used for the burial of the former Young Emperor Liu Bian.

When Emperor Xian returned to Luoyang in 196 he lodged in Zhao Zhong's former residence. -HHS 78/68:2534-37*; deC 89:125-126, deC 96:16.

Zhao [Zhongbao] 趙仲寶; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Mengyuan and brother of Zhao Kuan, he was killed during the great Qiang rebellion about 110. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao [Zhongrang] 趙仲讓; Henei. Zhao Zhongrang received provincial nomination as Abundant Talent from the Director of Retainers and became a magistrate in Pingyuan. He first travelled incognito to check on the customs and the administration, and when he took up his appointment he changed all the officers. After just a few weeks, however, he quit the post.

Zhao Zhongrang later became Officer of Merit in his home commandery, but again walked out in a huff when his recommendations were not approved. He had hitherto held a good reputation, so the Administrator

did not punish him.

Zhao Zhongrang was then a senior officer under the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. In the winter months, however, he would sit in the courtyard in the sun, with his clothing open to the wind, or would lie on a bed completely uncovered. Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou urged that he be punished, but Liang Ji admired his quality. Though he continued to behave in eccentric fashion, Zhao Zhongrang was later appointed Administrator of Jiangxia. -FSTY 4:32-33: Ying Shao, predictably, disapproves such excessive behaviour.

Zhao [Zhongtai] 趙仲臺 (d.158); Jingzhao. An uncle of Zhao Xi [and in this version a brother of Zhao Qi q.v.], in 158 Zhao Zhongtai was Inspector of Liang province. Tang Xuan, brother of the palace eunuch Tang Heng, became Intendant of Jingzhao and wanted to destroy the Zhao family because of insults he had received. Tang Heng arranged that Zhao Zhongtai be recalled and sent back to his home country, where he was arrested and killed. -SGZ 18:552.

Zhao Zi 趙咨 [Wenchu 文楚]; Dong. Son of the Academician Zhao Chang, who died when he was young, Zhao Zi became known for the filial piety. He was recommended for office by his commandery and by his province, but did not accept.

In 158, however, Zhao Zi accepted nomination as Extremely Filial and Knowing the Way from the minister Chen Qi. He later became an Academician, but after the eunuchs destroyed Chen Fan and Dou Wu in 168 he claimed to be ill and left the capital.

About 182 the Grand Commandant Yang Ci sent Zhao Zi a special invitation to a discussion. He was then graded First Class and held a number of posts. He became Administrator of Dunhuang, but resigned on grounds of illness, and returned home to engage in farming with his sons and grandsons. On one occasion that robbers came to his gate, he opened it for them and offered everything that he had, so long as they did not disturb his aged mother. The robbers apologised for troubling him and went away, and though he sent after them with gifts they would not take them.

Now celebrated, Zhao Zi was invited to become a Consultant, and although he was reluctant he was pressed and persuaded by the local authorities. He then became Chancellor of Donghai, and so great was his prestige that as he passed through Yingchuan on his way to take up office his former nominee Cao Gao of Dunhuang abandoned his post as a magistrate in order

to pay his respects.

Zhao Zi was in Donghai for three years, keeping powerful families under control, but he then became ill and asked to leave. He was again appointed as a Consultant, but became seriously ill at the capital. He asked his former students Zhu Zhi and Su Jian to arrange a simple burial, no matter what his family planned, and added a literary exhortation. Despite the protest of Zhao Zi's son Yin, the trustees carried out his wishes, and people admired Zhao Zi's wisdom. -HHS 39/29:1313-18*, XC 2:5a-b.

Zhao Zi 趙咨 [Junchu 君初]; Henei. In 190 Zhao Zi's neighbour Sima Lang warned the local people that their territory would become a battlefield of the coming civil war, and urged them to take refuge in Wei commandery. Most were unwilling to move, but Zhao Zi brought his household and went with Sima Lang.

A leading scholar-official of the time, Zhao Zi became a member of the Secretariat of Wei and was later Minister of Ceremonies. -SGZ 15:467-69.

Zhao Zi 趙咨 [Dedu 德度]; Nanyang. A man of wide learning and swift repartee, Zhao Zi became a Commandant under Sun Quan. When Cao Pi, Emperor of Wei, enfeoffed Sun Quan as King of Wu in 221, Zhao Zi was appointed a Counsellor and sent on an embassy to offer thanks. Quizzed by Cao Pi, he praised the qualities of Sun Quan and the defensive strength of his state.

On his return, Zhao Zi warned Sun Quan that the Wei would not keep the treaty, and he should prepare for independence. Sun Quan accepted his advice and promoted him. -SGZ Wu 2:1123-24.

Zhao [Zigong] 趙子恭; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Kuan, he was a local officer of the commandery. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao [Zihui] 趙子惠; Jincheng. Son of Zhao Kuan, he became an officer under the Protector of the Qiang, but died young. -Nagata 94:226.

Zhao [Zijian] 趙子賤 (d.160); Hanzhong. In 147 Zhao Zijian was Officer of Merit in the commandery when orders came from the imperial government controlled by Liang Ji that Li Ji and Li Zi, sons of the disgraced minister Li Gu, were to be killed. The Administrator, respecting the family, wanted to let them take poison, but Zhao Zijian insisted the law be carried out, and the two men were duly executed.

Li Xie, younger brother of Li Ji and Li Zi, went into hiding, but returned home in 160. Afraid he might

seek revenge, Zhao Zijian hired a man to kill him. Li Xie learnt of the plan and told the new Administrator; Zhao Zijian was executed. -HHS 63/53:2088, HYGZ 10C:172-73.

Zhao Zijian, wife of: see the Lady Han Shu'nian 韓樹南.

Zhao [Zizhen] 趙子真; Shu. Members of a powerful local family in the time of Emperor Huan, Zhao Zizhen and his kinsmen caused trouble in Chengdu. They were brought under control by the magistrate Liu Chong. -HYGZ 3:35.

Zhao Zuo 趙祚. In 220 Zhao Zuo was Attendant Officer to Liu Bei as Governor of Yi province. Following the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han he joined a petition which cited various works of divination and urged Liu Bei to claim the imperial title. -SGZ Shu 2:887.

Zhe Guo 折國; Nanyang/Guanghan. Grandson of Zhang Jiang, he took his surname from the family fief of Zhe 析 county in Nanyang [see also, however, *sub* Zhang Jiang].

Zhe Guo became Administrator of Yulin, and moved the family to Guanghan. He was immensely wealthy, with hundreds of servants and retainers, but when he died his son Zhe Xiang gave all his property away. -HHS 82/72A:2720*, HYGZ 10B:149; Ngo 76:100, DeWoskin 86:62.

Zhe Xiang 折像/象 [Boshi 伯式]; Guanghan. Son of Zhe Guo, Zhe Xiang was a gentle and generous man, who would not harm even an insect or a plant. Having studied with Yu Shuya of Dongping, he became an expert in the Jing Fang interpretation of the *Book of Changes* and a devotee of Huang-Lao.

When his father died, Zhe Xiang gave away the family property. He was criticised for leaving his sons and daughters destitute, but replied that long hoarding of wealth could bring disaster, while his sons lacked the ability to deal with it sensibly. By giving it away he was saving them from destruction. Wise men agreed with his arguments; but one may doubt his children felt the same way.

Foretelling the day of his death, Zhe Xiang held a farewell banquet for all his kinsmen. He died at the age of eighty-four, leaving no property behind, and his descendants proved as inadequate as he had expected. -HHS 82/72A:2720-21, HYGZ 10B:149; Ngo 76:100-101, DeWoskin 86:62-63.

Zhen 甄, the Lady (183-221); Zhongshan. Daughter of Zhen Yi, about 198 the Lady married Yuan Xi, second

son of Yuan Shao. Yuan Xi became Governor of You province, but the Lady remained at Ye city to care for Yuan Xi's mother. When Cao Cao captured the city in 204, his son Cao Pi took her as his principal wife, though her first husband Yuan Xi did not die until 207. She became the mother of Cao Rui, born about 206, and of a daughter.

The Lady was celebrated for her beauty. It is said that Cao Cao had wanted her for himself, and that she was the inspiration for Cao Zhi's *Luoshen fu* 洛神賦 "Rhapsody on the Goddess of the Luo River." These stories are improbable.

The Lady was admired for her kindly nature and for her devotion to her mother-in-law the Lady Bian, but after Cao Pi took the imperial title in 220 it is said that she became jealous: his harem was large, and her rivals included the Ladies Guo, Li and Yin, together with two daughters of the deposed Emperor Xian of Han. Cao Pi became angry at her discontent, the Lady Guo told tales about her, and in 221 she was ordered to commit suicide. The official history of Wei concealed the scandal by a story that Cao Pi wanted to name her as his empress, but that she repeatedly refused the honour and died of natural causes before he could persuade her: Pei Songzhi notes the falsehood and disapproves.

In 227, after Cao Rui had become emperor, the Lady Zhen was granted posthumous title as empress and great favour was shown to her family. -SGZ 5:159-62*; Mather 76:503, Cutter 92, C/C 99.95-101.

Zhen Cheng 甄承; Beihai. Son of Zhen Pu and grandson of Zhen Yu, Zhen Cheng continued their tradition of scholarship on the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*. So devoted to his studies that he paid no attention to the affairs of his household, he was respected by all the scholars of the day.

About 80 Zhen Cheng was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and embarked upon an official career. He became Chancellor of Liang kingdom, and died in that office.

Zhen Cheng's descendants maintained the tradition of scholarship in *Chunqiu*. -HHS79/69B:2580*.

Zhen Dao 甄道, the Lady; Zhongshan. Daughter of Zhen Yi, she was an elder sister of the Lady Zhen, future consort of Cao Pi.

Zhen Fang 甄訪 see Ma Fang 馬訪.

Zhen Feng 甄豐 see Shen Feng 沈豐.

Zhen Jin 甄晉 see Zhen Pu 甄普. -DGHJ 16:8a.

Zhen Hui 甄會 see Zhen Yi 甄逸.

Zhen Jiang 甄姜, the Lady; Zhongshan. Eldest daughter of Zhen Yi, she was a sister of the Lady Zhen, future consort of Cao Pi. -SGZ 5:159.

Zhen Pu 甄普 or Zhen Jin 晉; Beihai. Son of Zhen Yu, he maintained his father's scholarship on the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*. -HHS 79/69B:2580 [普], DGHJ 16:8a [晉].

Zhen Rong 甄榮, the Lady; Zhongshan. Daughter of Zhen Yi, she was an elder sister of the Lady Zhen, future consort of Cao Pi.

Zhen Shao 甄邵; Yingchuan. A supporter of Liang Ji, Zhen Shao was magistrate of Ye in Wei commandery. A former colleague, who had entered the imperial service in the same year, came to him for refuge from Liang Ji. Zhen Shao pretended to shelter him but secretly informed Liang Ji, so the man was captured and killed.

Later, as Zhen Shao was due to become head of a commandery, his mother died. He should have left office for the mourning period, but he buried her body in a stable and announced the death only after he had received the appointment.

Zhen Shao later returned to Luoyang, where he encountered Li Xie, son of Liang Ji's enemy Li Gu and now Intendant of Henan. Li Xie had Zhen Shao hauled from his chariot and flogged, then fixed a placard to his back saying, "To gain favour I sold my friend, in greed for position I hid my mother's corpse." The story now came out, and Zhen Shao was proscribed from office for the rest of his life. -HHS 63/53:2091.

Zhen Tuo 甄脫, the Lady; Zhongshan. Daughter of Zhen Yi, she was an elder sister of the Lady Zhen, future consort of Cao Pi.

Zhen Yan 甄儼 (d.196); Zhongshan. Son of Zhen Yi, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served in the offices of the General-in-Chief He Jin and became a magistrate in Wei commandery. He died young. His widow, the Lady Liu XVI, and their child were cared for by his sister, future consort of Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of Wei. -SGZ 5:159; C/C 99.96-97.

Zhen Yao 甄堯; Zhongshan. Son of Zhen Yi, he received commandery nomination. -SGZ 5:159.

Zhen Yi 甄逸 (d.185); Zhongshan. A man of old official family, Zhen Yi became a magistrate in Runan. He married the Lady Zhang of Changshan and fathered the Lady Zhen, consort of Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of Wei. -SGZ 5:159. One text has Zhen Yi's personal name as Hui 會, but this is probably an error: Mather

76:484, cf. C/C 99:95-96, 198.

Zhen Yi 甄逸, wife of: see the Lady Zhang 張 V.

Zhen You 眞祐 became Chief Clerk to the Grand Commandant. -*FSTY* 5f:133.

Zhen Yu 甄宇 [Changwen 長文]; Beihai. A man of pure morality and few desires, Zhen Yu was an expert in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan interpretation. He taught hundreds of students.

During the time of Emperor Guangwu Zhen Yu was an Assistant Officer in his province. He later became an Academician at the Imperial University in Luoyang and then Junior Tutor to the Heir. He died in that office. -*HHS* 79/69:2580*.

Zhen Yu 甄豫; Zhongshan. Son of Zhen Yi, he died young. -*SGZ* 5:159.

Zhen [Ziran] 甄子然; Beihai. A man of family, in 160 he joined Sun Bin and Lü Zizhi to save Diwu Lun from exile and death, then concealed him for several years until he was released by an amnesty.

When Kong Rong came as Chancellor to Beihai in 190, he regretted that Zhen Ziran had died. He presented offerings at his county altar. -*HHS* 41/31:1404, 70/60:2263.

Zhen Zun 甄遵 see Guo Zun 郭遵. -*XHS* 4:11b.

Zheng 徵 sisters [rebels in Jiaozhi] see *sub* Zheng Ce 徵側.

Zheng 鄭 [a woman bandit] see Zheng Jiang 鄭姜.

Zheng An 鄭安; Nanyang. Son of Zheng Hong 閎, he succeeded to his marquisate. The fief was later abolished, but see *sub* Zheng Shichou. -*HHS* 78/68:2513.

Zheng Ang 正昂. Administrator of Yizhou for Liu Bei about 215, he was killed by Yong Kai. -*SGZ* Shu 11:1101.

Zheng Anshi 鄭安世; Henan. Son of Zheng Zhong, he maintained the family tradition of scholarship. Head of the palace stables in 124, he joined the demonstration led by Lai Li at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital, protesting the dismissal of the Heir, Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. The demonstrators gained no success, but their support was recognised.

Zheng Anshi died before Liu Bao was brought to the throne at the end of 125, but his family was granted a reward of cash, and his son Zheng Liang was made a gentlemen cadet. -*HHS* 15/5:591-93. According to *XTS* 75A:3259, Zheng Anshi was at some time Colonel of the City Gates.

Zheng Bao 鄭寶 (d.199). A gang leader south of the Huai, he attempted to bully Liu Ye. Liu Ye killed him and took over his troops. -*SGZ* 14:443.

Zheng Bao 鄭表 see Zheng Mao 鄭袤.

Zheng [Bojian] 鄭伯堅; Runan. *FSTY* 5:37-38; Nylan 83:462-465 tells how Zheng Bojian of Runan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Li Zhang. As Li Zhang died soon afterwards, Zheng Bojian and his colleague Zhou Cheng refused their appointments at the capital and remained behind to assist his widow and her children. This may be the same person as Zheng Gu, whose style was Bojian, and who is commemorated in a stele. See *sub* Zheng Gu.

Zheng [Boshan] 鄭伯山; Guanghan. A scholar of the diagrams of the Map from the Yellow River and the Book from the Luo 河圖洛書, Zheng Boshan was a teacher of the diviner Yang Tong. -*HHS* 30/20A:1047.

Zheng Ce 徵側 [Vietnamese: Tr'ung Trac] (d.43); Jiaozhi. Daughter of a chieftain of the Luo people of Jiaozhi, on the Red River delta, Zheng Ce was married to a certain Shi Su. We are told that she was spirited and brave, and when the Administrator Su Ding attempted to bring her under control she became angry. With her younger sister Zheng Er, Zheng Ce raised an army and captured the commandery capital. As they were joined by tribesmen from Jiuzhen, Rinan and Hepu, the rebellion affected the whole imperial territory of present-day Vietnam, extending also along the coast towards the Leizhou peninsula and the island of Hainan. Zheng Ce took a royal title 王.

The rebellion was wide-spread, and it is said that the insurgents seized a total of sixty-five cities 成. There were not so many county seats in the whole of the far south, so most of these "cities" must have been fortified villages, and we are told that many Chinese officials held out, presumably in more substantial walled towns.

Emperor Guangwu gave orders for the preparation of ships, carts, roads and bridges, and in 42 the general Ma Yuan brought an army of commandery troops from the south of Jing province and the Pearl River region. In the summer of 43 Zheng Ce was killed by the general Liu Long, and Ma Yuan later captured and executed Zheng Er. Their heads were sent to Luoyang, their forces scattered and their associates across the far south were defeated in detail.

The sisters are now recalled as heroines of

Vietnamese independence, but Ma Yuan was celebrated for centuries as a god and a hero, and the territory remained settled for a century after his campaign. -HHS 86/76:2836-37; Bn 67:63-65, Schafer 67:81, Holmgren 80:11-16, Taylor 83:37-41, deC 90:38.

Zheng Chang 鄭長; Runan. About 195 Lü Meng, a trooper under Deng Dang in Sun Ce's forces, killed a man. He took refuge for a time with Zheng Chang, a man from his home country. -SGZ Wu 9:1273.

Zheng Chen 鄭郴; Yingchuan. A magistrate in Henei in 150, Zheng Chen set up a stele to honour the local hero known as Lord Zhang 張公. -LS 3:12b-15a.

Zheng Chen 鄭綝; Henan. XTS 75A:3259 says that Zheng Chen was a son of Zheng Anshi and a brother of Zheng Liang, and that he became a Commandant of Cavalry.

Zheng Cheng 鄭稱. Palace Attendant to Cao Pi, King of Wei, in 220 Zheng Cheng was appointed Tutor to Cao Rui, future Emperor Ming of Wei. -SGZ 2:59.

Zheng Chong 徵崇 [Zihe 子和]; Henan. Originally holding the surname Li 李, he was learned in the *Book of Changes* and in *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, and expert also on internal medicine. As civil war broke out at the end of Han, he changed his surname to Zheng and took refuge south of the Yangzi. He lived in secret in Kuaiji, supporting himself by his own labour in the fields, and teaching a few chosen students.

Zheng Chong was in correspondence, however, with local scholar-officials such as Bu Zhi, and Yan Jun recommended him to Sun Quan. When Sun Deng was named Heir of the kingdom of Wu in 221 Zheng Chong was appointed to his household, where he was given great respect and attention. He died in the 220s, aged seventy. -SGZ Wu 8:1248-49.

Zheng Chong 鄭冲 [Wenhe 子文] d.273; Henan. Though he came from a humble family, Zheng Chong was devoted to scholarship, and he became a member of the court of Cao Pi when he was Heir. He rose to be an Excellency under Wei and in 265 he was named Grand Tutor to Sima Yan 司馬炎 when he took the throne as first emperor of Jin. -JS 33:991.

Zheng Chun 鄭純 [Changbo 長伯]; Guanghan. During the 60s Zheng Chun was Commandant of the western region of Yizhou commandery, controlling six counties on the frontier by the Dali Lake. Though the territory produced quantities of gold and other valuable items, and most officials took vast quantities for themselves, Zheng Chun was strictly honest and

stole nothing.

Zheng Chun had excellent influence on the local non-Chinese people, and when King Liumiao of the Ailao people came to offer submission in 69, Emperor Ming named Zheng Chun as Administrator of Yongchang. With its capital on the Mekong by present-day Yongping in Yunnan, the new commandery comprised the six counties of Zheng Chun's former territory, plus two which nominally extended over the present-day frontier of Burma/Myanmar, with general control over routes towards India.

Zheng Chun's government was light, with the local people taxed just two pieces of cloth and one measure of salt from each clan chieftain. Not surprisingly, the people found small difficulty in accepting the Han regime, and another six tribes, including some more Ailao, came to submit in 74.

After ten years in the southwest Zheng Chun died in office. His portrait was given an honoured place in the Eastern Pavilion at Luoyang. -HHS 86/76:2851, HYGZ 10B:143; Bn 67:77-78, Yü 67:82.

Zheng Du 鄭篤; Henei. A local officer, about 140 Zheng Du took part in the erection of a stele at the funerary temple of the Grand Duke Lü Wang 太公呂望, founder of the ancient state of Qi 齊. -SJZ 9:7a.

Zheng Du 鄭度; Guanghan. In 213 Zheng Du was an Assistant Officer to the warlord Governor Liu Zhang in Yi province. As Liu Bei came to attack, Zheng Du urged Liu Zhang to strip the country of its people and supplies. When Liu Bei heard of this scorched-earth plan he was seriously concerned, but his adviser Fa Zheng reassured him that Liu Zhang was too soft-hearted to adopt such a strategy. Liu Zhang indeed rejected Zheng Du's advice and dismissed him from his service. -SGZ Shu 7:958, HYGZ 10B:152.

Zheng Er 徵貳 [Vietnamese: Tr'ung Nhi]; non-Chinese of Jiaozhi: see *sub* Zheng Ce 徵側.

Zheng Feng 鄭封. Administrator of Chenliu, he was honoured with a stele. -LS 27:1a.

Zheng Gan 鄭甘; Zuopingyi. Bandits of the northern hills, in 220 Zheng Gan and Wang Zhao were attacked by the Wei general Zhang He. They surrendered. -SGZ 2:59, 26:734.

Zheng Gu 鄭固 [Bojian 伯堅] (117-158); Runan? LS 6:17b-19b preserves a stele inscription in honour of Zheng Gu. It describes how he was a student of the *History* according to the New Text tradition and held a number of local commandery appointments, including

those of Investigator, Registrar and Officer of Merit. He received an imperial letter of appointment 詔書 as a gentleman cadet in 158, but he declined on grounds of ill health and died soon afterwards. Now in an official collection in Jining in southern Shandong, the stele is also transcribed in Nagata 94:130 and is discussed at *LS* 21:21b-22a.

The stele does not indicate Zheng Gu's native commandery, but an entry in *FSTY* 5:37-38 tells how Zheng Bojian of Runan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by the Administrator Li Zhang 李張. When Li Zhang died soon afterwards, his nominees agreed that Zheng Bojian and his colleague Zhou Cheng would take up their appointments at the capital while others stayed behind for the mourning rituals. It seems unlikely that the same style would have been born by two men of the same surname about the same time, so the man referred to in the stele is perhaps the same as the man mentioned in *FSTY* 5.

One must note, however, that the Zheng Gu stele contains no reference to any nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, nor to the act of self-abnegation recounted by *FSTY*, while present-day Jining is not in the territory of Later Han Runan. The omission from the stele need not be significant, and several stele have been moved from their original sites, but the situation is further complicated by the fact that a parallel text, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ* 53/43:1879-80, presents another version of this story, but with some different names. The Administrator appears as Li Chang 李偃 and, more significantly, the surname of the man whose style was Bojian is given as Ai 艾.

In these circumstances, it seems impossible to determine whether Zheng Gu [Bojian] was indeed a man of Runan and received nomination about 150, or whether the text of *FSTY* is quite mistaken and a completely different person, Ai Bojian, was the man involved. See *sub* Li Chang 李偃.

Zheng Hong 鄭鴻. Administrator of Yuexi in 51, Zheng Hong received the messengers of submission sent by King Xianli of the Ailao people. -*HHS* 86/76: 2848.

Zheng Hong 鄭弘/宏 [Jujun 巨君] (d.87); Kuaiji. Originally from Qi, Zheng Hong's family claimed descent from high officials of Former Han, including Zheng Ji 鄭吉, an expert on the Western Regions [*QHX*:722-723], but by Zheng Hong's time there had been no such distinction for several generations. As a

young man, however, Zheng Hong became head of his district, and he came to the notice of the Administrator Diwu Lun during a spring tour of inspection. Diwu Lun made him a commandery Investigator and then a Reporting Officer, and later nominated him Filial and Incorrupt.

At the capital Zheng Hong became a student of Jiao Kuang the Administrator of Hedong, who was also a man from Kuaiji. In 70 Jiao Kuang was accused of involvement in the alleged conspiracy with Liu Ying the King of Chu. He was arrested and died on the road to his trial, while his wife and children were sent to prison, with occasional floggings. Jiao Kuang's former clients were afraid they might be implicated, and some even changed their names in order to avoid his fate, but Zheng Hong shaved his head as sign of liability for convict service, took an axe and the guillotine by which he might be cut in two at the waist, and presented himself at the gates of the palace to plead Jiao Kuang's innocence. Touched by his loyalty, Emperor Ming pardoned his presumption, and Zheng Hong was allowed to escort Jiao Kuang's coffin and his family back to their home country. From this he became well known.

Zheng Hong was appointed a country magistrate in Lu, where it was said that his rule was so excellent the territory escaped locusts, drought and fierce frosts, while people who found valuables on the road left them for their true owners. He then became Administrator of Linhuai/Xiapi, where more miracles attended his regime, and after further appointments, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang about 76 he became Director of the Imperial Secretariat.

Up to this time, when an officer of the Secretariat came to the end of his tenure, a Gentleman, who ranked at 400 *shi*, was normally transferred to be a junior county magistrate at 300 or 400 *shi*, while Foreman Clerks, ranked at 200 *shi*, became county assistants or commandants. Zheng Hong argued that although the formal rank and salary of members of the Secretariat was low, it was an institution of great importance and prestige, and the poor prospects for promotion made men reluctant to join. He persuaded the emperor that departing Gentlemen should be eligible for posts of 1000 *shi*, while Foreman Clerks could become county magistrates. Besides this reform, during his term of office he put forward a number of additional proposals to restore the best policies of the past.

We are told that Zheng Hong was later sent out as Chancellor of Pingyuan 平原. Pingyuan, however, was not a kingdom at this time, and the post should have been that of an Administrator. Qian Dazhao suggests that Zheng Hong's appointment may have been to Pingchun 平春 in Jiangxia: that county was granted as a royal fief to Liu Quan, son of Emperor Zhang, in 79; Liu Quan died later that same year.]

Returning to court as a Palace Attendant, Zheng Hong became Minister of Finance in 83. Hitherto, tribute from the commanderies of Jiaozhi province in the far south had been brought to the capital by the sea route past Dongye, present-day Fuzhou in Fujian. The passage was vulnerable to storms, and many ships were lost. Zheng Hong recommended that an inland route be established, to bring the goods across the Nan Ling divide to the upper reaches of the Xiang River in Lingling and Guiyang. His plan was adopted, to the great benefit of the imperial budget. Later, a drought affected the frontier, and on Zheng Hong's advice the storehouses were opened to relieve want.

In 84 Zheng Hong was made Grand Commandant, highest position of the bureaucracy. His former patron Diwu Lun was Excellency of Works, and although that position was lower than his own, Zheng Hong granted him precedence. When the reason was explained to Emperor Zhang, he gave his approval, but he had a screen of mother-of-pearl set up between them, and this became a custom of the court. Soon afterwards there was a drought. The officials of the court went out to pray for rain, then returned home, but Zheng Hong maintained a vigil for the whole day; rain duly arrived.

In 85 Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei reported that the Southern Shanyu, dependent of Han, had sent raiding parties to attack traders from the Northern Xiongnu. The minister Yuan An argued that the moral authority of the empire required the agreement for peaceful trade be honoured, and the Excellency Huan Yu supported him. Zheng Hong objected, and he shouted at Huan Yu that "Anyone who says we should hand back the captives is a traitor!" Huan Yu responded in kind, while Diwu Lun and other ministers also lost their tempers.

The Director of Retainers reported all of them for lese-majesty, the disputants apologised and offered their resignations, and the emperor finally decided that the government would purchase the prisoners from

the southerners, restore them to their own people, and pay blood-money for any who had been killed. So the peace party was largely successful but in the longer term Zheng Hong and the supporters of the Southern Xiongnu had the advantage. Even the agreement to pay ransom meant that aggression was rewarded, and in following years, as the Northern Xiongnu became weaker, attacks on their caravans continued.

After four years in office, in 87 Zheng Hong had Zhang Lin of the Imperial Secretariat dismissed for corruption and private association with Dou Xian, brother of the empress, and he then reported against the Prefect of Luoyang Yang Guang. When the memorial was presented, friends of Yang Guang warned him, and he turned to Dou Xian; Dou Xian then accused Zheng Hong of slander. When the emperor asked for his insignia, Zheng Hong went to surrender at the office of the Minister of Justice, and though he was immediately released he now asked to retire. Permission was refused, but Zheng Hong was now seriously ill. He sent in a memorial to make his excuses, and to tell the faults of Dou Xian.

Emperor Zhang sent messengers with medicines for his complaint, but Zheng Hong died before they arrived. From his deathbed he returned all the gifts he had received, and instructed his family to escort his body back to his homeland with the simplest cortège possible.

A local legend claimed that when Zheng Hong was young he found and returned an arrow which had been lost by a spirit. Invited to choose a reward, he asked that there should be a south wind on the river each morning and a north wind in the evening, making it easier for people to travel to the gleaning grounds. This was granted, and the local phenomenon became known as Lord Zheng's wind 鄭公風. -HHS 33/23:1154-57*, XC 1:12a-13a.

Zheng Hong 鄭閔; Nanyang. Adopted son of the eunuch Zheng Zhong, when Zheng Zhong died in 114 Zheng Hong was permitted to succeed to his fief. -HHS 78/68:2513.

Zheng Hun 鄭渾 [Wengong 文公]; Henan. Son of Zheng Xi, Zheng Hun was a man of good family. In 192 his elder brother Zheng Tai died after a failed plot against Dong Zhuo, and Zheng Hun took his nephew Zheng Mao to refuge in the south. Rejecting an invitation from Yuan Shu, he went to Hua Xin in Yuzhang and was later a magistrate under Cao Cao. He

was noted for encouraging people not to abandon their infants in times of difficulty.

In 212 Zheng Hun was sent as Administrator to Zuopingyi, where he led the people to defeat the local warlord Liang Xing, isolating the enemy and making raids to capture their treasure and their women, while he also put down renegades in the hill country. He was transferred to be Administrator of Shangdang, and became Intendant of Jingzhao in 215. He encouraged agriculture, and his government in each territory was noted for the fact that people did not run away.

Zheng Hun was an imperial attendant to Cao Pi, then administered several commanderies, notably Pei, where he organised major works of water control. A stele was erected and a large dam named in his honour. Zheng Hun was later enfeoffed and became Court Architect to Cao Rui. He died about 230. -SGZ 16:508-12*, JS 26:784, SJZ 24:8b; Yang 63:166, Goodman 98:118.

Zheng Jian 鄭戡. Emissary to the Southern Xiongnu in 114, Zheng Jian quarrelled with the General on the Liao Geng Kui for interfering with his office. Geng Kui was dismissed and punished. -HHS 19/9:719.

Zheng Jiang 鄭姜; Dongping? A woman bandit about 210, Zheng Jiang ravaged her territory, but was dealt with quite quickly. -SGZ 29:810; DeWoskin 86:138. [Another interpretation has two women bandits, surnamed Zheng and Jiang.]

Zheng Jing 鄭敬 [Zidu 欠都]; Runan. Though naturally a solitary man, in the time of Wang Mang Zheng Jing was obliged to serve as Officer of Merit in his home county. When an officer claimed that some liquid collected on a tree by his residence was sweet dew 甘露, sign of excellent government, Zheng Jing disillusioned him and soon afterwards left his post. As disorder spread throughout the empire, he went to live as a hermit in the south, joined by his fellow-countryman Zhi Yun. They later returned to the north, where both men joined the staff of the Administrator Ouyang Xi.

Zheng Jing was little interested in office, and as he saw how Zhi Yun was constantly at odds with his superior he returned to hermit life in the hills nearby. After a few months Zhi Yun joined him once more, but he then wanted to return to public life. Zheng Jing refused to go with him, arguing that his own moral conduct was a example and a force for good government. He received several invitations from senior officials, and

one even from Emperor Guangwu, but he remained in the wilderness until his death. -HHS 29/19:1025-31, XC 7:15a, XS:2b; Vervorn 90:135-136.

Zheng [Jixuan] 鄭季宣 (129-185). Zheng Jixuan was a magistrate in Chenliu. A year after his death some forty local officers and gentlemen sponsored a stele to his memory. -LX 19:5a-8b, Nagata 94:242-44.

Zheng Ju 鄭據 or Zheng Qu 據 [Pingqing 平卿]; Wei. In 83 Zheng Ju was Administrator of Hanyang when an anonymous letter, sponsored by the family of the Empress Dou, laid accusation of treason against Liang Song, father of the Honoured Lady Liang who was the mother of the Heir Liu Zhao. Zheng Ju was ordered to arrest Liang Song and put him to question. Liang Song died in prison.

Zheng Ju was at some time an Imperial Clerk, and in 90 he became Director of Retainers. In that position he was accused by the Excellency Yuan An of acting at the behest of the Dou family rather than in concern for public good. No action was taken.

On the other hand, Zheng Ju later reported Dou Jing, Bearer of the Mace, for the depredations and unruliness of his officers. Dou Jing was briefly dismissed, but soon returned to office. He then sent his clerk Xia Meng in an unsuccessful attempt to slander Zheng Ju and his family to Zhang Pu, Administrator of his home commandery of Wei. -HHS 34/24:1172, 45/35:1519-20, 1531 [據], DGHJ 19:4b [據]; Ch'ü 72:462.

Zheng Jun 鄭均 [Zhongyu 仲虞]; Rencheng. As a young man, Zheng Jun studied the *Classic of History* and also the doctrines of Huang-Lao. His elder brother Zhong, a county officer, was pleased to receive gifts, and paid no attention to Zheng Jun's objections. So Zheng Jun hired himself out as a labourer, saved his wages, and presented everything to Zhong. Zhong was impressed, and became more restrained. Later Zhong died, and Zheng Jun cared for his family.

Called to local office, Zheng Jun pleaded ill health, and when the requests became importunate he left the district. In 78 he was invited to the offices of the Excellency Bao Yu at the capital and in 80 he was nominated as Able to Speak Directly and Admonish Unflinchingly. He refused both, but in 81 he accepted a special summons in an official carriage and joined the Secretariat. Emperor Zhang admired his honest advice, and when he sought to leave office on grounds of ill health he was appointed as a Consultant.

Zheng Jun's condition became worse, and about 84 he received permission to return home. He was awarded gifts and robes of honour, while the Administrator of Dongping was ordered to present him with a quantity of grain and provide him with a sheep and a measure of wine each year. When the emperor visited the region in 85 he called in person upon Zheng Jun and granted him salary as a member of the Secretariat for the rest of his life. Zheng Jun died about 90. -HHS 27/17:945-47*, DGHJ 18:4a, XC 1:7a.

Zheng Kai 鄭凱 [Shaogong 召公]; Yingchuan. About 115 Zheng Kai was Officer of Merit to the Administrator Zhu Chong, and debated with him the qualities of worthy men of the past from different localities. Their conversation was recorded and was known in later times. It may be seen as a symbol of the developing interest in local history. -HHJ 18:211-12, Anon.:2a-b, SGZ Wu 12:1324.

Zheng Li 鄭颯 (d.172). A eunuch, in 168 Zheng Li was a member of the secretariat in the household of the Dowager Dou. As Dou Wu and Chen Fan planned to destroy Cao Jie and his eunuch fellows, they appointed Shan Bing as Prefect of the Yellow Gates and had him arrest Zheng Li. Under interrogation Zheng Li made a statement implicating Cao Jie and Wang Fu.

At this point Cao Jie and his fellows learned of the accusation and organised a counter-coup. Zheng Li was freed by Wang Fu, joined him to arrest the Dowager Dou, and was then sent to lead Imperial Clerks and Internuncios with orders to arrest Dou Wu. Some of his entourage were killed, but in the confrontation which followed Dou Wu's men deserted him. As the eunuchs established their power, Zheng Li became a Regular Attendant.

For several years Zheng Li had had friendly contact with Liu Kui, King of Bohai and younger brother of Emperor Huan, whom he admired for his free and sometimes frivolous conduct. Wang Fu, however, was angry at Liu Kui for failing to pay a bribe, and in 172 he claimed that Zheng Li and his associate Dong Teng planned to set Liu Kui upon the throne in place of Emperor Ling. Zheng Li and Dong Teng were arrested by the Director of Retainers Duan Jiong and died in prison, while Liu Kui and his household were destroyed. -HHS 69/59:2243, 55/45:1798, 65/55:2153; Ch'ü 72:487-488.

Zheng Liang 鄭亮; Henan. In 124 Zheng Liang's father Zheng Anshi joined a demonstration against

the deposition of Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, as Heir to his father Emperor An. Zheng Anshi died soon afterwards, but when Liu Bao came to the throne at the end of 125 Zheng Liang was appointed a gentleman cadet in recognition of his father's good will. -HHS 36/26:1226.

Zheng Mao 鄭袤 [Linshu 林叔] (189-273); Henan. Son of Zheng Tai, who died when he was young, Zheng Mao was taken by his uncle Zheng Hun south into Yuzhang, and was there taken up by the Administrator Hua Xin, an old friend of his father.

Returning to the north, Zheng Mao held posts with the government of Cao Cao, becoming a literary adviser at the court of Cao Zhi. In 219 he warned Ran Lan against Wei Feng.

Zheng Mao rose to ministerial rank under Wei, became a close adviser to Sima Shi 司馬師 and was a respected officer of the Jin dynasty. The family had thus prospered from the time of Former Han [see *sub* Zheng Xing] into the third century AD. -JS 44:1249-51.

Zheng Qi 鄭奇; Runan. A local officer of the commandery, Zheng Qi was killed by a demon which haunted a tower. -FSTY 9:73; Nylan 83:544.

Zheng Qin 鄭勤/廛 [Boyi 伯邑] (d.110); Hejian or Shu. In 110 the rebel Qiang leader Dianlian sent a force through the passes of the Qin Ling range. The Administrator of Hanzhong Zheng Qin brought commandery troops to face them, but they were defeated and Zheng Qin was killed. -HHS 87/77:2887, HYZG 2:16.

At 11:189 and 12:205, HYZG cites Zheng Qin as compiler of a local history *Ba-Shu qijiu zhuan* 巴蜀耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Ba and Shu" [see also Zhao Qian and Wang Shang]. Zheng Qin is identified in the first reference as a man from Shu commandery, and this is supported at 12:215, where he is listed as a man from Shu who was Administrator of Hanzhong. This probably represents a sponsorship of local history by the Administrator, but it was unusual for a man to hold such high office in his home province, so it is more likely that Zheng Qin came indeed from Hejian. -Yao Zhenzong:2369.

Zheng Qu 鄭璩 see Zheng Ju 鄭據. -DGHJ 19:4b.

Zheng Quan 鄭泉 [Wenyuan 文淵]; Chen. A man of wide learning but a committed drunkard, Zheng Quan held position at Sun Quan's court. In the winter of 222-223 he was sent as an envoy to restore relations

with Liu Bei after the seizure of Jing province and the defeat of his invading army. -*SGZ* Wu 2:1126-29.

Zheng Sa 鄭颯 see Zheng Li 鄭颯.

Zheng Shichou 鄭石讎; Nanyang. Zheng Shichou was a great-grandson of the eunuch Zheng Zhong through his adoptive son Zheng Hong. In 159 Emperor Huan enfeoffed him as a secondary marquis, in partial restoration of a fief which had been granted to Zheng Zhong but had since ended. -*HHS* 78/68:2513.

Zheng [Shugong] 鄭叔躬; Nanyang. When Li Gu was appointed Inspector of Jing province about 140, he consulted local worthies, including Zheng Shugong, on the quality of local officials. On the basis of their advice he reported against several Administrators. -*HYGZ* 10C:165.

Zheng Sui 鄭遂 (d.192); Runan. A student of the Excellency Li Gu, after his master was executed in 147 Zheng Sui was one of the disciples who compiled *De xing* 德行 "Virtuous Conduct," a posthumous record of their master's sayings.

Chancellor of Rencheng in 192, Zheng Sui was killed by a group of Yellow Turbans from Qing province. -*HHS* 63/53:2089, 76/66:2479, *SGZ* 1:9.

Zheng Tai 鄭泰/太 [Gongye 公業] (151/152-192); Henan. The personal name of this man was Tai 泰, but Fan Ye, author of *HHS*, avoided taboo on the personal name of his own father by writing it as 太. Like Guo Tai [Linzong], Zheng Tai is often referred to by his style, Gongye.

Son of Zheng Xi and a man of wealthy family, in the late 180s Zheng Tai gathered retainers and established contact with local leaders across the North China plain.

Having refused earlier invitations to office, after the death of Emperor Ling in 189 Zheng Tai joined the General-in-Chief He Jin. First appointed to the Imperial Secretariat and later to the Censorate, he became a trusted associate. He argued against He Jin's invitation to Dong Zhuo, and left office when He Jin rejected his advice.

He Jin was killed soon afterwards, and as Dong Zhuo took power Zheng Tai, He Yong, Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi were commissioned to select suitable men as officials for the new regime.

In 190 Dong Zhuo planned a great campaign against the rebel alliance in the east. Concerned at the potential for a general conflict Zheng Tai persuaded Dong Zhuo that while his opponents were no match,

and a full-scale attack would certainly be successful, it would cost his government prestige and add to the rebellion. Dong Zhuo accepted the argument, and he gave Zheng Tai general command of operations against the east. Then, however, he was warned that Zheng Tai was very clever, and that he had contacts among the allies: so he withdrew the commission and recalled Zheng Tai to become a Consultant.

As Dong Zhuo transferred the capital to Chang'an in 190 many gentlemen were starving, but Zheng Tai always had a surplus, and he held court for his clients each day with music and a distribution of food.

In 192 Zheng Tai joined Xun You in a plot against Dong Zhuo at Chang'an. Their plans were found out, but while others were arrested Zheng Tai escaped to the east. Yuan Shu named him Inspector of Yang province, but he died on the road, aged forty-one or forty-two. -*HHS* 70/60:2257-60*, *ZF*:12a-14b [in *SGZ* 16: 509-10 PC].

Zheng [Wenbo] 鄭文伯. When Emperor Guangwu of Han invited Gongsun Shu to surrender, the court officers Zheng Wenbo and Xie Wenqing encouraged him to accept. Gongsun Shu was furious and sent them to prison. Refusing to change their opinion, they died there, and their example discouraged anyone else from offering the same advice later. -*HYGZ* 5:69, 10A:138, *HYGZJBZ*:335.

The dating of this incident is uncertain. *HYGZ* says the discussion took place in 35, after Guangwu had begun his final campaign and sent a letter calling on Gongsun Shu to surrender. The text, however, is corrupt, and the incident probably took place in 30, when it appears that Lai Xi and Ma Yuan came on an embassy. See also *sub* Chang Shao.

Zheng Xi 鄭熙; Henan. *XTS* 75A:2259 says that Zheng Xi, a son of Zheng Chen, was a Reporting Officer of his commandery.

Zheng Xiaotong 鄭小同; Beihai. Posthumous son of Zheng Yan [Yi'en], who was killed in the mid-190s, Zheng Xiaotong "Little Same" was so named by his grandfather Zheng Xuan because the markings on the palm of his hand resembled his own.

A Palace Attendant and secondary marquis under Wei, Zheng Xiaotong was killed by Sima Zhao 司馬昭 about 260. -*HHS* 35/25:1212.

Zheng Xing 鄭興 [Shaogan 少贛]; Henan. Descended from a lineage which traced its official positions back to the beginning of the dynasty, Zheng Xing's father

Zheng Bin 賓 was head of the Censorate towards the end of Former Han, and Zheng Xing became a distinguished scholar. He first specialised in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* in the New Text tradition, but was later a pupil of the celebrated Liu Xin 劉歆 and dealt with *Zuo zhuan*, a work of the Old Text. He was admired by his fellow-students and his master, and Liu Xin involved him in the calculations of his *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences] calendar, which revised the *Taichu* 太初 [Grand Beginning] system of Former Han and was adopted by Wang Mang.

When the Gengshi regime was established in 23, Zheng Xing was appointed to senior clerical office under the acting Imperial Chancellor Li Song. He was sent to persuade the new ruler to transfer his residence from Luoyang to Chang'an; despite the objections of his commoner supporters and the strategic danger of such a move, the Gengshi Emperor accepted the arguments of tradition.

Given title as Counsellor Remonstrant, Zheng Xing was sent as an imperial commissioner to the three northern and western provinces Liang, Shuofang and Yi. He was later named Inspector of Liang, but the rebels and warlords of that region would not accept his authority, and he was soon dismissed.

As the Red Eyebrows approached Chang'an in 25, Zheng Xing fled west to Tianshui. He became a client of the local warlord Wei Ao, who gave him office in his separatist regime. It is said that Wei Ao considered setting himself up as a king, but Zheng Xing dissuaded him with eloquent arguments based upon the histories and classics.

As Wei Ao sent his son Xun as hostage to Emperor Guangwu in 30, Zheng Xing asked to return to the east, ostensibly to care for his parents' graves, but accompanied by his wife and children. Wei Ao reluctantly agreed, and Zheng Xing's former companion in exile Du Lin, now an Imperial Clerk, recommended him to Guangwu. Zheng Xing was made a Palace Counsellor.

On 10 May in the following year, an eclipse of the sun fell on the last day of the third month instead of on the expected first day of a month. This gave occasion for Zheng Xing to present a long memorial on the need for the emperor to avoid personal prejudice in his selection of good officials, and to interpret the eclipse as a warning from Heaven against the ruler's arrogance and self-will. He referred specifically to Guo Ji, who

had been widely recommended for an Excellency's position but had not been appointed because Guangwu wanted the office for his brother-in-law Li Tong; Guo Ji was a fellow-countryman, and both men were associates of the leading general and imperial relative by marriage, Ma Yuan.

Later, when the emperor asked about prognostications for the Sacrifice to Heaven, Zheng Xing replied that he never studied the apocrypha. Guangwu was angry, and asked if he disapproved of such works. Zheng Xing was frightened, and claimed that although he knew nothing of them, he certainly did not disapprove of them. He later spoke on other matters of government, but it was felt that his opinions were too much limited to the traditional classics, and that he was not in tune with the emperor's interests. He received no substantial office.

In 33, however, Zheng Xing was sent to supervise Cen Peng and Fu Jun in their operations along the Yangzi against Gongsun Shu, and he evidently remained with the army until the winter of 35. Then Cen Peng was assassinated, and Zheng Xing took over his forces under the general command of Wu Han until the final victory at Chengdu.

Zheng Xing was initially ordered to take part in the civil government of the conquered city, but he was later accused of private dealings in slaves, and he was demoted to a county magistracy in Zuopingyi. He sought to repair the ravages of war by civil reconstruction and the establishment of traditional schools, but was again found guilty of some fault and was dismissed. Retiring to Hongnong, he devoted himself to scholarship, and though he later received invitations to clerical appointment at the capital, he never held office again.

Zheng Xing's special understanding of *Zuo zhuan*, *Zhou li* and the calendar made him a leader of the Old Text, regarded as an authority by Du Lin, Huan Dan and Wei Hong. His work on *Zuo zhuan* was maintained by Jia Kui in the next generation. -HHS 36/26:1217-23*, XC 1:14a; Bn 79:59-60, 190, 195, Tjan 49:152-153.

Zheng Xing 鄭行; Guanghan. Maternal grandfather of the Lady Yang Jingyang, whose mother had died in childbirth, Zheng Xing cared for her after her father Yang Wen was killed a few years later. -HYGZ 10B: 153.

Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 [Kangcheng 康成] (127-200); Bei-

hai. The personal name also appears as Yuan 元, to avoid taboo.

A distant ancestor of Zheng Xuan had served in the Imperial Secretariat towards the end of Former Han but the family, while still ranked as gentry, had now only local ambitions. Zheng Xuan became a district head, but he was far more interested in scholarship. Though his father disapproved, Zheng Xuan was supported by the Chancellor Du Mi, and he left his position to go to the University at Luoyang. He was a pupil of Diwu Yuan, with whom he studied the *Book of Changes* according to the New Text interpretation of Jing Fang, and also the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, and he became skilled in the *Santong* 三統 [Triple Concordance] calendrical system, the mathematics of the *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術, and in divination by the wind. He was also known for his great capacity for wine.

Zheng Xuan then studied under Zhang Gongzu of Dong commandery, with a wide-ranging syllabus including *Zhou li*, *Ritual*, *Zuo zhuan* according to the Old Text, the New Text Han interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, and the Old Text *Classic of History*. Believing he had exhausted the scholarly resources of the east of the empire, Zheng Xuan went west to the region of Chang'an where he joined Lu Zhi at the private academy of Ma Rong. For three years he had no contact with the master, but then impressed him with his classical knowledge and his mathematical ability, and Ma Rong acknowledged him as the disciple who should maintain his teachings.

After ten years travel, Zheng Xuan returned home. His family was poor, and he migrated to Donglai to farm there, though he also attracted several hundred students. With some forty other men of Beihai, Zheng Xuan was proscribed from office in the late 160s on account of his contact with Sun Song, and he went into seclusion to concentrate on scholarly work. When he commented on He Xiu's work on the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to *Chunqiu* and on *Zuo zhuan*, He Xiu observed with some admiration that Zheng Xuan had used his own material against him, and it is said that Zheng Xuan's criticism, following the earlier debate of Ma Rong with Liu Yuan, brought a revival of the Old Text tradition. At the same time, like adherents of the New Text, Zheng Xuan accepted and quoted from the apocrypha.

The main thrust of Zheng Xuan's scholarship 鄭氏

學 was to deal in eclectic fashion with the whole corpus of the Confucian classics rather than, as the structure of the University required, with individual approved works. Like his teacher Ma Rong, he admired *Zhou li*, accepting the tradition that it was compiled by the legendary Duke of Zhou 周公 (a position questioned by He Xiu), and he prepared the commentary 周官注. He also produced major commentaries and editorial work for the *Ritual*, for *Analects*, *Mencius*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Classic of History*. In the *Poetry*, his use of the Mao interpretation established this Old Text version so strongly that its New Text rivals were generally abandoned, and his use of Old Text chapters of the *History* supported their legitimacy, even if they were not yet accepted in official circles. Zheng Xuan also compiled a number of individual works, and though Confucianism was in decline his exegeses were of major importance to its revival during the third century.

In addition to this traditional work, Zheng Xuan compiled a commentary to the laws. There were many such works by scholars of Later Han, but Cao Rui, Emperor Ming of Wei, later ordered that all others should be disregarded and only Zheng Xuan's annotations were to be used.

Zheng Xuan warned against the rise of the Yellow Turban movement, and following the end of Proscription in 184 he was nominated as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright, and as Knowing the Way. The General-in-Chief He Jin had an official carriage sent for him, and the local authorities obliged him to accept the call, but Zheng Xuan had no taste for court life and left very quickly. He was later recommended as a Palace Attendant by the high official Yuan Wei, but declined on account of the death of his father. He returned to private teaching, receiving thousands of students, and the Chancellor Kong Rong had the name of his district changed in his honour.

In 192 Zheng Xuan joined a petition organised by Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, which urged Zhu Jun to lead an army west to rescue the emperor at Chang'an. Nothing came of the proposal, but Zheng Xuan later took refuge with Tao Qian in Xu province; he returned soon afterwards, and it is said that even the Yellow Turbans spared his homeland.

When Yuan Shao, warlord Governor of Ji province, called him to his court, Zheng Xuan arrived late. Eight feet tall [185 cm] and of fine appearance, he took a

place at the top of the hall, had a great deal to drink, but then amazed those present by the quality and range of his discourse. He was offered high office in the puppet imperial government under Cao Cao, and a special carriage was sent to bring him to Xu city. He was greeted as he passed by all the local officials, but then claimed ill health and returned home; he was later known by courtesy as Minister of Finance.

In 200, at the age of seventy-four, Zheng Xuan was forewarned of his impending death by a dream of Confucius. He soon became ill, but Yuan Shao, who was engaged in battle with Cao Cao at Guandu, sent his son Yuan Tan to bring him to his camp. Zheng Xuan was obliged to obey, but he died on the road. Thousands of officials who had been taught by him gathered for his mourning and a stele was set up in his honour.

Besides Zheng Xuan's many formal works, his students published *Zheng zhi* 鄭志, a collection of his responses to questions on the classics, in the style of the *Analects*. -HHS 35/25:1207-12*, 79/69B:2577, XC 1:14a, XHS 3:10a-b, SJZ 26:30a, JS 20:923; Tjan 49:150, Mather 76:506, Kramers 86:764, Demiéville 86:813-814, *Texts*:24-32 [Boltz], 221-223 [Shaughnessy], 293-297 [Riegel], 317 [Cheng], 332 [Lau], 382-383 [Shaughnessy], 415-422 [Loewe].

Zheng Yan 鄭炎 [Yi'en 益恩?]; Beihai. A fragment of the Secondary Biography of Zheng Xuan, preserved in *Taiping yulan* 362 and cited by Hou Kang in *HHSJJ* 6:269 *jiaobu*, mentions Zheng Yan, a son of Zheng Xuan, who was nominated Filial and Incorrupt but died at the age of twenty-eight.

HHS 35/25:1212 tells how in the early 190s Zheng Yi'en, son of Zheng Xuan and at that time twenty-three *sui*, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by Kong Rong the Chancellor of Beihai. He was soon afterwards killed fighting for Kong Rong, and in *HHSJJ* 35/25:1283 Hui Dong cites the Secondary Biography as saying that he died at the age of twenty-seven.

Despite the discrepancy of age, and some uncertainty whether the young man's death was caused by Yellow Turbans or by Yuan Tan in 194, we may note that *HHS* 35/25 also describes Zheng Yi'en as the only son of Zheng Xuan. He must therefore be the same person as Zheng Yan: Yan was his personal name, not mentioned by *HHS*, and Yi'en his style.

Zheng Yan 鄭彥 [Jingzai 景載]; Lingling. A humane and virtuous man, Zheng Yan became a district

headman. He gave poor people money to encourage them not to kill their children. -*SJZ* 38:7a.

Zheng [Yi'en] 鄭益恩 see Zheng Yan 炎.

Zheng Ying 鄭英; Dongping. As Zheng Jun sought to return home on grounds of ill health, he sent his son Zheng Ying to present the petition to the palace. Emperor Zhang received Zheng Ying in audience, enquired about Zheng Jun's condition, and presented him with silk, cash and cloth. -*DGHJ* 18:4a.

Zheng Yu 鄭嫗 [or Yu of Gucheng 孤/菰城嫗]; Wu. A celebrated judge of physiognomy, Zheng Yu was an ornament to the court of Sun Quan. When Wu Can was young Zheng Yu foretold that he would be a great minister. -*SGZ* Wu 18:1426, 12:1339.

Zheng Yuan 鄭元 see Zheng Xuan 鄭玄.

Zheng Yun 鄭雲; Kuaiji. Former Registrar of the commandery, in the early 190s Zheng Yun was listed by Yu Fan among its loyal officers. -*SGZ* Wu 12:1325.

Zheng Zha 鄭札; Pei. A man of learning, Zheng Zha came south at the time of civil war at the end of Han. Joining the staff of the warlord Sun Quan, he became a close adviser like Zhang Zhao and Sun Shao. -*SGZ* Wu 2:1142.

Zheng Zhang 鄭長 see Zheng Chang 鄭長.

Zheng Zhen 鄭真; Chenliu. As a magistrate in Jiying in 175, Zheng Zhen joined the Administrator Zhang Chong and a group of local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple to the sage Emperor Yao 堯. -*LS* 1:5a-7b.

Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 [Zhongshi 仲師 or Zishi 子師] (d.83); Henan. Son of Zheng Xing, under his father's tutelage Zheng Zhong studied *Zuo zhuan*, the *Book of Changes* and the *Classic of Poetry*, and by the time he was twelve he was a well-known scholar. He published a commentary to *Chunqiu* and gained a mastery of the *Santong* 三統 [Three Sequences] calendar, in which his father had been involved with Liu Xin 劉歆 of Former Han.

Some time after 41 the Heir Liu Zhuang and his brother Liu Jing, King of Shanyang, sent their brother-in-law Liang Song to invite Zheng Zhong to join their households within the palace. Zheng Zhong explained that it was against the custom of Han for members of the imperial family to recruit men privately to their service. Liang Song tried to press him, but Zheng Zhong replied that it was better to die for good principle than to suffer a lesser punishment for disobeying the law. His response was reported to Liu Zhuang and Liu

Jing, and they gave up the idea. Liang Song was later disgraced and died in prison, and many of his clients were also punished, but Zheng Zhong escaped any involvement.

Soon after Liu Zhuang came to the throne in 57, Zheng Zhong became a clerk in the office of the Excellency of Works. On account of his Understanding of the Classics he was consulted on antiquities and received special privileges as Serving within the Palace. Later, still with that supernumerary title, he was appointed a major in the Northern Army.

In the early 60s the Northern Xiongnu sought to establish treaty relations with Han, and in the summer of 65 Zheng Zhong was sent with the Staff of Authority on embassy to the north. The Shanyu wanted him to pay obeisance but Zheng Zhong refused, and though the Xiongnu surrounded his camp and deprived him of water and fire, he held to principle until the barbarian was obliged to concede the point.

As Zheng Zhong returned he was accompanied by envoys from the Shanyu. Though members of the court urged a further exchange of embassies, Zheng Zhong reported that the Northern ruler was only pretending friendship; his real ambition was to obtain the allegiance of the city-states of the Western Regions in central Asia, and force a rift between Han and the Southern Xiongnu and the Wuhuan. He added that he had captured a messenger, sent to the North by the Southern Shanyu Chang, seeking a rapprochement in case the Chinese turned against him. Chinese defences were speedily strengthened, notably by the appointment of Wu Tang as Acting General on the Liao in Wuyuan to hold the two groups of Xiongnu apart.

Emperor Ming nonetheless insisted on another embassy. Zheng Zhong argued that the question of obeisance had potential to embarrass Han, and even as he was travelling he sent a stream of memorials objecting to the procedure. Losing patience, the emperor recalled Zheng Zhong while he was still on the road and had him sent to the prison of the Minister of Justice. An amnesty followed soon afterwards, and Zheng Zhong returned to his home.

Some time later the emperor received a further embassy from the Northern Xiongnu and only then did he appreciate the problem with obeisance. It was now recognised that Zheng Zhong had shown the utmost courage and devotion to duty, and he was compared to

Su Wu 蘇武 in Former Han.

Zheng Zhong was recalled to appointment as a major in the army, and in 74, after Dou Gu's successful attack on the Xiongnu in the previous year, he accompanied the General of the Household Ma Liao to attack Jushi [Turfan] in central Asia. They then stayed in Dunhuang with a watching brief over the newly-acquired territories.

When Ma Liao was recalled to ministerial office at the capital in 75, Zheng Zhong took his place as General of the Household stationed in Dunhuang. As the Xiongnu returned in force to Jushi, and the Chinese colonels Geng Gong and Guan Chong were isolated and besieged. The remnant garrisons were relieved early in 76, and Zheng Zhong received them and reported on Geng Gong's heroic defence.

Zheng Zhong was then appointed Administrator of Wuwei, where it is said he kept the borders so well that the enemy dared not attack. Transferred to Zuopingyi, he again maintained a most effective government.

In 81 Zheng Zhong returned to the capital as Minister of Finance. When Emperor Zhang proposed to reintroduce state monopoly offices for salt and iron, Zheng Zhong opposed the plan and refused to process the necessary orders. He died in office in 83.

Besides his extensive official and military career, Zheng Zhong was a scholar of the Old Text tradition in the Mao interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry* and the Fei interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. Towards the end of his life he received the imperial commission to compile an edition of *Zuo zhuan*, which was completed in nineteen chapters 刪; his style was described by Ma Rong as broad rather than detailed. Expert on *Zhou li* 周禮, Zheng Zhong's work was followed by Ma Rong and passed on to Zheng Xuan. Zheng Zhong also left an essay on the ceremonial for visits at times of marriage, *Hunli ye wen* 婚禮謁文.

Following the calendrical work of his father Zheng Xing, moreover, Zheng Zhong studied mathematics, and his identification of the nine ways of reckoning, *juzhu* 九數, cited in Zheng Xuan's commentary to *Zhou li*, indicates his knowledge of the important *Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 "Nine Chapters on the Art of Mathematics" which was completed about this time. -HHS 36/26:1224-26*, 89/79:2949, 19/9:722-23; Tjan 49:150, MBeck 90:85, Needham 59:25, *Texts*:18 [Cullen], deC 84:252.

Zheng Zhong 鄭仲; Rencheng. Elder brother of

1130 Zheng Zhong

Zheng Jun, Zheng Zhong became a county officer. He was pleased to receive gifts or bribes, but Zheng Jun eventually persuaded him to be more restrained.

When Zheng Zhong died, Zheng Jun cared for his family. -HHS 27/17:945-46.

Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 [Jichan 季產 or Jiping 季平] (d.114); Nanyang. A eunuch, in the time of Emperor Ming Zheng Zhong entered the household of the Heir Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, and when he came to the throne in 75 Zheng Zhong became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. He was later promoted Regular Attendant and early in the reign of Emperor He, about 90, he was made Prefect of the Palace Gardens.

At this time the Dowager Dou, with her brother Dou Xian and their family, dominated the court. Zheng Zhong was one of the few who respected the rights of the emperor and did not approve of the clique, and as Emperor He took action against the Dou in 92 he trusted Zheng Zhong with a leading role. As rewards were given for the successful coup, Zheng Zhong was modest in his requests, but he was appointed Grand Prolonger of Autumn, head of the empress's household, and he continued to have a leading role in discussions of policy. It was through Zheng Zhong that eunuch involvement in government was established for Later Han.

In 102 Emperor He recalled Zheng Zhong's fine service and enfeoffed him as a district marquis, with revenue from 1,500 households, and in 107 the regent Dowager Deng added a further three hundred. When he died in 114, his adopted son Zheng Hong was granted succession to the fief; this too set a new precedent. -HHS 78/68:2512-13*, DGHJ 19:8a; Ch'ü 72:463-464.

Zheng Ziran 鄭子然 see Zhen Ziran 甄子然.

Zhi, Emperor 質帝 (reg. 145-146) see Liu Zuan 劉纘.

Zhi 致, the Maid 婢; Cangwu. Zhi and her mistress, the Lady Su E, were murdered by the village headman Gong Shou. -XC 6:13a-b.

Zhi 摯, the Lady. The Lady was a daughter of Zhi Xun, who gave her in marriage to his student Ma Rong. -HHS 60/50A:1953.

Zhi 芝 [surname unknown]. Inspector of Jing province, in 165 he was captured by the rebel Hu Lan. He was freed by the general Du Shang, but was later executed for his military failure. -HHS 102/12:3257; MBeck 90:128.

HHSJJ at 3677 suggests that the story of Zhi may

be confused with similar incidents about this time, such as those of Li Wei, Zhang Xu, Ge Zhi and Ren Yin qq.v.

Zhi 陟 [surname unknown]. A Protector of the Army, being an officer responsible for discipline, in 220 he was a sponsor of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. -LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:197.

Zhi 質 [surname unknown] see Wu Zhi 吳質. -LS 19:4b; Goodman 98:197.

Zhi [Boshang] 鄧伯尚; Runan. Though they had been invited to office at the imperial capital, when their patron the Administrator Li Chang 李傕 died Zhi Boshang and other nominees stayed to carry out his mourning; see *sub* Li Chang.

Zhi [Boxiang] 鄧伯尚 see Zhi Boshang 鄧伯尚 and *sub* Li Chang 李傕.

Zhi [Boyi] 鄧伯夷; Runan. Grandson of Zhi Yun, when Zhi Boyi was a commandery Investigator, he challenged and destroyed a fox demon which had haunted a tower and killed the officer Zheng Qi and others.

Zhi Boyi later became a county magistrate. -FSTY 9:74; Nylan 83:545-546.

Zhi Hong 職洪 was a county magistrate in Henei. -FSTY 6f:147.

Zhi [Junzhang] 鄧君章; Runan. Close friends of Zhang Shao, Zhi Junzhang and Yin Zizheng cared for him in his last illness. Zhang Shao told them that he regretted not seeing Fan Shi of Shanyang, whom he described as his "death friend" 死友 – they, by contrast, were his "life friends" 生友. -HHS 81/71:2677.

Zhi Yun of Runan, who has an entry below, also had the style Junzhang, but he cannot be the same as this man. He was active in the early first century, but Zhang Shao and his friends were men of the second: Fan Shi's great-grandfather Fan Ji was Chancellor of Changshan during the first century.

Zhi Kan 質堪. A Foreman Clerk of the Secretariat about 120, Zhi Kan urged that the right to wear a cap with two bridges 梁 [loops from front to back] should be authorised for all officers above the rank of 600 *shi*. He was opposed by his superior Meng Bu, but it appears that the privilege was indeed extended over the following years. -HHS 120/30:3667; MBeck 90:259.

Zhi Shou 鄧壽 [Bokao 伯考] (d.91); Runan. Son of Zhi Yun, and likewise a noted scholar, Zhi Shou was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He became Inspector

of Ji province, where there were a number of fiefs held by members of the imperial clan. Their clients and retainers frequently acted against the law, but Zhi Shou brought them under strict control.

Zhi Shou then joined the Imperial Secretariat and later became its head. Emperor Zhang respected his good advice and presented him with an inscribed sword. Transferred to Chang'an as Intendant of Jingzhao, his reputation from Ji province promptly brought the powerful local families under control.

Dismissed on account of some fault, in the late 80s Zhi Shou returned to office as Deputy Director of the Secretariat. He strongly disapproved of the Dou clan of the regent Dowager, and particularly of her brother Dou Xian, whom he compared to the usurper Wang Mang. In 88 he was among the leaders opposing the great campaign against the Northern Xiongnu, and the Dowager had him briefly imprisoned. After the first stage of operations proved successful, Dou Xian and his brothers became still more powerful, but Zhi Shou criticised them in open court for building official residences in time of war when the treasury was all but empty.

Dou Xian now had agents accuse Zhi Shou of having corruptly purchased public farmland, categorised as Disrespect and liable to the death penalty. He Chang, an officer of the Censorate, spoke on his behalf, and so Zhi Shou escaped death, but he was exiled to Hepu in the far south. On the way he committed suicide, and other members of his household were then allowed to return to their home country. -HHS 29/19:1032-34*.

Zhi Su 支肅; Nan. Registrar to the Administrator Ma Rong in the 140s, Zhu Su was involved in the charge of corruption levelled through the influence of Liang Ji. It was alleged that he had paid a bribe to Ma Rong in order to obtain nomination as Filial and Incorrupt. -HHSJJ 60/50A:2130 Hui Dong quoting *Sanfu jue*lu.

Zhi Tongqi 支通期 see You Tongqi 友通期. -DGHJ 24:4b.

Zhi Xi 脂習 [Yuansheng 元升]; Jingzhao. During the 180s Zhi Xi held a local commandery post, then joined the offices at the capital, graded First Class and became Court Physician. He accompanied the court to Chang'an and back to Xu city.

Zhi Xi became a close friend of Kong Rong, whom he warned against offending Cao Cao, and when Kong Rong was executed in 208, Zhi Xi was the only person to mourn him. Cao Cao thought of arresting him too,

but there was an amnesty and Zhi Xi went to live outside Xu city. He later apologised to Cao Cao, who treated him generously.

When Cao Pi took power in 220, Zhi Xi was given honorary appointment at court. He retired, and died aged over eighty. -HHS 70/60:2279, SGZ 11:349.

Zhi [Xuanya] 支宣雅 see Zhi Yiya 支宜雅.

Zhi Xun 摯恂 [Jizhi 季直]; Jingzhao. In the late first century Zhi Xun was celebrated as a Confucian scholar-hermit living in the Qin Ling ranges. He was the teacher of Ma Rong, and gave him his own daughter in marriage. -HHS 60/50A:1953; Vervorm 90:160.

Zhi [Yiya] 支宜雅 or Zhi Xuanya 宣雅; Lingling. As Li Gu was appointed Inspector of Jing province about 140, he consulted local worthies, including Zhi Yiya, on the quality of local officials. On their advice, he reported against several Administrators. -HYGZ 10C: 165.

Zhi Yun 鄧惲 [Junzhang 君章]; Runan. A scholar of the Han interpretation of the New Text *Poetry* and the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Zhi Yun was also an expert on astronomy and the calendar. As banditry increased during the last years of Wang Mang, he foretold the fall of the new dynasty and travelled to Chang'an to urge the usurper to return the government to the Han, rightful holders of the Mandate of Heaven. Wang Mang, furious, had him accused of Great Refractoriness, but though Zhi Yun refused to renounce his words he was able to benefit from an amnesty. He went with his fellow-countryman Zheng Jing to the mountains of the far south, where they lived as hermits.

In 27 Zhi Yun returned north. When he came to Lujiang he met Guangwu's general Fu Jun, who knew his reputation and treated him with courtesy. As he went with the army to take over Yang province, he saw how the troops killed people and plundered tombs, and he warned Fu Jun that the new regime would lose support if this continued. Fu Jun brought his men under control.

In 31 Zhi Yun went to the capital to meet Guangwu, but was embarrassed to take office because of his service as a military adviser. He returned home to private life, and would not take local office.

When his friend Dong Zizhang was dying, Zhi Yun fulfilled a vendetta for him: he led his own retainers to murder Dong Zizhang's enemy, then attended the county *yamen*, reported his crime and went to the

prison. Admiring Zhi Yun's moral spirit, the magistrate sent him away, threatening that if he did not go he, the magistrate, would kill himself.

Several years later Zhi Yun did become Officer of Merit to the Administrator Ouyang Xi. Ouyang Xi proposed to reward the Investigator Yao Yan and recommend him to the court, but Zhi Yun came forward at the official banquet and claimed that Yao Yan was in fact greedy and weak, quite unworthy of such honour. In an embarrassing confrontation Ouyang Xi was compelled to acknowledge his lack of judgement, and the feast broke up in confusion.

Zhi Yun's old friend Zheng Jing helped to calm the situation, but urged him to leave office and join him in the life of a hermit. Zhi Yun at first refused, but when Ouyang Xi again called up Yao Yan he left in disgust and went into the mountains.

After a few weeks, however, he tired of the rural life and wanted to return to politics. As Zheng Jing remained behind, Zhi Yun went south to Jiangxia, where he taught for a time. He then obtained nomination as Filial and Incorrupt and became captain of a gate of the city of Luoyang.

One evening, after Emperor Guangwu had been out hunting, he attempted to return through Zhi Yun's gate. Though a torch was held close to the ruler's face, Zhi Yun refused to recognise him and open the way. Guangwu gained entry by another gate, and the following day Zhi Yun presented a memorial complaining that the emperor paid too much attention to his own pleasures and not enough to the needs of the nation. He was rewarded with silk, while the captain of the other gate was sent out to a distant county with lower rank.

Having thus come to notice, Zhi Yun was made tutor to the Heir, Liu Qiang, for the Han interpretation of *Poetry*. When Guangwu proposed to dismiss Liu Qiang's mother, the Lady Guo, as empress, Zhi Yun protested, but after the change had been made he persuaded Liu Qiang to accept the situation and concentrate upon having his mother treated with appropriate honours. This was done; but Liu Qiang was in turn dismissed as Heir two years later.

After further appointments, Zhi Yun became Administrator of Changsha, where he encouraged learning and recommended men of fine conduct. His predecessor Zhang Jin, however, was found to have embezzled money, and because he had failed to report

it Zhi Yun was demoted to be a county magistrate in Pei.

In Pei, Zhi Yun attacked and beat the officer Han Gong because of his harsh treatment of the robber Ding Zhong. Han Gong then killed Ding Gong, and Zhi Yun was dismissed over the incident.

Returning to his home country, Zhi Yun taught privately. He died of illness, leaving eight *pian* of written works. -HHS 29/19:1023-32*, DGHJ 15, FSTY 4:27; QHX:726, Vervoor 90:134-136, Bn 76:15.

Zhihu Chi'er 支胡赤兒 see Chi'er 赤兒.

Zhijian 置鞬 see Zhijianluoluo 置鞬落羅.

Zhijianluoluo 置鞬落羅; Xianbi. During the 170s Zhijianluoluo was a commander in the west under Tanshihuai. -SGZ 30:838; Schreiber 47:187.

Zhong 忠 of Yanqi [Karashar]. Son of Shun, Zhong succeeded him as King of Yanqi. Like his father, he was an enemy of China and a supporter of the Xiongnu, and in 75 he and his people attacked and killed the Protector-General Chen Mu. -HHS 47/37:1582.

Zhong 忠 of Shule [Kashgar] (d.86). A nephew of King Cheng, who was killed by King Jian of Qiuzi [Kuqa] in 73, Zhong was placed upon the throne and the dynasty was restored by the Chinese agent Ban Chao. The new king had formerly been called Yule, but he now took the name of Zhong "Loyal."

In 75 the army of Qiuzi came again to attack, and Ban Chao supported Zhong in the defence for several months. The new Emperor Zhang recalled him, but he returned a few weeks later and the pro-Chinese regime was restored.

In 84 Ban Chao co-ordinated an attack against Suoju with troops from Yutian [Khotan] and Shule, but the ruler of Suoju bribed Zhong to change sides and join an alliance against the Chinese, while Kangju [Sogdiana] sent aid from across the Pamirs. Ban Chao turned against Shule and proclaimed his own nominee in place of Zhong. He then sent gifts to the Yuezhi, who were linked by marriage to the Kangju royal house, so the allies withdrew and took Zhong with them.

In 86 Zhong obtained some more men from Kangju and made a secret alliance with Qiuzi, but then came to make a false submission. Ban Chao pretended to accept this, but at the welcoming banquet he had Zhong seized and killed. -HHS 47/37:1574-80, 88/78:2926.

Zhong 鍾 [personal name unknown]; Runan. When some of Zhong's neighbours stole vegetables from him, he gathered the remainder and gave them also to

the thieves. They reformed. -XC 8:2b.

Zhong 鍾 [personal name unknown]. Students of calligraphy under Liu Desheng in the late second century, Zhong and his colleague Hu continued the tradition of their master's new *xing shu* 行書 "Running Style," and Zhong composed *Li shi* 隸勢, an essay on aspects of the official "Clerical Style." -JS 36:1065.

Zhong Changtong 仲長統 see Zhongchang Tong 仲長統.

Zhong Di 鍾迪; Yingchuan. Son of Zhong Hao, Zhong Di was kept from office during the great Proscription under Emperor Ling, but he was at some time Registrar in his home commandery. -SGZ 13:392.

Zhong Ding 仲定 (d.172); Ji Yin. Zhong Ding's father had been an Administrator, and Zhong Ding was nominated as Filial and Incorrupt. He refused once, but accepted a second nomination by the Administrator Hu Guang about 134. Having served probation as a gentleman cadet, he held junior office in the Imperial Secretariat and became a county magistrate in Pengcheng. He later passed an examination to become an Academician at the Imperial University, and about 145, after the Grand Tutor Zhao Jun commended his fine conduct, he was named Inspector of Yu province.

Zhong Ding later joined the staff of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, was appointed as Prefect of Insignia and Credentials and then Administrator of Yuzhang. Returning to the capital as a Consultant, he served in the Imperial Secretariat, and again held office under Liang Ji, this time as his Chief Clerk. Evidently trusted, he was transferred to important police and protection duties as Colonel of the City Gates and Bearer of the Mace.

Probably after the fall of Liang Ji in 159, Zhong Ding was shifted to a non-executive post as Palace Counsellor. He later became Minister of Justice, but left that office on grounds of ill health. He refused further invitations, but was always treated with respect as a former senior official.

In 172 Zhong Ding asked the government of Emperor Ling to approve restoration work on the Spiritual Terrace associated with temples and shrines to the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母 in his family's home county of Chengyang. The proposal was accepted, and while the work was carried out by the local Administrator Shen Huang and the magistrate Guan Zun, Zhong Ding arranged for his kinsmen to contribute. He was granted honorary position as

Palace Counsellor, a stele was set up to commemorate the completion of the project, and when he died soon afterwards there was another erected by his clients to honour the man himself. -LS 25:5a-6a, 1:8a-13a; Ebrey 80:338.

Zhong Fu 鍾敷; Yingchuan. Son of Zhong Hao, he was kept from office during the Great Proscription under Emperor Ling. -SGZ 13:392.

Zhong Guang 仲光 also as Chong Guang 种光 and as Chong Gao 种高 (d.115). Administrator of Youfufeng in 115, Zhong Guang held a subordinate command in the army led by Sima Jun to attack the Qiang rebels and the renegade Du Jigong. They occupied the enemy fortress at Dingxi in northern Beidi, but when Sima Jun sent Zhong Guang and other officers out to collect grain they ignored his orders and allowed their troops to scatter. They were cut off by the rebels and their Qiang allies, but Sima Jun, angry at their disobedience, stayed in the city and refused to send help. Zhong Guang was killed, and the Chinese lost more than three thousand men. -HHS 87/77:2889; deC 84:107-108.

Zhong Hao 鍾皓 [Jiming 季明] (121-189); Yingchuan. Zhong Hao's family was long-established locally, with a reputation in legal matters, and Zhong Hao became known for his honest conduct. He was several times invited to office at the capital, but because his elder brothers had not been appointed, he went away into the hills, where he taught law and the *Classic of Poetry* to more than a thousand students.

Zhong Hao later became Officer of Merit in the commandery, and he eventually accepted appointment in the offices at the capital; as he was leaving he recommended Chen Shi, at that time only a guard officer, to succeed him as Officer of Merit.

Though Zhong Hao was then offered posts at the Imperial University, in the Ministry of Justice and as a county magistrate, he refused all of them and returned to private life. He explained that in difficult times the only proper conduct was to avoid state politics and protect one's own family: see *sub* Zhong Jin.

Widely admired for his virtue, Zhong Hao was recognised as one of the exemplary teachers of the empire, in the same category as Xun Shu and Chen Zhishu. -HHS 62/52:2064-65*, XC 3:12b, SGZ 13:391-92; Mather 76:516.

Zhong Jin 鍾瑾/覲; Yingchuan. Zhong Jin was a nephew of Zhong Hao, and his mother was a sister of Li Yi, father of Li Ying; the two young men were

the same age. A keen scholar, Zhong Jin was greatly admired by his grandfather Li Xiu, who saw him as a worthy member of the clan and arranged for him to marry his cousin, Li Ying's sister.

As Zhong Jin refused to take any official position, Li Ying twitted him about his lack of public spirit and his failure to express judgement of right and wrong – in opposition to the engaged teachings of Mencius. Zhong Jin's uncle Zhong Hao, however, confirmed him in this stance, arguing that his proper responsibility in the present age of difficulty was to preserve his own family, not to seek trouble by pointing out others' faults. That could be left to great official clans such as the Li; and indeed Li Ying's opposition to the eunuchs brought destruction to his family.

Zhong Jin died young. -HHS 62/52:2064, SGZ 13:392.

Zhong Jing 中京 became Minister Steward. -FSTY 5f:118.

Zhong Qiu 仲球 [Boyi 伯儀]; Jiyin. In 172 Zhong Qiu was a magistrate in Pengcheng. In the early 170s his kinsman the minister Zhong Ding obtained imperial endorsement for restoration of the Spiritual Terrace associated with temples and shrines to the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母 and his mother in the Zhong family's home county of Chengyang. Zhong Qiu and other relatives took a leading role in the work, and an inscription dated 172 records that Zhong Qiu contributed 37,000 cash to the general cost of the project, and a further 3,200 to a clan fund.

Three years later, now retired, Zhong Qiu again joined his kinsmen and other local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple to Emperor Yao. -LS 1:5a-13a.

Zhong Xin 仲訢 [Bohai 伯海]; Jiyin. In 172 Zhong Xin was Administrator of Julu. In the early 170s his kinsman the minister Zhong Ding obtained imperial endorsement for restoration of the Spiritual Terrace associated with temples and shrines to the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母 in the Zhong family's home county of Chengyang. Zhong Xin and other relatives took a leading role in the work, and an inscription dated 172 records that Zhong Xin contributed ten thousand cash to the general cost of the project, and a further 1,400 to a Zhong clan fund.

Three years later, now retired, Zhong Xin again joined his kinsmen and other local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple to Emperor Yao. -LS 1:5a-13a.

Zhong Xing 鍾興 [Ciwen 次文]; Runan. As a young

man Zhong Xing studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the Zhuang/Yan interpretation under Ding Gong, and when Ding Gong became a minister under Emperor Guangwu he recommended him. The emperor interviewed Zhong Xing and was impressed by his knowledge and understanding of the classics. He first appointed him as a gentleman cadet, and then made him a General of the Household, in charge of a corps of cadets.

Zhong Xing later received an imperial command to simplify and shorten the detailed commentary to *Chunqiu* 春秋章句, removing repetitions, then teach it to the imperial children and junior members of the clan. He was offered a secondary marquiseate, but was unwilling to accept, even after his teacher Ding Gong was granted the same honour. He died in office. -HHS 79/69B:2579-80*; Bn 79:189, 194.

Zhong Xiong 仲雄. A disfigured stele records how Zhong Xiong held local office in his commandery and in the province, was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a gentleman cadet and was then a magistrate in Nan commandery. -LS 26:8b-9a.

Zhong Xuan 仲選 [Menggao 孟高]; Jiyin. In 172 Zhong Xuan was a member of the offices of the Excellency over the Masses Xu Xu. In the early 170s his kinsman the minister Zhong Ding obtained imperial endorsement for restoration of the Spiritual Terrace associated with temples and shrines to the sage Emperor Yao and his mother 堯母 in the Zhong family's home county of Chengyang. Zhong Xuan and other relatives took a leading role in the work, and an inscription dated 172 records that Zhong Xuan contributed two thousand cash to the general cost of the project, and a further 1,400 to a Zhong clan fund.

Three years later, now described as a former magistrate, Zhong Xuan again joined his kinsmen and other local gentlemen to set up a stele at the temple to Emperor Yao. -LS 1:5a-13a.

Zhong Yan 鍾演; Yingchuan. XTS 75A:3354 says that Zhong Yan was a son of Zhong Di and a brother of Zhong Yao.

Zhong Yao 鍾繇 [Yuanchang 元常] (151-230); Yingchuan. Zhong Yao was a son of Zhong Di. [SGZ 13:392 says Zhong Yao was a grandson of Zhong Di, and ZZTJ 60:1941, evidently based upon that, says that Zhong Di's father Zhong Hao was Zhong Yao's great-grandfather. HHS 62/52:2065, however, describes Zhong Hao as Zhong Yao's grandfather, and

commentary quotes the *Hainei xianxian zhuan* of the third century, saying that Zhong Di was his father. That appears most likely: it is difficult to fit another generation within the dates, and there is no other suggestion of the name of Zhong Yao's father. *XTS* 75A:3354 traces the lineage from Zhong Hao to Zhong Di to Zhong Yao. See also *SGZJJ* 13:2b.]

A noted pupil of the calligrapher Liu Desheng, Zhong Yao spent ten years in the mountains practicing his art, and he became a recognised master of the *kai shu* 楷書 [or *zheng shu* 正書/*zhen shu* 真書], the "Standard Script" developed by Wang Dezhong. The great fourth-century calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 is said to have modelled his style upon that of Zhong Yao and his colleague Zhang Zhi, who was expert in the informal *cao shu* 草書 "Grass Style."

In the late 180s Zhong Yao joined the imperial service and held posts at the capital and as a county magistrate: see also *sub* Zhong Yu.

In 192 Zhong Yao was a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates in Chang'an. He persuaded Li Jue and Guo Si to recognise Cao Cao on behalf of the imperial government, and he was sent on the embassy which acknowledged Liu Biao as Governor of Jing province and named him as a general.

In 195 Zhong Yao joined in a plot with Liu Jue's officer Yang Feng to kill Li Jue. The plan was unsuccessful, but Yang Feng set himself up independently and Li Jue was weakened. Soon afterwards Zhong Yao helped Emperor Xian escape from Chang'an, and as the court came to Xu city under Cao Cao in 196 he was rewarded with enfeoffment and gained high appointments in the Imperial Censorate and the Secretariat.

Recommended by Xun Yu, in 197 Zhong Yao was appointed Director of Retainers, to keep the west quiet while Cao Cao was engaged with Yuan Shao north of the Yellow River. Establishing himself in Chang'an, Zhong Yao persuaded the warlords Ma Teng of Longxi and Han Sui of Jincheng to send hostages to court, and it appears he also stirred up a quarrel between them. He was so successful that he was able to send troops to support Cao Cao in the decisive campaign of 200.

Zhong Yao later transferred his headquarters to the less vulnerable region of Hongnong, and when Wei Ji's proposal to re-establish the salt monopoly was put into operation, his position was strengthened by refugees returning to settle.

In 202 Zhong Yao's nephew Guo Yuan joined Gao Gan of the Yuan family in his attack on Hedong. Guo Yuan was supported by the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu, so Zhong Yao set siege to the Xiongnu capital at Pingyang. As Guo Yuan came to relieve Pingyang, Ma Teng sent aid to Zhong Yao. Guo Yuan was defeated and killed, and the Xiongnu surrendered.

In 205, now based at Luoyang, Zhong Yao again commanded a general levy to support the new Administrator Du Ji in Hedong, putting down local rebellions and driving Gao Gan away.

In 211 Zhong Yao proposed an advance to the west towards Chang'an, ostensibly for operations against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, but in fact to establish a measure of control over the north-western warlords. The warlords combined forces to oppose him, but they were eventually defeated by Cao Cao at Huayin, and Zhong Yao then established civilian control behind the armies as they mopped up resistance.

In 213 Zhong Yao was among the senior officials who urged Cao Cao to take title as Duke of Wei and he was named Grand Judge of the new state. He argued unsuccessfully for Chen Qun's proposal to reintroduce mutilating punishments in preference to flogging, which in practice led often to death.

As Cao Cao took the royal title in 216, Zhong Yao was appointed Chancellor of State, highest post in the kingdom. In 219 he was dismissed for bad judgement after his junior officer Wei Feng turned traitor.

Zhong Yao, however, had close connection with the Heir Cao Pi. When Cao Cao died he was again appointed Grand Judge, and when Cao Pi took the imperial title at the end of 220 Zhong Yao was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele. Grand Commandant of the new regime, he held that post, also under Cao Rui, until his death. -*SGZ* 13:391-99*, *LS* 19: 4a.

Zhong Yi 鍾異. Formerly a leader of the Datong bandits on the North China plain, after the majority were absorbed by the Red Eyebrows in 24, Zhong Yi retained independent command of a small group. He later joined the warlord Zhang Bu.

In 29 Zhong Yi accompanied Zhang Bu's main force to attack Guangwu's general Geng Yan at Linzi in Qi. His men encountered Geng Yan in the first engagement, and though Geng Yan could hold his own he allowed himself to be driven back into the city, drawing Zhang Bu's troops into an ambush. -*HHS*

19/9:710-11.

Zhong You 鍾繇 see Zhong Yao 鍾繇.

Zhong Yu 鍾瑜; Yingchuan. A senior cousin of Zhong Yao, there was an occasion about 190 that they were journeying together to Luoyang. They met a physiognomist who remarked that Zhong Yao had a countenance of great honour, but that he should be very cautious about water. A little way on they came to a bridge, where Zhong Yao's horse shied at something. Zhong Yao fell into the river and almost drowned. Impressed by this initial fulfilment of the physiognomist's forecast, Zhong Yu showed Zhong Yao the utmost respect and provided money and goods to support his education. -SGZ 13:391.

Zhong Yu 仲昱 see Chong Yu 种昱. -HYGZJBTZ: 537.

Zhongchang Tong 仲長統 [Gongli 公理] (180-220); Shanyang. A man of both scholarly and literary ability, from the age of twenty Zhongchang Tong travelled for study across the northern plain, and he was widely admired by those whom he met. Gao Gan, the nephew of Yuan Shao serving as his Inspector of Bing province, was seeking to establish a reputation as a patron of scholars, and he issued a general invitation to his court. Zhongchang Tong went to call upon him, but when he spoke with Gao Gan he warned him that he was out of his depth and lacked the qualities required of a true leader. Gao Gan was predictably annoyed and Zhongchang Tong left.

Direct and out-spoken in this fashion, Zhongchang Tong was described by colleagues as a "wild man" 狂生 or free spirit. He was several times invited to office, but always declined on grounds of ill health. In fact this was only an excuse, for Zhongchang Tong argued in classical Taoist fashion that the search for personal happiness was far more important than the bubble reputation of politics. He was nonetheless widely known, and after the fall of Gao Gan in 206 he was recommended to Cao Cao by Xun Yu. This time he did accept appointment, first to the Imperial Secretariat, then to Cao Cao's headquarters staff, followed by a return to the Secretariat. He died at the time of Emperor Xian's abdication, aged forty, and his friend Miao Xi compared him to Dong Zhongshu and other great thinkers of Former Han.

Zhongchang Tong compiled a local history of worthy men, *Shanyang xianxian zhuan* 山陽先賢傳, but his major work was *Changyan* 昌言 "Admirable

Words." A series of essays of a hundred thousand words in either thirty-four or twenty-four *pian*, with an Introduction by Miao Xi, the work may have been left incomplete by the author's comparatively early death. It exists now only in part, including three sections in *Hou Han shu*, and some fragments in encyclopaedias and other collections.

The title *Changyan* comes from a phrase used in the *Classic of History* to describe advice given to a sage ruler. It could be rendered literally as "Frank Discussions," and Zhongchang Tong was writing with a sense of indignation and despair, describing the inevitable cycle of dynastic failure. The problem is the decadence of the founder's long-term successors and, while Zhongchang Tong himself took pleasure in the life of a country gentleman, he argued that the pressures of private property and the greed of great land-owners will eventually destabilise any state. His solution was to limit private manorial exploitation, to encourage essential farming and education, and to enforce such a program by strict laws and administration, with careful attention to the recruitment of officials. -HHS 49/39: 1643-59*, SGZ 21:620; Balazs 50, deC 96:349-350, Ebrey 86:624-625, Loewe 86E:715, Hsü 80:55-56.

Zhongli Yi 鍾離意 [Zi'a 子阿]; Kuaiji. As a young man, Zhongli Yi was Registrar of the commandery, and in 23 he assisted Ren Yan in approaching the scholar recluse Longqiu Chang. When the Acting Administrator Zai Chao was going to execute a county prison officer for some minor fault, Zhongli Yi protested; he was nearly killed himself, but the Officer of Merit Peng Xiu dissuaded Zai Chao with flattery.

Zhongli Yi then became an Investigator, but when an officer was to be questioned for having received improper presents, he refused to take action: quoting from *Chunqiu* and the *Classic of Poetry*, he told the new Administrator Huang Dang that before he applied any punishment he should first ensure his own office was faultless. Huang Dang was impressed, and had Zhongli Yi act as brevet magistrate of a county. When there was an epidemic Zhongli Yi cared for people himself, and many were saved.

Zhongli Yi served as Officer of Merit to the Administrator Dou Xiang and was then Assistant Officer for Yang province stationed in Jiujiang. The Inspector Shi Xiajun recommended him to the capital, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, and served in the offices of the Excellency over the Masses. One

winter he was sent in charge of convicts going to Henei. As the men were sick with cold, Zhongli Yi had their fetters removed and ordered a county office in Hongnong to give them civilian clothing. Not one attempted to flee and the group arrived on time. When he reported his actions, Emperor Guangwu himself praised his sense of humanity, but Zhongli Yi was taken ill and had to leave office.

Zhongli Yi later became a county magistrate in Shanyang, transferred in 49 to a county in Guangling, and then to another in Nanyang. In each place he brought good order by generous treatment and encouraging moral conduct, and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming he was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat.

About this time, as Zhang Hui the Administrator of Jiaozhi was found guilty of embezzlement, his property was confiscated and distributed among officials at the capital. Zhongli Yi refused his share, the emperor asked why, and Zhongli Yi quoted Confucius to the effect that such wealth was morally dirty. Vastly impressed, Emperor Ming granted him 300,000 cash from the treasury and appointed him Deputy Director of the Secretariat. He put forward the names of several worthy elders who had great influence for good in their local communities, and they were summoned to court for appointment as Consultants.

Emperor Ming was known for his volatile temper, and Zhongli Yi was one of the few men at court prepared to face up to him, expressing his moral stand on a number of occasions. He criticised the ruler's too-frequent hunting, and at a time of drought in 60 he persuaded him to halt work on the Northern Palace: rain fell soon afterwards. Again, when members of the Secretariat were threatened with the bastinado for mistakenly authorising ten times the appropriate amount of silk to a non-Chinese prince, Zhongli Yi protested fiercely, tearing his robes, and the emperor changed his mind.

Following a number of portents and natural misfortunes, Zhongli Yi urged Emperor Ming to reform his style government, notably in the severity of the punishments inflicted by his officials, and his own propensity for revealing private communications, which left even his closest officers unprotected and vulnerable to slander. Though his good intentions were recognised, Zhongli Yi's advice was predictably not accepted, and it was felt to be time he left the

capital. He was sent out as Chancellor of Lu, and when a ceremony was held to celebrate the restoration of the Northern Palace in 65, the emperor remarked that if Zhongli Yi had still been at court the work would never have been finished.

Arriving in Lu, Zhongli Yi gave money from his own purse so that the local officer Kong Xin, evidently a member of the sage's lineage, could repair a ceremonial carriage of Confucius, and he restored the furnishings and accoutrements of the sage's statue in his local temple. He later opened a bowl which had been left by Confucius, and through a prophecy contained in it he collected seven jade *bi*-rings 璧 [see *sub* Zhang Bo].

In the latter part of the 60s, after five years good government of Liang, Zhongli Yi died of a long-standing illness. Emperor Ming mourned him, and gave 200,000 cash to his family.

In the early 190s the former house of Zhongli Yi was available as a residence for the refugee Huan Ye, and about the same time, as Yu Fan discussed the local worthies of Kuaiji with the Administrator Wang Lang, Zhongli Yi was one of the men that he praised. -HHS 41/31:1406-10*, 81/71:2674, XC 2:6b, SGZ Wu 12: 1325.

Zhou 周, the Lady I, was an Honoured Lady in the harem of Emperor He when he died in 105. It was expected that the concubines of a dead emperor should reside at his funerary park as notional guardians of his tomb, but the Dowager Deng, who now took regency control of the government, ordered that the Lady Zhou and the Honoured Lady Feng be excused this exile. Explaining that the two women had been her companions for more than ten years, and she could not bear to part with such old friends, she allowed them to remain at the capital. They were granted gold, brocade and fine cloth, and carriage and horses fit for a king. -HHS 10B:421.

Zhou 周, the Lady II. Widow of Liu Fu the King of Pei, in 109 she was given charge of the household of her grandson Liu Guang, who had succeeded to the fief but was incapacitated by illness. The Lady died about 143 and was given posthumous honour by Emperor Shun. -HHS 42/32:1428.

Zhou 周, the Lady III; Langye. Wife of Bian Guang and grandmother of the Lady Bian, consort of Cao Cao, she was posthumously ennobled in 230. -SGZ 5: 158; C/C 99.94.

Zhou 周, the Lady IV. A concubine of Cao Cao, she was the mother of Cao Jun 均. -SGZ 20:579.

Zhou 周 [personal name unknown]. Administrator of Guiyang, a stele was set up in his honour. -LS 27:9b.

Zhou Ang 周昂; Kuaiji. Brother of Zhou Xin and Zhou Yu 隅, in 190 Zhou Ang was named Administrator of Jiujiang by Yuan Shao. In 192 he was defeated by Yuan Shu's officer Sun Ben. -SGZ Wu 6:1209.

The careers of the three brothers Zhou are frequently confused, but see SGZ Wu 1:1100, quoting *Wu lu* and *Kuaiji dianlu*.

Zhou Ba 周霸 [Wengzhong 翁中]; Runan. When Zhou Ba was a clerk under the Grand Commandant, his wife gave birth to a daughter. Disappointed that it was not a boy, she paid a butcher's wife, who had given birth to a son at the same time, to make an exchange.

Seventeen years later, when Zhou Ba was Chancellor of Beihai, his Registrar Zhou Guang was a clairvoyant. He told Zhou Ba that the boy was not his own, and when Zhou Ba challenged his wife she confessed the truth.

Zhou Ba then looked for his daughter, and when he found her married to a pastry-cook he arranged a more suitable husband for her. At the same time, in order to maintain his lineage in the male line he adopted his cousin Zhou Xi. -FSTY 3f:105.

Zhou Ba 周霸, daughter of: see above. First married to a pastry-cook, she was later the wife of Li Wensi, who became Administrator of Nanyang.

Zhou Bao 州寶 [Ji? 季?]; Nanyang. A former magistrate and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Bao was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhou Bi 周碧, the Lady; Pingyuan. The Lady was married to Hu Tan. Because he was unable to have proper intercourse with her, he allowed two of his friends to bed her in the hope she might bear a child. -FSTY 3f:108.

Zhou Bi 周玘/𣪠 [Zhongyuan 仲遠] (d.190); Wuwei or Hanyang: see below. Son of Zhou Shen, in 189 Zhou Bi was a member of the Imperial Secretariat under Dong Zhuo. He and his colleague Wu Qiong urged Dong Zhuo to reform the government by appointing worthy men for office, and they were commissioned with Zheng Tai and He Yong to make suitable nominations. Though they were trusted by Dong Zhuo, many of the men they recommended raised troops against him, and after arranging the appointment of Yuan Shao as

Administrator of Bohai the two men acted as agents for the eastern alliance.

Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong were later appointed as colonels, but in 190 they opposed Dong Zhuo's plan to shift the capital to Chang'an. Losing trust in them, he now complained of their bad advice and had both men killed. -SGZ 6:175, HHS 72/62:2326-27, HHJ 26:311-12.

HHS 72/62 and *Hanmo yingxiong ji* say that Zhou Bi came from Wuwei, but HHJ and SGZ Shu 8:963 describe him as a man from Hanyang.

Zhou Bin 周斌. In 184 Tang Zhou, renegade disciple of the religious leader Zhang Jue, revealed the plot for a coup within the capital and insurgency outside. The eunuch Zhou Bin was commissioned to take charge over the clerical officers of the Excellencies and investigate all officials and commoners who were members of the sect. Over a thousand people were executed. -HHS 71/61:2300.

Zhou Bin 周邠 miswritten for Zou Bin 鄒邠.

Zhou Bo 州博 [Qishi 起世]; Nanyang. A gentleman cadet and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Bo was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhou Bo 周勃 (d.196); Kuaiji. When Sun Ce occupied Kuaiji in 196, Zhou Bo and Huanglong "Yellow Dragon" Luo were local leaders south of Hangzhou Bay. They were defeated and killed by Sun Ce and his new officer Dong Xi. -SGZ Wu 10:1291.

Zhou [Boling] 周伯靈. A friend of Xu Jing 敬, he died young, probably in the 90s. Xu Jing cared for his son. -XC 7:7b.

Zhou Buyi 周不疑 [Yuanzhi 元直 or Wenzhi 文直] (193-209), Lingling. Intelligent, able and a talented writer, Zhou Buyi composed a number of literary and scholarly works. He was a companion to Cao Cao's favourite son Cao Chong [styled Cangshu], and Cao Cao offered him one of his daughters in marriage. Declining the honour, he married a daughter of Liu Xian instead.

Later, when Cangshu died young, Cao Cao was bitter and resentful. Despite the pleas of his Heir Cao Pi he had Zhou Buyi killed. -SGZ 6:216.

Zhou Chang 周敞; Wu. Xie Cheng's fragmentary biographies of this man and his associate Chen Mao contain contradictions. Notably, it is said that Zhou Chang was a student of Jing Fang 京房 who died in 37 BC [QHJ:199-200], but that he was Inspector of

Yu province and Inspector of Jiaozhi during Later Han. This indicates a very long life; more probably the accounts relate to two men of the same name. [*QHX*:145 also mentions a Zhou Chang who was a junior clerk about 10 BC.]

As Inspector of Yu province Zhou Chang became close to his Attendant Officer Chen Mao, and he took Chen Mao with him to Jiaozhi in the same capacity. Aided by Chen Mao's magical arts, he was the first Inspector to visit the island of Hainan.

Zhou Chang also executed the village headman Gong Shou for the murder of the Lady Su E. -*XC* 6: 13a-b.

Zhou Chang 周暢 [Bozhi 伯持 or Boshi 伯時]; Runan. A cousin of Zhou Jia, Zhou Chang was a generous man. He became Director of Retainers [see *sub* Zhou Pan] and then Intendant of Henan. In the summer of 108 there was serious drought, and prayers for rain received no response. Zhou Chang then arranged for the burial of the remains of more than a hundred thousand people who had come as refugees. As soon as he had done so, rain fell and there was an abundant harvest.

The Annals at *HHS* 5:210 record a drought in this year, providing the occasion for an imperial visit to the local prisons and some jail release, but Zhou Chang's arrangements for burial appear more like sound public health practice in hot conditions than specific placation of the elements. *HHS* 103/13:3278 LC, in the Treatise of the Five Powers, mentions a drought in 107, but none in 108.

Zhou Chang later became Minister of the Household. -*HHS* 81/71:2676, *XC* 5:13a, *XHS* 5:17a.

Zhou Chao 州超 [Jujian 巨堅]; Nanyang. A gentleman cadet and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Chao was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16b.

Zhou Chao 周朝 (d.187); Lingling. Presumably successors to Guan Gu, in 187 Zhou Chao and Guo Shi were leaders of bandits in Lingling, Guiyang and Changsha. They were destroyed by Sun Jian, Administrator of Changsha. -*SGZ* Wu 1:1095; deC 90: 103-104.

Zhou Cheng 周乘 [Ziju 子居]; Runan. *FSTY* 5:37-38 tells how about 150 Zhou Cheng and other gentlemen were called to office at the capital through the recommendation of the Administrator Li Chang. Then Li Chang died, and his nominees went to his funeral. Li

Chang's widow urged them to resume their travels, but Zhou Cheng observed that if they did so they would be neglecting their duty to their late patron; if they did not go they would be failing their public responsibilities. He and Ai Bojian went to the capital, while others stayed to carry out the mourning ceremonies. See *sub* Li Chang 儼.

There are different accounts of Zhou Cheng's further career. According to *FSTY* 5, Zhou Cheng became a gentleman cadet and then a county magistrate. Ying Shao claims that he took his responsibilities lightly and his administration was mediocre. He criticises Zhou Cheng's failure to attend the full mourning ceremonies for his late patron Li Chang and states that he soon left office. At the beginning of the item, however, he refers to Zhou Cheng as Administrator of Taishan.

In contrast, *XHS* 5:18b says that Zhou Cheng was firm and strict, and *XC* 7:12b records that when he was appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi he reported two Administrators for wrong-doing; forty county magistrates promptly resigned their posts before they could themselves be dismissed.

Shishuo xinyu has two references to Zhou Cheng. The first, at 1:2; Mather 76:4, describes him as one of the admirers of the hermit Huang Xian. This may be a mistake for Zhou Ju, but Zhou Cheng appears to have been a man whose judgement of character was respected. The second entry, at 8:1; Mather 76:210, tells how his administration was admired by Chen Fan.

Given that he describes Zhou Cheng as an eventual Administrator, Ying Shao's negative comments appear strange.

Zhou Cheng 州稱 [Ziming 子明]; Nanyang. Described as a former brevet magistrate and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Cheng was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17: 17a.

Zhou Chong 周崇; Lujiang. Son of Zhou Jing, he became Chancellor of Ganling. -*HHS* 45/35:1539.

Zhou Dang 周黨 [Bokuang 伯況], Taiyuan. A man of wealthy background at the end of Former Han, Zhou Dang was orphaned when he was young and brought up by a kinsman. His guardian kept Zhou Dang's family property, but when Zhou Dang grew up he forced him to return it and then distributed it among his relatives; he also freed the family slaves.

Zhou Dang studied *Chunqiu* at Chang'an, and

became celebrated for fighting a duel with a petty official who had abused him in public. As Wang Mang seized power Zhou Dang went into retirement, and when the Red Eyebrows came into Taiyuan they knew of his virtue and did not plunder his county.

After the restoration of Han Zhou Dang was appointed a Consultant by Emperor Guangwu, but resigned on grounds of ill health and went with his family into Hongnong. Summoned once more, he came with his hair tied with hay-stalks like a peasant and refused to appear before the emperor, explaining that he wished to be true to his personal ideals. Guangwu accepted this.

The Academician Fan Sheng presented a memorial criticising Zhou Dang for disrespect and ingratitude, but an imperial edict endorsed his moral stand and granted him a reward. As Vervoornt points out, Guangwu's edict of tolerance compared Zhou Dang with the legendary recluses Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊; and by doing so allocated himself the role of the sage King Wu of Zhou 周武王.

Zhou Dang died as a scholar in retirement, leaving two *pian* of writings. Local people admired him and established sacrifices in his honour, and he became a model for gentlemen who sought to avoid public life. Ying Shao found his conduct extravagant. -HHS 83/73: 2761-62*, FSTY 4:28; Vervoornt 90:145.

Zhou Du 周度, the Lady; Jianwei. The Lady was married to Xiang Deng, but he died when she was only nineteen. The magistrate Wu Hou sent a messenger to seek her hand, but she cut off her hair to show her commitment to widowhood; when further suitors appeared she cut off her nose.

The Lady's son also died early, leaving a young widow nee Zuo, and the two women maintained their loyalty to their late husbands. They were widely admired. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zhou Fang 周防 [Weigong 偉公]; Runan. Son of Zhou Yang, when Zhou Fang was sixteen he held appointment as a junior officer in the commandery. On one of Emperor Guangwu's tours of inspection to the east, probably in 54 or 56, he held an examination in the classics for all local officers. Zhou Fang was excellent, both at reciting the texts and at interpreting them. He was named Assistant of the commandery, but asked to be excused as he was not yet old enough to take the cap of manhood; his request was granted.

Zhou Fang then studied the *Classic of History*

under He Yu. His biography in HHS says he worked in the Old Text tradition, but the Qing scholar Wang Guowei suggests it was the Ouyang school of the New Text; this is supported by the fact that Zhou Fang later became an Academician at a time when the Imperial University had no chair of Old Text scholarship.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt on account of his great learning, Zhou Fang became a gentleman cadet. His *Shujing zaji* 書經雜記 "Notes on the Classic of History," in thirty-two *pian* and 400,000 characters, was one of the largest in this excessive genre; some time after 100 he was appointed an Academician by the Grand Commandant Zhang Yu on the basis of this erudite work.

Zhou Fang was later Administrator of Chenliu, but left office on account of some legal fault. He died at home aged seventy-eight. -HHS 79/69A:2559-60*, XC 5:9b; Tjan 49:147-148.

Zhou Fang 周魴 [Ziyu 子魚]; Wu. Fond of study when he was young, Zhou Fang was recommended Filial and Incorrupt and served as magistrate in a series of counties under the rule of Sun Quan of Wu. The powerful bully Peng Shi had been plundering the territory of Qiantang with a host of followers, but Zhou Fang swiftly executed him.

Zhou Fang then became a Commandant in Danyang, and in 227 he was appointed Administrator of Poyang, in the east of Later Han Yuzhang. He joined a successful attack on Peng Qi 彭綺, who had rebelled in that region in favour of Wei, and in the following year he led Cao Xiu into a trap with a false offer of submission.

Zhou Fang was in Poyang for thirty years, maintaining excellent administration. He died about 260. -SGZ Wu 15:1387-92*.

Zhou Feng 周鳳; Yuzhang. A local leader of bandits in the early 200s, Zhou Feng was destroyed by Sun Quan's officer Zhang Zhao. -SGZ Wu 7:1221.

Zhou Fu 州輔 (95-156); Nanyang. A eunuch, Zhou Fu became an Attendant at the Yellow Gates, then entered the household of the regent Dowager Deng. In the early 120s he returned to the imperial palace, and when Emperor Shun came to the throne he was again Attendant at the Yellow Gates. He later joined the household of the Empress Liang Na and was then promoted to be a Regular Attendant.

When Emperor Shun died in 144 Zhou Fu acted as Prefect of the Yellow Gates, but returned to the

service of the Lady Liang, now regent Dowager, as a senior officer of her household. In 148 he and six other eunuchs were enfeoffed for their role in bringing Emperor Huan to the throne, and in 150 Zhou Fu became Grand Prolonger of Autumn, in charge of the residence of Emperor Huan's Empress Liang Nüying.

Following Zhou Fu's death on 11 January 157, at the end of the Chinese year 156, forty-nine relatives and admirers, including six of Administrator rank, set up a stele in his honour. -HHS 78/68:2519, LS 17:14a-18b.

Zhou Fu 周福 [Zhongjin 仲進]; Qinghe/Ganling. About 140 Zhou Fu became the tutor of Liu Zhi, the young Marquis of Liwu, future Emperor Huan. When Liu Zhi was brought to the throne in 146, Zhou Fu was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat.

Many people of his home country believed that Zhou Fu had gained advancement through his connection to the new ruler, not for any personal qualities. These critics praised Fang Zhi, also a man from Ganling, and a ditty was circulated, comprising two seven-character phrases, each with internal rhymes based upon the men's styles:

"A model for the empire, Fang Bowu;.

"Grasping appointment through his tutoring,
Zhou Zhongjin."

[天下規矩,房伯武 *tianxia guiju*, Fang Bowu;

[因師獲印,周仲進 *yin shi huo yin*,

Zhou Zhongjin.]

The gentry of Ganling were divided into "northern" and "southern" parties, opponents and supporters of Zhou Fu and Fang Zhi.

This dispute is said to have been the beginning of the fashion for moral criticism of officials and scholars, first expressed in seven-character verses as above, and later with lists of heroes and groups of affiliates, leading ultimately to accusation of Faction. See, for example, *sub* Zhang Jian and *sub* Cheng Jin. -HHS 67/57:2185-86.

Zhou Gan 周乾; Guanghan. A noted scholar, Zhou Gan joined colleagues to compose a hymn at the death of the Lady Zhang Shuji, wife of Wang Zun. He served at some time as Inspector of Yang province, and in 192 he joined Tao Qian and other senior officials urging Zhu Jun to lead an attack against Chang'an to rescue the emperor. Nothing came of the proposal. -HHS 71/61:2314, HYGZ 10A:139.

Zhou Gong 周躬; Runan. When Zhou Gong was

a magistrate in Zuopingyi, his Officer of Merit Wan Liang killed a man to avenge his father, then went to the county prison in bonds. Zhou Gong set him free. Wan Liang wanted to give him a present, but Zhou Gong refused to accept anything. -XC 1b-2a.

Zhou Gu 周谷; Wu. During the late 190s Zhou Gu was Officer of Merit to Sun Quan when he was a county magistrate. Unlike Lü Fan, who supervised him strictly, Zhou Gu would sometimes allow Sun Quan to take public money for his private purposes. Sun Quan was glad of this at the time, but when he came to power he gave office to the trustworthy Lü Fan and not to Zhou Gu. -SGZ Wu 11:1311.

Zhou Guang 周光; Beihai. A clairvoyant, Zhou Guang was Registrar to the Chancellor Zhou Ba. He advised him that the young man he believed to be his son was in fact a changeling. -FSTY 3f:105.

Zhou Guang 周廣 (d.125). Palace Attendants in 124, Zhou Guang and Xie Yun joined Geng Bao and the eunuchs Fan Feng and Li Run in their accusations against the Excellency Yang Zhen, who was dismissed and killed himself. In protest, the minister Lai Li and the Imperial Clerk Yu Xu refused further dealing with them.

The two men continued their association with Geng Bao, Fan Feng and Emperor An's former wet-nurse Wang Sheng, but in 125, after the death of the emperor and the enthronement of the Little Emperor Liu Yi, the Dowager and her brother Yan Xian turned against their former allies. Zhou Guang and his fellows were accused of factionalism and died in prison. -HHS 5:242, 10B:437, 15/5:590.

Zhou Gui 周規 [Gongyuan 公圓]; Kuaiji. A man of poor family, Zhou Gui became Officer of Merit to the Administrator Tang Feng, a cousin of the palace eunuch Tang Heng. Tang Feng governed with greed and cruelty, and Zhou Gui criticised and warned him. Tang Heng was angry and had Zhou Gui arrested, but he was soon afterwards impeached.

Appointed to clerical office under the Excellencies at the capital, Zhou Gui borrowed from the commandery for his expenses but was then unable to redeem the debt. Zhu Jun bailed him out with the property of his mother's silk business.

Zhou Gui then became a magistrate in Changsha. As the Administrator Cheng Xu came on tour during spring, orders were sent that the roads should be prepared for him. Zhou Gui considered that it was more

important that the people should attend to the fields at this time, and he did not have the work carried out. As Cheng Xu sent an Investigator, Zhou Gui promptly abandoned his office.

Cheng Xu, embarrassed, sent his Officer of Merit with a letter of apology and a request that Zhou Gui take back his seal. Remarking that he had no respect for an Administrator who cared more for his horses' hooves than he did for his people, Zhou Gui continued on his way. -HHS 71/61:2308 & JJ at 2527 Hui Dong quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*, HQ 2:7b.

Zhou Hong 周洪. Zhou Hong was Inspector of Liang province about 180. Together with Liu Ban, Administrator of Hanyang, he reported on the fine vengeance taken by the Lady Zhao E against her father's murderer; they set up a stele in her honour. -SGZ 18:549.

Zhou Huan 周煥 [Wenming 文明] (d.192); Youfufeng. Zhou Huan became Minister Herald under the short-lived government of Wang Yun at Chang'an. He was killed as Li Jue and other former officers of Dong Zhuo stormed the city. -HHS 9:373, SGZ 6:182.

Zhou Hui 周暉; Lujiang. Son of Zhou Zhong, Zhou Hui was Prefect of Luoyang during the 180s. He left that office, and returned to his home country, where his family was extremely powerful, with many kinsmen, clients and retainers.

Learning of the troubles at the capital after the death of Emperor Ling in 189, Zhou Hui went back to Luoyang to collect his father, who was at that time a minister. Dong Zhuo, who had seized power at the capital, objected. He killed Zhou Hui and some other members of his family. -HHS 45/35:1539 but see also *sub* Zhou Yi.

Zhou Huo 周獲 miswritten for Gao Huo 高獲. -XC 6:4a.

Zhou Ji 周紀 married the Lady Cao Jing/Jingji, but died young. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zhou Jia 周嘉 [Huiwen 惠文]; Runan. Zhou Jia was descended from Zhou Yan 周燕, who was celebrated for having sacrificed himself for the faults of his Administrator [QHx:736]; all Zhou Yan's sons had held high office.

At the end of the reign of Wang Mang in the early 20s, Zhou Jia was Registrar of the commandery. When a horde of bandits attacked Runan, Zhou Jia went with the Administrator He Shang to attack them. Their local troops were defeated and scattered, and as Zhou Jia

shielded He Shang with his body they were surrounded by rebels. Zhou Jia pleaded for his master's life, and offered his own in his stead, and the enemy were so impressed that they provided a cart to take both men away.

In the late 20s Zhou Jia was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat. Emperor Guangwu asked him about the incident with He Shang, was impressed by his modesty, and wanted to have him marry one of his daughters. Zhou Jia, however, pleaded ill health and would not accept the match.

Zhou Jia became Administrator of Lingling in the south, and served there seven years until his death. The people praised his gentle regime, and later set up a temple to him. -HHS 81/71:2675-76*, XC 5:12a.

Zhou Jian 周建 (d.29); Pei. A leader of local gentry, Zhou Jian came with others to join Liu Yong in 24. He received military appointment, joined the campaigns to take over neighbouring territories, and later opposed the attack of Guangwu's general He Yan in 26, but with small success. After Liu Yong was driven from his capital, Suiyang in Liang, Zhou Jian remained loyal and gave him refuge at his base in Huling city in Shanyang, some hundred kilometres to the northeast.

In 27 Liu Yong managed to reoccupy Suiyang, but Guangwu's general Wu Han attacked the fortress of Guangle, held by Zhou Jian's colleague Su Mao, in the north of Liang close to Huling. Zhou Jian gathered new troops to relieve Su Mao, but was defeated and forced back into Huling.

Then Suiyang fell and Liu Yong was killed, but Su Mao and Zhou Jian withdrew to Chuihui in Pei, where they proclaimed his son Liu Yu as King of Liang. In the winter of 27-28 they sought to expand northwards, and they occupied Pengcheng, but they were twice defeated by Guangwu's general He Yan and returned to the south.

In the autumn of 28 Guangwu's generals Ma Wu and Wang Ba laid siege to Zhou Jian in Chuihui. Early in 29, as Su Mao came to the relief, he captured Ma Wu's baggage and Zhou Jian made a sortie which put Ma Wu's troops to flight. Wang Ba held his men back, however, until Zhou Jian and Su Mao were committed to pursuit, then attacked their rear and reversed the course of the battle.

On the following day Zhou Jian and Su Mao challenged Wang Ba to battle, but Wang Ba held

his men in camp and Zhou Jian and Su Mao were compelled to retreat for lack of supplies. As they returned to Chuihui, Zhou Jian's nephew Zhou Song changed sides and closed the gates to them. The allies fled, and Zhou Jian was killed in a skirmish on the road. -HHS 12/2:494-95; Bn 59:135-143.

Zhou Jiang 周彊. About 110 Zhou Jiang was a county magistrate in Chenliu. A plague of locusts came, but spared the fields of the worthy gentleman Gao Shi. Zhou Jiang reported this to the commandery headquarters. -SGZ 24:683.

Zhou Jin 周近. About 206 Cao Cao sent Zhou Jin to the Xiongnu in Hedong with a ransom for the release of the Lady Cai Yan, who had been held in the harem of one of their chieftains. -HHSJJ 84/74:3086 Shen Qinhan quoting *Taiping yulan*.

Zhou Jing 周景 [Zhongxiang 仲饗/嚮] (d.168); Lujiang. Son of Zhou Xing, Zhou Jing was known for his scholarship and his ability when he was still young. Recommended Filial and Incorrupt, he was appointed to the offices of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, and later became Inspector of Yu province and Administrator of Henei. He showed respect for worthy gentlemen, while his recommendations for commissioned office and for local appointments were excellent, including Chen Fan, Li Ying, Xun Kun, Du Mi and Zhu Yu. Each year he invited the new nominees to dinners in his private apartments and gave them generous presents. He also gave positions to their kinsmen, explaining that he regarded his nominees as members of his family. In contrast, his predecessor Han Yin had made no such fuss of his nominees, and never promoted their kinsmen.

Zhou Jing later became Court Architect. When Liang Ji was destroyed in 159 he was proscribed from office as a former subordinate. His loyalty and honesty were remembered, however, and he was recalled soon afterwards to be Director of the Imperial Secretariat. He then served as Minister Coachman and Minister of the Guards, and in 163 he became Excellency of Works.

At this time kinsmen and clients of the palace eunuchs held many high positions, but as soon as Zhou Jing was appointed he joined the Grand Commandant Yang Bing in pressing for a purge of unworthy men: more than fifty were dismissed, including generals and senior local officials. They went on to attack the eunuchs Hou Lan and Ju Yuan, and both were

dismissed; they were later restored to office, but all the court was impressed.

In 165 Zhou Jing left office on account of an ominous earthquake, but he was then appointed Minister of the Household, and when Chen Fan was dismissed at the time of the First Faction Incident of 166 Zhou Jing succeeded him as Grand Commandant. He died in office in 168, but was posthumously enfeoffed for his role in the accession of Emperor Ling. -HHS 45/35:1538*, SGZ Wu 9:1259, XC 2:11a, FSTY 5:38; deC 89:40-41.

Zhou Jing 周靖. In 168 Zhou Jing was Minister Steward. When the General-in-Chief Dou Wu, father of the regent Dowager, and his ally Chen Fan attempted to eliminate the eunuchs at court, their plan was discovered and Dou Wu took command of the Northern Army. The eunuchs had Zhou Jing named Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, armed with the Staff of Authority, and sent him with the frontier general Zhang Huan to contend with Dou Wu for command of the troops. Zhang Huan's prestige was so great that Dou Wu's men changed sides. Dou Wu committed suicide, Chen Fan was killed, and the reform movement was destroyed.

Zhang Huan took Zhou Jing's place as Minister Steward soon afterwards, and the eunuch Cao Jie became General of Chariots and Cavalry in the following year. Zhou Jing is not mentioned again, but he was presumably well rewarded for his support of the victorious eunuchs. -HHS 69/59:2244, 65/55:2140.

Zhou Jing 周憬 [Junguang 君光]; Xiapi. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Zhou Jing became a member of the Imperial Secretariat and was then a county magistrate in Runan. From there he was appointed Administrator of Guiyang, where his achievements in government were widely admired. In 174 his junior colleagues and local gentlemen set up a stele in his honour. -LS 4:13a-17b.

Zhou Jing 周旌; Pei. In 188 Zhou Jing was involved in the plot of Wang Fen to kidnap and depose Emperor Ling. -SGZ 1:4.

Zhou Jing 周京. Zhou Jing was the father-in-law of Dan Meng the Administrator of Jiuzhen, and about 220 Dan Ming gave a banquet for him. Inspired by wine and music, the local officer Pan Xin danced before Zhou Jing and offered him a toast. When Zhou Jing did not respond, Pan Xin attempted to force him. Angry at the insult to his guest, Dan Meng struck Pan

Xin and killed him on the spot. This incident triggered mutiny and rebellion. -SGZ Wu 8:1252.

Zhou Jiu 周糾 see Zhou Qiu 周繆.

Zhou [Jizhen] 周季貞. Son of an elder sister of Ban Gu, Zhou Jizhen was skilled at literature. After the death of his wife he composed *Wen shen* 問神, a resentful "Question to the Gods," asking why they had taken her life. His aunt the Lady Ban Zhao wrote a letter in reply, criticising his failure to accept the will of the fates. -HHSJJ 84/74:3076 Shen Qinhan citing *Sanfu jue* as quoted in the *Guang bowu zhi* 廣博物志 by Wang Zhiqing 王志慶 of Ming.

Zhou Ju 周舉 [Xuanguang 宣光] (d.149); Runan. Son of Zhou Fang, he inherited his father's taste for scholarship and was admired in the capital for his vast learning. The people of Luoyang praised him in a rhymed couplet as: "Zhou Xuanguang, who knows the classics from front to back" 五經從橫,周宣光.

In 125 Zhou Ju joined the offices of the Excellency over the Masses Li He. At that time the Yan clan of the Dowager of Emperor An had arranged the dismissal of the emperor's son Liu Bao as Heir, and had placed their own infant nominee upon the throne. The palace eunuchs led by Sun Cheng, however, destroyed the Yan and restored Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, to his inheritance.

It was generally agreed that by encouraging the dismissal of Liu Bao, the Dowager Yan had failed to show proper respect for her role as titular mother to the Heir: she should be removed to separate quarters and no longer received in audience. Zhou Ju argued to his patron Li He that the proposal was unduly harsh: it showed comparable lack of respect for the responsibility of son to mother; and it could affect the moral authority of the new ruler if the Lady Yan should die from such harsh treatment. Li He was persuaded to oppose the harsh policy, and early in 126 the Lady was received in audience. She did die a few weeks later, but the new regime was spared the blame.

Soon afterwards, despite the work of Sun Cheng and his comrades in setting him upon the throne, Emperor Shun turned against them on account of their quarrel with his favourite Zhang Fang. Initial protests were ignored, but then Zhou Ju persuaded his new chief Zhu Chang, who had succeeded Li He as Excellency, to intervene, and Sun Cheng and his fellows were restored to some favour. [FSTY 5:40; Nylan 83:478-482 says that Zhou Ju also drafted a

memorial by which the eighty-year-old Zhu Chang defended himself against the claim by Yu Xu that he was too old and infirm for his position. Ying Shao claims that he was motivated by selfishness, seeking to keep his patron in power.]

Nominated Abundant Talent by Zhu Chang, Zhou Ju became a county magistrate in Chenliu. From there he sent a letter to the throne with proposals to deal with the problems of the time. He was admired by officers of the Imperial Secretariat for his plain speaking, and he was soon afterwards appointed Inspector of Bing province.

In the commandery of Taiyuan there was an old custom forbidding the use of fire during the depths of winter, because the local hero Jiezi Dui 介子推 had been killed when Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 sought to burn him out of his hiding-place in the hills. As a result of this prohibition many old people and children died for lack of warm food. Zhou Ju paid respects at the shrine of Jiezi Dui, but claimed that he surely could not wish such hardship; the effect of the superstition was weakened.

Zhou Ju was transferred to Ji province, and in 134 he was recommended by the reformer Zuo Xiong and joined the Secretariat at Luoyang. Respected by his colleagues, he became a close associate of the reforming Deputy Director Huang Qiong.

About this time there was a drought in the region of the capital. The emperor personally prayed for rain and ordered similar ceremonies throughout the region, and he also sought advice from Zhou Ju, whom he admired for his learning. Zhou Ju argued that the misfortune was the result of the ruler's own luxury and extravagance, and his tolerance of corrupt officials. He urged him to reduce the expenses of his table and to send away those palace women who rendered no services, while he also criticised the ruler's failure to secure his inheritance: the twenty-two-year-old Emperor Shun had now been married to his Empress Liang for two years but had achieved no son. This last was a remarkably blunt comment, but the maintenance of the dynasty was a matter of general concern, and many were anxious lest government was again controlled by a consort regency. Indeed the Empress Liang bore no children, and though Emperor Shun sired one son by a concubine the succession later fell into disorder under the control of the Liang family.

Emperor Shun was so impressed that he called

Zhou Ju to audience, accompanied by Huang Qiong and the Director of the Secretariat Cheng Yishi. Zhou Ju again urged the dismissal of wrong-doers and sycophants, but when asked to be specific he could name only the Excellency Liu Qi, as a man who had held office for many years without useful effect. Liu Qi was dismissed, together with his colleague Kong Fu, while Zhou Ju succeeded Zuo Xiong as Director of Retainers. Little else was changed: the ruler continued to rely upon favourites, and he came increasingly under the influence of the Liang family.

In 136 Emperor Shun called a court conference to consider whether his short-lived predecessor Liu Yi, puppet nominee of the Yan clan, who had been granted only a royal burial in 126, should be raised to imperial status. It had been suggested that some unfavourable omens reflected the failure to pay proper respect to a former sovereign, but Zhou Ju argued that Liu Yi's early death was a sign of Heaven's disapproval of the manner in which he had been brought to the throne by the Yan family, and it was a rebuke to such self-interested action by consort relatives. In this, he offered a veiled warning to the Liang. The majority at court accepted his arguments and the matter went no further.

Sent out as Administrator of Shu commandery, Zhou Ju was later dismissed for some wrong-doing. The General-in-Chief Liang Shang, however, admired him, and may have regarded Zhou Ju as a potential counter to the excesses of his own family. He made him his chief assistant, and from his deathbed in 141 he commended Zhou Ju to Emperor Shun as an honest, loyal man worthy of high office. The encomium proved of limited immediate value, for Zhou Ju became only a Counsellor Remonstrant.

After another series of unfavourable omens, the emperor remembered Liang Shang's recommendation and called Zhou Ju to audience. He protested once more about the dangers of corruption and personal abuse of power, arguing that disorder at court was reflected by disturbance in the provinces; his proposals were shelved.

In the autumn of 142, however, in response to continuing criticism of the growing power of the empress's brother Liang Ji and their kinsmen, eight scholar-officials were named to a special commission of inquiry. Zhou Ju was promoted to Palace Attendant, and he and Du Qiao were the senior officers. They had

a wide brief, with authority to report good officials of every rank and to impeach those who ruled badly, but though the commissioners were admired for their efforts, and some good men gained advancement, Liang Ji and his associates defended one another and blocked memorials of criticism. The emperor eventually ordered the investigations ended, though the reformist minister Li Gu later had the reports reviewed and some provincial officials were dismissed.

After a short period as Administrator of Henei, Zhou Ju was commended by Li Gu, who evidently had the ear of the emperor. He returned to the capital as Minister Herald, while Li Gu became Minister of Finance.

Following the death of Emperor Shun in 144 the regent government of the Dowager Liang Na and her brother Liang Ji proposed that the funerary tablet of Emperor Shun should be given higher position than that of his short-lived predecessor Liu Long the Young Emperor Shang 殤帝, an infant who had reigned for just a few months in 106. This would mean that in a future generation Liu Long's tablet would be removed first. The Minister of Ceremonies Ma Fang endorsed the idea, but in discussion at court Zhou Ju argued that precedence should be maintained in order of chronology and dynastic descent. This was agreed, though we may note that Zhou Ju's support of Young Emperor Shang is in contrast to his earlier rejection of the imperial claims of the infant Liu Yi in 136; the reign of Liu Long, however, had extended over two Chinese calendar years, and he was at least a legitimate heir.

Soon afterwards Zhou Ju was made Minister of the Household, but he left office on account of the death of his mother. He returned to court as a Household Counsellor, and died in 149.

Though he was widely mourned, and a testimonial edict was issued in his honour, Zhou Ju played no significant role under the Liang. He had done his best to remove personal influence and corruption, but Emperor Shun never committed himself to reform, and without such support no official could achieve lasting effect. -HHS 61/51:2023-30*, XC 3:11b, XHS 4:11b-12b.

Zhou [Kangzi] 周康子; Dingxiang. Sponsored by Guo Tai, he became well-known and respected. -HHS 68/58:2231.

Zhou Kui 周逵; Xiapi. About 200 Cao Cao gave

appointments to Zhou Kui and Wang Mo. His officer Chen Qun foretold they would not do well, and they were later executed for criminal wrongdoing. -*SGZ* 22: 633.

Zhou Long 州龍 [Xuanxing 宣興]; Nanyang. Described as a private gentleman 處士 and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Long was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17: 17a.

Zhou Lü 周慮. During the reign of Emperor Ming the commoner Zhou Lü acquired a reputation, but in 62 an edict ordered his arrest. The scholar Yin Min, who had befriended Zhou Lü, was implicated in the affair and was dismissed from his office as a magistrate. -*HHS* 79/69A:2559.

Zhou Ma 周生; Qiang. In the early 140s Zhou Ma and his kinsmen led a rebellion in the northwest. -*HHS* 101/11:3246; MBeck 90:128.

Zhou Mu 州穆 [Xuanxu 宣豫]; Nanyang. A former Assistant Officer of Jing province, and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Mu was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:17a.

Zhou Mu 周穆. Officer of Merit in his commandery, Zhou Mu dressed in rags. -*XC* 6:10a.

Zhou Pan 周磐 [Jianbo 堅伯 or Bojian 伯堅] (49-121); Runan. Zhou Pan was a kinsman of Zhou Xie 燮, and his grandfather Zhou Ye had been a commandery Administrator. As a young man, Zhou Pan went to Luoyang, where he studied the *Classic of History*, notably the Five Powers 五行 section of the *Hong fan* 鴻範 "Great Plan" Chapter, and *Zuo zhuan*. He was admired by his colleagues, but returned home to care for his mother and lived in poverty.

Some time during the 80s, as Zhou Pan was reciting the *Poetry*, he was impressed by the last lines of the *Ru fen* 汝墳 Ode, which are interpreted as a call to public duty [Legge *CC* IV:18]. He accordingly accepted nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, and about 90 he became an Internuncio. He was later a magistrate in Youfufeng, but as his cousin Zhou Chang became Director of Retainers, Zhou Pan was unable to serve within his provincial territory. He accordingly transferred to Rencheng, and later held office in Chen and Bohai. He returned home once more to care for his mother, and when she died he mourned her deeply and took up residence by her tomb. Though he was invited several times to office with the Excellencies, he always refused, but he did maintain a school with great numbers of students.

At the New Year of 121 Zhou Pan held an assembly of his students. After a day of discussions, he announced that he had been warned of his coming death in a dream. He made his preparations and two weeks later, without any sign of illness, he passed away. -*HHS* 39/29:1310-12*, *XC* 2:5a.

Zhou Pang 周滂 [Ziyan 次彦]; Runan. As Emperor Guangwu was in Changshan in 25, about the time that he took the imperial title, he was looking for men who were able to command troops. Zhou Pang's uncle recommended him, but Zhou Pang was a small man, and Guangwu doubted his capacity. Zhou Pang replied to those who made fun of him, however, and he was appointed Assistant Administrator of Yingchuan. Nothing more, however, is heard of him. -*XC* 7:14a.

Zhou Qi 周起 see Zhou Gui 周規. -*ZF*:15a.

Zhou Qian 周謙; Nanyang. A senior member of staff to the Administrator Lu Nu in 163, Zhou Qian was associated with the new temple at the source of the Huai in the mountains to the east of the commandery. -*LS* 2:12a-14b, Nagata 94:142.

Zhou Qiu 周璆 or Zhou Jiu 糾 [Mengyu 孟玉]; Le'an. There are varying and in some respects contradictory accounts of this man, and several different forms of his name and style.

FSTY 5:37 tells how Zhou Jiu, with the style Mengyu, held a clerical position in the offices of the General-in-Chief. His nephew was arrested for arranging that one of the family clients killed a man, and Zhou Jiu left his appointment and travelled back to seek pardon for him. Unlike Dan Wang *q.v.*, however, when Zhou Jiu called upon the Administrator Sheng Liang he made no special show of regret, and Sheng Liang remarked to his attendants that he could hardly disregard the law for the sake of someone who was not even prepared to shed blood in support of his plea. So the young man died in prison.

Zhou Jiu's sister-in-law, mother of the young man, wept not for her son but for Zhou Jiu himself, and there were varying opinions about his conduct. Ying Shao says that many admired his restraint, but describes them as mistaken.

While *FSTY* 5 says that Zhou Jiu became a magistrate in Pingyuan, *YSS*:11a tells how Zhou Qiu, with style Mengyu, was a magistrate in Hejian, where he maintained good order simply by example, taking no action.

HHS 66/56:2159 says that Zhou Qiu, with the

style Mengyu, was celebrated as a gentleman of ideal conduct and purity. He was invited by many local administrators, but refused to respond until Chen Fan came. When he called, the two men addressed one another on intimate terms, and Chen Fan had a special couch prepared for his guest. When Zhou Qiu departed he hung it on the wall, to be used by no other. This story is echoed by Yuan Shansong but, as Hui Dong observes in *HHSJJ* at 2362, where he cites a number of the anecdotes concerning Zhou Qiu/Jiu, the same compliment was paid by Chen Shou to the recluse Xu Zhi of Yuzhang about 156. One cannot be certain this is not dittography.

Finally we may note that a brief entry by Zhang Fan refers to the worthy Zhou Qiu of Le'an with the style Ziyang 子瑩 [ZF:10a], while his personal name also appears mistakenly as Yu 瑜.

Zhou Qun 周羣 [Zhongzhi 仲直]; Ba. Son of Zhou Shu, Zhou Qun was taught by his father and became an expert on portents. A keen astrologer, he built a tower at his family mansion and sent slaves in shifts to maintain constant watch on the heavens.

Having been an Assistant Officer for Education 師友從事 under Liu Zhang the warlord Governor of Yi province, Zhou Qun continued in an equivalent post under Liu Bei. He foretold the success of Liu Bei's expedition into Hanzhong in 219. -SGZ Shu 12:1020-21*.

Two of Zhou Qun's interpretations of comets are preserved in the Treatise of Astronomy of *Hou Han shu*, presumably through quotation by his fellow-countryman Qiao Zhou: *HHS* 102/12:3261; MBeck 90:118-121.

Zhou Rong 周榮 [Pingsun 平孫]; Lujiang. In 85 Zhou Rong was recommended by his commandery as Understanding the Classics and was appointed to the offices of the Excellency Yuan An, who admired his ability and frequently discussed affairs with him. Yuan An's arguments against the policies of Dou Xian towards the Xiongnu were based on Zhou Rong's advice, and though he was warned that he was in danger from the Dou faction, he defied the threat and confirmed his loyalty to the throne and to Yuan An.

When the Dou group was destroyed in 92 Zhou Rong became well known. He was transferred from a county magistracy in Yingchuan to be Director of the Imperial Secretariat.

Zhou Rong was later Administrator of Yingchuan,

but committed some crime and was due to go to prison. Recalling his early loyalty, Emperor He arranged that he suffer only demotion to a magistracy in Henei, and a year later he was promoted Administrator of Shanyang.

Praised and remembered in each position he held, Zhou Rong retired on account of age and illness. When he died at home, the emperor awarded cash to his family and had his son Zhou Xing appointed as a gentleman cadet. -*HHS* 45/35:1536-37*.

Zhou Shang 周尚; Lujiang. In 194 Zhou Shang was named Administrator of Danyang by Yuan Shu, to challenge the authority of Liu Yao. Military operations on his behalf, however, were carried out by Wu Jing and then by Sun Ce.

In 195, after Sun Ce's initial successes, Yuan Shu replaced Zhou Shang with his own kinsman Yuan Yin. Zhou Shang returned to the north. -*SGZ* Wu 9:1259; deC 96:171-175.

Zhou Shen 周慎 (d.187); Wuwei or Hanyang [see *sub* Zhou Bi his son]. In 185 Zhou Shen was a general under Zhang Wen against the Liang province rebels about Chang'an. After Dong Zhuo's success at Meiyang in Youfufeng, Zhou Shen laid siege to Yuzhong in Jincheng, by present-day Lanzhou, but as the rebels threatened his communications he abandoned his baggage and withdrew. Dong Zhuo later criticised him for rejecting the strategy of Sun Jian, who had proposed keeping a large reserve to fix the enemy, then sending a mobile column against them. -*HHS* 8:352, 72/62:2320, *SGZ* Wu 1:1098-99; deC 90:99-100.

Zhou Sheng 周生 or Zhu Sheng 朱生 (d.145); Jiujiang. Both men of long-time bandit families, in 144 Zhou Sheng and Fan Rong joined in a major rising, affecting all the region of the lower Yangzi and the Huai. The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Feng Gun, head of the Censorate, was given authority to lead troops from Yang and Xu provinces against them, but his army was defeated, two senior officials were killed, and the disorders grew worse.

In the following year Teng Fu was appointed Commandant of Jiujiang, and joined Feng Gun and the General of the Household Zhao Xu to attack the rebels. They won a complete victory, and Zhou Sheng and Fan Rong were both killed. -*HHS* 6:275-77, 38/28:1279.

Zhou Sheng 周生; Yingchuan. About 210 Zhou Sheng joined a conspiracy to kill Sima Yi, but was dissuaded by Hu Zhao and swore a blood oath to proceed no

further. -SGZ 11:362.

Zhou Sheng 周乘 see Zhou Cheng 周乘.

Zhou Shengfeng 周生豐 see Zhousheng Feng 周生豐.

Zhou Shenglie 周生烈 see Zhousheng Lie 周生烈.

Zhou Shu 周樹 [Changsheng 長生]; Kuaiji. An expert in law, and on pleading difficult cases, Zhou Shu was the author of *Dongli* [ji] 洞歷紀, presumably a study of historical precedents, which was admired by Wang Chong.

Zhou Shu became an Assistant Officer in Yang province. When the Inspector Meng Guan was accused of some wrongdoing, he had Zhou Shu prepare his defence and so escaped punishment. -XC 8:6b, *Lun heng* 37; Forke 07:469, Yao Zhenzong:2356.

Zhou Shu 周舒 [Shubu 叔布]; Ba. About 150 Zhou Shu was a disciple of Yang Hou, expert in Huang-Lao, and later became known for his interpretation of celestial and earthly phenomena. He refused invitations to office.

Zhou Shu identified the prophecy that the successor to Han would be "high road" 塗高 as referring to the state of Wei; his reasons are not recorded. -HYGZ 1:12, 10B:144, SGZ Shu 12:1020.

Zhou Shu 周術. Zhou Shu was Administrator of Yuzhang in the early 190s. He died of illness, probably in 194. -SGZ Shu 5:911.

Zhou Song 周誦; Pei. Nephew of Zhou Jian, in 29 Zhou Song was with his uncle at Chuihui under siege by Guangwu's commanders Ma Wu and Wang Ba. Zhou Jian led a sortie but was driven back, and as he and his men returned Zhou Song closed the gates against them and surrendered to Han. -HHS 12/2:495.

Zhou Tai 周泰 [Youping 幼平]; Jiujiang. A fellow-countryman of Jiang Qin, he went with him to join Sun Ce south of the Yangzi. Both men became senior majors.

Sun Quan asked Zhou Tai to enter his personal service, and on one occasion that the main army was away Zhou Tai saved Sun Quan from a surprise attack, at the cost of several wounds. In gratitude, Sun Ce appointed him a county magistrate in Danyang on the Yangzi. In 199 Zhou Tai accompanied the expedition which conquered Lujiang and Yuzhang and attacked Jiangxia. He then returned to his position, and in 203 he transferred to a county in Yuzhang.

In 208 Zhou Tai joined the attack which destroyed Huang Zu, and later that year he was with the army

against Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs and against Cao Ren in Nan commandery. He then joined the defence of the lower Yangzi against Cao Cao, and in 216 he was named a general and given command at the fortress of Ruxu. His subordinates, Zhu Ran, Xu Sheng and others, lacked respect for him, but Sun Quan called them to a banquet and had Zhou Tai display his scars and tell how he had come by each of them. He then toasted him with wine and the following day held a grand parade and granted Zhou Tai his personal umbrella. The others now showed him respect.

After the destruction of Guan Yu in 219, Zhou Tai was named Administrator of Hanzhong, in fact still controlled by Liu Bei, and was enfeoffed as a marquis. He died about 223. -SGZ Wu 10:1287-88*.

Zhou Tang 州湯 [Bode 伯德]; Nanyang. A former gentleman cadet and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Tang was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhou Teng 周騰 [Shuda 叔達]; Yuzhang. Probably about 160, as Emperor Huan was proposing to leave his palace for a suburban sacrifice, the Imperial Clerk Zhou Teng warned him that the stars were unfavourable and that if he proceeded his son would die. This incident is cited by the *Yuzhang lieshi zhuan* 豫章列士傳, preserved in *Taiping yulan* 6, and is cited by Hou Kang in *HHSJJ* 8:337 *jiaobu* as evidence that Emperor Huan had a son. The emperor is elsewhere recorded as having left only daughters, but he may have had a boy who died young.

Zhou Tiao 周條. About 229 Zhou Tiao held territorial appointment in Jing province for Sun Quan. -SGZ Wu 7:1239.

Zhou Wei 周偉; Pei. Father of Zhou Yu 郁, who was a man of bad conduct, he told his daughter-in-law the Lady Zhao A that it was her duty to reform her husband. As Zhou Yu refused to change, the Lady Zhao killed herself. -HHS 84/74:2784.

Zhou Wei 周緡. Administrator of Jiuquan, in 100 he was appointed Protector of the Qiang. The war-leader Mitang attacked Jincheng from across the frontier. Two years earlier he had been able to obtain the support of the local non-Chinese, but on this occasion Zhou Wei gathered them to support the Han as auxiliaries, and he joined the Administrator Hou Ba in pursuit of Mitang. As Zhou Wei kept his men on the defensive in a small fortress, Hou Ba attacked and heavily defeated the enemy.

The Qiang surrendered and large numbers were resettled inside China, but in the following year Zhou Wei was dismissed for cowardice. In fact, his lack of enterprise may have been because he was uncertain of the loyalty of his troops, while holding them in reserve would have created a threat which fixed and made them vulnerable to Hou Ba's assault [see, for example, *sub* Zhou Shen above]. -HHS 87/77:2884-85.

Zhou Wenguang 周文光; Pingyuan. In 110 the local bandits Zhou Wenguang and Liu Wenhe, who styled themselves "messengers" 使者, joined forces with the pirate Zhang Bolu. They captured one county city, attacked others, and gained a great following.

Later that year the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Wang Zong, head of the Censorate, came to take control of the provincial and commandery troops, and after several engagements the bandits were defeated and driven to flight. There was a confused attempt to surrender to an amnesty, and in 111 there was a final raid on Donglai, at the tip of the Shandong peninsula, but the remnant force was defeated. Driven across the sea to Liaodong, they were destroyed there by the local leader Li Jiu. -HHS 5:213-14, 38/28:1277.

Zhou Xi 周熙; Runan. A cousin once removed of Zhou Ba, Zhou Xi was adopted to maintain his lineage. He became a magistrate in Shanyang. -FSTY 3f:105.

Zhou Xi 州熹 [Boping 伯平]; Nanyang. A former Assistant Officer of Jing province, and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Xi was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:17a.

Zhou Xie 周勰 [Jusheng 巨勝] (110-159); Runan. Son of Zhou Ju, Zhou Xie was a student of the Mysteries [玄學 *Xuan xue*], and though he became a gentleman cadet in *ren* right of his father he left that office and returned home. Shao Kui, who had been his father's former officer was later appointed as Administrator of the commandery. Zhou Ju had disapproved of Shao Kui, and he was ashamed to be lower in rank than a man whom he did not respect. He therefore withdrew entirely from public life, and though he was nominated for office he claimed to be ill.

At this time Liang Ji dominated the government of Emperor Huan, and those whom he called to join his staff were afraid not to accept. Zhou Xie, however, rejected three invitations and some special nominations. Claiming ill health, he sought to emulate the sage Laozi in rustic seclusion, but then after ten years, in 159 he suddenly opened his gates and held

receptions and banquets; in the autumn, Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan.

Zhou Xie died at the end of that year, and Cai Yong composed an inscription in his honour. -HHS 61/51:2031*, Cai 2:5.

Zhou Xie 周燮 [Yanzu 彦祖]; Runan. When Zhou Xie was born he had a twisted neck and a low forehead, and was so ugly that he frightened people. His mother wanted to abandon him, but his father believed his appearance could be a good omen for the family, so he was allowed to live.

A precocious child, by the time he was ten Zhou Xie knew the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Analects*, and he later specialised in *Ritual* and the *Book of Changes*. Dealing only with the texts of the sages, he lived alone in the mountains and supported himself by farming and fishing, while his moral conduct influenced his household and his neighbours. He was nominated on several occasions and received many invitations to office, but always pleaded ill-health.

In 123, at the behest of Chen Zhong, Zhou Xie and other scholars in retirement received a special invitation from Emperor An. Pressed courteously by the local officers, he reluctantly embarked on the journey, but when he saw the number of people who came to welcome him at the capital of Yingchuan he again claimed to be ill and returned home.

Zhou Xie died aged over seventy. -HHS 53/43:1741-43*, XC 3:1b; Vervorn 90:157.

Zhou Xin 州歆 [Xuansui 宣隹]; Nanyang. A former county magistrate and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Xin was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhou Xin 周昕 [Daming 大明]; Kuaiji. A man of local family, elder brother of Zhou Ang and Zhou Yu 隅, during the 160s Zhou Xin studied under Chen Fan at Luoyang. Well-read and skilled in divination, he graded First Class from the offices of the Excellencies.

When the alliance in the east was raised against Dong Zhuo in 189, Zhou Xin was Administrator of Danyang. He sent thousands of men from his commandery to take service with Cao Cao.

In 194 Yuan Shu sent Wu Jing across the Yangzi to attack Zhou Xin, and proclaimed that all who supported him would be killed without mercy. Rather than expose his followers to such harm, Zhou Xin abandoned his position and returned home to Kuaiji.

In 196 Zhou Xin led troops against Sun Ce for the

Administrator Wang Lang. He was defeated and killed. -SGZ Wu 6:1205-06.

The careers of the three brothers Zhou are frequently confused, but see SGZ Wu 1:1100 PC quoting *Wu lu* and *Kuaiji dianlu*.

Zhou Xing 周興; Lujiang. Son of Zhou Rong, Zhou Xing became well known as a young man, and after his father's death he was appointed a gentleman cadet. In 120 Chen Zhong, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, presented a long memorial in praise of him, and Zhou Xing was appointed to that office.

In 123 the Internuncio Dan Song urged that the calendar be altered to fit with the teachings of the apocrypha, but Zhou Xing and his colleague Zhang Heng argued that the changes would add errors, and that the apocryphal writings were unworthy of serious attention. In wide debate, Zhou Xing and Zhang Heng were supported by many discussants, and the calendar was not changed.

Zhou Xing died soon after this. -HHS 45/35:1537, 92/2:3034-35; MBeck 90:59.

Zhou Xu 周栩. A clerical officer under Liu Cang when he was General of Agile Cavalry at Luoyang, Zhou Xu admired his courteous treatment of his men. When Liu Cang went to his state as King of Dongping in 62, Zhou Xu followed him, and he served Liu Cang, his son Zhong and his grandson Chang as an officer in their royal households.

As Emperor Zhang came on tour to Dongping in 86, Zhou Xu and his colleague Ding Mu were presented to him. In recognition of their loyalty, both men were appointed Consultants, and Zhou Xu was later a magistrate in Runan. -HHS 42/32:1442.

[Given their dates, this man cannot be the Zhou Xu described below.]

Zhou Xu 周栩. A senior and distinguished Confucianist, in 142 Zhou Xu was given acting appointment as a Household Counsellor and joined the special commission of eight sent out to observe the conduct of the empire. Little came of the project, and government remained in the hands of the Liang kinsmen of the empress. -HHS 6:272, 61/51:2029. [Given the dates, this cannot be the Zhou Xu described above.]

Zhou Xuan 周宣 [Konghe 孔和]; Le'an. A noted interpreter of dreams, Zhou Xuan was a local officer in the commandery about 205. The Administrator Yang Pei had a dream which foretold the defeat of bandits,

and Zhou Xuan interpreted it for him.

When Liu Zhen of Dongping dreamt of a snake which grew feet, Zhou Xuan advised him that this was a dream of national concern, not just related to his family. A snake with feet was so unnatural that it foreshadowed female rebels. Soon afterwards a rebellion led by the woman Zheng Jiang [or by women of the Zheng and Jiang families] ravaged the region.

Zhou Xuan interpreted dreams for Cao Pi and many others, and he was accurate eight or nine times out of ten. He died about 240. -SGZ 29:810-11; DeWoskin 86:138-140.

Zhou Xun 周循; Jianwei. A local scholar, Zhou Xun taught the diviner Yang Tong of Guanghan. -HHS 30/20A:1047.

Zhou Xun 周恂; Runan. A grandson of Zhou Xie, Zhou Xun also became well known. -HHS 61/51:2031.

Zhou Yang 周揚; Runan. Zhou Yang was orphaned and poor when he was young, but in the time of Wang Mang and at the beginning of Later Han he became known for his generosity to clients and to passing travellers. -HHS 79/69A:2559.

Zhou Ye 周業 of Runan was Administrator of Tianshui early in Later Han. -HHS 39/29:1310.

Zhou Yi 周異; Lujiang. A kinsman of the Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong and member of a great family in Lujiang, Zhou Yi became Prefect of Luoyang. He was the father of Zhou Yu the celebrated general of Wu. -SGZ Wu 9:1259.

HHS 45/35:1539 says that Zhou Yi's cousin Zhou Hui was Prefect of Luoyang. One must wonder if the ascription of that office also to Zhou Yi is not a case of dittography.

Zhou Yong 周永. A county magistrate in Pei during the 150s, Zhou Yong was a client of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, who protected him when he should have been punished for some wrong-doing.

Zhou Yong later joined the Imperial Secretariat, but later recognised that the power of his former patron was under threat. In 159 he supported Emperor Huan in the coup which destroyed Liang Ji, and he was among those who were rewarded with enfeoffment. In 165 the official Huang Qiong criticised such lack of personal loyalty.

After the disgrace of the emperor's former favourites Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan in 165, Zhou Yong and others who had been rewarded in 159 were deprived of their fiefs. -HHS 57/47:1858, 61/51:2038.

Zhou Yong 州永 [Mengyuan 孟元]; Nanyang. A member of staff of the Minister of the Household and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Yong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -LS 17:16b.

Zhou You 周游 (d.30). An officer of Wei Ao, in 30 Zhou You was sent as an envoy to Emperor Guangwu of Han. When he came to the camp of the imperial general Feng Yi, however, he was killed by one of his men on account of a family feud. About the same time Guangwu's envoy Yao Qi was robbed of the gifts he was taking to Wei Ao, and Guangwu remarked on the unfortunate chances which had interrupted their contact and negotiations. -HHS 13/3:526.

Zhou Yu 周郁; Pei. A man of bad conduct, Zhou Yu married the Lady Zhao A, daughter of the celebrated moralist Zhao Xiao. Finding that she was unable to reform him, she killed herself. -HHS 84/74:2784.

Zhou Yu 周紆 [Wentong 文通] (d.97); Xiapi. A harsh man, with small sense of generosity, Zhou Yu admired the political techniques of Han Feizi. He was a clerk in the Ministry of Justice, and in the time of Emperor Ming he became a magistrate in Changshan, where he terrified the people by killing several dozen men who had presented false accusations. Transferred to a county in Dong commandery, he arrested and tortured evil-doers, none of whom were released from their imprisonment.

Having thus established a reputation for authority, Zhou Yu became Chancellor of Qi. As he continued to emphasise punitive aspects of the law, his rule became a model for the whole province. Later, however, he was found to have killed an innocent man, and he was sent back to his former office in Dong commandery.

About 76 Zhou Yu became Administrator of Bohai. Whenever an amnesty was issued by the court, he kept the information back until all his subordinate county offices had carried out their executions; only then would he announce the edict. Eventually he was reported for this, brought to the Ministry of Justice, and dismissed from office.

Because of his strict honesty, Zhou Yu was very poor, and while he was out of office he earned his living as a builder. Emperor Zhang heard of him and had him reappointed as a cadet gentleman. He then became chancellor of a county marquisate in Runan, where he used detective work and trickery to trap one of his officials who had sought to deceive him; no-one

dared try it again.

Brought to the capital as Prefect of Luoyang, Zhou Yu encouraged his officers to enforce the law against the great families of imperial relatives by marriage such as the Ma and the Dou. When the empress's brother Dou Du was arrested by Zhou Yu's officer Huo Yan, the Intendant of Henan and the Director of Retainers, Zhou Yu's superiors, were questioned by the Imperial Secretariat, while guards were sent to take Zhou Yu to the prison of the Ministry of Justice. He was released under an amnesty a few days later.

The emperor himself approved his policy, though there were increasing protests from the most senior officials. Zhou Yu was dismissed in 83, but was soon afterwards appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate.

When Emperor He came to the throne in 88 under the regency of the Dowager Dou, the Grand Tutor Deng Biao noted Zhou Yu's record of cruelty and occasional false convictions, and memorialised that he should not hold authority over senior officials at the capital. Deng Biao was no doubt influenced by his debt to the Dou clan for his appointment as Tutor and by Zhou Yu's known hostility to imperial relatives by marriage.

Zhou Yu was therefore sent back to his home country, and as the Dou gained power under the regency he was sure they would turn on him. He avoided all public activity, and Dou Du and his brothers could find no cause to attack a man of such high reputation.

In 93, after Emperor He had overthrown the Dou, Zhou Yu was once more appointed head of the Censorate. He argued fiercely that Dou Xiang, remnant of the family, should not be allowed to remain at court, and Dou Xiang was sent away to his fief.

Zhou Yu was then transferred to be Director of Retainers, but when there was a drought in the following summer the emperor came on a visit of review and jail delivery. Two convicts who had been flogged were found to have their wounds crawling with worms, and Zhou Yu was demoted to a supernumerary post.

Next year, 95, Zhou Yu became Court Architect, a position which entailed control of corvée and convict labourers; he died in that office two years later. Courageous and intelligent but also brutal and sadistic, Zhou Yu was a model of the Stern Official 酷吏. -HHS 77/67:2493-96*.

Zhou Yu 周隅 [Renming 仁明]; Kuaiji. The younger

brother of Zhou Xin and Zhou Ang, in 189 Zhou Yu raised two thousand men to serve with Cao Cao in the alliance against Dong Zhuo. He then transferred to Yuan Shao, who named him Inspector of Yu. In 191 Zhou Yu attacked Yuan Shu's officer Sun Jian, but was defeated and driven away. [This venture is also ascribed, probably mistakenly, to Zhou Ang and/or to Zhou Xin.]

In 192 Zhou Yu went to aid his brother Ang against Yuan Shu in Jiuliang, but was again defeated. He returned to Kuaiji, where he was killed by Xu Gong. -SGZ Wu 1:1100; deC 90:130-131.

The careers of the three brothers Zhou are frequently confused, but see SGZ Wu 1:1100, quoting *Wu lu* and *Kuaiji dianlu*.

Zhou Yu 周瑜 [Gongjin 公瑾] (175-210); Lujiang. Son of Zhou Yi, when Zhou Yu was in his teens he became a friend of Sun Ce, who had come with his mother and younger brothers to live in Lujiang while his father Sun Jian was fighting in the service of Yuan Shu. Though the Sun were not of distinguished background, Zhou Yu and his family treated them well: they gave them a fine house to live in and Zhou Yu paid his respects to Sun Ce's mother, the Lady Wu.

In 194 Zhou Yu's uncle Zhou Shang was named Administrator of Danyang by Yuan Shu, and Zhou Yu went with him. As Sun Ce established himself south of the Yangzi in the following year, Zhou Yu went to join him. Their friendship was re-affirmed and Zhou Yu joined his campaigns. In early 196, as Sun Ce prepared to take over Wu and Kuaiji, he left Zhou Yu to hold Danyang, but when Yuan Shu recalled Zhou Shang to his headquarters north of the Yangzi Zhou Yu went with him.

Yuan Shu wanted to give Zhou Yu appointment in his army, but Zhou Yu asked instead to be made a magistrate in Lujiang. In 198, after Yuan Shu took the imperial title, he left his post and went back south of the Yangzi to join Sun Ce, who welcomed him with great friendship and favour. He first set Zhou Yu to guard the line of the Yangzi against Yuan Shu, but after Yuan Shu died in the following year he recalled him to headquarters as Protector of the Army of the Centre 中護軍: apparently chief of staff for military affairs, with authority parallel to that of Zhang Zhao over civil matters.

Zhou Yu and Sun Ce were both known as Young Gentlemen 郎, and in 199, after the capture of

Lujiang, they each took a woman of the Qiao family, celebrated beauties, to wife. As Sun Ce prepared to attack Huang Zu on the middle Yangzi he named Zhou Yu Administrator of Jiangxia, and after the conquest of Yuzhang in 200, Zhou Yu was stationed in that commandery.

Then Sun Ce died and was succeeded by Sun Quan. It is possible that Zhou Yu could have succeeded to the leadership, but he made no such move, and instead returned to headquarters where he showed public support for Sun Quan and resumed his position as Protector of the Army. He argued against sending hostages to Cao Cao, and the Lady Wu commended him to Sun Quan as a surrogate for his elder brother.

In 206 Zhou Yu led the army west against Huang Zu, first taking the camps of Mo and Bao in eastern Jiangxia, then defeating Huang Zu's army on the Yangzi in 207. Early in 208 he led the van of the final attack which destroyed Huang Zu's headquarters and killed him.

In the autumn of that year, Liu Biao the warlord Governor of Jing province died and Cao Cao took over his territory. Driving Liu Bei before him, he advanced to the Yangzi and demanded Sun Quan's submission. Several advisers urged acceptance, but Lu Su persuaded Sun Quan to call in Zhou Yu, and Zhou Yu undertook to deal with the invaders. Sun Quan agreed, and gave Zhou Yu joint command with Cheng Pu. Allied to Liu Bei, they faced Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs on the Yangzi south of present-day Wuhan, and when Huang Gai led an attack of fire-ships Cao Cao was defeated and driven back.

While Liu Bei took over the south of Jing province, Zhou Yu attacked the naval base of Jiangling in Nan commandery. The defenders under Cao Ren held out for several months, and Zhou Yu himself was wounded. He recovered, and in 209 Cao Ren withdrew, but the momentum of the campaign had been lost. Zhou Yu was named a lieutenant-general and Administrator of Nan commandery, with revenue from four counties, but the Sun group held only a narrow strip along the Yangzi, flanked by Liu Bei to the south and Cao Cao to the north.

Zhou Yu now proposed to advance west through the Gorges against Liu Zhang in Yi province. Liu Bei later opposed such a move, and it is uncertain how he would have reacted at this time, but in 210, even as Zhou Yu was making his preparations, he was taken ill

and died at the age of thirty-six *sui*.

An elegant, generous man, with an excellent ear for music, Zhou Yu had been Sun Quan's most celebrated and valuable commander, and his death caused an immediate weakness, both apparent and real, in Sun Quan's position. His successor Lu Su lacked Zhou Yu's prestige and authority, and he soon afterwards arranged for Nan commandery, including Jiangling, to be granted or "loaned" to Liu Bei, damaging any hopes of major expansion on the middle Yangzi.

Zhou Yu's daughter became consort 配 to Sun Quan's son and Heir Sun Deng, his elder son Xun 循 married a princess and his younger son Yin 胤 also married into the Sun clan. -SGZ Wu 9:1259-65*; deC 90:226-229, 290-300.

Zhou Yu 周瑜, wife of: see the Lady Qiao 橋 II.

Zhou Yu 周瑜 miswritten for Zhou Qiu 周璆.

Zhou Yuanyu 周紀. Son of Zhou Ji and the Lady Cao Jing/Jingji, his father died young but Zhou Yuanyu was brought up by his devoted mother and became a noted scholar. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zhou Ze 周澤 [Zhidu 稭都]; Beihai. As a young man Zhou Ze studied the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* according to the New Text Zhuang/Yan interpretation, then became a private teacher with hundreds of students. In 40 he joined the offices of the Grand Marshal, and a few months later he was appointed as an Academician.

In 56 Zhou Ze became a county magistrate in Hongnong, where he was admired by his subordinates for his personal honesty and his compassion for those in need. In 62, through recommendation from Fan Shu, he became a Gentleman of the Household, and in 67 he was made Minister of Ceremonies. Noted for his direct speech, Zhou Ze was involved in a number of debates at court.

When Liao Xin the Administrator of Beidi was found guilty of extortion and sent to prison about 68, his goods were confiscated and Emperor Ming distributed his property among various officials. Zhou Ze and his colleagues Sun Kan and Chang Chong were especially favoured, and people at the capital were impressed [compare, however, the attitude of Zhongli Yi].

Zhou Ze was named Acting Excellency over the Masses in 69, but it was then found that his conduct was too informal and he lacked the presence to hold the highest rank; he reverted to his former ministry a few

months later. In that office, he conscientiously attended the Imperial Ancestral Temple, and maintained a regular fast. His wife was concerned at his age and the likely effect upon his health, but when she came to ask after him Zhou Ze was furious and sent her to prison. People sang a song about him: "No sex all the year, except one day; and then he gets drunk and acts silly."

In 75 Zhou Ze was given supernumerary office as Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, and at the annual ceremony of Serving the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat, he was several times honoured as the Five-fold Experienced or Thrice Venerable, central figures for the ritual offering by the sovereign. He left office about 80 and died at home. -HHS 79/69B:2578*; Bn 76:56.

Zhou Zhang 周章 [Zishu 次叔 or Shengshu 升叔] (d.107/108); Nanyang. In 92 Zhou Zhang was Officer of Merit in his commandery when Dou Xian, brother of the Dowager, was dismissed as General-in-Chief and sent to his fief. The Administrator, evidently not realising that Dou Xian had lost his power to Emperor He, was going to pay his respects, but Zhou Zhang argued fiercely against such a gesture, and he cut the traces of the carriage to prevent him going. Soon afterwards, when the emperor sent orders for Dou Xian and his brothers to kill themselves, all those associated with them were punished but, thanks to Zhou Zhang, his Administrator was not involved. Impressed and grateful, he nominated Zhou Zhang as Filial and Incorrupt.

After a number of posts Zhou Zhang became a General of the Household, and in 106 he was made Minister of the Household. In the following year he was transferred to be Minister of Ceremonies and then promoted Excellency of Works.

After Emperor He died in the winter of 105/106, his Dowager Deng bypassed the elder of his two sons, Liu Sheng, and had the younger, Liu Long, take the succession. That Young Emperor died in the autumn of 106, and the Dowager, still avoiding Liu Sheng, set Liu You, Emperor An, upon the throne. Liu Sheng had been disqualified on the grounds that he was ill, but many officials believed he had largely recovered, and that the Dowager was seeking a young ruler so that she and her family might hold power through a regency. Zhou Zhang and others, moreover, resented the influence which the eunuchs Zheng Zhong and Cai Lun held in government.

Zhou Zhang therefore attempted to organise a coup, to remove the Dowager and her family, depose Liu You, and set Liu Sheng upon the throne. As the affair was found out in the winter of 107/108, Zhou Zhang killed himself. His family was left in abject poverty. -*HHS* 33/23:1157-58*.

Zhou Zhao 周朝 see Zhao Chao 周朝.

Zhou Zhi 周直; Runan. During the 180s Zhou Zhi was a leader of fighting men. Li Tong, head of another group, invited him to a banquet and killed him there. Li Tong and his associate Chen Gong then killed Zhou Zhi's subordinate commanders and divided his followers among themselves. -*SGZ* 18:534-35.

Zhou Zhong 州忠 [Shuyu 叔玉]; Nanyang. Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Zhong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16b.

Zhou Zhong 周忠 [Jiamou 嘉謀]; Lujiang. Son of Zhou Jing, Zhou Zhong held a number of senior appointments, and became Minister of Finance under Emperor Ling. After Dong Zhou took over the government in 189, Zhou Zhong was compelled to accompany the court to Chang'an, where he became a Household Counsellor. In 192 he was named Grand Commandant with control of the Imperial Secretariat, though under the regime of Li Jue and his fellows the appointment was meaningless, and in the following year he was dismissed on account of unfavourable portents. Zhou Zhong joined Jia Xu in urging that the new regime should call the potential enemy Zhu Jun back into the imperial service at Chang'an; they may have hoped that he might serve as an ally against the excesses of the warlords.

Zhou Zhong was then Minister of the Guards, and as Emperor Xian made his escape in 195 he led troops to protect him. After some successes Zhou Zhong was defeated and captured by Li Jue. He was later released, but is not heard of again. -*HHS* 45/35:1539.

Zhou Zong 周宗; Tianshui. A local leader, in 23 Zhou Zong joined Wei Cui in rebellion against Wang Mang, seizing the commandery capital and killing the administrator. The insurgents chose Wei Cui's nephew Wei Ao as their leader, and in the summer of that year Wei Ao gathered followers to swear allegiance to the house of Han. Zhou Zong received title as a general.

Zhou Zong accompanied Wei Ao to Chang'an, and when the Gengshi Emperor tried to arrest Wei

Ao after the failed plot against him, Zhou Zong was among those who prepared to defend his mansion. He escaped with Wei Ao to Tianshui, and was named a chief general.

In the winter of 32 Wei Ao was besieged in Xi city in the south of Longxi. Zhou Zong and Xing Xun came to the rescue with troops from Gongsun Shu brought by Wang Yuan. They broke the siege, returned Wei Ao to his capital at Ji county, and led a brief revival of his fortunes.

When Wei Ao died at the beginning of 33, Zhou Zong and Wang Yuan proclaimed his son Wei Chun as king in his place, but in the following year, 34, the Han armies came against them in force. They surrendered to the commander Lai Xi, and Zhou Zong was sent to the east of Luoyang with other leaders of the Wei group. -*HHS* 13/3:513-31.

Zhou Zong 州宗 [Boxing 伯興]; Nanyang. A former magistrate and presumably a kinsman, in 156 Zhou Zong was one of the sponsors of a memorial stele for the eunuch Zhou Fu. -*LS* 17:16b.

Zhousheng Feng 周生豐 [Weifang 偉防]; Taiyuan. Zhousheng Feng was a member of the Secretariat at the court of Emperor Guangwu in 30, when Feng Yan presented a memorial on lessons to be drawn from a recent eclipse. The clerical officer Linghu Lue, who also came from Taiyuan and who held a grudge against Feng Yan, warned Zhousheng Feng and the Prefect Wang Hu that Feng Yan would slander them to the emperor. So Zhousheng Feng and Wang Hu prevented the audience from taking place.

In the following year Zhousheng Feng was made Administrator of Yuzhang, where he became known for his honesty, frugality and kindness. -*HHS* 28/18A:977-78.

Zhousheng Lie 周生烈; Dunhuang. Recommended as a scholar by Zhang Ji about 220, Zhousheng Lie attended the court of Cao Pi and compiled commentaries to the classics and histories. -*SGZ* 15:477, 13:420.

Zhu 朱, the Lady; Langye? Second wife of Wang Rong, she was the mother of Wang Lan. She intensely disliked her stepson Wang Xiang, abused and beat him and attempted to kill him, but was restrained by her own son Wang Lan. For his part, Wang Xiang behaved towards the Lady with exemplary filial piety. -*JS* 33:987; Fang 65:242.

Zhu 朱, the Lady. A concubine of Cao Pi, she bore him a son, Cao Jian 鑒. -*SGZ* 20:590.

Zhu 朱 [personal name unknown]. First husband of Xing, later the Lady He Xing, he was father of He/Zhu Miao. -SGZ 6:173.

Zhu Ao 祝奥. In 202 Zhu Ao was an adviser to Guo Yuan, general of the Yuan family operating in Hedong. Deceived by Jia Kui, he persuaded Guo Yuan to remain stationary for a week, and during that time Cao Cao's officers were able to establish their defence. -SGZ 15:480.

Zhu Bing 朱並; Shanyang. Though Zhu Bing was a fellow-countryman of Zhang Jian, he was deceitful and corrupt and Zhang Jian refused to deal with him. Having acquired a reputation for destroying the property of the powerful eunuch Hou Lan in 165, Zhang Jian held a leading role among the reformers at the capital. Recognised as leader of a group from Shanyang, he swore an oath of brotherhood with twenty-three of his countrymen.

Encouraged by Hou Lan, in 169 Zhu Bing reported on the association and charged Zhang Jian and his fellows with plotting treason. A warrant was issued for their arrest, and this was the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2210; deC 89:110.

Zhu Bo 朱伯; Jiuzhen. In the winter of 43, after the Han general Ma Yuan had destroyed the rebellion of the Zheng/Tr'ung sisters in Jiaozhi, he moved south against other groups in Jiuzhen. A local leader, presumably non-Chinese, Zhu Bo was among those who fled the commandery to take refuge in the mountain forests. -SJZ 37:9a.

Zhu Bo 朱勃 [Shuyang 叔陽]; Youfufeng. When still only twelve, Zhu Bo had mastered the *Poetry* and the *History*. He was admired by his fellow-countryman Ma Kuang, who commended him to his younger brother Ma Yuan 援. Zhu Bo held office as a magistrate before he was twenty, but never rose higher than that position. Even as Ma Yuan rose to power and fame, however, he always treated Zhu Bo with friendship and respect.

After his death in 49, Ma Yuan was accused of various crimes and the family was disgraced. Zhu Bo presented a memorial of protest against such treatment of a distinguished servant of the throne, then retired to his home country.

Zhu Bo was aged sixty, and he died soon afterwards. As Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, he recognised Zhu Bo's loyalty by awarding his son with a quantity of grain. -HHS 24/14:846-50.

Zhu Cai 朱才 [Junye 君業]; Danyang. Eldest son of Zhu Zhi, he became a colonel under Wu, then succeeded to his father's fief in 224 and was made a lieutenant-general. -SGZ Wu 11:1305.

Zhu Cang 朱倉 [Yunqing 雲卿]; Guanghan. Zhu Cang went to study under Zhang Ning in Shu commandery. He travelled on foot, chanting his texts on a plain diet of beans and water, but though his fellow-students offered him rice and meat he did not accept. He compiled *He-Luo jie 河洛解*, explanations of the mystical diagrams from the Yellow River and the Luo.

Zhu Cang became Officer of Merit in his commandery. He was frequently offered nomination as Filial and Incorrupt, appointment as Headquarters Officer to the province, or entry to an office at the capital, but refused all of them. Still chanting texts, he killed himself. -HYGZ 10B:149.

Zhu Chang 主長 sometimes miswritten for Wang Chang 王長.

Zhu Chang 朱敞. Administrator of Hanyang in the early 90s, Zhu Chang was a client of Dou Xian. -HHS 45/35:1520.

Zhu Chang 朱伧 [Sunqing 孫卿]; Jiujiang. In the time of Emperor Zhang, Zhu Chang was a student protégé of Ding Hong.

As a Palace Counsellor in 124, Zhu Chang joined Lai Li and others in the assembly at the palace Gate of the Vast Capital to protest the dismissal of the Heir Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun. Though the demonstrators achieved no success, their support was recognised, and after Liu Bao had been brought to the throne at the end of 125, they were rewarded with high office and gained the *ren* right to nominate their sons as cadet gentlemen.

Zhu Chang then became Steward of the Changle Palace, responsible for holding the Dowager Lady Yan under arrest. Somewhat suspiciously, the Lady died a few weeks later, and two days after her funeral Zhu Chang was appointed Excellency over the Masses.

Despite the achievement of the eunuch Sun Cheng and his comrades in setting him upon the throne, Emperor Shun later turned against them and sent them out to their fiefs. Zhu Chang was reluctant to be involved, but his clerical officer Zhou Ju eventually persuaded him to intervene, and Sun Cheng and his fellows were restored to some favour.

Now over eighty years old, Zhu Chang left the office of Excellency at the end of 127. *FSTY* 5 has the

story that he was attacked by the Director of Retainers Yu Xu as being too old and infirm to maintain his position, but Zhou Ju presented a memorial in his own defence, and Yu Xu was ordered to apologise; Ying Shao disapproved of his hanging on to office in such a fashion.

Though Zhu Chang was regarded as an effective scholar of the classics and histories, his literary style was not considered to be of high quality. -*HHS* 15/5: 591-93, 6:252-54, 61/51:2023-24, *FSTY* 5:40-41; Nylan 83:478-484.

Zhu Chen 助陳, the Lady: see Chen Zhu 陳助.

Zhu Chong 朱寵. At *HHSJJ* 20/10:773, Hui Dong cites *DGHJ* as saying that Zhu Chong was a leader of the pioneers who helped Wang Zhong clear the road for Zhai Zun's initial advance against Wei Ao in 30. The relevant text, *DGHJ* 9:4b, however, does not mention his name.

Zhu Chong 朱冲; Nanyang. Zhu Chong's father Zhu Yan inherited a family fief in Pingyuan, but was later reduced to be a commoner. In 113 the regent Dowager Deng restored the marquise in favour of Zhu Chong, with another county in Pingyuan. -*HHS* 22/12:771.

Zhu Chong 朱寵 [Zhongwei 仲威]; Jingzhao. As a young man Zhu Chong studied the New Text *Classic of History*. A pupil of Huan Yu, he became an expert in the Ouyang interpretation.

At the time of the Qiang rebellion in 108, Zhu Chong and other worthy men were called to join the staff of Deng Zhi, brother of the regent Dowager, and in 111, as the trouble was at its height, Zhu Chong was sent with troops of the Northern Army to garrison the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River north of Luoyang.

In later years Zhu Chong established a fine reputation as Administrator of Yingchuan, for his encouragement of Confucian learning and conduct, for his concern with farming and for his benevolence towards the people; a stele inscription in honour of Mount Song 嵩山 was set up under his auspices in 118, and was followed by others: *LS* 20:10b, Nagata 94:58-59 and *ff.* Zhu Chong was remembered also for his debate with Zheng Kai on the varying qualities of worthy men of the past from different localities.

Returning to Luoyang as Minister of Finance, Zhu Chong held that office when the Dowager Deng died in 121. The Deng family was disgraced soon afterwards, but Zhu Chong came to court with bared

breast, praised their achievements, and pointed out that the emperor owed his throne to the Dowager and Deng Zhi. He then went to the office of the Minister of Justice to take his punishment.

There was considerable sympathy for the Deng among their former clients at court, so Zhu Chong suffered only dismissal from his post and was ordered to return to his home country. At the same time, moreover, Emperor An was embarrassed by the evidence of support: he sent messengers to offer sacrifices to those who had died, and to recall the surviving members of the clan to residence at the capital.

When Emperor Shun came to the throne in 125, the Deng were rehabilitated and Zhu Chong was enfeoffed and appointed Minister Herald. He became Grand Commandant in the following year, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat. He was noted for his simple, even poor, living, for he took no advantage from his position and refused all gifts and favours. He left office in 127. -*HHS* 16/6:616-18, *HHJ* 18:211-12, *XC* 8:5a, *Anon.*:2a-b.

Zhu Ci 朱賜 or Zhu Kuan 寬; Jingzhao. A well-known calligrapher and a friend of Zhang Zhi, Zhu Ci became Minister Coachman. -*HHS* 64/54:2122-23 & *JJ* at 2312 Hui Dong.

Zhu Dan 祝耽 see Zhu Rong 祝融.

Zhu Di 朱弟 also as Song Di 宋弟 or Yu Di 于/予弟; Jingzhao. A young man of Chang'an, as Han irregular troops gathered for a final attack on Wang Mang in 23, Zhu Di, Zhang Yu and others, afraid the city would be plundered and sacked, took sides with the insurgents. Shouting slogans in support of Han and calling on Wang Mang to surrender, they broke into the imperial palace and set it on fire. -*Dubs* 55:462-463, Bn 54:131.

Zhu Fan 朱飡 see *sub* Zhu Yu 朱寓 of Pei.

Zhu Feng 祝諷 see Dai Feng 祝諷.

Zhu Fu 朱浮 [Shuyuan 叔元] (d.57); Pei. Zhu Fu was the son of Zhu Yi 翊, who had been a favoured officer of the powerful eunuch Dong Xian under Emperor Ai of Former Han. After Dong Xian was forced to kill himself in 1 BC, Zhu Yi arranged his burial. Wang Mang was furious and had Zhu Yi arrested and killed [*HS* 93:3741].

Zhu Fu was an early supporter of the Han rebellion, and he joined the staff of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, when he was commissioner for the Gengshi Emperor in the northeast in 23. He became a trusted

aide and was soon a lieutenant-general.

In 24 Zhu Fu and Deng Yu led the initial attack against the pretender Wang Lang, but they were surprised and heavily defeated by Wang Lang's general Li Yu. Zhu Fu nonetheless continued in command of troops, and he was present at the capture of Wang Lang's capital of Handan in the summer of that year.

Despite his unimpressive military record, Zhu Fu was named a chief general and Governor of You province. Although he was young, he had considerable ability, and he gained support through his respect for traditional northern customs and by his appointment of local leaders to his staff. In 26 the frontier in this region was considered settled, and Zhu Fu was rewarded with enfeoffment, but his honours were resented by Peng Chong the Administrator of Yuyang, who had assisted Liu Xiu against Wang Lang and believed that his own contribution had not been appreciated. The two men became enemies.

Relying on the favour of Liu Xiu, now Emperor Guangwu, Zhu Fu was conceited and boastful. He made accusations against Peng Chong: that during the troubles just past he had shown a lack of filial piety by sending a party to rescue his wife rather than his mother; and that he had harmed some supporters of the emperor. He also claimed that Peng Chong was laying up supplies and gathering troops. In 26 Peng Chong was summoned to court, and when his request that Zhu Fu be called up too was rejected he gathered local gentry and attacked Zhu Fu.

In the autumn Zhu Fu and his colleague Deng Long attempted a counter-stroke, but they were separately defeated and Zhu Fu was besieged in his headquarters of Ji city in Guangyang, by present-day Beijing. The siege does not appear to have been pressed hard, and Zhu Fu was able to defend himself for over a year, but in the winter of 27 his situation was made more precarious as Zhang Feng went over to Peng Chong.

Zhu Fu had hoped for relief from Guangwu and his main army, and was now concerned that he had been abandoned. He sent a desperate request for aid, but Guangwu replied that time was on their side and he needed only to hold out. In the spring of 28, just as supplies in Ji were exhausted, the Administrator of Shanggu Geng Kuang sent a small force of cavalry, and with their aid Zhu Fu was able to escape from the city. As he fled, however, his own officers turned against him. Zhu Fu abandoned his horse and, killing

his own wife, managed to escape alone.

Peng Cheng took Ji city, but he was defeated soon afterwards and was murdered in the following year. Hou Ba, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, now accused Zhu Fu of having caused the trouble in the northeast and argued for his execution, but Zhu Fu continued in the emperor's favour. The allegations were ignored and Zhu Fu was named Bearer of the Mace, with a new enfeoffment.

In these early years of Emperor Guangwu's government, partly through uncertainty as to their loyalty and/or competence, senior officials in the provinces were retained in their posts for only short periods, and were frequently dismissed for minor faults. In the winter of 30 Zhu Fu took the occasion of an eclipse to present a memorial urging that men appointed to a position should have more time to demonstrate their ability. At a court conference the majority supported his argument, and the policy was changed.

Soon afterwards Zhu Fu sent in a further memorial, urging a return to the system of Former Han: at the end of his term of office a provincial governor was entitled to report on those heads of commandery units whom they deemed unfit for their position. In the past such comments had been reviewed by the Excellencies before any action was taken, but under Guangwu they were given immediate effect. The emperor's response is not recorded, nor the degree to which policy was changed, but Bielenstein discusses Guangwu's lack of decision regarding the balance between the senior officials at the capital, the administration of the commanderies, and the use of the censorial system.

In 31 Zhu Fu became Minister Coachman, and later that year he presented a memorial urging that recruitment of Academicians for the University should not, as was planned, be restricted to scholars from the immediate region of the capital, but extend across the empire. Guangwu accepted his advice, and Academicians thereafter came indeed from a broad spread of commanderies. Zhu Fu shared the emperor's interest in portents, and in 32 he and the Counsellor Xu Shu presented memorials urging reform of the calendar, which was now incorrect. Guangwu believed this was premature, and he took no action.

At the beginning of 43 Zhu Fu joined the Gentleman of the Household Zhang Chun in calling for a court conference to consider procedures for

worship of the imperial ancestors. They argued that the emperor should carry out sacrifices to his predecessors of Former Han, while it was improper for him to maintain worship to his own blood lineage. In the end a variation of this argument, presented by the Excellencies Dai She and Dou Rong, was accepted: the emperor in person should sacrifice to the Former Han rulers Yuan and Xuan, while senior officials made offerings to emperors Cheng, Ai and Ping; ceremonies for Guangwu's own direct ancestors would be carried out by local officers.

In 44 Zhu Fu succeeded Dou Rong as Excellency of Works, but two years later, in the winter of 46, he was dismissed for having sold state favours, no doubt through his influence with the emperor. Guangwu was bitter at the way Zhu Fu had imposed upon him, but he held residual admiration and refused to inflict further punishment. Zhu Fu retained his fief, and it was transferred again in 49.

After Emperor Ming came to the throne in 57, past accusations were raised once more; the emperor, furious, ordered Zhu Fu to kill himself. The colonel Fan Shu protested that such hasty action was against the principles of the past, and the matter should have been referred to the Minister of Justice for investigation. It is said that the new ruler regretted his decision. -*HHS* 33/23:1137-46*; Bn 59:124-130, Bn 79:55, 70, 169-170, 186.

Zhu Fu 朱輔 or Zhu Pu 酺; Liang. As Inspector of Yi province under Emperor Ming for several years in the 70s, Zhu Fu was concerned to extend the reputation and authority of Han among the non-Chinese people of the southwest, and he had government buildings adorned with carved and painted images of gods, spirits and strange beasts in order to impress them. It is claimed that more than six million people from a hundred different tribes came to submit but, as Bielenstein observes, this vast accretion is not mentioned in the annals and the statement is either false or exaggerated.

The history may well be correct, however, when it says that King Tangzou of the Zuodu people from the upper reaches of the Yangzi brought three songs in praise of Han. Zhu Fu had the clerical officer Tian Gong translate the pieces, then sent him and the Assistant Officer Li Ling to the court at Luoyang. His accompanying memorial cited parallels of the extended influence of virtue recorded for rulers of classical times. Emperor Ming, delighted with the compliment,

had the alien texts and their Chinese rendering sent to the history office. They are quoted in *HHS* 86/76 and *DGHJ* 22 at 1b-2a.

Soon after Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75, Zhu Fu was among three provincial inspectors criticised by Ma Yan, head of the Imperial Censorate, for lack of energy in carrying out their duties and for the poor quality of candidates whom they recommended for office. He was dismissed.

After Zhu Fu's departure, the distant tribes of the Zuodu gradually ended their contact with Han and returned to their own customs and independence. - *HHS* 86/76:2854-57, 24/14:860, 56/46:1827, *DGHJ* 17:5a; Bn 67:78-79 [*HHS* 86/76 and 56/46 have the personal name as Fu 輔; *DGHJ* and *HHS* 24/14 have Pu 酺].

Zhu Fu 朱福 see Zhu You 朱祐.

Zhu Fu 朱符; Kuaiji. A son of Zhu Jun, Zhu Fu became Inspector of Jiaozhi in the 190s. He received refugees from the troubles of the north, and appointed men from his own commandery as local officers. As they behaved oppressively, there was a rebellion, joined by the non-Chinese people of the hills. Zhu Fu fled away by sea and disappeared. -*SGZ* Wu 8:1252; Taylor 83:71.

A pair of officials mentioned by the Buddhist apologeta *Mouzi* 牟子 can be identified as Zhu Fu and his brother Zhu Hao: Zürcher 59:13-14.

Zhu Gai 朱蓋 or Zhu Yi 益 (d.165); Guiyang. In 165, after several years of fighting, the troops in Jing province were resentful that they had been neither relieved nor paid. The common soldier Zhu Gai led a mutiny and allied with the bandit Hu Lan. Having overrun Guiyang, they attacked the capital of Lingling, but were held off by the Administrator Chen Qiu. They were then defeated and destroyed by a provincial army under Du Shang. -*HHS* 7:315, 38/28:1286, 56/46:1831-32.

Zhu Gai 朱蓋. In 209 Zhu Gai was a subordinate commander under Cao Cao's general Zhang Liao in his successful campaign against Chen Lan in Lujiang.

In 219 Zhu Gai assisted Xu Huang in the successful counter-attack against Liu Bei's general Guan Yu outside Fan city. -*SGZ* 17:518, 529; deC 96:545.

Zhu [Gongdao] 祝公道; Henan. In 202, after Guo Yuan captured the county city of Jiang in Hedong, he took the magistrate Jia Kui to Shangdang, where he placed him in a dungeon pit with a cart-wheel on top

to close it. Zhu Gongdao heard of Jia Kui's plight, and although he had no previous connection he came by night and released him.

Zhu Gongdao would not reveal his name, but after Guo Yuan was defeated and killed Jia Kui found it out. Zhu Gongdao was later condemned to execution for some crime. Jia Kui tried to secure a reprieve, but he was not successful; when Zhu Gongdao was killed he wore mourning for him. -SGZ 15:480.

Zhu Guang 朱光. An officer of Cao Cao, Zhu Guang was appointed Administrator of Lujiang. He established his capital at Huan and set up agricultural colonies, but in 214 Sun Quan brought his army. The city was stormed by Lü Meng and Gan Ning, and Zhu Guang was captured.

In 219, as Sun Quan was negotiating peace with Cao Cao in order to deal with the expected attack from Liu Bei, he sent Zhu Guang and other prisoners back to the north. -SGZ Wu 2:1119-21; deC 96:464-465, 555.

Zhu Gui 朱龜 [Boling 伯靈] (120-183). Zhu Gui's grandfather was a commandery Administrator and his father a county magistrate. Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Zhu Gui served in the Imperial Secretariat and then in the offices of the Grand Commandant, where he was graded First Class.

In 176 there was rebellion among the non-Chinese people of Yizhou commandery, and the Administrator Yong Zhi was taken captive. As Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate, Zhu Gui was sent to attack the insurgents with troops from Bing and Liang provinces. He failed to put down the disturbance, and it was eventually settled by a new Administrator, Li Yong.

After a period of leave on account of illness Zhu Gui was appointed Inspector of You province, where he maintained defence against the Xianbi. He died in 183 and his former officials set up a stele in his honour at his tomb two years later. -HHS 86/76:2847, HYGZ 4:49, LS 10:22a-24a, SJZ 23:7a-b.

Zhu Gui 祝龜 [Yuanling 元靈]; Hanzhong. From the age of fifteen Zhu Gui travelled to study in Yingchuan and Runan, and at the Imperial University in Luoyang. Returning to the west in the early 190s, he was appointed as a magistrate in Guanghan by the warlord Governor Liu Yan.

Zhu Gui compiled *Hanzhong qijiu zhuan* 漢中耆舊傳, a collection of biographies of local worthies, in

a genre common at that time. -HYGZ 10C:169.

Zhu Han 朱漢 (d.191); Henei. As Yuan Shao took Ji province from Han Fu, Zhu Han joined his staff. The former Governor, Han Fu, had treated him discourteously in the past, and Zhu Han now attacked his residence and beat his son. Yuan Shao executed Zhu Han. -HHS 74/64A:2380.

Zhu Hao 祝皓 [Zichun 子春]. A local officer, Zhu Hao gave his leisure time to visiting the sick and offering condolences to the bereaved. -XC 7:11a.

Zhu Hao 朱皓 [Wenming 文明] (d.195); Kuaiji. Son of Zhu Jun, Zhu Hao was named Administrator of Yuzhang by the Han court. Aided by the Inspector Liu Yao, he drove away his rival Zhuge Xuan and established an excellent government. He was later killed by Zhai Rong. -HHS 71/61:2313, SGZ Shu 5: 911, SGZ Wu 4:1184-85, XC 8:3b.

A pair of officials mentioned the Buddhist apologia *Mouzi* 牟子 can be identified as Zhu Fu and his brother Zhu Hao: Zürcher 59:13-14.

Zhu Hu 朱祐 see Zhu You 朱祐.

Zhu Huan 朱桓 [Xiumu 休穆] (167-238); Wu. Joining Sun Quan about 200, Zhu Huan was appointed a county magistrate in Kuaiji. There was widespread illness and consequent shortage of food, but Zhu Huan arranged the distribution of supplies and medical treatment and people were suitably grateful.

Zhu Huan was later appointed a colonel with authority to raise troops, obtained several thousand men and took part in operations against the hills people of Danyang. He was enfeoffed and promoted major-general, and about 220 he became commander at the fortress of Ruxu on the Yangzi. Having driven back the attack of Cao Ren in 222, he was raised in fief and made a full general.

Zhu Huan continued in active military command, but about 237 he appears to have suffered a nervous breakdown: he quarrelled with Sun Quan's son-in-law Quan Zong and in fury killed several of his attendants. He recovered briefly, but died soon afterwards.

Fiercely independent and swift to anger, Zhu Huan cared for his men and was popular with them, but he was probably always a little mad. -SGZ Wu 11:1312-15.

Zhu Hui 祝回; Shangdang? In 25, as Bao Yong held out in Taiyuan for the lost cause of the Gengshi regime, he sent his younger brother Bao Sheng and his son-in-law Zhang Shu to capture Huangcheng in

Shangdang, held by Guangwu's Administrator Tian Yi. The city was taken, the magistrate Feng Yan was killed, and Zhu Hui, a former Internuncio, was named in his stead. -HHS 28/18A:976.

Zhu Hui 朱暉 [Wenji 文季] (12-88); Nanyang. A man of old official family, and evidently wealthy, in the time of Wang Mang Zhu Hui's father Cen 岑 attended the University at Chang'an and was a colleague of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. Zhu Cen died when Zhu Hui was about ten years old, and as disorder broke out after the fall of Wang Mang Zhu Hui accompanied his family in flight from their country holdings to Wan city, capital of the commandery. They were attacked by bandits, who seized the women-folk and took clothing and other possessions. Zhu Hui's brothers hid away, but though Zhu Hui was only thirteen he faced the robbers with a drawn sword. Admiring his courage, they laughed and spared his life.

After Guangwu took the throne in 25, he looked for his old friend Zhu Cen, and when he learned of his death he appointed Zhu Hui as a gentleman cadet. Though Zhu Hui left on grounds of ill health, he attended the University and impressed people by his excellent conduct.

About 57 Zhu Hui was approached by Yin Jiu, uncle of Emperor Ming, but refused contact. When he held local office in the commandery, the Administrator Ruan Kuang wanted to buy a female slave from him. Zhu Hui refused, but when Ruan Kuang died soon afterwards he sent generous gifts to his family. He explained that he had not wanted to engage in a transaction before, in case people thought he was trying to buy favour, but now he was free to be generous.

Liu Cang, brother of the emperor, admired this and called Zhu Hui to his office at Luoyang. Zhu Hui saved Liu Cang from embarrassment on the occasion of a court ceremony by purloining a *bi*-ring 璧 for him, and when Emperor Ming heard of this he appointed him to his personal guard.

Zhu Hui later became Administrator of Linhuai. He was known for his good appointments and his fair but firm handling of disputes, but some years later one of his officers was put to the question over some wrongdoing and died in prison. Zhu Hui was reported by the province and dismissed.

He returned to private life, but when there was a serious local famine about 77 he distributed supplies from his own household to relieve the people. In his

private dealings, moreover, he cared for the family of a distant acquaintance Zhang Kan, and he took in the posthumous son You of his friend Chen Yi; he even recommended Chen You for office rather than his own son Zhu Pian. He was widely admired for such honourable conduct.

When Emperor Zhang visited Nanyang in 84, he had the Administrator call Zhu Hui to audience and appointed him Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat. He was later named Administrator of Taishan, but asked to remain at the capital; his wish was granted, and he became a most trusted officer.

Zhu Hui's junior colleague Zhang Lin urged that because of inflation the coinage in circulation should be restricted and government monopolies of salt and iron should be re-introduced. Zhu Hui opposed him on Confucian grounds, but at a second hearing the emperor accepted Zhang Lin's arguments and became angry with Zhu Hui. Zhu Hui presented himself at the imperial prison, and only on the third day were orders given for his release. Zhang Lin's policy was adopted but soon afterwards abandoned.

Zhu Hui now claimed to be ill and sought to leave office, for he was over eighty years old. Emperor Zhang, embarrassed, sent messengers and his imperial physician to enquire about his health. Zhu Hui recovered slightly and was granted cash and cloth.

Zhu Hui was later appointed Director of the Secretariat, but again asked to retire; he was made a Commandant of Cavalry and granted further rewards. After the death of Emperor Zhang in 88, he argued against the proposed expedition of Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu. He died soon afterwards.

We are told that Zhu Hui's wife died when he was fifty, but that although his brothers urged him to marry again in order to secure his lineage, Zhu Hui refused because a second wife could destroy the family. It appears that he was survived only by his son Zhu Jie. -HHS 43/33:1457-60*; Yang 63:188-189.

Zhu Hui 朱徽 or Zhu Wei 微 (d.95). From Bearer of the Mace at Luoyang, in 94 Zhu Hui was appointed General on the Liao. The Shanyu Anguo, who had succeeded to the title in the previous year, was overshadowed by his younger cousin Shizi, known as a friend of the Chinese and an energetic enemy of the Northern Xiongnu. Anguo quarrelled with the Emissary Du Chong, but when he wrote to complain Du Chong intercepted the letter, then reported that he doubted

Anguo's loyalty. Zhu Hui supported the attack.

The court of Emperor He ordered an investigation, but gave orders that Anguo should be subject to a special watch and guard. As Du Chong and Zhu Hui led armed men to Anguo's camp during the night, Anguo fled in fear. He gathered his personal supporters and some surrendered Northern Xiongnu, and went to attack Shizi. Shizi took refuge in Zhu Hui's headquarters and the attack was unsuccessful. Then more Chinese troops came up, and when Anguo refused to surrender he was killed by his own men.

Shizi succeeded Anguo as Shanyu, but his enmity for the northerners, and the manner in which he had been placed upon the throne, brought rebellion among the people who had surrendered. Proclaiming the southern prince Fenghou as Shanyu, they killed Chinese officials and burnt their guard-houses. The court sent a large army, but despite heavy defeats Fenghou and many of his people managed to escape across the frontier and establish a new state of their own.

Zhu Hui and Du Chong had contributed heavily to this major failure of policy. Both men were arrested and died in prison. -*HHS* 89/79:2955-56; *deC* 84:278-281.

Zhu Ji 朱濟. In 117 Zhu Ji was a member of the Imperial Secretariat. His colleague Zhang Jun found that he and another officer, Ding Sheng, were remiss in their duties and resolved to report them. Zhu Ji and Ding Sheng were afraid, and they had two other officers, Chen Zhong and Lei Yi, approach Zhang Jun on their behalf. As Zhang Jun remained adamant, Zhu Ji and Ding Shen bribed a servant to find something against him, and they obtained private letters he had exchanged with Yuan Xu, son of the Excellency of Works Yuan Chang.

The conspirators sealed these letters and sent them to the emperor, claiming that Zhang Jun had divulged matters which should have remained secret within the palace. Zhang Jun and Yuan Xu were imprisoned and sentenced to death, and Yuan Chang was obliged to commit suicide. As Zhang Jun appealed, his sentence was commuted to exile, while Yuan Chang was posthumously rehabilitated and Yuan Xu was allowed to resume his official career. Zhu Ji is not heard of again. -*HHS* 45/35:1524.

Zhu Ji 朱紀; Danyang. Second son of Zhu Zhi, he was married to a daughter of Sun Ce and held command as

a colonel. -*SGZ* Wu 11:1305.

Zhu Jian 朱建 miswritten for Song Jian 宋建. -*HHSJJ* 9:359.

Zhu Jianping 朱建平; Pei. An expert in physiognomy, Zhu Jianping was renowned among the common people, and in 213 Cao Cao brought him to court. Cao Cao's son Cao Pi asked him to assess how long he and his attendants might live, and Zhu Jianping advised each of them, frequently with reference to a mid-life crisis which, if it was overcome, would be followed by a further lease of life. Cao Pi, for example, was allocated eighty years, so long as he survived beyond the age of forty; in the event, he died at the earlier age. In each case, one way or another, Zhu Jianping's prognoses came true.

Zhu Jianping was also good on horses. On one occasion he saw Cao Pi's horse in the courtyard and foretold that it would die that day. As it happened, when Cao Pi went to ride it, the horse became frightened and bit him in the knee. Cao Pi was angry and killed it. -*SGZ* 29:808-10*; *DeWoskin* 86:134-137.

Zhu Jie 朱頡; Nanyang. Son of Zhu Hui, Zhu Jie was a noted Confucian scholar. During the reign of Emperor An he served as Chancellor of Chen and/or Administrator of Chenliu. Through his son Zhu Mu he became known posthumously as the Master of Wide Virtue 貞宣先生. -*HHS* 43/33:1461.

Zhu Jie 朱頡 [Xuande 宣德]; Ganling. Magistrate of Huayin in Hongnong in 165, Zhu Jie was ordered by the Administrator Sun Qiu to complete work on the temple at Mount Hua which had been commenced by Sun Qiu's predecessor Yuan Feng. -*LS* 2:3a.

Zhu Jin 祝璿 (d.168). An officer of the Censorate, Zhu Jin was sent by Dou Wu to join Shan Bing and Yin Xun in interrogating the eunuch Zheng Li as a preliminary to an attack of the palace eunuchs led by Cao Jie. Zheng Li's confession duly implicated Cao Jie and Wang Fu, but they struck first and destroyed Dou Wu and Chen Fan. Shan Bing and Yin Xun were among the first to be killed, and Zhu Jin surely died also at this time. -*HHS* 69/59:2243; *Ch'ü* 72:487.

Zhu Jun 朱儁/雋 [Gongwei 公偉] (d.195); Kuaiji. Zhu Jun's father died when he was young and his mother was a silk-seller. He was admired for both his filial piety and his generosity: on one occasion in the 150s he took from his mother's stock to assist Zhou Gui, a colleague of poor family. He justified his conduct as part of the natural order.

As a clerk in his county office, Zhu Jun was admired and recommended by the magistrate Du Shang. He joined the commandery staff, and after almost twenty years he was Registrar to the Administrator Yin Duan. In 173 Yin Duan was reported by the provincial authorities for failing to defeat the rebels led by Xu Chang, but Zhu Jun hastened to Luoyang and bribed his way to intercept and amend the letter. Yin Duan was glad to be sentenced only to convict service rather than execution, but Zhu Jun never revealed his role.

Nominated Filial and Incorrupt, Zhu Jun became a magistrate in Donghai. His rule was excellent, he was commended by the Chancellor, and in 181 he was sent to Jiaozhi as Inspector to deal with the rebellion led by Liang Long. Having received authority to raise troops in his home commandery of Kuaiji, he took five thousand men to the south. Holding back at the provincial border, he first sent agents to spy on the rebels, then advanced into the territory. He killed the Administrator of Cangwu, Chen Shao, who had sided with the rebels, and called up loyal commandery troops to support his advance. The local officials were encouraged, the people turned to him and the insurgents surrendered. Within a few weeks the trouble was ended and Liang Long had been executed. Zhu Jun was rewarded and enfeoffed, and was called to the capital as a Counsellor Remonstrant.

As the Yellow Turban rebellion broke out in 184, Zhu Jun was appointed a General of the Household with the Staff of Authority and was sent with Huangfu Song to attack the enemy in the south. They suffered some setbacks, but by autumn they had pacified Yingchuan, Runan and Chen, and Zhu Jun was awarded a larger fief and a more substantial title. He then went to Nanyang, where the rebels had killed the Administrator Chu Gong and occupied Wan, chief city of the commandery. Joining forces with loyal troops from the province and commandery, he attacked the place for several months. At one time there was a proposal to recall him for lack of success, but the Excellency Zhang Wen argued in his favour, and Zhu Jun was left in command. He defeated various sorties of the enemy, and eventually deceived the enemy with a feint attack and stormed the city. The rebels took refuge in the citadel and asked to surrender, but Zhu Jun refused. After direct attacks proved unsuccessful, he withdrew his troops to give an apparent route of escape, but then pursued and slaughtered the rebels as

they fled. The remnants returned to Wan, but a further fierce attack destroyed them completely.

Early in 185 Zhu Jun was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Right and enfeoffed with special honours. He was made a Household Counsellor, but left office when his mother died. He later became Court Architect, Minister Steward and Minister Coachman, and was then sent out as Administrator of Henei, commanding levies of private armies against Zhang Yan and other bandits of the Black Mountains. They were restrained but not suppressed, and Zhang Yan received a nominal commission into the imperial service. Zhu Jun returned to the capital once more as a Household Counsellor, was then a colonel in the Northern Army, and later Colonel of the City Gates.

As Dong Zhuo seized power in 189, Zhu Jun was Intendant of Henan. In the following year Dong Zhuo sought to make him his chief assistant, but Zhu Jun refused, protesting at the same time about the shift of the capital to Chang'an.

As Dong Zhuo withdrew to the west, he left Zhu Jun in charge at Luoyang, but Zhu Jun joined the eastern warlords against him, and in 191 he left his post and moved south into Jing province. Dong Zhuo sent Yang Yi to replace him, but Zhu Jun drove him away. The desolate city of Luoyang was now abandoned, and Zhu Jun set his headquarters in eastern Henan, attempting to restore unity in the east and seeking allies against Dong Zhuo. He obtained troops from Tao Qian in Xu province and others, but in 192 he was defeated by Dong Zhuo's commanders Li Jue and Guo Si, who then ravaged Yingchuan and Chenliu.

After the assassination of Dong Zhuo, Tao Qian and other leaders urged Zhu Jun to take title as Grand Master 太師 and lead an army west to rescue the emperor. The new regime of Li Jue and his colleagues, however, called him to Chang'an to become Minister Coachman and, despite its provenance, Zhu Jun felt obliged to obey the imperial command. In 193 he became Grand Commandant, but left office after an eclipse in 194.

It was intended that Zhu Jun should lead an embassy to the east but in 195, before he could go, Li Jue and Guo Si embarked on open warfare in the capital. Emperor Xian sent Zhu Jun and other senior officials to persuade Guo Si to settle the quarrel, but Guo Si took the whole party hostage. Zhu Jun, humiliated and angry, became ill and died. -HHS 71/61:2308-13*, XC

4:12a, SGZ Wu 1:1094.

Zhu Kai 朱楷; Shanyang. A reformist at Luoyang in the late 160s, Zhu Kai joined a sworn brotherhood of twenty-four men from Shanyang under the leadership of Zhang Jian. In 169 their fellow-countryman Zhu Bing, acting at the instigation of the powerful eunuch Hou Lan, claimed the association was treasonous. A warrant was issued for the members' arrest, and this became the trigger for the Second Faction Incident and the Great Proscription. -HHS 67/57:2188 & 2210; deC 75A:28-31, deC 89:110.

Zhu Kuan 朱寬 i.e. Zhu Ci 朱賜. -HHSJ 64/54:2312 Hui Dong.

Zhu Liang 祝良 [Shaoqing 邵卿 or Shaoping 邵平]; Changsha. An intelligent man of wide learning, Zhu Liang was known for honesty and fairness. He served as Inspector of Bing province, where he was noted for his military ability, and then in Liang, where he reformed the administration, punished official corruption, and restored confidence during the final years of the first Qiang rebellion.

In 119 there was a rebellion among the non-Chinese people of Rinan in the far south. Zhu Liang was sent as Administrator of neighbouring Jiuzhen commandery to accompany the new Inspector Zhang Qiao. Travelling among the people without escort, Zhu Liang established personal trust, received the surrender of the dissidents, and organised the reconstruction of official offices and settlements. In conjunction with Zhang Qiao he also undertook a series of campaigns to settle the remaining opposition groups and confirm the borders of imperial territory against the hill tribes of the west.

Zhu Liang later became Prefect of Luoyang, where he enforced discipline and restrained the conduct of the great families. At one time, during a period of drought, when the emperor had prayed for rain without success, Zhu Liang went to the steps of his offices, exposed himself to the fierce sun, and asked to take all punishment upon himself. Within a few hours, clouds had gathered and good rain fell. The people of the city made up a song to celebrate his achievements.

In 133 the new wife of the Grand Commandant Pang Can threw the step-children borne to her predecessor into a well to drown. Zhu Liang was not on good terms with Pang Can, and when he heard of the crime he came with his officers, forced his way into the official residence to investigate the matter, then reported that

Pang Can should share the responsibility. Pang Can left office on the grounds of unfavourable omens, but it was also judged that Zhu Liang had acted precipitately, without seeking proper authority, and he was sent to prison. [Xie Cheng has another story, which says that the titular wife of the eunuch Regular Attendant Fan Feng killed a maid-servant and put her body in a well. Zhu Liang found out, and had the woman executed.]

Because of Zhu Liang's popularity among the people and his officers, a host of petitions were presented, many asking to take his place for any punishment that might be inflicted. In response to such support, an imperial edict was issued to pardon him. In 138 the Imperial Clerk Jia Chang was besieged by non-Chinese in Rinan. A major expedition was proposed to rescue him, but the plan was opposed by the staff officer Li Gu, who argued that the complications and dangers of such a long-distance enterprise were prohibitive. He recommended that Zhu Liang should be sent to the region with his old associate Zhang Qiao. Zhu Liang was again named Administrator of Jiuzhen and Zhang Qiao Inspector of Jiaozhi, and they restored control by personal authority, joint military action and judicious bribery. The area remained at peace for several years, and the people erected shrines to Zhu Liang. -HHS 6:268, 86/76:2837-39, 51/41:1691, XC 7:13a.

Zhu Ling 朱零; Runan. Zhu Ling was a clerical officer under Zong Zi the Administrator of Runan about 163, when a certain Li Song was recommended for local appointment by the powerful eunuch Tang Heng. Though Li Song was a kinsman by marriage to Fan Pang the Officer of Merit, Fan Pang disapproved of him and refused to issue the call to office. Attempting to apply pressure to Fan Pang, Zong Zi had Zhu Ling beaten, but Zhu Ling observed that he admired Fan Pang's honesty, and he would continue to accept his lead even to death. Zong Zi gave up the idea of appointing Li Song. -HHS 67/57:2205, XC 4:7a-b; deC 89:70.

Zhu Ling 朱靈 [Wenbo 文博]; Ganling/Qinghe. In the service of Yuan Shao about 192, Zhu Ling was sent to attack Ji Yong, who had turned to Gongsun Zan and held Yu city in Ganling. Zhu Ling's mother and younger brother were in the city, and the defenders seized them and showed them on the wall. Weeping, Zhu Ling observed that "When a man embarks on public affairs, he must think no more of his family." He

stormed the city and captured Ji Yong, but his mother and brother both died.

In 193, when Cao Cao attacked Tao Qian, Yuan Shao sent Zhu Ling with troops to assist him. When the other contingents returned, Zhu Ling and his men stayed with Cao Cao.

In 199 Zhu Ling was sent with Liu Bei to intercept Yuan Shu's attempted escape to the north, and he took part in the take-over of Ji province from the remnant of the Yuan family in 204. As Cao Cao entered Jing province in 208, Zhu Ling commanded one of seven divisions in Nanyang under the Area Commander Zhao Yan.

In 211 Zhu Ling accompanied Cao Cao against the warlords of the northwest. While the main army faced the enemy at the Tong Pass, Cao Cao sent Zhu Ling and Xu Huang north into Hedong to establish a bridgehead at the Puban Crossing of the Yellow River so he could mount an oblique attack on Huayin, south of the Wei.

As Cao Cao returned east in 212, Zhu Ling stayed at Chang'an under the command of Xiahou Yuan for operations against the remnants of the warlords. In 215 he took part in the defeat of the Di people in Wudu, opening the road to attack Zhang Lu in Hanzhong.

Zhu Ling's reputation as a commander was comparable to that of his colleague Xu Huang, though there was on one occasion that Cao Cao was angry with him and sent Yu Jin with orders for Zhu Ling to hand over his command and take a post on his staff.

Zhu Ling later became General of the Rear, and he was enfeoffed by Cao Pi. He was one of the sponsors of a commemorative stele when Cao Pi took the imperial title, and he continued to serve in the field under Cao Pi and Cao Rui. -SGZ 17:530-31*, LS 19:4a; Goodman 98:196.

Zhu Miao 朱苗 see He Miao 何苗.

Zhu [Mingshu] 朱明叔; Nanyang. In the first half of the second century Zhu Mingshu was a teacher of the classics. -HYGZ 10C:174.

Zhu Mu 朱穆 [Gongshu 公叔 or Gongyuan 公元 or Wenyan 文元] (100-163); Nanyang. Son of Zhu Jie and grandson of Zhu Hui, at the age of five Zhu Mu already showed filial piety: when his father and mother were taken ill he would not eat or drink, and he returned to normal only when they recovered. A devoted student of the classics, he could be quite absent-minded, not looking where he was walking and

sometimes forgetting even to dress.

Despite this, Zhu Mu became an Investigator in the commandery when he was only twenty, and he so impressed the Administrator with his knowledge of local affairs that he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt. He joined the Imperial Secretariat and was later a trusted member of staff of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. After Emperor Huan was brought to the throne in 146 Zhu Mu warned Liang Ji of the dangers of his high position, citing omens which were reflected in the plot centred about Liu Suan in the following year.

Appointed an Academician at the University, Zhu Mu was graded First Class and became a member of the Censorate. He made a fuss, however, when some imperial guards at the Hall of the Circular Moat, presumably as part of the Great Archery ceremony, placed their bows on the ground. He had the men punished for sacrilege, but the Excellencies and ministers were embarrassed and it was felt that Zhu Mu had been too strict. He was degraded to be a gentleman cadet, but then there were protests and he was raised to be a Consultant.

About this time, moreover, despite his position at court, Zhu Mu declared himself the disciple of the recluse scholar Zhao Kang, and when Zhao Kang died he carried out mourning for him; he was admired for this show of honour and virtue. Concerned at the general decline of morality, moreover, Zhu Mu compiled *Chonghou lun* 崇厚論, an "Essay in Praise of Liberality," decrying traditional Confucianism as a failed solution to the problem and arguing that each individual should seek to develop his personal generosity.

During the 150s and early 160s Zhu Mu worked in the Eastern Pavilion 東觀 on the third instalment of the official history of Later Han, later entitled *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 but at that time known simply as "Record of Han" 漢記. The compilation included annals, tables of marquises and officials, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang, with biographies of empresses and other individuals.

Concerned at Liang Ji's increasing power and arrogance, which might involve himself as his former officer, Zhu Mu wrote to urge restraint. His advice was ignored, but Liang Ji did not punish him, and his record served him well when Liang Ji was later overthrown.

In 153 the Yellow River overflowed, many people drowned and more were made homeless. As numbers of

bandits appeared in Ji province, Zhu Mu was sent there as Inspector. Rejecting special pleading from palace eunuchs who came from that region, he purged the local administration, forcing many officials to resign or kill themselves, then put down the disturbances. He nominated several worthy men, and many of them rose to high rank.

When the father of the senior eunuch Zhao Zhong died, Zhao Zhong arranged his burial in his home commandery of Anping, but he misappropriated grave-goods such as the jade shroud reserved to members of the imperial clan. When Zhu Mu heard of this he sent local officers to arrest members of the Zhao household, dig up the corpse and strip it of its wrongful insignia. Emperor Huan was extremely angry: he had Zhu Mu report to the prison of the Minister of Justice, and ordered he be sentenced to convict service. There was major opposition to this. Some wanted to have Zhu Mu's portrait painted and circulated, a traditional form of public support and approval, and the University student Liu Tao gathered several thousand colleagues to demonstrate on Zhu Mu's behalf; in the face of this new mass movement the emperor was persuaded to grant a pardon.

After some years in private life Zhu Mu was recalled to join the Imperial Secretariat in the 160s. He was a consistent and outspoken opponent of eunuch power and a strong supporter of the Excellencies Liu Ju and Chong Gao, but he also attacked the general Feng Gun for an apparent lack of public spirit. Frustrated at the conduct of the court, he died in 163. Though he had held office for many years he had taken no profit and his household was poor, and at the petition of senior officials he was awarded posthumous rank as Inspector of Yi province.

Besides his work on the Han history, Zhu Mu left twenty *pian* of essays, poems, letters, official documents and other writings, and the scholar Cai Yong later went to his house and copied them for his own library. Cai Yong also joined disciples of Zhu Mu in composing a eulogy and inscriptions, styling him Master of Literature and Loyalty 文忠先生貞宣. - *HHS* 43/33:1461-76*, *XC* 2:7a-8a, *XHS* 3:15b, *YSS*: 11a-13a, *ZF*:3b-5a, *Cai* 1:8 & 1:9; Ch'en 86:787-788. **Zhu Mu** 祝睦 [Yuande 元德] (d.164); Jiyin. Having been a magistrate in Beihai and in Yingchuan, Zhu Mu was appointed Adjutant of the Northern Army at Luoyang and later joined the Imperial Secretariat,

where he rose to be Deputy Director. He then served as Chancellor of Changshan and Administrator of Shanyang, retired and died at home. A stele was set up in his honour. -*LS* 7:2b-4a.

Zhu Nan 朱南. A county magistrate in Hedong about 211, Zhu Nan wanted to assist the hermit Qiao Xian, but was persuaded not to. -*SGZ* 11:363.

Zhu Pian 朱駢; Nanyang. About 75 the Administrator Huan Yu invited Zhu Pian, son of Zhu Hui, to local office in the commandery. Zhu Hui turned down the offer, but arranged for his foster son Chen You to be appointed in his stead. -*HHS* 43/33:1459.

Zhu Pu 朱普 [Boqin 伯禽]; Shu. Zhu Pu was commandery Officer of Merit when his Administrator, who had quarrelled with the Inspector Wang Ji, suffered a false accusation. Zhu Pu was taken to the provincial prison, where he was beaten for several months, but steadfastly maintained his master's innocence. He told his sons that, if he died, they should carry out mourning at the gates of the imperial palace, so the emperor might learn of the situation. It would appear that the charges were dropped, while Zhu Pu's name became a byword for loyalty. -*HYGZ* 10A:137.

Zhu Pu 朱酺 see Zhu Fu 朱輔.

Zhu Ran 朱然 [Yifeng 義封] (181-249); Danyang. Originally of the Shi 施 surname, Zhu Ran was a nephew of Zhu Zhi, whose elder sister had married into that family. Zhu Zhi at first had no sons, so when Zhu Ran was thirteen Zhu Zhi adopted him as his heir. [After Zhu Zhi died in 234, Zhu Ran asked to return to his original surname. Sun Quan refused, but about 255 Zhu Ran's son Ji 績 received approval from the government of Sun Liang 亮.]

Favoured by Sun Ce, Zhu Ran became a close friend of Sun Quan, and when Sun Quan came to power in 200 he appointed him as a magistrate in Kuaiji, although he was not yet twenty. Zhu Ran was later promoted to be a colonel in charge of five counties, and about 211 he was named Administrator of Linchuan, in the west of Danyang, with two thousand soldiers to deal with the hills people east of Poyang.

When Cao Cao attacked south in 217 Zhu Ran was appointed a lieutenant-general in command of two defence camps and in 219 he was sent on detachment with Pan Zhang to cut off Guan Yu's route of escape from Lü Meng's surprise attack in Jing province. He was enfeoffed and promoted to full general, and when Lü Meng died he recommended that Zhu Ran take his

place at Jiangling in Nan commandery. In 222 Zhu Ran played a leading role in the defeat of Liu Bei and in defence against Cao Pi.

Zhu Ran was not a tall man, less than seven feet [160 cm], but he had personal presence, he did not get flustered, and he maintained discipline and order among his troops. For thirty years he was one of the leading generals of Wu, and Sun Quan had him act as a mentor and guide to younger commanders. -SGZ Wu 11:1305-08*.

Zhu Rong 祝融 or Zhu Dan 耽. At HHSJJ74/64B:2651, Hui Dong quotes the funerary inscription to Liu Biao as General Who Maintains the South in Peace 鎮南 [將軍] 碑. This tells how the General of the Household Zhu Rong was sent to award special honours to Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province, and to grant him formal authority also over Yang and Jiao provinces. This mission probably took place in 196, after the court of Han had come under the control of Cao Cao.

Hui Dong is evidently following *Cai* 3:7, a text wrongly attributed to Cai Yong [see *sub* Liu Biao], but the name of the envoy appears there as Zhu Dan. It is not possible to determine which reading is correct.

Zhu Shan 朱山; Hedong. A man of humble background, Zhu Shan was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became a gentleman cadet. About 163 he was recommended by the General of the Household Huang Wan, head of his corps of cadets, and the Minister of the Household Chen Fan promoted him as Abundant Talent so that he could take substantive office. Nothing more is known of Zhu Shan's career. -HHS 61/51:2040.

Zhu Shang 朱商; Nanyang. Son of Zhu You, he inherited his fief in 48. -HHS 22/12:771.

Zhu Shang 朱尙 see *sub* Zhu Yu 朱寓 of Pei.

Zhu Sheng 朱生 see Zhou Sheng 周生 of Jiujiang.

Zhu [Shuxian] 朱叔賢 (d.214); Guanghan. Zhu Shuxian was a commandery Investigator. As Liu Zhang was besieged by Liu Bei at Chengdu in 214, Zhu Shuxian and some of his kinsmen were found guilty of conspiracy to surrender. They were executed. -HYGZ 10A:140-41.

Zhu Si 朱祀; Jiujiang. A great-great-grandson of Zhu Wei, Zhu Si inherited the family marquisate, but was later found guilty of killing a man. The fief was abolished. -DGHJ 17:1b.

Zhu Sui 朱遂. As Chancellor of Zhongshan, Zhu Sui

omitted to carry out the sacrifices due to the spirit of the Northern Peak 北嶽, the sacred Mount Heng 恆山 in present-day Shanxi, and in the winter of 132 almost a hundred women and children were killed by wolves in that territory. An imperial edict blamed the misfortune on his failure to maintain the proper ritual, and ordered that the omission be rectified immediately. -DGHJ 20:4a, HHS 6:261, 103/13:3185-86.

Zhu Tian 祝恬 [Boxiu 伯休] (d.160); Zhongshan. After an official carriage was sent to invite Zhu Tian to Luoyang, he was appointed a Palace Attendant. He served in the Secretariat and became its Director, was Administrator of Yuzhang, and returned to the capital as a senior aide to the General-in-Chief Liang Ji.

Director of Retainers in 151, Zhu Tian supported a proposal to grant Liang Ji extraordinary honours, but the Excellency Huang Qiong vetoed the idea.

In 159 Zhu Tian was a Palace Counsellor. Despite his previous connection to the Liang, after Emperor Huan destroyed that family he appointed Zhu Tian as Excellency over the Masses. Zhu Tian died in office in the following summer. -HHS 61/51:2035, HHS 7:306-307, FSTY 7:55.

Zhu Wansui 朱萬歲; Danyang. Fourth son of Zhu Zhi, he died young. -SGZ Wu 11.1305.

Zhu Wei 朱鮪; Huaiyang. Evidently a commoner, Zhu Wei was one of the leaders of the Troops from Xinshi which entered Nanyang in 22 and joined the Han rebellion against Wang Mang. In 23 he supported the candidacy of Liu Xuan, the Gengshi Emperor, to lead the restored dynasty, and was named Grand Marshal. Soon afterwards Zhu Wei and Li Yi impeached Liu Bosheng, leading to his execution.

As the main Han army advanced from Nanyang to storm Chang'an and destroy the government of Wang Mang, Zhu Wei led a force back east to his native country. Li Shen/Sheng 李琴/聖, Wang Mang's governor of Yang province, was killed, and Zhu Wei went on to take Huaiyang before returning to the west.

When the Gengshi Emperor set his court at Chang'an in 24 Zhu Wei was named a king, but he refused the enfeoffment on the grounds that those not of the Liu clan should not hold royal rank. As Bielenstein 59:52-56 observes, however, the real point of contention lay between commoner leaders such as Zhu Wei, and the gentry who were now increasing their influence at court.

Soon afterwards, moreover, Zhu Wei was obliged to share his position as Grand Marshal with the gentry leader Zhao Meng and the imperial relative Liu Ci, and he was sent away from the capital to deal with remnant opposition in the east.

Zhu Wei opposed Liu Xiu's appointment as commissioner in the north, and when Liu Xiu proclaimed his independence at the end of 24 Zhu Wei was given command of the garrison to hold Luoyang against him. In 25 he killed his former collaborator Li Yi for dealing with Liu Xiu's general Feng Yi. Later that year a sortie by Zhu Wei and Su Mao was heavily defeated by Feng Yi and Kou Xun, and they were driven back into Luoyang.

Soon afterwards the Gengshi Emperor was destroyed by the Red Eyebrows in Chang'an, and some of the leaders at Luoyang went to surrender to Liu Xiu, now Emperor Guangwu. A break-in to the city was defeated and driven out, but Zhu Wei now sought terms. Despite his old enmity and his involvement in the death of Liu Bosheng, his former subordinate Cen Peng, now a leading officer under Guangwu, obtained the emperor's guarantee of good treatment: "I call the Yellow River to witness that I shall not eat my words" 河水在此吾不食言. For his part, as Zhu Wei left to visit the imperial camp he warned his followers to hold their guard until he had returned safely; should he not come back they must seek to escape and join Yin Zun, a survivor of the Gengshi regime in Nanyang.

In the event, as Zhu Wei approached with bound hands Guangwu himself released him and welcomed him, and he returned to Luoyang and arranged the surrender. Zhu Wei was named a general and enfeoffed, and later became Minister Steward. His fief was held by his descendants for several generations: see *sub* Zhu Si. -HHS 17/7:653-55, DGHJ 14:1a-b; Bn 54:106, 116, 121, Bn 59:35, 102-105.

Zhu Wei 朱緯; Danyang. Third son of Zhu Zhi, he died young. -SGZ Wu 11:1305.

Zhu Wei 朱微 see Zhu Hui 朱徽.

Zhu Xi 祝羲; Zhongshan. XTS 75A:3256 mentions Zhu Xi as a grandson of the Excellency Zhu Tian.

Zhu Yan 朱演; Nanyang. Son of Zhu Shang, he inherited the fief of his grandfather Zhu You. In 102 an accusation of witchcraft brought the downfall of the Empress Yin of Emperor He and the disgrace of her family. Though Zhu Yan was only distantly connected by marriage, he was implicated and was reduced to be

a commoner. -HHS 22/12:771.

Zhu Ye 朱野 [Ziliao 子遼]; Nanyang. Son of Zhu Mu, he became Intendant of Henan. -HHS 43/33:1473.

Zhu Yi 朱益 see Zhu Gai 朱蓋 (d.165).

Zhu Ying 朱英; Dong. When Geng Chun was Administrator of Dong commandery in the late 20s, he executed a number of kinsmen and clients of Zhu Ying.

Geng Chun was granted a marquisate in Zhuo commandery, but in 30 he asked to be transferred because Zhu Ying had become the Administrator of Zhuo and he feared his vengeance. Guangwu agreed, and Geng Chun's fief was transferred to Bohai. -HHS 21/11:765.

Zhu Ying 竺嬰. Younger brother of Zhu Zeng the Administrator of Jiuquan, in 31 Zhu Ying killed the officer Wang Yin in a vendetta. Zhu Zeng was ashamed and left his office. -HHS 23/13:805.

Zhu Yong 朱永; Pei. Son of the Excellency Zhu Fu 浮, Zhu Yong became Administrator of Xiapi. -XTS 74B: 3186.

Zhu You 朱祐 [Zhongxian 仲先] (d.48); Nanyang. Due to confusion about the taboo name of Liu Hu, Emperor An, the personal name of Zhu You appears also as Hu 祐 or Fu 福: Bn 54:27.

When his father died, Zhu You was still young, and he was raised by his mother's family, the Liu clan of Fuyang, who were related to the former marquises of the nearby district of Chongling. Zhu You was a cousin of Liu Bosheng and his younger brother Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, he frequently visited Chongling, and was a friend of the two young men.

Zhu You studied at Chang'an about the same time as Liu Xiu, which confirmed their relationship, and he was again with him at the capital about 21, when they were both engaged on family tax cases. After the Han rebellion broke out, and Liu Bosheng was named Excellency over the Masses under the Gengshi Emperor in 23, he appointed Zhu You as his Protector of the Army, responsible for discipline.

After Liu Bosheng was killed, Zhu You was left isolated. In 24, however, through the good offices of Liu Jia, King of Hanzhong, he was sent to join Liu Xiu, now commissioner to the north. Their friendship was renewed and Zhu You was again appointed Protector of the Army.

Zhu You served with distinction in the north and was frequently in the forefront of battle. Wounded,

he was attended by Liu Xiu, then appointed as a lieutenant-general and enfeoffed as marquis of a county in Runan. Pointing out the troubles of the Gengshi regime at Chang'an, Zhu You urged Liu Xiu to claim the imperial title. Like that of Ma Wu, the proposal was premature and Liu Xiu rejected it, but it allowed him to show suitable loyalty and humility.

When Liu Xiu did take the throne in the autumn of 25, Zhu You was made a chief general, and he accompanied the army which attacked and captured Luoyang. Early in 26 Zhu You's fief was transferred into Nanyang. Having accompanied Jing Dan to deal with bandits in Hedong and Hongnong, he returned to join the imperial forces in the campaign which broke the bandit groups of Wei commandery and Henei.

Zhu You then accompanied Wu Han into Nanyang. Deng Feng rebelled in the autumn and Zhu You was sent to deal with him, but in the winter his men were defeated and he was taken prisoner. He was freed when Deng Feng surrendered a few months later, and was rewarded and restored to his former command. He then took part in the final stages of the campaign in Nanyang.

After the soldier of fortune Yan Cen was defeated by Geng Yan, he joined Zhang Cheng, an officer of the local warlord Qin Feng. Zhu You and the general Zhai Cun then combined against them. They killed Zhang Cheng and seized quantities of seals and other booty which Yan Cen had acquired in the region of Chang'an. Zhu You was rewarded with 3,000 *jin* 斤 [750 kg] of gold.

In the following year Zhu You led an army against Qin Feng, defeated and killed his general Zhang Kang, then attacked his base in Nan commandery. After eighteen months siege, in the summer of 29 Qin Feng surrendered and was sent to Luoyang for execution. The Grand Marshal Wu Han accused Zhu You of having offended military law and honour by allowing Qin Feng to surrender rather than killing him on the spot, but Guangwu inflicted no punishment. As Zhu You returned into Nanyang he was ordered to join Zang Gong in mopping up three counties on the Han River which had remained loyal to Yan Cen and might have provided a base for him to return to.

In contrast to Wu Han, who was notorious for his cruelty and whose troops were ferocious in victory, Zhu You was a man of Confucian morality who was prepared to accept surrender, and who regarded the

taking of cities and the holding of territory as more important than the numbers of enemy slain. He forbade his men to plunder, and many of them resented such restraint.

In the summer of 33 Zhu You was sent with three other generals and fifty thousand men, under the command of Wu Han and Wang Ba, to attack Lu Fang's officers Jia Lan and Min Kan in Dai commandery. They were defeated in a rain-storm and forced to withdraw, and Zhu You was left to command the defences of Changshan.

In 37 Zhu You's county fief was transferred to Pingyuan, and its revenue was increased to 7,300 households. He sought to refuse, claiming that it was more than he deserved, but Guangwu insisted. Later Zhu You sent in a memorial arguing that tradition did not support subjects being enfeoffed as kings. Guangwu accepted the policy: he reduced his uncle Liu Liang and his nephews Liu Zhang and Liu Xing to be dukes; thereafter only his direct descendants were to receive the royal title.

In 38 Zhu You's command in Changshan was absorbed into that of Ma Cheng, and in the following year he returned to Luoyang and handed in his insignia as a general. He remained at the capital with title as Servant at Court, excusing him from the requirement to reside at his fief. The emperor took pleasure in recalling his student days at Chang'an with Zhu You, and on one occasion, remembering how they had bought honey for sweetening medicine, he presented him with a *jin* 斤 [250 g] of fine white honey.

Again with argument from precedent, Zhu You later proposed that the prefix "Grand" 大 should be removed from the titles of the Excellency over the Masses 大司徒 and of the Excellency of Works 大司空. In 51, after Zhu You's death in 48, this was done. As Bielenstein 79:63-64 observes, the change was more than antiquarianism, for it marked a shift of power at the highest level of administration: in Former Han the Imperial Chancellor 丞相, renamed (Grand) Excellency over the Masses [Bn: Minister over the Masses] had been senior to the Grand Marshal 大司馬 [Bn: Commander-in-Chief]; now the Grand Marshal, renamed Grand Commandant 太尉, ranked higher than the other two Excellencies.

When Guangwu's successor Emperor Ming had portraits of his father's great servants painted on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Zhu

You was among those honoured. -*HHS* 22/12:769-71; Bn 67:26, 107-112.

Zhu Yu 諸於 was Prefect of Luoyang. -*FSTY* 6f:145.

Zhu Yu 朱寓 (d.169); Pei. Having served as an Attendant Officer of Yu province under the Inspector Zhou Jing in the 150s, Zhu Yu joined the Imperial Secretariat in the 160s and later became Administrator of Lujiang.

Widely respected, Zhu Yu was ranked with Li Ying and others in the second category as a "hero" [俊 *jun*] in the major list of worthy men circulated at Luoyang in this time, and during the First Faction Incident of 166/167 Dou Wu presented a letter to Emperor Huan describing him as one of the worthy men of the state.

As Dou Wu and Chen Fan took power under the regency for the young Emperor Ling in 168, they recalled Zhu Yu to office. In the autumn, as they planned to destroy the palace eunuchs, they appointed him Director of Retainers. When the coup was defeated soon afterwards, Zhu Yu and other supporters of the Dou and Chen group were dismissed.

In the winter of 169 Zhu Yu and other former officials were accused of faction by the eunuch Hou Lan. Zhu Yu and hundreds more died in prison, their families were exiled, and even distant relatives and clients were proscribed from office. -*XC* 2:11a, *HHS* 8: 330, 67/57:2187 & 2190, 69/59:2240-43; deC 89:83, 98, 110, 111.

The personal name of this man Zhu Yu sometimes appears as 瑀. He must be distinguished from his contemporary the eunuch Zhu Yu, described below.

XTS 74B:3186 has a detailed but unsubstantiated genealogy surrounding Zhu Yu, there written as 禹. It is said that his grandfather was Zhu Shang 尙, an officer of the Imperial Secretariat, and his father was Zhu Zhi 質, described as Excellency over the Masses but in fact surely a clerical officer under the Excellency. After Zhu Yu's death the family transferred to Danyang.

XTS also mentions Zhu Yu's younger brother Zhuo 卓, father of Zhu Fan 讎, who became Administrator of Youfufeng, towards the end of Han, and was the father of Zhu Yue 越, Administrator of Shanggu.

Zhu Yu 朱瑀. A eunuch, in 168 Zhu Yu was a member of staff in the residence of the regent Dowager Dou. On the night of 24 October, the Dowager's father Dou Wu sent the Palace Attendant Liu Yu with a report recommending the arrest of the senior eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu. Zhu Yu intercepted the message and,

realising that such a purge would involve himself, his colleagues and their families, he announced that the message was in fact a call to dethrone the young Emperor Ling.

Zhu Yu then called a group of seventeen eunuchs, close friends and physically strong, and they swore an oath with blood that they would kill Dou Wu and his associates. The leading role in the proceedings was then taken over by Cao Jie and Wang Fu, though a fragment of the undated *Hou Han nan ji* by Zhang Ying, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ* 66/56:2374, says that it was Zhu Yu [written 朱寓: cf. the entry immediately above] who killed Chen Fan. After the coup was concluded Zhu Yu led prayers at the Bright Hall, and he was awarded a district fief.

In 179 Shen Zhong complained about Emperor Ling's reliance upon the eunuchs, and Zhu Yu was a particular target. The emperor took no action, and Zhu Yu died of illness about 182. -*HHS* 78/68:2524-27.

Though the characters of their personal names are sometimes confused, the eunuch Zhu Yu must be distinguished from his contemporary, the official Zhu Yu, described above; see also the item immediately below.

Zhu Yu 朱禹 (d.179). According to *HHS* 77/67:2499, the eunuch Zhu Yu was an associate of Wang Fu and held office as an Attendant at the Yellow Gates. In 179 he and others of their party were impeached by the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu. They were tortured and died in prison.

One edition of *HHS* gives the personal name as 瑀, which would identify this person with the entry immediately above. That Zhu Yu, however, is said to have been attacked by Shen Zhong, not by Yang Qiu, and to have survived until about 182. It seems hard to believe that there were two eunuchs of such similar names; more probably, the reference to Zhu Yu 禹/瑀 in *HHS* 77/67 is an error.

Zhu Yue 朱越 [Yuansheng 元勝]; Pei. *XTS* 74B:3186 describes this man as Administrator of Shanggu; though he may have been a contemporary, he is probably not the same man as Zhu Yue of Dong below. See also *sub* Zhu Yu 朱寓 of Pei.

Zhu Yue 朱越; Dong. A member of the imperial court of Han about 210, Zhu Yue planned a conspiracy to overthrow the power of Cao Cao. He is not heard of again. -*SGZ* 22:647.

Zhu Zan 朱讚; Pei. A fellow-countryman of Cao Zhen

真, kinsman of the imperial family of Wei, Zhu Zan served Cao Cao but died early. At Cao Zhen's urging, about 230 a fief was granted to Zhu Zan's son. -SGZ 9:282.

Zhu Zeng 竺曾 [Jugong 巨公]. When Dou Rong was appointed to the northwest in 23, he established a good relationship with Zhu Zeng the Commandant of Jiuquan, and when the Gengshi regime collapsed at Chang'an in 25, Zhu Zeng and his colleagues accepted Dou Rong's leadership. Zhu Zeng was named Administrator of the commandery.

In 31 Zhu Zeng's brother Ying killed a man in a vendetta. Zhu Zeng was ashamed and left the his office. Dou Rong then arranged his appointment as a general.

As Dou Rong brought his army east to assist Emperor Guangwu's attack on Wei Ao in the following year, Zhu Zeng and his fellows were awarded titles as marquises. -HHS 23/13:796-97, 805-06.

Zhu Zhan 朱展 (d.195). In 195 Zhu Zhan was a Palace Attendant to Emperor Xian. He accompanied the imperial party on its escape from Chang'an, but was killed in battle in Hongnong. -HHS 9:378.

Zhu Zhen 朱震 [Bohou 伯厚] (d.168); Chenliu. When Zhu Zhen was Registrar of his commandery another officer, Yuan Shuzhi, committed a small fault. The Administrator Guo Cong was angry and was going to punish him. All his fellow-officers were concerned, but Zhu Zhen stood up to Guo Cong and argued that Yuan Shuzhi was a grandson of a member of the Imperial Secretariat, and should not be treated in such fashion. So Yuan Shuzhi was released.

As a local officer of Yan province about 159, Zhu Zhen was widely admired for reporting the corrupt conduct of Shan Kuang, Administrator of Jiyin and kinsman of the court eunuch Shan Chao [see also *sub* Wei Yu].

In 168 Zhu Zhen was a magistrate in Pei, but when Chen Fan was killed at Luoyang he left his post to give the body burial. He also rescued Chen Fan's son Chen Yi and hid him in Ganling. Arrested and tortured, he died without speaking. -HHS 66/56:2171, XC 4:4b-5a, XHS 4:20b.

Zhu Zhi 朱祗/祗; Donghai. Zhu Zhi and Xiao Jian served as local officers under the Chancellor Zhao Zi. When Zhao Zi was dying he asked them to arrange a simple funeral. The two men escorted his body home and carried out his wishes, despite the protest of Zhao

Zi's son Yin. -HHS 39/29:1314-15.

Zhu Zhi 朱質 see *sub* Zhu Yu 朱寓 of Pei.

Zhu Zhi 朱直. In 181 the eunuch Zhu Zhi was Bailiff of the Drying House, which served as the hospital and also the prison of the imperial harem [Bn 80:53]. When the Beauty Wang, mother of Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, was killed by the Empress He, Emperor Ling had Zhu Zhi conceal the infant and find a wet-nurse for him. Later the boy's grandmother the Dowager Dong took over. -XHS 1:19a.

Zhu Zhi 朱治 [Junli 君理] (156-234); Danyang. As a junior officer in his county, Zhu Zhi was nominated Filial and Incorrupt and became an Assistant Officer of the province. A major with Sun Jian in 188, he then accompanied him to Changsha and served with success as Commandant of that commandery. He accompanied Sun Jian into the civil war, was at the capture of Luoyang in 191, became colonel with a special command, then went east to aid Tao Qian deal with Yellow Turbans in Xu province.

After Sun Jian was killed later that year, Zhu Zhi returned and looked after his family for a time. He took service with Yuan Shu and was then Commandant of Wu. As Liu Yao turned against Wu Jing and Sun Ce in 194 Zhu Zhi brought their family to safety in the east, and when Sun Ce moved on the commandery in 196 Zhu Zhi drove out the Administrator Xu Gong and took over government. In 197 he nominated Sun Quan as Filial and Incorrupt, and he supported his succession after Sun Ce's death in 200.

Zhu Zhi remained in Wu for over thirty years until his death, recognised as Administrator with a general's command, and provided with income from four fief cities. He encouraged leading local families to support Sun Quan, and paid special attention to the peaceful settlement of refugees and non-Chinese people in the hills. Though he later received enfeoffment and further promotion, and was always treated with respect and favour, he was noted for his personal restraint. -SGZ Wu 11:1303-05*.

Zhu [Zhongshao] 朱仲昭. In a letter written to Huang Qiong in 127, Li Gu refers to Zhu Zhongshao as a hermit scholar who was called to court and offered gifts, but did not distinguish himself. -HHS 61/51:2032; Vervoon 90:294.

Zhu [Zhongsun] 朱仲孫. A gentleman cadet at Luoyang about 30, he gave lodging to the youthful student Ma Yan. -DGHJ 12:5a.

Zhu Zhuo 朱卓 see *sub* Zhu Yu 朱寓 of Pei.

Zhu Zun 朱遵 [Xiaozhong 孝仲] (d.24); Jianwei. In the early 20s, as Gongsun Shu began to extend his control over Yi province, Zhu Zun was Officer of Merit in Jianwei. He gathered a small force to resist the invaders at a river near the commandery capital, but his men were overwhelmed and Zhu Zun died in battle. Recognising his loyalty, Guangwu gave Zhu Zun posthumous title as a general, while the local officials established a shrine in his honour. -HYGZ 10B:157.

Zhuan Yi 傳毅 miswritten for Fu Yi 傅毅. -Forke 07:469.

Zhuang 莊 [surname] see also Yan 嚴. The original surname Zhuang was replaced by Yan in many texts to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Ming of Later Han. See, for example, Bn 59:112.

Zhuang Ben 莊本; Zuopingyi [The surname appears also as Yan 嚴, and the personal name also as Ping 平 or Pi 丕.] In the time of Wang Mang Zhuang Ben was head of a strong local clan. Though they were registered in different commanderies it is likely that he was related to Zhuang Chun below.

In the autumn of 23 the armies of the Gengshi Emperor of Han defeated the last field force of Wang Mang and sent advance parties towards Chang'an. Zhuang Chun and other local leaders took title as generals in the name of Han, and as the main Han army halted at Huayin, their irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang.

In 25 Zhuang Ben held command of a garrison camp west of Chang'an. In the tenth month, as the Red Eyebrows approached the capital, the Gengshi Emperor fled to him for refuge. Zhuang Ben was afraid that if he let the emperor go the Red Eyebrows would kill him, so he forced him to make terms with the Red Eyebrows. -HHS 11/1:475; Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130, Bn 59:100.

Zhuang Chun 莊春 also as Yan Chun 嚴春 (d.26); Youfufeng. In the time of Wang Mang Zhuang Chun was head of a strong local clan. Though they were registered in different commanderies it is likely that he was related to Zhuang Ben above.

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army halted at Huayin, their irregular troops ravaged the city and killed Wang Mang.

In 26 the Red Eyebrows left Chang'an and came west up the valley of the Wei. Zhuang Chun fought them but was defeated and killed. -HHS 11/1:483; Dubs 55:461, Bn 54:130.

Zhuang Pi 莊丕 see Zhuang Ben 莊本.

Zhuang Ping 莊平 see Zhuang Ben 莊本.

Zhuang You 莊尤 I; also cited as Yan You 嚴尤: see the note on the surname above [Boshi 伯石] (d.23). A frontier general of Wang Mang, in 12 AD he argued for generous treatment of Zou 騶, chief of the Gaogouli/Koguryo people in the northeast, but later, under orders, tricked and killed him.

In the spring of 22 Zhuang You and his colleague Chen Mao gained a victory over the Troops from the Lower Yangzi. A year later, early in 23, they were sent against the Han rebels in Nanyang, but were heavily defeated by Liu Bosheng. In the summer Zhuang You and Chen Mao were with the army of Wang Yi which was destroyed at the battle of Kunyang. The two men fled to refuge with Liu Wang in Runan.

In the autumn, after the fall of Wang Mang, as Liu Wang took the imperial title in rivalry to the Gengshi Emperor, he named Zhuang You as his Grand Marshal and Chen Mao as Imperial Chancellor. That winter he and his party were attacked and killed by the Gengshi Emperor's general Liu Xin. -HHS 11/1:469-70; Bn 54:112, 75-77, Bn 59:29-35, Dubs 55:325-326, 430-468, QHX:748.

Zhuang You 莊尤 II; see Yan You 嚴尤 and also [as Yan Shuo 嚴說] *sub* Cen Peng.

Zhuge Gui 諸葛珪 [Jungong 君貢]; Langye. Father of Zhuge Jin, Zhuge Liang and Zhuge Jun, Zhuge Gui became Assistant in Taishan commandery, but died about 193. -SGZ Shu 5:911.

Zhuge Jin 諸葛瑾 [Ziyu 子瑜] (174-241); Langye. Son of Zhuge Gui, Zhuge Jin was seven years older than his brother Zhuge Liang, possibly born to a different mother: we are told that when Zhuge Jin's mother died he mourned her fully, then served his step-mother as a filial son should.

In the late 180s Zhuge Jin travelled to the capital, where he studied the Mao interpretation of the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of History*, and *Zuo zhuan*. He later returned home. After his father died in the 190s, his uncle and brothers went to Yuzhang, but Zhuge Jin went separately for refuge south of the Yangzi. After

the death of the young warlord Sun Ce in 200, Zhuge Jin was recommended to his brother and successor Sun Quan by Hong Zi, Sun Quan's brother-in-law, and joined his staff.

Gently persuasive, he had great influence with Sun Quan, and was able to make peace for him with his officers Zhu Zhi and Yin Mo. He became Chief Clerk and received title as a major. In 215 Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin on embassy to Liu Bei, and he saw his brother Zhuge Liang for the first time in twenty years. They made a point of meeting only in public, and had no private contact.

In 219 Zhuge Jin took part in the attack which destroyed Guan Yu and seized Jing province; he was enfeoffed as a marquis and named Administrator of Nan commandery. As Liu Bei prepared to attack in 222, Zhuge Jin wrote to dissuade him, predictably without effect. Some suggested he might be treating privately with the enemy, but Sun Quan had no doubts of his loyalty.

Though not an enterprising commander, Zhuge Jin served successfully against Wei, and when Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229 he was named a chief general and given nominal appointment as Governor of Yu province.

Zhugue Jin remained an intimate and confidential adviser for another ten years. He was admired for his simplicity and elegance, and for his courtesy and good nature. When his wife died he took a concubine whom he loved and who bore him children, but he did not marry again.

Wu shu notes that although Zhuge Jin lacked the brilliance of Zhuge Liang, his position in Wu was almost comparable to that of his brother in Shu-Han, and in the following generation his son Zhuge Ke 恪 was favoured by Sun Quan and became extremely powerful. The family did remarkably well in troubled times. -*SGZ* Wu 7:1231-35*; Mather 76:514.

Zhugue Jun 諸葛均; Langye. Third son of Zhuge Gui, after his father's death Zhuge Jun and his elder brother Zhuge Liang went with their uncle Zhuge Xuan to Yuzhang. Zhuge Jun followed Zhuge Liang into the service of Liu Bei and became a colonel in Shu-Han. -*SGZ* Shu 5:911, 928.

Zhugue Li 諸葛禮. Administrator of Jiyin, Zhuge Li employed the youthful, good-looking but unduly emotional Rong Liang as his confidential clerk. -*XC* 8:12a.

Zhugue Liang 諸葛亮 [Kongming 孔明] (181-234); Langye. Son of Zhuge Gui, Zhuge Liang was a younger brother of Zhuge Jin. Zhuge Gui died when Zhuge Liang was young, and Zhuge Liang then accompanied his uncle Zhuge Xuan to his appointment as Administrator of Yuzhang. When Zhuge Xuan was driven from that territory in 195, Zhuge Liang went for refuge to Xuan's old friend Liu Biao, warlord Governor of Jing province.

Zhugue Liang grew to be eight feet tall [185 cm], and he compared his own abilities to those of the sage minister Guan Zhong 管仲. Few agreed with him, but he was a close friend of Cui Zhouping and Xu Shu, and the judge of character Sima Hui compared him to a sleeping dragon. On his recommendation, and at the behest of Xu Shu, Liu Bei called upon Zhuge Liang. Impressed with his strategic thinking, he took him into his service, and became closer to him than even his oath-brothers Guan Yu and Zhang Fei. Zhuge Liang also advised Liu Qi, son of Liu Biao, but with less success.

In 208 Zhuge Liang went on embassy to Sun Quan to seek aid for Liu Bei against Cao Cao's advance, and it is claimed that he persuaded him to act; *cf.*, however, *sub* Lu Su and Zhou Yu. After the victory at the Red Cliffs, Zhuge Liang was sent to take over the south of Jing province, and when Liu Bei went west to Yi province three years later he left Zhuge Liang with Guan Yu to hold Jing province. In 213, as Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang, Zhuge Liang brought assistance, and after Liu Bei took over in the west in 214 he put him in charge of administration, holding Chengdu while Liu Bei was on campaign. He worked with Fa Zheng, Liu Ba, Yin Ji and Li Yan to compile the administrative code *Shu ke* 屬科.

In 219 Zhuge Liang was one of the officials listed in the formal memorial to the emperor as Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong, and in 221 he encouraged Liu Bei to proclaim himself emperor. Zhuge Liang was named Imperial Chancellor of the new regime, with control of the Secretariat, and as Liu Bei was dying in 223 he left him plenipotentiary authority as regent for his son Liu Shan.

In fact, Zhuge Liang ruled the state until his death in 234, and despite his civilian background he demonstrated considerable military ability. He subjugated the south of Yi province in the mid-220s, then embarked on a series of campaigns north and east

from Hanzhong. Though he gained several victories, however, he was ultimately unsuccessful, and Shu-Han never managed to break across the mountain barriers into the valleys of the Wei or the lower Han.

It does appear that Zhuge Liang's administrative ability made the state of Shu-Han viable, and he was admired for his ability to recruit good officers. His literary and political skills were celebrated, and later became legendary and even supernatural, so that he was credited with a number of inventions and stratagems, from the development of the wheel-barrow to the ruse of the Empty City 空城計 [on this last, however, *cf. sub* Wen Ping and Zhao Yun]. The romantic tradition which accepts Liu Bei as the great hero of his age credits Zhuge Liang as his finest assistant and successor, just like his ancient ideal, Guan Zhong. -*SGZ* Shu 5:911-31*; deC 96, Fang 52, Mather 76:515.

Zhugue Xuan 諸葛玄; Langye. After Zhuge Gui died in the early 190s, his brother Zhuge Xuan was named Administrator of Yuzhang. As he went to the post he took his nephews Zhuge Liang and Zhuge Jun with him. In 195 he was driven away by Zhu Hao, supported by the Inspector Liu Yao.

One account says that Zhuge Xuan was named as Administrator by the warlord Yuan Shu and that he later took refuge with his old friend Liu Biao in Jing province. Another version says he was nominated by Liu Biao and that after an initial defeat by Zhu Hao, he was killed in a mutiny in 196. -*SGZ* Shu 5:911.

Zhuo 卓 [personal name unknown]. A noted physician, in 215 he was called by Sun Quan to treat his officer Ling Tong, who had been seriously wounded. Ling Tong recovered. -*SGZ* Wu 10:1297.

Zhuo Chen 卓參 or Zhuo Sen; Nanyang. Son of Zhuo Chong, he succeeded to the family fief. -*HHS* 25/15: 872.

Zhuo Chong 卓崇; Nanyang. Younger son of Zhuo Mao, when his father became Grand Tutor to Emperor Guangwu in 25, Zhuo Chong was made a gentleman cadet with supernumerary title as Serving within the Yellow Gates.

When his father died in 28 Zhuo Chong succeeded to his marquisate, which was transferred from an honorary title to a district fief. He later held office as Minister of Finance. -*HHS* 25/15:871-72.

Zhuo Hui 濁惠; Hongnong. A local leader in 26, who had taken title as a general, Zhuo Hui surrendered to Emperor Guangwu's officer Feng Yi. -*DGHJ* 9:3b.

Zhuo Jing 卓京 or Zhuo Yuan 原. An officer of the Gengshi Emperor, in 25 Zhuo Jing sought to establish an alliance of the leading clans of Wei commandery with the Tanxiang and Five Towers bandit groups in opposition to Liu Xiu the newly-proclaimed Emperor Guangwu.

Guangwu sent Yao Qi as Administrator of Wei, who raised local levies to defeat Zhuo Jing. He pursued him west into the hills, killed dozens of his officers and captured his wife and children. -*HHS* 20/10:732-33.

Zhuo Long 卓隴 (d.103); Nanyang. Son of Zhuo Xin, he succeeded to the family marquisate. When he died without sons the fief was ended. -*HHS* 25/15:872.

Zhuo Mao 卓茂 [Zikang 子康 or Zirong 子容] (d.28); Nanyang. A man of established official family, Zhuo Mao studied at Chang'an during the time of Emperor Yuan of Former Han. He became an expert in the *Classic of Poetry* and in *Ritual*, and held office at the court and as magistrate of Mi county in Henan. His fine conduct and good government had great influence, so that even a plague of locusts spared his territory.

When Wang Mang took power as regent in 6 AD, Zhuo Mao left office on a plea of ill health and retired to his home, but the people remembered his excellent government and established a temple in his honour.

As the Gengshi Emperor claimed the throne in 23 he appointed Zhuo Mao chief of the Palace Attendants. He accompanied the court to Chang'an but, observing the turmoil, he retired once more on grounds of ill health and old age.

When Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, took the imperial title in 25 he sought out Zhuo Mao and named him as his Grand Tutor. He gave him title as Marquis Who Proclaims Virtue 褒德侯, granted him a carriage and regalia, and appointed his two sons to office at court.

When Zhuo Mao died three years later he was buried with honours, and when Guangwu's son and successor Emperor Ming had the portraits of the great assistants of the founding emperor painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace in the Southern Palace at Luoyang, Zhuo Mao was included.

As Emperor Huan took up the worship of Huang-Lao and the Buddha in 165, he ordered that all local shrines be abolished; Zhuo Mao's in Mi county was one of just two that were spared. -*HHS* 25/15:869-71*, 22/12:789-91; Bn 76:26, Bn 79:135-136, deC 80:79, Vervoornt 90:133.

Zhuo Mou 卓茂 see Zhuo Mao 卓茂.

Zhuo Rong 卓戎; Nanyang. Son of Zhuo Mao, when his father became Grand Tutor to Emperor Guangwu in 25, Zhuo Rong was made a Palace Counsellor. Nothing more is recorded of him. When his father died in 28, Zhuo Rong's younger brother succeeded to his fief, so it is likely Zhuo Rong was already dead by that time. -HHS 25/15:871.

Zhuo Sen 卓參 see Zhuo Chen 卓參.

Zhuo Xin 訢; Nanyang. Son of Zhuo Chen/Sen, he succeeded to the family fief. -HHS 25/15:872.

Zhuo Xing 卓行; Hanzhong. A junior official, Zhuo Xing was responsible for construction work to repair the Baoye Road through the Qin Ling ranges. His contribution was recorded in a stele inscription of 148. -LS 4:5a.

Zhuo Ying 卓膺. As he turned against Liu Zhang in 212, Liu Bei sent Zhuo Ying and Huang Zhong to occupy Fu city in Guanghan on the approaches to Chengdu. -SGZ Shu 2:882.

Zhuo Yuan 卓原 see Zhuo Jing 卓京.

Zhuobing 涿兵; Xiongnu. A chieftain of the Northern Xiongnu, in 85 Zhuobing came to the frontiers with his colleague Cheli and other leaders, bringing a total of 73,000 people to surrender. -HHS 89/79:2950.

Zhuodi 涿鞬 of Further Jushi (d.97). King of Further Jushi in 96, Zhuodi heard that the Chinese garrison commander Suo Jun planned to depose him and place the pro-Han prince Xizhi on the throne. Believing that King Weibei of Nearer Jushi had spoken against him, Zhuodi attacked that state.

In the following year the Chief Clerk Wang Lin came with an army of Chinese commandery troops and non-Chinese auxiliaries. Zhuodi was defeated and attempted to flee to the Xiongnu, but he was caught and killed. -HHS 88/78:2930.

Zhuqi Chengxian 祝其承先 was Commandant of the Capital in the kingdom of Qinghe. -FSTY 5f:133.

[Zichang (style)] 子長 [surname and personal name unknown]; Wudu. A local officer of the commandery, in 172 this man joined in offsetting up a stele to commemorate the road construction work of the Administrator Li Yu. -LS 4:12b.

Zihou Lanqing 子后蘭卿; Nanyang. A cousin of Peng Chong, in 26 Zihou Lanqing was sent to Yuyang by Emperor Guangwu to persuade Peng Chong to obedience. Peng Chong persuaded him to join him, but as Zihou Lanqing had hostages at the Han court

he did not entirely trust him. He therefore he kept him at a distance from his headquarters, and thus became vulnerable to the assassination plot of his slave Zimi.

After Peng Chong was murdered in 29, Zihou Lanqing took title as a general and proclaimed Peng Chong's son Wu as successor King of Yan 燕王. Their party was destroyed soon afterwards by the imperial forces. -HHS 12/2:503-05.

Zilu on the City Wall 城頭子路 see Yuan Zeng 爰曾.

Ziluo 則羅 of Suoju [Yarkand]. About 50 King Xian of Suoju captured Qiuzi [Kuqa], on the north of the Tarim basin. He named his son Ziluo as king, but because Ziluo was young Xian divided the state into two and had his officer Sijian rule in parallel. Some years later the people joined in rebellion to kill their alien rulers, and invited the Xiongnu to appoint a new king from their own nobility. -HHS 88/78:2924.

Zimi 子密. In 29 Zimi was a slave [蒼頭 *cangtōu*] of Peng Chong the warlord of Yuyang. As Peng Chong was in the bedroom of a separate villa, apart from his main residence, Zimi and two others seized and bound him, then issued orders in his name that he should not be disturbed, that his officers should withdraw and all other slaves be put into fetters. Then they called in Peng Chong's wife and forced her to open the treasury.

Peng Chong tried to persuade the one man left to guard him to let him go, but the robbers returned, forced him to write an order to get them through the gates, then killed husband and wife. Taking two heads in silken bags, they presented them to the court of Emperor Guangwu at Luoyang, and Zimi claimed the reward of enfeoffment which had been offered. There was naturally concern at such treachery of a slave against his master, and Zimi was granted the title of Marquis Without Honour 不義侯. -HHS 12/2:504-05; Bn 59:131.

[Ziyou 子游] see Yun 允 [surname unknown]. -Nagata 94:50.

Zong 宗 [surname] also appears as Song 宋: see Bn 67:69.

Zong 宗, the Lady. Widow of Liu Shi, King of Qi, in 87 the Lady Zong and her sons Liu Huang and Liu Gang were found to have made false accusations against one another. Emperor Zhang ordered that Liu Huang be demoted to a marquis and Liu Gang's fief be reduced, while the Lady was stripped of her royal seal. -HHS 14/4:553-54.

Zong 宗 or Song 宋 [personal name unknown]; Nanyang. Son of Zong Yi, he was Director of Retainers and Administrator of Changsha. -HHSJJ 8:314 and 41/31:1505 Hui Dong citing LS 18:1a.

Zong Bo 宗伯 or Song Bo 宋伯; Nanyang. In the early part of the reign of Emperor Guangwu, Zong Bo was a General of the Household responsible for probationary cadets. -HHS 41/31:1411.

Zong Cheng 宗成 (d.23); Nanyang. As the empire fell into disorder after the destruction of Wang Mang, Zong Cheng took title as a general and went west to raid Hanzhong commandery. The effect of his incursions extended into Guanghan, where the local bandit Wang Cen killed the Governor appointed by Wang Mang, styled himself likewise as a general and declared his support for Zong Cheng.

Gongsun Shu, Administrator of Shu commandery, invited Zong Cheng south to Chengdu, but as Zong Cheng paid primary attention to plunder, Gongsun Shu explained to his people that he had mistakenly believed Zong Cheng to be a genuine officer of the new Han regime. Claiming that he himself had now received appointment from the Gengshi Emperor, he turned against Zong Cheng. Zong Cheng's officer Yuan Fu killed Zong Cheng and surrendered to Gongsun Shu with all his troops. -HHS 13/3:533-34; Bn 59:30.

Zong Cheng 宗誠; Liang. A grandson of the calendrical scholar Zong Gan, in 175 Zong Cheng presented as number of amendments to his method of forecasting eclipses of the moon, and also corrected a false forecast of the official Bureau of Astronomy. His system was put into effect and Zong Cheng was appointed to the Bureau.

In 179, however, the Court Astronomer Xiu recommended that Zong Cheng's system be replaced by the rival method of Feng [or Zhang?] Xun. As Zong Cheng's elder brother Zheng complained that his decision was based on false calculations, an edict ordered there be a full investigation, and the Minister of Ceremonies set up a committee of enquiry. After acrimonious debate, Zong Cheng's method was judged slightly the better and was restored, but because of the trouble they had caused Zong Cheng and Feng Xun were each fined two months salary, while Zong Zheng was sentenced to two months convict service. -HHS 92/2:3041-42.

Zong Cheng 宗承 [Shilin 世林]; Nanyang. Son of Zong Ci, Zong Cheng was a man of fine moral quality.

About 170 he dissuaded Yuan Shu from killing He Yong, an associate of his cousin and rival Yuan Shao.

About the same time, the youthful Cao Cao attempted to call upon him, but Zong Cheng refused to see him. Later, as Cao Cao took control of the court of Han in 196, he asked Zong Cheng if he did not regret his earlier rejection, but Zong Cheng refused to be impressed. Cao Cao was obliged to respect him. He had his son Cao Pi recognise him as a teacher, and named Zong Cheng Administrator of Hanzhong, a territory he did not yet control.

After Cao Cao destroyed the Yuan and took over Ji province, Zong Cheng went with him to Ye city. He was admired by Chen Qun, who was responsible for personnel, but Cao Cao resented Zong Cheng's earlier conduct and did not give him high office.

Cao Pi appointed Zong Cheng as a courtier, and Cao Rui would have named him Chancellor, but Zong Cheng excused himself as being too old. -SGZ 10:322, HHSJJ 67/57:2428 *jiaobu* Hou Kang quoting *Chuguo xianxian zhuan*; Mather 76:581.

Zong Ci 宗慈 [Xiaochu 孝初]; Nanyang. Zong Ci was nominated Filial and Incorrupt by his commandery, and invited nine times to clerical office at the capital. He rejected all such offers, but in 154 he received special recommendation as Knowing the Way. He became a county magistrate in Henei, but resigned his office because the commandery Administrator was corrupt and subservient to powerful local interests.

Zong Ci was later appointed a Consultant, but died on the road to the capital. All the gentlemen of Nanyang admired his high standards, and he was numbered among the popular heroes in the lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University in the late 160s. -HHS 67/57:2202-03* & 2212.

Zong Diao 宗佻 see Zong Tiao 宗佻.

Zong Du 宗度 see Song Du 宋度.

Zong Gan 宗紺; Liang. A private scholar of the calendar, in 90 Zong Gan forecast an eclipse of the moon for the first month, while the Bureau of Astronomy had said it would fall in the second month. Zong Gan proved to be correct, the Court Astronomer Xun accepted his calculations for future use, Zong Gan was granted official appointment, and his system was adopted on a provisional basis. It was maintained for fifty-six years.

Sivin points out that although Zong Gan's method improved the *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] system,

established five years earlier, it could not be formally approved without a full and imperially-sponsored reform of the calendar. -HHS 92/2:3040; Sivin 69:59.

Zong Guang 宗廣; Nanyang. An officer of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, early in 24 Zong Guang was left in charge of Xindu commandery while the Administrator Ren Guang went with Liu Xiu's army to attack the pretender Wang Lang. The local leader Ma Chong opened the gates of the capital to troops of Wang Lang, and Zong Guang was taken prisoner. As the city was recaptured a short time later, Zong Guang and other hostages were released unharmed.

When Liu Xiu took the imperial throne in 25, Zong Guang became a member of his Secretariat. He accompanied the army of Deng Yu against Chang'an, and was sent with the Staff of Authority to receive the submission of Huang Fang. At the end of the year, after the death of the Gengshi Emperor, Wang Kuang and other chieftains left the Red Eyebrows at Chang'an and came to Zong Guang to surrender. He escorted them to the east, but they "died while attempting to escape" before the party reached Luoyang.

In 26 Zong Guang was sent with orders to execute the general Wang Liang for disobeying his instructions in operations under Wu Han against the Tanxiang bandits. Since Wang Liang was an old comrade of the emperor, Zong Guang was reluctant to put him to death: he sent him to Luoyang in a cage cart, and Wang Liang did receive a pardon. -HHS 21/11:752, 755, 16/6:601-02, 22/12:775; Bn 59:101.

Zong Han 宗紺 see Zong Gan 宗紺. -Sivin 69:59.

Zong Han 宗漢 see Song Han 宋漢.

Zong Hong 宗弘; Liaodong. Having come from the northeast to join Cao Cao, about 207 Zong Hong was sent as Commandant of the Equipage on embassy to Gongsun Kang.

When Cao Pi succeeded his father in 220, Zong Hong was sent to Gongsun Kang's successor, Gongsun Gong. -SGZ 8:257-58; Gardiner 72B:143.

Zong Jing 宗京 or Song Jing 宋京; Nanyang. A kinsman of Zong Jun, Zong Jing taught the *Classic of History* according to the New Text interpretation of the Elder Xiahou. He later became Administrator of Liaodong. -HHS 41/31:1414.

Zong Ju 宗俱 or Song Ju 宋俱 [Boli 伯儺] (d.173); Nanyang. Grandson of Zong Yi, Zong Ju was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, served as captain of a gate at Luoyang, became a gentleman cadet, a Consultant,

then a Gentleman of the Household in charge of cadets, and later a colonel in the Northern Army. He left the capital to be Administrator of Runan, but returned to hold a series of ministerial appointments.

In 171 Zong Ju was promoted from Minister of Ceremonies to be Excellency of Works. He died in office two years later. -HHS 8:333-34, 41/31:1416, LS 18:1a-2b.

Zong Jun 宗均 or Song Jun 宋均 [Shuxiang 叔庠] (d.76); Nanyang. Son of Zong Bo, Zong Jun entered the imperial service as a gentleman cadet through the *ren* right of his father. A keen scholar, at the age of fifteen he spent his free time studying with Academicians of the Imperial University, and he became expert on the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Ritual*. At the age of twenty he was appointed a county magistrate in Wuling, where he countered local shamanism by establishing schools and forbidding the practice of witchcraft. He left office when his grandmother died, and spent some time as a private citizen in Yingchuan commandery.

About 48 Zong Jun returned to office as an Internuncio at Luoyang. At this time the general Liu Shang attacked the non-Chinese of Wuling commandery, but his army was trapped by the tribesmen. When it was known that he was in trouble, but before his end was reported, Zong Jun was sent to raise three thousand men in Jiangxia and go to Liu Shang's relief. His appointment was no doubt due to his previous experience in the region, but it was fortunate that by the time he reached Jiangxia the news of Liu Shang's destruction arrived; Zong Jun's men would have been far too few to make a difference.

When Ma Yuan arrived for a further campaign in the following year Zong Jun was named Inspector of his army 監軍, evidently a senior adjutant. Though halted by the local defences and with troops suffering from illness, Ma Yuan forced the tribesmen to offer surrender. He died just at that time, however, and the other officers were hesitant but Zong Jun, now styled as an Internuncio, took the initiative: he forged an imperial edict and sent an envoy with its terms. When the enemy accepted, Zong Jun went to receive their submission, then sent them back to their homes and appointed officers to supervise them. He was liable to heavy punishment for his extra-legal initiative, but the emperor recognised the urgency of the moment and the need for speed, and Zong Jun was both pardoned and rewarded.

Zong Jun then became a magistrate in Runan. When instructions came from the commandery office prohibiting extravagance at funerals he refused to enforce the rule, arguing that such rituals were an essential part of civilised culture.

Promoted Administrator of Jiujiang, Zong Jun ruled very lightly. In a somewhat clichéd story, we are told that the territory was beset by tigers, and though people sought to trap them, they still caused harm. Zong Jun proclaimed that the tigers were only following natural instincts; they should be left in peace while the people concentrated on virtuous conduct. The tigers duly left the territory and crossed the Yangzi [*FSTY* 2:18-19 (as Song Jun) doubts the story of the tiger's migration: *Nylan* 83:401-403]. Again, when there was a plague of locusts through the region in 56, we are told that as the insects came to Jiujiang they divided left and right to avoid the commandery; Zong Jun was celebrated far and wide.

Perhaps more practically, Zong Jun dealt with a local non-Chinese cult; shamans required young men and women to enter into a mystical marriage with two sacred mountains, and to abstain thereafter from the human variety. No previous administrators had ventured to interfere, but Zong Jun ordered that such ceremonies should henceforth involve only the families of the shamans themselves; the custom soon ended. [*FSTY* 9:69; *Nylan* 83:530 (referring to Song Jun) describes harsher measures.]

In 58 Zong Jun was transferred to Dongping, where he made a point of recruiting Confucian scholars to office. After five years he was dismissed for some fault and went back once more to private life in Yingchuan, but the people had so admired his rule that thousands came to call for his return. Emperor Ming was impressed: he did not send Zong Jun back to Dongping, but in 64 he appointed him Director of the Imperial Secretariat. Zong Jun consistently supported the emperor, who admired his loyalty and his firm standards.

Transferred to be Director of Retainers and then Administrator of Henei, Zong Jun maintained an effective government in both offices. When he became ill the people offered prayers for him and held vigil day and night, but he asked permission to resign his post. Emperor Ming granted a cadet appointment to his son Tiao, and when Zong Jun came to offer thanks he sent eunuchs to enquire after his health. A position

as Excellency was vacant at that time, and the ruler believed Zong Jun should fill it, but Zong Jun assured him that he was desperately ill. Emperor Ming granted him rich gifts, and Zong Jun died at home. -*HHS* 41/31:1411-14*, *XC* 2:6b-7a [surname as Song 宋]; Miyakawa 60:30, Bn 67:69-72, 80-81, deC 90:11-12, 16.

Zong Qian 宗謙 or Song Qian 宋謙 (d.162). Commandant of the Tiger Tooth Camp at Chang'an, in 162 he was found guilty of corruption. He died in prison. -*HHS* 7:311, 102/12:3256.

Zong Qing 宗慶. As Administrator of Changsha, Zong Qing found that many poor parents killed their newborn children. He persuaded elders of the community to prohibit the custom, thousands of infants were saved, and many of them were named Zong in his honour: Hulsewé 55:106 and cf. Jiao Biao. -*XC* 7:6a-b.

Zong Tiao 宗佻 or Song Tiao 宋佻; Nanyang. A member of the gentry, when Liu Xuan took title as Gengshi Emperor in 23 Zong Tiao was appointed Chief General of Agile Cavalry. In the summer of that year he held command among the Han forces at Kunyang. He escaped from the city with Liu Xiu and took part in the attack from outside which destroyed Wang Yi's army.

In 24 the Gengshi Emperor named Zong Tiao as king of a county in Yingchuan. -*HHS* 1A:6-7, 11/1:471, 41/31:1414; Bn 54:75, 119, Bn 59:54.

Zong Tiao 宗條 or Song Tiao 宋條; Nanyang. Son of Zong Jun, he was granted a cadet appointment in respect for his father, but later left the capital to escort him home. -*HHS* 41/31:1413.

Zong Xin 宗歆 (d.25). When Deng Yu was ordered west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he chose Zong Xin to be a general under his command. When Deng Yu turned to take control of the northern commanderies late in 25, he left Zong Xin and Feng Yin in Youfufeng to face the former capital. The two generals quarrelled about precedence; Feng Yin killed Zong Xin and turned against Deng Yu. -*HHS* 16/6:601-03.

Zong Xin 宗訢. In 143 Zong Xin was an officer in the Bureau of Astronomy at Luoyang responsible for the calendar. Bian Shao, a member of the Imperial Secretariat, presented a paper claiming that the current *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar was based upon the wrong base year (Sivin 69:59: "working epoch") and did not accord with the apocrypha. Zong Xin joined the Court Astronomer Yu Gong in arguing that while the

calendar was not perfect, it was basically satisfactory and should not be changed. Emperor Shun agreed. - *HHS* 92/2:3036-37.

Zong [Wubo] 宗武伯; Nanyang or Dong? In the time of Emperor Ming, Zong Wubo was a colleague of Deng Biao in local office. Together with three other young men, all of whom were talented and ambitious and had the character *bo* in their styles, they were known locally as "the five elder brothers" - *DGHJ* 18:2a.

Though *DGHJ* says that the five were called "elder brothers of Nanyang" 南陽五伯, the same passage describes Zong Wubo as a man from Dong commandery, which was not even in the same province; he may have come as a migrant or as a travelling scholar.

Zong Yan 宗延 (d.76). In 76 Zong Yan was a county magistrate in Jincheng when one of his officers abducted the wife of a Qiang man of the Bi'nan tribe. The husband killed the man and fled across the frontier. Zong Yan went in pursuit, but the fugitive's fellow-tribesmen were afraid they too would be punished. So they killed Zong Yan, then joined other tribal groups in raiding the frontiers. - *HHS* 87/77:2881, 101/11:3232 [surname as Song 宋].

Zong Yi 宗意 or Song Yi 宋意 [Bozhi 伯志] (d.90); Nanyang. Son of Zong Jing, he followed his father's tradition of scholarship in the New Text interpretation of the *Classic of History*. In the time of Emperor Ming he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a magistrate in Tianshui/Hanyang, and about 76, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, he was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat.

Showing particular favour to his uncles Liu Kang and Liu Yan the kings of Ji'nan and Zhongshan, Emperor Zhang had allowed them to reside at the capital and call regularly at the palace. Zong Yi felt that this was not a proper relationship between ruler and subject, and presented a memorial to say so. The emperor accepted his advice.

In 88 the Shanyu of the Northern Xiongnu was defeated and killed by the Xianbi, and the Southern Shanyu proposed an expedition to destroy the demoralised state. The Dowager Dou, regent for the young Emperor He, wanted to adopt this plan and appoint her brother Dou Xian as commander-in-chief. Zong Yi objected strongly, arguing that it was in the empire's interest for the barbarians to attack one another, that the weakness of the Xiongnu owed nothing to Chinese arms, and this was the successful

policy of Emperor Guangwu. The current proposal would use men and money to assist the Southern Shanyu's personal political ambitions, but the natural course of events would see the dominance of the Xianbi.

Though Zong Yi's argument was supported by the most senior ministers, the Dowager was adamant and eventually gained her way. Dou Xian's expedition took place, the Northern Xiongnu were destroyed, and the steppe was indeed controlled by the Xianbi.

Zong Yi was transferred to be Director of Retainers. As the Dou clan increased their power after the triumph over the Xiongnu, a number of officials and gentlemen took advantage of their connection to act without the law. Zong Yi reported their conduct, but the regency government took no action and he was now known as an enemy of the Dou faction. He became ill and died soon afterwards. - *HHS* 41/31:1414-16*.

Zong You 宗由 see Song You 宋由.

Zong Yu 宗育. Appointed as Administrator of Xihe by the Gengshi Emperor, in 25 Zong Yu sent his son as hostage and submitted to Emperor Guangwu's general Deng Yu. - *HHS* 16/6:603.

Zong Yu 宗預 [Deyan 德豔] (d.264); Nanyang. In 214 Zong Yu accompanied Zhang Fei into Yi province, and in the early 220s he joined the staff of Zhuge Liang. He served as an envoy to Wu, became a chief general and was enfeoffed. Together with Liao Hua, he died on the road to Luoyang after the surrender to Wei. - *SGZ* Shu 15:1075-76*.

Zong Yuan 宗員. Protector of the Wuhuan in 184, Zong Yuan brought non-Chinese auxiliaries to assist Lu Zhi against the Yellow Turbans. - *HHS* 64/54:2118.

Zong Zhan 宗湛. Early in the reign of Emperor Zhang Zong Zhan was Administrator of Pengcheng. There was a severe drought, but Yang Tong, magistrate of Pengcheng, called the forces of *Yin* and *Yang* to bring rain to his county. Zong Zhan had him perform the same ritual for the commandery as a whole, and the drought was broken. - *HHS* 30/20A:1047.

Zong Zheng 宗整; Liang. A grandson of the calendrical scholar Zong Gan, Zong Zheng served for a time in the Bureau of Astronomy. He then retired to private life, but about 175 he sent in a proposal for a new approach to calculating eclipses, relying upon the course of the moon. Though his method was checked and found correct, the Court Astronomer Shan Yang believed it represented only a slight improvement over

the system currently in use.

In 180 Zong Zheng complained that the Court Astronomer Xiu had preferred the inaccurate system of the officer Feng Xun to that of his brother Zong Cheng for forecasting eclipses of the moon. The emperor ordered an investigation, and after acrimonious argument Zong Cheng's method was indeed found to be better and was accordingly restored. Because of the trouble they had caused, however, Zong Cheng and Zhang Xun were each fined two months salary, while Zong Zheng was sentenced to two months convict service. -HHS 92/2:3030, 3041-42; Sivin 69:60-61.

Zong Zhong 宗仲 see Song Chong 宋冲.

Zong Zhong 宗忠 see Song Chong 宋忠/衷.

Zong Zi 宗資 or Song Zi 宋資 [Shudu 叔都]; Nanyang. A man of old official family, Zong Zi was a grandson of Zong Jun. Having studied the *Book of Changes* and the New Text *Classic of History* at the imperial capital, he was nominated Filial and Incorrupt, became a Consultant, and was later Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the Censorate.

In 160 Zong Zi was named General of the Household and sent to attack the bandit Shusun Wuji of Taishan. After some setbacks, he eventually destroyed him.

A year or so later Zong Zi was appointed Administrator of Runan. He chose Fan Pang to be his Officer of Merit and accepted his judgement on all personnel. The commandery was well governed, but Fan Pang's influence was so strong that people sang how he was the real Administrator, and Zong Zi no more than a cipher. Zong Zi had no hesitation in ascribing credit to Fan Pang, but his own achievement was celebrated, and he too was numbered among the worthy men in lists compiled by the reformists and students of the University. -HHS 7:307, 67/57:2186-87 & 2205, XC 4:7b.

Zong Zi 宗茲 see Zong Ci 宗茲.

Zong [Ziqing] 宗子卿; Nanyang. In the winter of 218, as the people of Wan city suffered heavy demands for labour services, the garrison officer Hou Yin led a mutiny, seized the city, and called people from the hills to support him. He also captured the Administrator Dongli Gun and planned to hold him as a hostage while he invited the Shu-Han general Guan Yu to send an army.

Evidently seeking additional local support, Hou Yin appointed Zong Ziqing as Officer of Merit. Zong Ziqing persuaded Hou Yin that it was unworthy of him

to hold Dongli Gun. When he let him go, however, Zong Ziqing escaped over the walls and joined Dongli Gun to collect loyal troops outside the city. They returned to lay siege to Hou Yin, until in the spring of 219 a major army under Cao Ren arrived and the rebellion was destroyed. -SGZ 1:51.

Zou Bin 鄒邠 [Boqi 伯岐]; Wu. Zou Bin compiled *Xuan si* 玄思, a commentary to the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery" by Yang Xiong 楊雄 and *Jian lun* 檢論, on the *Xin lun* of Huan Tan. -*Lun heng* 37; Forke 07:468-469; Yao Zhenzong:2381.

Zou Dan 鄒丹 (d.195). Administrator of Yuyang for Gongsun Zan, Zou Dan was defeated and killed by rebels led by Yan Rou. -SGZ 8:474.

Zou Jing 鄒靖. As a colonel in 184 Zou Jing fought the Yellow Turbans in the north. As Adjutant of the Northern Army in 185, he recommended recruiting troops from the Xianbi, rather than from the Wuhuan, to fight the rebels of Liang province. -HHS 46/36:1609, SGZ Shu 2:872.

Zou Lin 鄒臨; Kuaiji. A local leader on the upper Min River in present-day Fujian, Zou Lin was conquered by He Qi in 203. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Zou Qi 鄒岐. Administrator of Anding in 220, Zou Qi was appointed Inspector of the newly-restored Liang province, in the corridor of present-day northwest Gansu. The local leaders at first refused to admit him, but he was set in place after the successes of Su Ze.

As new disturbances broke out in the following year, Zou Qi was replaced by Zhang Ji. He later became Inspector of Xu province. -SGZ 15:474.

Zou Tuo 鄒他 (d.199); Wu. A local leader, Zou Tuo opposed Sun Ce in 196 but was defeated and killed. -SGZ Wu 1:1105.

Zu 祖 [surname unknown]. In 220 a colonel in the Northern Army, with personal name Zu and enfeoffment as a village marquis, was one of the sponsors of a stele commemorating Cao Pi's assumption of the imperial title. Goodman suggests this man may have been Guo Zu from Taishan. -LS 19:4a-b; Goodman 98:197.

Zu Lang 祖郎; Danyang. A local leader, Zu Lang defeated Sun Ce in a skirmish about 194, but was driven into the southern hills by Wu Jing. Allied to Chen Yu in 197, and to Yuan Shu in 198, he led hills people against Sun Ce. He was captured, but Sun Ce held no ill-will and appointed him to his staff. -SGZ Wu 1:1103, 1107, 6:1212.

Zu Mao 祖茂. In 190 Sun Jian's troops were defeated

by Dong Zhuo's general Xu Rong, and Sun Jian was surrounded. Zu Mao, an officer of Sun Jian's bodyguard, or Companions 親近, took Sun Jian's red cap, broke through the enemy lines, and attracted their pursuit. Sun Jian escaped capture, and Zu Mao also got away. -SGZ Wu 1:1096.

Zu Mou 祖茂 see Zu Mao 祖茂.

Zu Shan 祖山; Danyang. Zu Shan and Chen Pu were chieftains of non-Chinese people in the Huang Shan range of southern Danyang. They and their Chinese allies were conquered by He Qi in 208. -SGZ Wu 15:1378.

Zu Si 卒巳 see Xin Si 辛巳. -HYGZ 10C:165.

Zuo 左, the Ladies, see Zuo [Da'e] 左大娥 and Zuo [Shao'e] 左小娥.

Zuo 左, the Lady; Jianwei. The Lady was married to a son of Xiang Deng but, like his father, he died young. Though only nineteen at that time, the Lady followed the example of her mother-in-law, the Lady Zhou Du, in maintaining devotion to her late husband, though not by such drastic physical methods. The two women were widely admired. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zuo Biao 左表 [Yuanyi 元異] (d.150); Xihe. A former General of the Household commissioned with the Staff of Authority 使者持節中郎將, Zuo Biao had a stele set up at his tomb. -Nagata 94:106.

Zuo Ce 左慈 [Yuanfang 放元]; Lujiang. Expert in magical arts and longevity, Zuo Ce nourished his vital essence by controlled breathing and by coupling with a number of different women without ejaculation, and he could live for long periods without eating. He had studied the Confucian classics, was skilled at astrology, and received a copy of *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 "Veritable Images of the Five Sacred Peaks," a set of mystical diagrams, from his teacher Feng Heng [Feng Junda].

It is said that at some time before 200 the warlord Sun Ce wanted to kill Zuo Ce and chased him on horseback, but found that although his quarry appeared to walk slowly he was moving too swiftly to be caught. [A similar skill is ascribed to Ji Zixun; and for similar hostility shown by Sun Ce towards men of powers, see *sub* Gan Ji.]

Zuo Ce was among the magicians who were granted a pension at court by the warlord Cao Cao. His biographies say that he provided exotic fish by magic, and sent instant messages over hundreds of miles. On another occasion he fed a whole court assembly from

apparently inexhaustible bowls of meat and wine, but it was then found that he had magicked the stock of every wine shop in the region to serve his purpose. Cao Cao tried to arrest him, but Zuo Ce walked through walls and then disguised himself in a flock of sheep until Cao Cao announced that he had only been trying to test his abilities.

Zuo Ce retired from the world to practise his arts among the mountains; it is claimed that lived until 306. -HHS 82/72B:2747-48*, SGZ 29:805; Ngo 76:137-139, DeWoskin 83:83-86, Sailey 78:333.

Though Cao Cao gave appointment to Zuo Ce and his colleagues, and may have been interested in the possibilities of longevity, his son Cao Zhi claimed that such patronage was intended only to keep these men and their wild teachings under control; he and his family gave them no credence.

Zuo Chang 左昌. As rebellion broke out in Liang province in 184 the Inspector Zuo Chang raised an army to attack the insurgents, but he also took the opportunity to appropriate quantities of military stores for his own profit. When his officer He Xun protested, Zuo Chang sent him to an exposed outpost against the enemy; in that position, however, He Xun achieved considerable success.

As the rebels attacked Yuanya, capital of Jincheng commandery, He Xun urged Zuo Chang to go the relief, but he made no move and the city was taken. The rebels then advanced into Hanyang and laid siege to Zuo Chang's own headquarters at Ji city, capital of Hanyang commandery. Zuo Chang called for help, He Xun came to his aid, and the rebels withdrew. Soon afterwards Zuo Chang was dismissed for his embezzlement. -HHS 58/48:1880; deC 89:187.

Zuo Cheng 左稱 also as Zuo Sheng 勝 (d.165); Henan. Elder brother of the eunuch Zuo Guan, about 155 Zuo Cheng was appointed Administrator of Hedong. He was later awarded a marquisate, presumably in reward for Zuo Guan's role in the coup against Liang Ji, and early in 165 he was Minister Coachman.

Soon afterwards Zuo Cheng was impeached by the Director of Retainers Han Yan for corruption in office and for the misconduct of the family's retainers in their home country. Zuo Guan was implicated, and both committed suicide. -HHS 7:314, 78/68:2522; deC 89:57.

HHS 64/54:2122 describes Zuo Sheng 勝 as Administrator of Hedong, while HHS 102/12:3257,

has Zuo Sheng as the suicidal Coachman; this latter text, with *HHS* 7:314, is evidence that the two men were the same.

Zuo Chenghuangzu 左丞黃祖 see Zuo Chengzu 左丞祖.

Zuo Chengzu 左丞祖/承祖 also as Zuo Chenghuang [黃]zu; Beihai. A local gentleman noted for his ability in planning, he joined the staff of the Chancellor Kong Rong in the 190s, but was paid no attention. Later he argued to Kong Rong that he was too isolated, and he should make alliance either with Cao Cao or with Yuan Shao. Claiming that such talk was treasonous, Kong Rong killed him. -*SGZ* 12:372, *HHS* 70/60:2264; deC 96:203.

Zuo [Da'e] 左大娥, the Lady; Jianwei. The Lady was a niece of Zuo Sheng. After he was disgraced and executed, she and her younger sister Shao'e were taken into the imperial harem, where they grew to be both beautiful and talented. It appears that the Lady, like her sister, was granted by Emperor He to one of the kings of the imperial clan, probably to Liu Qing, King of Qinghe, but she did not receive the same fortune and favour. Da'e and Shao'e both died and were buried at the capital. -*HHS* 55/45:1803.

Zuo Dang 左黨 (d.165); Nanyang. Younger brother of the eunuch Zuo Guan and of the minister Zuo Sheng, Zuo Dang was enfeoffed as a district marquis. In 165, as Zuo Cheng and Zuo Guan were impeached and forced to commit suicide, Zuo Dang shared their fate. -*HHS* 102/12:3257.

Zuo Fang 左防. Formerly officers of the Gengshi Emperor, in 27 Zuo Fang and Wei/Han Yan controlled two counties in Nanyang. Guangwu's officers Zhai Zun and Zang Gong came to attack them, and the two men surrendered. -*HHS* 18/8:692.

Zuo Guan 左綰/憲 (d.165); Nanyang. In 146, soon after Emperor Huan had come to the throne, the General-in-Chief Liang Ji attacked the senior ministers Li Gu and Du Qiao. The eunuchs Zuo Guan and Tang Heng also told the young ruler how the two men had opposed his accession; Li Gu and Du Qiao were executed.

In 159 Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were Attendants at the Yellow Gates when Emperor Huan asked Tang Heng who might help him get rid of Liang Ji. Zuo Guan was one of four he recommended, for Liang Ji's brother Liang Buyi had at some time arrested his brother and Zuo Guan had had to plead to get him released. After

the coup was successful [see *sub* Ju Yuan], the five chief conspirators were awarded county marquisates and a cash donation, while Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were promoted to be Regular Attendants.

The favoured eunuchs presumed on their influence to live in luxury, building great mansions and taking women of good family as [decorative and titular?] concubines. They adopted unrelated children and even slaves to maintain their lineages, while their kinsmen held high office. Zuo Guan's brothers Min and Cheng ruled badly in Chenliu and in Hedong, and Cheng became a Minister.

Popular discontent was supported by fierce criticism from regular officials, but they were largely ignored by Emperor Huan, and Zuo Guan was highly trusted. Early in 165 he was sent as special imperial envoy to carry out sacrifice to the sage-divinity Laozi 老子 at his notional birthplace in Chen.

Later that year, however, Zuo Cheng was impeached by the Director of Retainers Han Yan for corruption in office, and he also implicated Zuo Guan for the misconduct of the family retainers in their home country. Zuo Cheng, Zuo Guan and their brother Zuo Dang all killed themselves. -*HHS* 78/68:2520-22*, 102/12:3297; Ch'ü 72:476-480, Bn 76:94-95, deC 89:12-14.

Zuo Ji 左姬, the Lady: see the Lady Zuo Shao'e 左少娥.

Zuo Jun 左駿. In the early 160s robbers broke into the tomb of Emperor Shun, stole some of the imperial grave-goods, and offered them for sale in the market at Luoyang. The chief of the market chased but could not catch them. Taking over from the Director of Retainers, the Director of the Secretariat Zhou Jing ordered Zuo Jun, one of the guards Rapid as Tigers, to find the thieves within three days. Zuo Jun did so. -*HHS* 45/35:1537.

Zuo Li 左立. Zuo Li's name appears in the colophon to the Stone Classics edition of *Analects* engraved at Luoyang in the early 180s. He is described there as an Academician. -*LS* 14:13a.

Zuo Ling 左靈. In 195 Zuo Ling accompanied Emperor Xian from his palace to the encampment of Li Jue. -*SGZ* 6:183.

Zuo Long 左隆; Yingchuan. Having been recommended by his fellow-countryman Feng Yi, in 23 Zuo Long joined the staff of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. He accompanied him to Luoyang, but is not

mentioned again. -HHS 17/7:640.

Zuo with the Long Moustache 左髭丈八 [lit. "a moustache eighty feet long"] see Zuo Zizhangba 左髭丈八.

Zuo Min 左敏; Henan. Younger brother of the palace eunuch Zuo Guan, Zuo Min became Administrator of Chenliu. He governed badly. -HHS 78/68:2521.

Zuo Qiaoyun 左喬雲; Guanghan. Adopted son of Zuo Tong, Zuo Qiaoyun was thirteen years old when Zuo Tong was arrested. Zuo Tong was about to have his legs broken, but Zuo Qiaoyun killed the officer concerned and helped Zuo Tong to escape. The official in charge was going to chase the pair, but when he heard how Zuo Qiaoyun was just a boy he wept in admiration. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Zuo [Shao'e] 左少娥, the Lady; Jianwei. The Lady was a niece of Zuo Sheng. After he was disgraced and executed the Lady and her elder sister Da'e were brought into the imperial harem. They grew to be beautiful and talented, and Shao'e studied the histories and enjoyed literary composition.

Emperor He gave some ladies of his harem to kings of the imperial clan, and so Zuo Shao'e entered the household of Liu Qing, King of Qinghe. She was especially favoured by the king and gave birth to his eldest son Liu You, future Emperor An.

The Lady died before 106, while Liu Qing was still at Luoyang, and she was first buried with her sister near the capital. When Liu Qing died in 106, the body of the Lady Zuo was re-entombed with him in Qinghe.

After the death of the regent Dowager Deng in 121, the Lady's son Emperor An awarded her posthumous title as an empress, sent missions of ceremony to her tomb, and appointed her half-brothers and nephews to junior office in Qinghe. -HHS 55/45:1803-04, 5:203, 232.

The Lady is also referred to as Zuo Ji 姬. This may be a sobriquet, "Concubine Zuo," or Ji may have been her personal name.

Zuo Sheng 左聖; Jianwei. During the reign of Emperor He Zuo Sheng was executed for witchcraft, having sought to cast spells or curses 妖言. As his family and dependents were implicated, his two young nieces Da'e and Shao'e were taken into the imperial harem. -HHS 55/45:1803, XHS 1:14a.

Zuo Sheng 左勝 see Zuo Cheng 左稱. -HHS 102/12:3256.

Zuo Tasheng 左達生; Jianwei. Son of Zuo Sheng and

younger half-brother of the Lady Zuo Shao'e, in 121 Zuo Tasheng, his brother Zi, and their nine sons and nephews, were appointed Gentlemen at the court of Qinghe. -HHS 55/45:1805.

Zuo Tong 左通; Guanghan. Zuo Tong was found guilty of a crime and tried to flee, but was recaptured. He was going to have his legs broken, but was saved by his adoptive son Zuo Qiaoyun. -HYGZ 10B:150.

Zuo Xi 左習; Jianwei. Zuo Xi was a client of Dong Tai in the late second century. When the young widow Han Jiang refused their patron's hand, Zuo Xi and his colleague Wang Su abducted her and forced her into the marriage. The Lady Han killed herself, and when the Administrator learned of the affair he had Zuo Xi and Wang Su executed to avenge her death. -HYGZ 10B:160.

Zuo Xian 作顯 became Administrator of Zhuo commandery. -FSTY 5f:123.

Zuo Xiang 左向. Chancellor of Pengcheng, Zuo Xiang was arrested for embezzlement, but though he was examined by torture he refused to provide the confession required for a guilty verdict. When he was courteously and gently treated by the junior officer Deng Sheng, however, he admitted his wrongdoing. -HHSJJ 66/56:2388 Hou Kang.

Zuo Xiao 左校 see Zuoxiao 左校.

Zuo Xiong 左雄 [Bohao 伯豪] (d.138); Nanyang. About 120 Zuo Xiong was named Filial and Incorrupt and he later became Inspector of Ji province. He was noted for his frugality and his simple life – he rejected the customary welcome with fireworks, for his refusal to accept overtures from powerful local families, and for his willingness to report senior officials who were corrupt.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun Zuo Xiong was called to the capital as a Consultant, and soon made his mark when he accused several high officials of incompetence and laziness. Recommended by the influential reformer Yu Xu, he was appointed to the Imperial Secretariat and swiftly promoted to be its Director. With Yu Xu as Deputy Director, he sought to use the office, with its close connection to the emperor, as the base for political change.

In a preliminary memorial, Zuo Xiong criticised the general corruption and irresponsibility of local officials, the manner in which ordinary people were oppressed and plundered by taxation, and the failure of inspectors to keep check. Concerned at such weakness

of control, he urged a number of reforms, including life-time proscription for wrong-doing, without benefit of amnesty, and punishment for family members of any official who fled from impeachment. On the other hand, he urged that good officials should be sought out and promoted, and Confucian scholars should be encouraged to serve as local officers, with an eye to future substantial appointment. He also argued that officials should be expected to remain in their posts long enough to ensure consistency in administration, that the right to leave office should be restricted, and mourning leave should be permitted only for the death of a parent.

It is said that the emperor was impressed, but when he opened the proposals for comment, there was reluctance and opposition. While Zuo Xiong, unlike Yu Xu, had not aimed his reforms at the eunuchs, many would have been worried at the emphasis on Confucian virtues and on the strengthening of local government. In the event, little was done, and the situation in the provinces is said to have deteriorated still further.

In 128, after a series of earthquakes and floods, and outbreaks of banditry in the east of the empire, Zuo Xiong presented a second major memorial, this time criticising the harshness of the laws, the extension of punishment to affect whole clans, and the need for stronger administration. Again it appears that many vested interests were doing well from the current situation, and there was continuing tolerance for the opportunities offered by corruption and influence.

Zuo Xiong's proposals for restoration of the Imperial University, however, were well received and were followed by action. Though Emperor Zhang and Emperor He had supported the institution, the stultifying effect of the official New Text teachings meant that it had fallen into decline, and though the regent Dowager Deng had initiated some reforms, it was again neglected during Emperor An's personal rule. Ten years later it was said that the Academicians failed to teach, their pupils would not study, that the buildings were in ruins and the site had reverted to pasture and gleanings.

In 131 Zuo Xiong urged the restoration of the University and increased attention of Confucian scholarship. Work on the physical plant was duly begun in the winter, and in the course of the following year an army of more than 110,000 convicts completed 140 buildings and 18,500 rooms. At the same time, leading

Confucian scholars were recruited as Academicians, scholarships were offered, and the number of students grew. Though direct entry to the bureaucracy through examinations was still limited, a few more places were added, while time spent at the University formed part of the *curriculum vitae* for many young men of the gentry and frequently preceded their entry into local government office or nomination for commissioned rank. Also on Zuo Xiong's advice, it was ordered that senior Confucian scholars throughout the provinces should be appointed as gentlemen cadets and members of the Suite of the Heir at the capital, and as gentlemen at the courts of the various kings.

The reconstruction and restoration of the University demonstrated Emperor Shun's formal commitment to Confucian ideals, and as patronage continued and grew in later years, notably under the influence of the Liang family of his empress, the University became a centre of reformist activism.

In 132, still seeking to improve the morality and the ability of officials, Zuo Xiong called for major changes to the procedure for Filial and Incorrupt nominations. Unless they had exceptional talent, candidates should be at least forty years old, should be trained in the Confucian classics and/or should be competent to draft official documents. They were to be examined for quality by the Excellencies and the Secretariat. This reform was also accepted, and was promulgated by edict at the end of the year.

Raising this age limit contrasts with Zuo Xiong's policy towards the University. There he nominated Xie Lian and Zhao Jian, two boys of eleven who had each mastered one of the classics, as Junior Gentlemen, which gave early entrance and probation for a post in the civil service. It appears Zuo Xiong was attempting to make the University the main route of entry to the civil service, and restrict the commandery nominations which were often controlled by local influence.

Such restriction, however, soon proved quite impracticable. It is true that one corps of cadets was reserved for men over fifty, but forty is an advanced age to begin a career, many leading officials of Han held positions of authority well before that age, and among the rulers of Later Han only Guangwu and Emperor Ming had reached it. Several commanderies, moreover, would have had difficulty in filling their annual quota of nominees, and a shortage of candidates is surely reflected in an additional edict issued a few

weeks later, calling for candidates who had been approved to present additional nominations of their own.

There was in any case widespread opposition to the new arrangements. Hu Guang, Zhang Heng and other senior officials presented objections, and the celebrated hermit Lang Yi also argued the conservative case. Zuo Xiong did succeed in embarrassing and rejecting the under-age candidate Xu Shu, but Xu Shu was a talented man who later distinguished himself as a General on the Liao, while Zuo Xiong's two academic protégés, Xie Lian and Zhao Jian, do not appear again in the histories.

It is claimed that the nomination process was kept free of corruption until the death of Emperor Shun, but one must wonder how long this remained the case after Zuo Xiong left office a few years later, and as the power and patronage of the Liang consort family developed from the second half of the 130s. Certainly the new requirements for age were soon honoured rather in the breach than in the observance. At *HHSJJ* 6:269 *jiaobu* the modern scholar Hou Kang cites stele set up for Wu Ban and Wu Rong: Wu Rong was nominated Filial and Incorrupt about 160 when he was thirty-six *sui*, but Wu Ban received the nomination at the age of twenty-five *sui*, no later than the early 140s. On further developments of the recruitment system, see also *sub* Huang Qiong.

While Zuo Xiong may have had some success in reforming the University and the recruitment system, such achievements were marginal compared to the on-going problem of quality and morality in the civil service, and he was faced on several occasions by a personal interest of the emperor himself.

Wet-nurse to Emperor Shun as a child, the Lady Song E remained a favourite, and in 133 the emperor proposed to grant her a fief. This was ostensibly as a reward for her assistance in his accession, though other such enfeoffments had been granted six years earlier. Zuo Xiong opposed the idea, took the occasion of an earthquake to draw comparison with the earlier grant to the Lady Wang Sheng, wet-nurse to Emperor An, which had been accompanied by similar portents, and argued that such action was wrong and unlawful. The emperor vacillated: he initially sent the Lady Song back to her residence, but later granted her title to a county. With similar lack of success, Zuo Xiong also opposed the enfeoffment of Liang Ji, brother of the new

empress, who would later dominate the government.

In all his arguments, Zuo Xiong was primarily concerned with the long-term structure of power. He planned for a bureaucracy controlled by gentlemen of Confucian standards, and he sought to limit the position of such people as the Lady Song, the palace eunuchs and the Liang family, who held influence through their proximity to the throne and their relationship to the ruler. Emperor Shun, however, was not yet twenty, and while he may have paid lip service to the principles of impartial government – he had himself suffered from his father's abuse of personal power – he was reluctant to accept all its terms. It appears that Zuo Xiong's confrontation with the emperor on the case of Song E marked the beginning of his own fall from favour and influence.

In a third case, Zuo Xiong protested when the disgraced Minister of Finance Liu Ju was threatened with a beating: such physical punishment did not accord with tradition nor with the dignity of office. On this occasion the emperor accepted his argument.

In 134 Zuo Xiong was transferred to become Director of Retainers. Though this was also a significant censorial position, the office did not have such broad authority as the Secretariat, and in the following year Zuo Xiong was demoted on account of some fault. He returned to the Secretariat as a regular officer and died in that post. -*HHS* 6:261, 61/51:2015-22*, *XC* 3:11a-b; Bn 80:136, Loewe 86C:306-307.

Zuo Yi 左姬, the Lady: see the Lady Zuo Shao'e 左少娥.

Zuo Yu 左于. When Deng Yu was ordered west against the Gengshi Emperor in 24, he chose Zuo Yu to be a general under his command, possibly as a senior member of his staff. -*HHS* 16/6:601.

Zuo Yuan 左原; Chenliu. About 160 Zuo Yuan was a student in the commandery academy, but was expelled for some crime. Guo Tai met him and sought to comfort him by references to worthy men of former times who had overcome similar setbacks.

Zuo Yuan later prepared to avenge his humiliation by an attack on his former fellows, but hearing that Guo Tai was visiting the academy at that time, he felt ashamed and abandoned the plan.

Some people had questioned Guo Tai's kindness to a wrong-doer, but the story of the potential threat was discovered later and all were appropriately grateful. - *HHS* 68/58:2227-28; deC 89:47.

Zuo Zi 左次; Jianwei. Son of Zuo Sheng and younger half-brother of the Lady Zuo Shao'e, in 121 he and his brother Tasheng and their nine sons and nephews were appointed Gentlemen at the court of Qinghe. -*HHS* 55/45:1805.

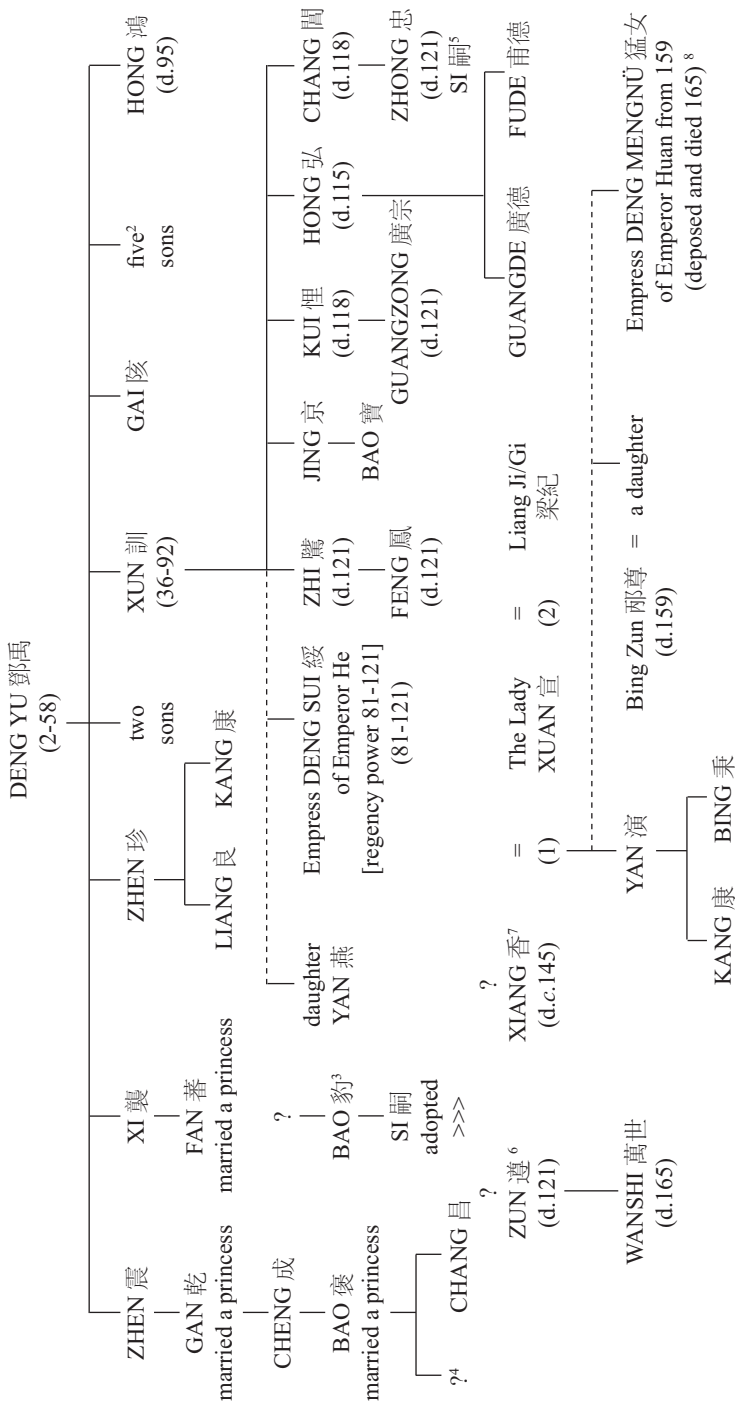
Zuo [Ziyi] 左子邑. A calligrapher at the end of Later Han, Zuo Ziyi was widely admired, though his work was not considered to reach the standard of Handan Chun and Liang Gu. -*JS* 36:1064.

Zuo Zizhangba 左髭丈八 [Zuo with the Long Moustache] (d.193). A leader among the Black Mountain

bandits in the Taihang range in 185, he was killed by Yuan Shao in 193. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, 74/64A: 2381, *SGZ* 8:262, 6:194. The last two characters appear also as Wenba 文八, but this is a less likely sobriquet.

Zuoxiao 左校 [Enclosure of the Left] (d.193). A leader among the Black Mountain bandits in the Taihang range in 185, his sobriquet was no doubt taken from the title of the officer in charge of convict labourers. He was killed by Yuan Shao in 193. -*HHS* 71/61:2310, 74/64A:2381, *SGZ* 8:262, 6:194; deC 89:587.

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF THE LINEAGE OF DENG YU OF NANYANG¹



¹ Deng Chen 鄧晨, a kinsman of Deng Yu from the same county, was an old friend and supporter of Emperor Guangwu and had married his sister. Later generations of his descendants, however, did not maintain the same close connection to the throne.

² Two sons appear to have been born between Zhen and Xun, and six, including Gai, between Xun and Hong; see *sub* Deng Yu.

³ Deng Bao is described as a cousin of the Empress Deng, but it is not known by which lineage.

⁴ The name of this son of Deng Bao and the Princess Liu Biede 劉別得 is not recorded.

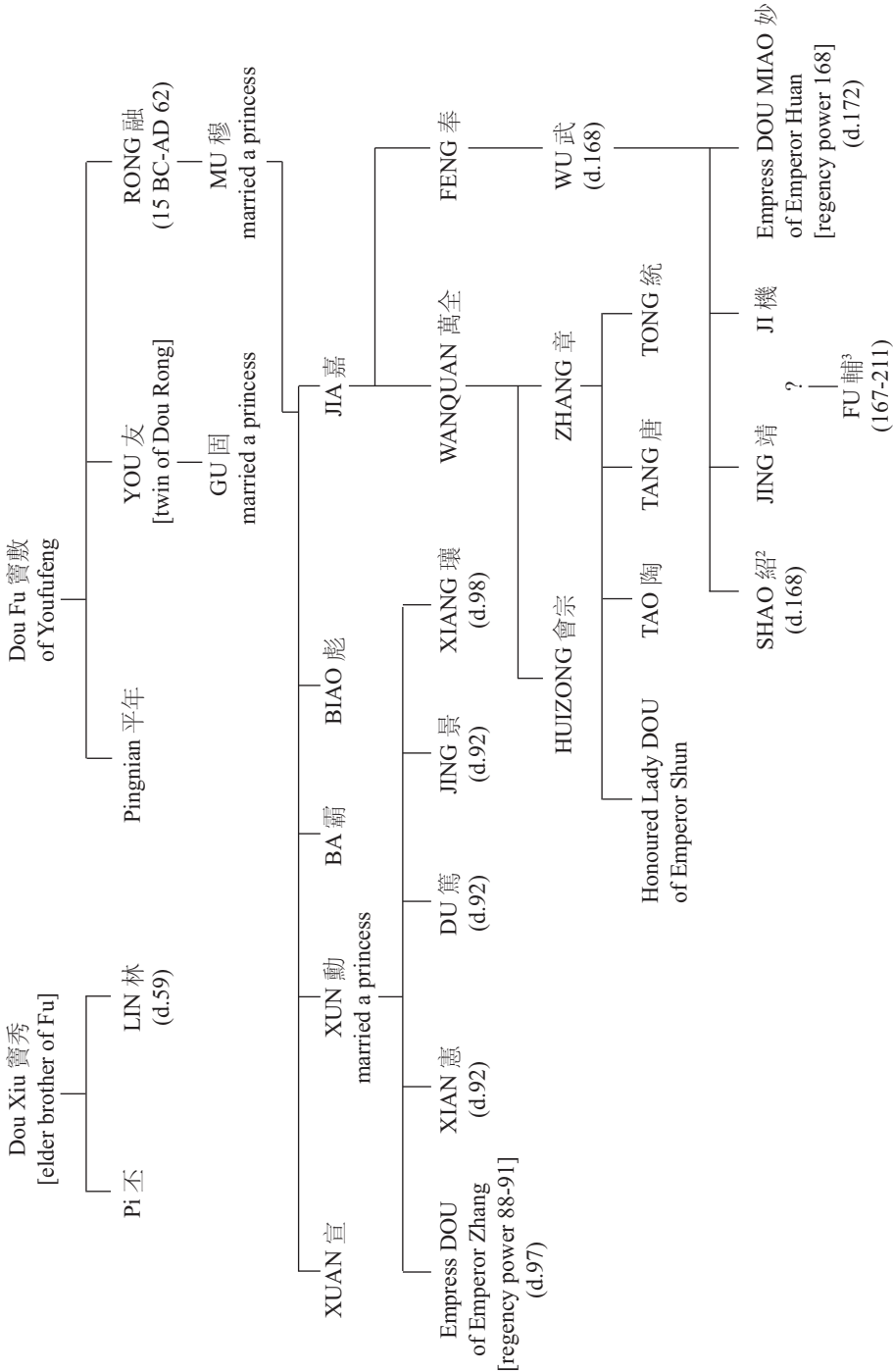
⁵ After the death of Deng Zhong, his mother the Lady the Lady Geng 耿 adopted Deng Si, son of Bao [see note 3 above].

⁶ Deng Zun is described as a cousin of the Empress Deng, but it is not known by which lineage.

⁷ Deng Xiang is described as a great-nephew of the Empress Deng, but it is not known by which lineage.

⁸ The Lady Deng's nephew Deng Bing and other more distant kinsmen shared in her fortune but were disgraced when she was deposed. They included Deng Bi 弼, Deng De 德, Deng Shou 壽 and Deng Xun 循, but their relationship and lineage are not indicated more precisely.

TABLE 4: SUMMARY OF THE DOU FAMILY OF YOUFUFENG ¹

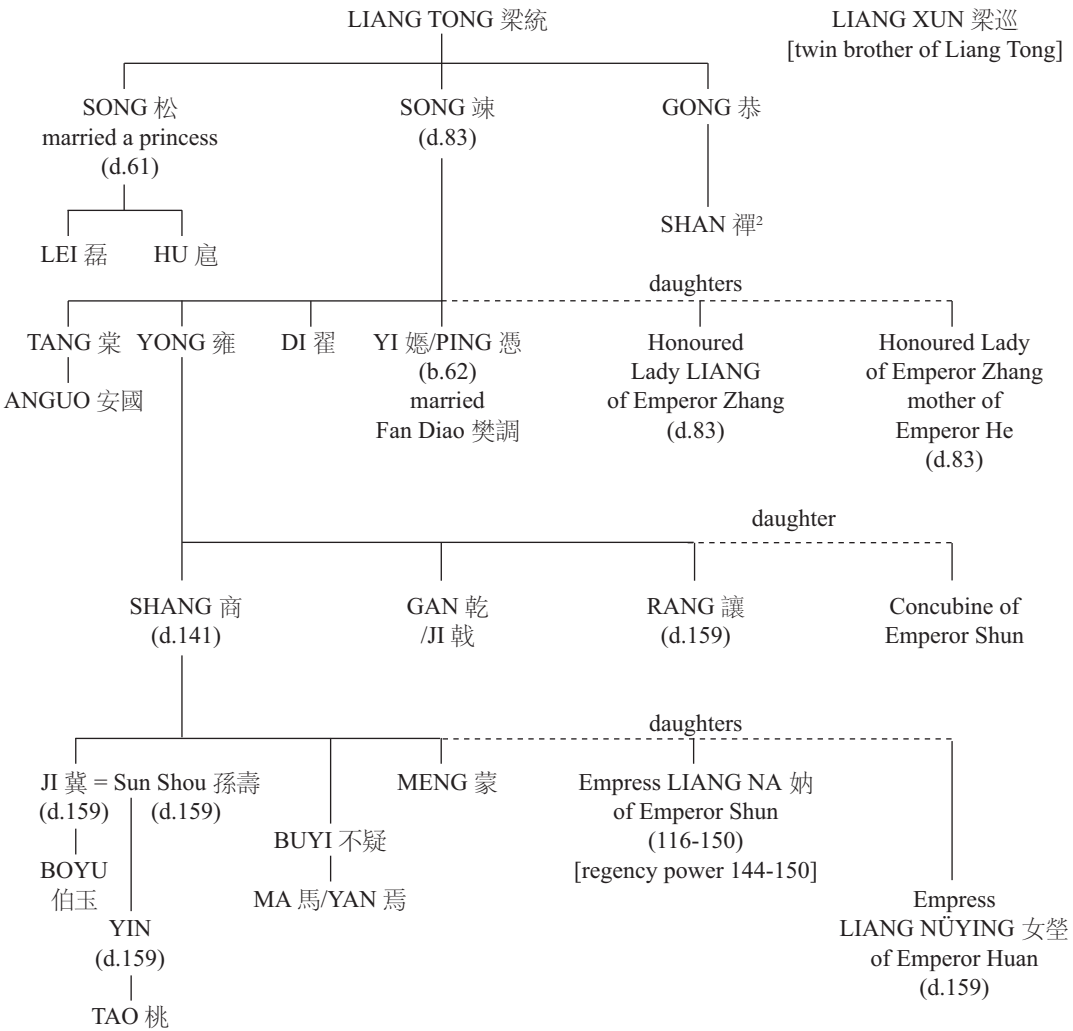


¹ The names of people who have individual entries in the Biographies appear in capitals.

² Dou Shao was either the eldest son or perhaps a nephew of Dou Wu.

³ Dou Fu is described as a grandson of Dou Wu; his father is not identified.

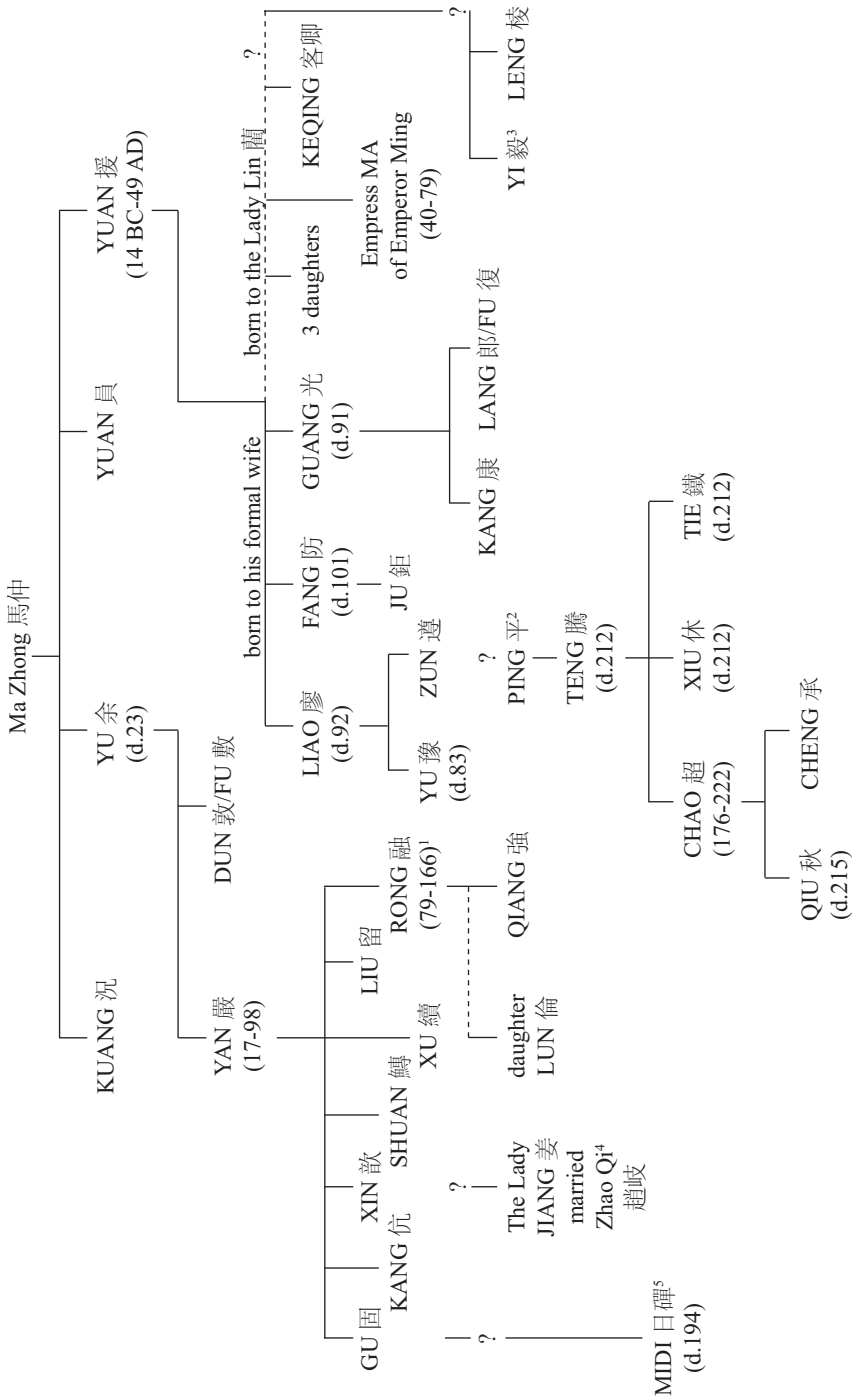
TABLE 5: SUMMARY OF THE LIANG FAMILY OF ANDING ¹



¹ Some cousins and other kinsmen of the Liang are mentioned in the histories, but their place in the lineage cannot always be identified. They include Liang Teng 騰 at the beginning of Later Han, and Liang Bing 並, Liang Min 旻, Liang Shu 淑 and Liang Zhong 忠, all of whom were associated with Liang Ji; Liang Shu and Liang Zhong died in the coup of 159.

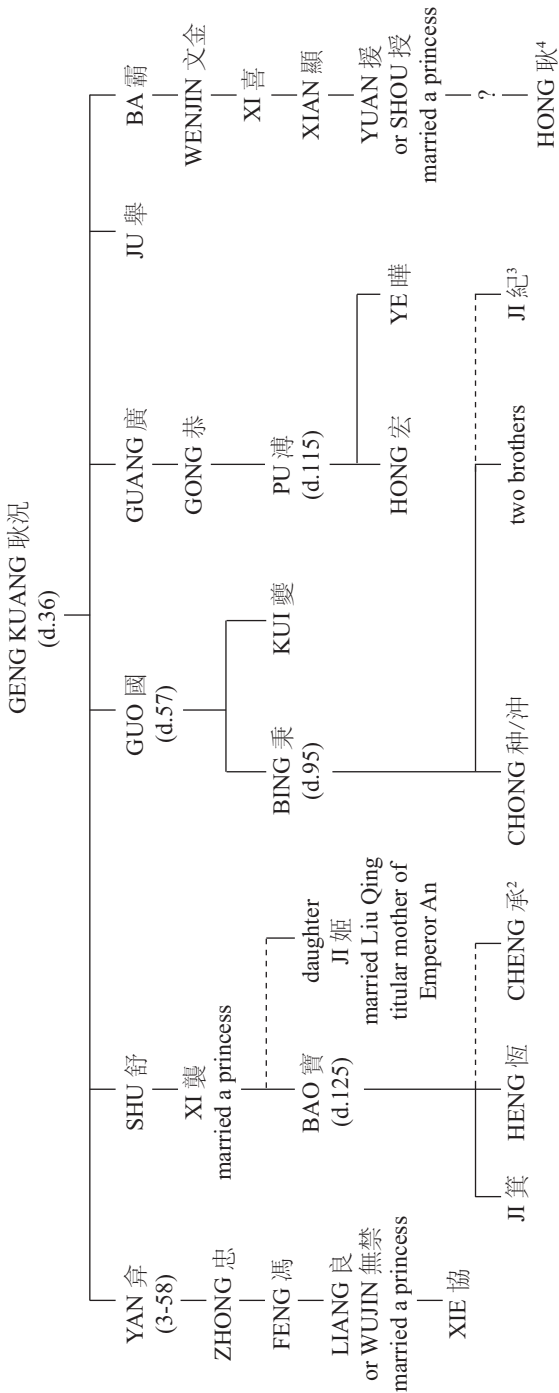
² Liang Shan is described as an cousin of Liang Hu; he was probably the son of Liang Gong, the only other son of Liang Tong who is named in the histories.

TABLE 6: SUMMARY OF THE MA FAMILY OF YOUFUFENG



¹ Ma Xu and Ma Rong are described variously as the fifth or the seventh sons of Ma Yan.
² Though Ma Ping was a man of humble circumstances, he claimed descent from Ma Yuan 援.
³ Ma Yi and Ma Leng are described as cousins, both descended from Ma Yuan; Ma Yi was the elder. They presumably came from a connection other than his wife or the Lady Lin.
⁴ We are told that the wife of Zhao Qi was a niece of Ma Rong, but it is not known which of his brothers was her father.
⁵ Ma Midi is described as a junior kinsman of Ma Rong, presumably the son or grandson of one of his six brothers.

TABLE 7: SUMMARY OF THE GENG FAMILY OF YOUFUFENG ¹



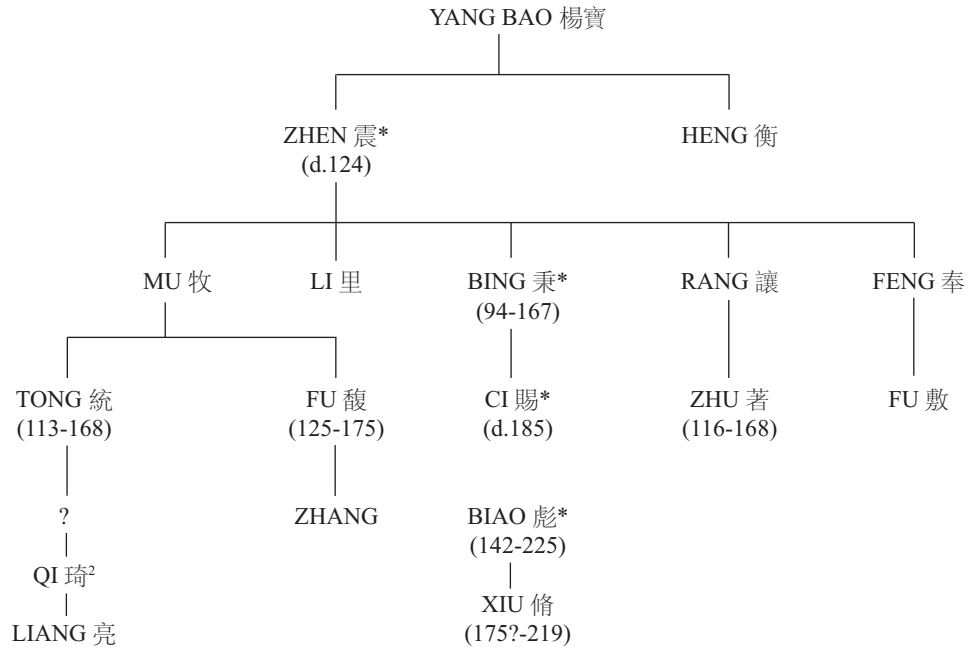
¹ Some cousins and other kinsmen of the Liang are mentioned in the histories, but their place in the lineage cannot always be identified. They include Geng Tan 譚 [fl. 90], Geng Shu 叔 [fl. 140], and Geng Xun 勳 [fl. 170].

² Geng Cheng is described as a nephew of Geng Bao, but there are no details of his lineage.

³ Geng Ji is described as a descendant of Geng Bing, but there are no details of his lineage.

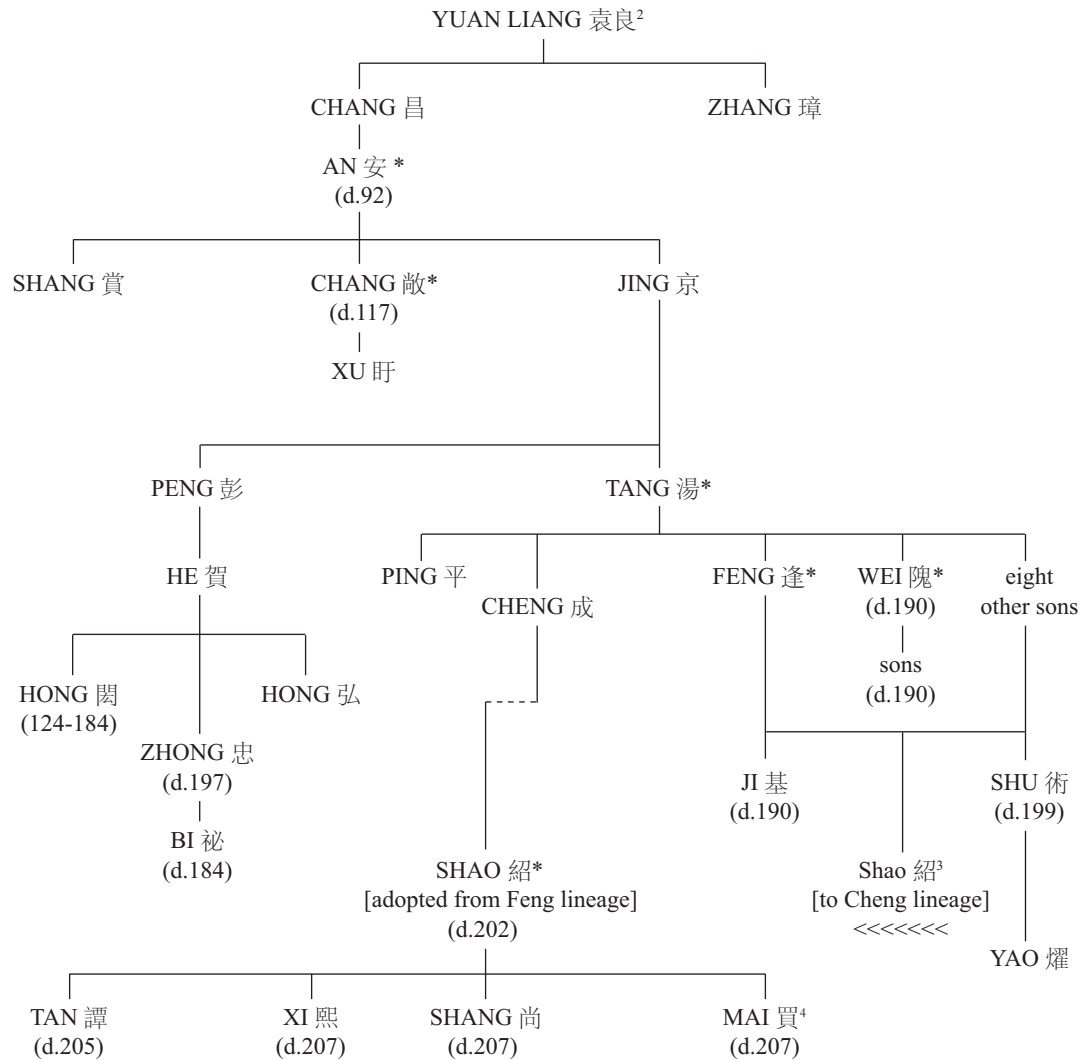
⁴ After the failed coup of Geng Ji [note 3 above], Cao Cao killed many members of his clan. Geng Hong, a grandson of Geng Yuan/Shou, was one of the few survivors.

TABLE 8: SUMMARY OF THE YANG FAMILY OF HONGNONG¹



¹ An asterisk * indicates a men who held position as an Excellency.

² Yang Qi is described as a grandson of Yang Mu; his father is not identified

TABLE 9: SUMMARY OF THE YUAN FAMILY OF RUNAN¹

¹ An asterisk * indicates a man who held position as an Excellency.

² There was another clan named Yuan in the neighbouring territory of Chen, and the two were presumably related [XTS 74B:3164 says that the family had formerly lived in Chen]. Yuan Liang 袁良 of that lineage was grandfather of the Excellency Yuan Pang 袁滂, but the Yuan of Chen did not occupy such a series of high positions as the family of Runan.

³ Yuan Shao was probably a son of Yuan Feng by a concubine, adopted to maintain the lineage of his uncle Yuan Cheng.

⁴ Sources disagree on whether Yuan Mai was a nephew or a younger brother of Yuan Shang.

PROVINCES AND COMMANDERY UNITS OF LATER HAN

The table below is based on the list of provinces, commanderies, kingdoms and dependent states presented in the Treatise on Administrative Geography 郡國志, *HHS* 109/19-113/23, taken over from the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao. *HHS* 109/19.3389 dates the census figures for Henan commandery to the fifth year of the Yonghe 永和 period of Emperor Shun, 140 AD, and this has commonly been taken as the date relevant to all the entries. Much of the information in the Treatise relates to earlier or later years, however, and Sima Biao's text was probably based upon "Notes of the Marquis Fu on Things Ancient and Modern" 伏侯古今注 by Fu Wuji 伏無忌, which dealt with the situation of 144-145, following the death of Emperor Shun. MBeck 90.187-189 discusses Sima Biao's use of the original material and finds fault with his editing.

Despite errors and confusions, however, the Treatise provides a good picture of the situation about the middle of the second century, and I have used it as the base for this table, providing details of name and/or status changes before and after the 140s under each entry. During the years of civil war which followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189, however, many warlords made changes to commandery and provincial units; these were often contradictory and only a few of the rearrangements are cited below, while others are mentioned at appropriate places among the biographies.¹

The term "province" 州 which appears in the Treatise is synonymous with a "region" 部 controlled by an Inspector 刺史, though "region" appears more frequently in Former Han. Provinces headed by Governors 牧 [the title is also rendered as Shepherd] were formally maintained under Later Han until 42, and were restored for some regions from 188. The difference is that a Governor had status comparable to that of a Minister and possessed executive authority, while an Inspector ranked below the heads of the commandery units in his division: in normal circumstances he was entitled only to report wrong-doing and could take no direct action.

The general term "commandery units" describes commanderies 郡, kingdoms [or royal states] 王國, and dependent states of commandery rank 屬國. Each entry in the table includes a summary of the changed status of the unit: where a kingdom is created or abolished there is reference to a relevant biography.

The term "counties" 縣 includes also marquisates 侯國 of that rank, estates 邑 which were the appanages of princesses, and some duchies 公. The evidence is too slight, and the complications too great, to allow notice of minor transfers of counties from one commandery unit to another, but such changes certainly took place. One complex example is Anping 安平, home territory of the distinguished Cui family. The county was in Zhuo commandery during Former Han and presumably at the beginning of Later Han, but was at some time incorporated into Xindu 信都, which was renamed Lecheng 樂城 in 72. The name of Lecheng was changed to Anping in 122, but from 158 to 220 the county was part of the new establishment of Boling 博陵.²

Population figures in registered households 戶 *hu* and individual persons 口 *kou* for each commandery unit are provided by the Treatise, and I total them for each province. A number of corrections have been made by

¹ The changes from the time of Emperor Ling are tabulated and discussed in detail by Wu Zengjin 吳增僅 and Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, *Sanguo junxian biao fu kaozheng* 三國郡縣表附考證, in *ESWSBB* III.

In 213, shortly before Cao Cao made himself Duke of Wei, he carried out a vast re-organisation of the provinces under his control. The main effect was to enlarge Ji province, which became the base of his fief, to incorporate You and Bing, but he also restored the classical name of Yong 雍 for the region of Liang in the northwest. The old capital region of Sili, moreover, was abolished: Hongnong and the commanderies about Chang'an were added to Yong, Henan was incorporated into an extended Yu province, and Hedong and Henei were included in Ji province. See Wu Zengjin *op.cit.* 2828; deC 96.445-447 and Map 20. In 220, however, a new Liang 涼 province was separated from Yong, to control the present-day Gansu corridor in the far west: see *sub* Su Ze and, for further details of the confusing changes in this region, deC 84.498-499.

² In her important discussion of the history of the long-lasting Cui 崔 lineage, Ebrey 78 gives their place of origin as Boling 博陵. The home county of the family was Anping 安平, which was in Zhuo commandery under Former Han, was later transferred to Xindu/Lecheng/Anping, and 158 formed part of Boling, a new commandery which was itself abolished towards the end of the dynasty [see items 18 and 19 below and *sub* Cui Zhuan].

Bielenstein and other commentators. The total for the empire is given by Sima Biao as 9,698,630 households and 49,140,220 persons [*HHS* 113/23.3533], evidently relating to the early 140s; the figures at the time of the death of Emperor Shun in 145 are given by the commentator Liu Zhao quoting Fu Wuji as 9,946,919 households and 49,735,150 persons [*HHS* 113/23.3534]: MBeck 90.189.

Sili 司隸 [the capital province]

[*HHS* 109/19.3385-3408]

Seven commandery units, 106 counties,

616,355 households, 3,106,161 persons;

headquarters at Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan [the imperial capital]

1 **Henan** 河南

[*HHS* 109/19.3389-95]

21 counties

208,486 households

1,010,827 persons

established in Former Han

2 **Henei** 河內

[*HHS* 109/19.3395-97]

18 counties

159,770 households

801,558 persons

established in Former Han

3 **Hedong** 河東

[*HHS* 109/19.3397-3401]

20 counties

93,543 households

570,803 persons

established in Former Han

4 **Hongnong** 弘農

[*HHS* 109/19.3401-03]

9 counties

46,815 households

199,113 persons

established in Former Han;

during the reign of Emperor Ling the name of Hongnong was changed to Hengnong 恆農 to avoid taboo on the ruler's personal name; the variant, however, seldom appears in texts

5 **Jingzhao** [yin] 京北尹

[*HHS* 109/19.3403-05]

10 counties

53,299 households

285,574 persons

established in Former Han;

headed by the Intendant 尹 of Jingzhao³

³ Jingzhao yin, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng, controlling the old capital district about Chang'an, were collectively known as the Three Adjuncts

6 **Zuopingyi** 左馮翊 or Pingyi⁴

[HHS 109/19.3405-06]

13 counties

37,090 households

145,195 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Yan 焉 from 41 to 54

7 **Youfufeng** 右扶風 or Fufeng⁵

[HHS 109/19.3406-08]

15 counties

17,352 households

93,091 persons

established in Former Han;

in 189 the western part of Youfufeng was divided off to form Han'an 漢安, later called Hanxing 漢興; the new commandery was ended about 215

Yu province 豫州 or region 部

[HHS 110/20.3421-31]

Six commandery units, 99 counties,

1,142,783 households, 6,179,139 persons;

headquarters at Qiao 譙 in Pei

8 **Yingchuan** 潁川

[HHS 110/20.3421-24]

17 counties

263,440 households

1,436,513 persons

established in Former Han

9 **Runan** 汝南

[HHS 110/20.3424-26]

37 counties

404,448 households

2,100,788 persons

established in Former Han;

in 82 eight counties were taken for the state of Liu Xian, King of Xiping 西平, but they were returned to Runan in 88

10 **Liang** 梁

[HHS 110/20.3426-27]

9 counties

83,300 households

431,283 persons

[*sanfu* 三輔], and the names of the commanderies were also applied to the officials who administered them. In the body of the text I render the title *Jingzhao yin* as Intendant of Jingzhao, but identify the officials Zuopingyi and Youfufeng [Dubs/Bielenstein: Eastern Supporter and Western Sustainer] simply as Administrators of their respective commanderies.

⁴ See note 3 above.⁵ See note 3 above.

established in Former Han;
kingdom of Liu Chang 暢 and successors from 79 to 220

11 **Pei** 沛

[HHS 110/20.3427-28]

21 counties

200,495 households

1,251,393 persons⁶

established in Former Han;
kingdom of Liu Fu 輔 and successors from 44 to 220

12 **Chen** 陳

[HHS 110/20.3429]

9 counties

112,653 households

547,572 persons

Huaiyang 淮陽 of Former Han;
kingdom of Liu Yan 延 from 41 to 73;
name changed to Chen in 88;
kingdom of Liu Bing 炳 from 79 to 87, of Liu Xian 羨 and successors from 88 to 119,
and of Liu Chong 崇 and successors from 120 to 197 [Liu Chong 寵]

13 **Lu** 魯

[HHS 110/20.3429-31]

6 counties

78,447 households

411,590 persons

established in Former Han;
kingdom of Liu Xing 興/行 from 26 to 37 and from 43 to 52;
included in the fief of Liu Qiang 彊 the King of Donghai from 52,
and held by his successors until 220

Ji province 冀州 or region 部

[HHS 110/20.3431-37]

Nine commandery units, 100 counties,
908,005 households, 5,440,340 persons;
headquarters at Gaoyi 高邑 in Changshan

14 **Wei** 魏

[HHS 110/20.3431-33]

15 counties

129,310 households

695,606 persons

established in Former Han;
centre of the duchy and then kingdom of Cao Cao 曹操 from 213

15 **Julu** 鉅鹿

[HHS 110/20.3433]

⁶ Bn 47.159 argues that the figure of a million has been misplaced by the text from Pei to Chen immediately below. I follow his correction.

15 counties

109,517 households

602,096 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the former territory of Guangping 廣平;

Guangping was the title of the kingdom of Liu Xian 羨 from 60 to 82, but it does not appear to have been a commandery-level establishment;

Julu was the title of the kingdom of Liu Gong 羨 from 72 to 78;

during 93 Julu was divided to form the fief of Liu Wansui, King of Guangzong 廣宗

16 **Changshan** 常山

[HHS 110/20.3433]

13 counties

97,500 households

631,184 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the former territory of Zhending 真定, which had been a kingdom under Former Han but was abolished by Wang Mang; Zhending was restored about 23, but ended in 37 [Liu Yang 揚/楊/陽 and

Liu De 德/得];

Changshan was the kingdom of Liu Ze 側 and successors from 90 to 206

17 **Zhongshan** 中山

[HHS 110/20.3434-35]

13 counties

97,412 households

658,195 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Mao 茂 from 25 to 37;

kingdom of Liu Fu 輔 from 41 to 44;

kingdom of Liu Yan 焉 and successors from 52 to c.174 [Liu Zhi 稚];

divided to form Boling 博陵 in 158; Boling was a kingdom from 213 to 220 [Liu Gui 珪]

18 **Anping** 安平

[HHS 110/20.3435-36]

13 counties

91,440 households

655,118 persons

Xindu 信都 of Former Han;

name changed to Lecheng 樂城 in 72;

kingdom of Liu Dang 黨 and successors from 72 to 119 and in 120;

name changed to Anping in 122;

kingdom of Liu De 德/得 and successors from 122 to 184 [Liu Xu 續]

19 **Hejian** 河間

[HHS 110/20.3436]

11 counties

93,754 households

634,421 persons

kingdom under Former Han, abolished by Wang Mang;

re-established in 31, but abolished again in 37 [Liu Shao 郡];
re-established as a kingdom for Liu Kai 開 and successors from 90 to 200

20 **Qinghe** 清河

[HHS 110/20.3436]

7 counties

123,964 households

760,418 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Qing 慶 and successors from 82;

in 107 Qinghe was divided to form the fief of Liu Changbao 常保, King of Guangchuan 廣川; he died in 108
and the territory reverted to Qinghe in 121;

name changed to Ganling 甘陵 in 148;

kingdom ended in 206 [Liu Zhong 忠]

21 **Zhao** 趙

[HHS 110/20.3437]

5 counties

32,719 households

188,381 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Liang 良 from 29 to 37 and of his successors from 43 to 213 [Liu Xu 栩/盱 and Liu Gui 珪]

22 **Bohai** 勃海

[HHS 110/20.3437]

8 counties

132,389 households

1,106,500 persons

established in Former Han;

in You province until 94

Yan province 兗州 or region 部

[HHS 111/21.3447-51]

Eight commandery units, 80 counties,

799,302 households, 3,394,597 persons;

headquarters at Changyi 昌邑 in Shanyang

23 **Chenliu** 陳留

[HHS 111/21.3447-49]

17 counties

177,529 households

869,433 persons

established in Former Han

24 **Dong** 東

[HHS 111/21.3450-51]

15 counties

136,088 households

603,393 persons

established in Former Han

25 **Dongping** 東平

[HHS 111/21.3451-52]

7 counties

79,012 households

448,270 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Cang 蒼 and successors from 41 to 200;

divided to form Rencheng in 84

26 **Rencheng** 任城

[HHS 111/21.3452]

3 counties

36,442 households

194,196 persons

divided from Dongping in 84;

kingdom of Liu Shang 尚, son of Liu Cang 蒼, and successors from 84 to 220

27 **Taishan** 太山

[HHS 111/21.3453-54]

12 counties

80,929 households⁷

437,317 persons

established in Former Han;

divided to form Jibei in 90

28 **Jibei** 濟北

[HHS 111/21.3454-55]

5 counties

45,689 households

235,897 persons

divided from Taishan in 90;

kingdom of Liu Shou 壽 and successors from 90 to 220

29 **Shanyang** 山陽

[HHS 111/21.3455-56]

10 counties

109,898 households

606,091 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Jing 荊 from 41 to 58

30 **Jiyin** 濟陰

[HHS 111/21.3456-57]

11 counties

133,715 households

657,554 persons

established in Former Han;

from 90 to 94 Jiyin was divided to form the fief of Liu Shu, King of Chengyang 城陽;

⁷ Bn 47.159 corrects the figure of 8,000 to 80,000.

Xu province 徐州 or region 部

[HHS 111/21.3458-62]

Five commandery units, 62 counties,

576,054 households, 2,791,683 persons;

headquarters at Tan 鄰 in Donghai

31 Donghai 東海

[HHS 111/21.3458-59]

13 counties

148,784 households

706,416 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Yang/Zhuang 陽/莊 from 41 to 43;

kingdom of Liu Qiang 疆 and successors from 43 to 220

[Though Donghai was a kingdom throughout the Later Han period, from 52 onwards the fief included the territory of neighbouring Lu, and the capital was in the city of that name: see *sub* Liu Qiang. For most of the dynasty, therefore, Donghai was described as a commandery, but its chief official was styled as a Chancellor.]

32 Langye/Langya 琅邪

[HHS 111/21.3459-60]

13 counties

120,804 households⁸

570,967 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the former territory of Chengyang 城陽

which had been the kingdom of Liu Zhi/Zhong 祉/終 from 26 to 35;

Langye was the kingdom of Liu Jing 京 and successors from 41 to 220

33 Pengcheng 彭城

[HHS 111/21.3460-61]

8 counties

86,170 households⁹

493,027 persons

Chu 楚 of Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Ying 延 from 41 to 71;

name changed to Pengcheng in 88;

kingdom of Liu Gong 恭 and successors from 88 to 220

34 Guangling 廣陵

[HHS 111/21.3461]

11 counties

83,907 households

410,190 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the former territory of Sishui 泗水, which had been the kingdom of Liu Xi 歙 from 26 to 34;

⁸ Bn 47.159 corrects the figure of 8,000 to 80,000.

⁹ Bn 47.159 corrects the figure of 8,000 to 80,000.

Guangling was the kingdom of Liu Jing 荆 from 58 to 67

35 **Xiapi** 下邳

[HHS 111/21.3461-62]

17 counties

136,389 households

611,083 persons

Linhuai 臨淮 of Former Han;

name changed to Xiapi in 72;

kingdom of Liu Yan 衍 and successors from 72 to 185 or 206 [Liu Yi 宜]

Qing province 青州 or region 部

[HHS 112/22.3471-76]

Six commandery units, 65 counties,

636,185 households, 3,709,793 persons;

headquarters at Linzi 臨淄 in Qi

36 **Ji'nan** 濟南

[HHS 112/22.3471-72]

10 counties

78,544 households

453,308 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Kang 康 and successors from 41 to 153 [Liu Guang 廣]

kingdom of Liu Yu 庾 and successors from 174 to 220

37 **Pingyuan** 平原

[HHS 112/22.3472]

10 counties¹⁰

155,588 households

1,002,658 persons

established in Former Han

kingdom of Liu Sheng 勝 from 105/106 to 113, then of Liu De 得

and finally of Liu Yi 翼, ended about 121

kingdom of Liu Shi 碩/石/Gu 顧 and successors from 148 to 206

38 **Le'an** 樂安

[HHS 112/22.3472-73]

9 counties

74,700 households

424,075 persons

Qiansheng 千乘 of Former Han;

kingdom from 60 to 61 [Liu Jian 建];

kingdom from 79 [Liu Kang 伉] to 145 [Liu Hong 鴻];

name changed to Le'an in 95

39 **Beihai** 北海

[HHS 112/22.3473-74]

¹⁰ Qian Daxin corrects the reading from 9 to 10.

18 counties

158,641 households

853,604 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the former territories of Zichuan 菑/淄川, Jiaodong 膠東 and Gaomi 高密;

Zichuan had been the kingdom of Liu Zhong 終 from 26 to 34;

Jiaodong had been a kingdom in Former Han and may have been restored by Guangwu, but the fief was certainly ended in 37;

Gaomi had been a kingdom in Former Han and may have been restored by Guangwu, but the fief was certainly ended in 37;

Beihai was a kingdom from 52 [Liu Xing 興] to 87 [Liu Ji 基], from 90 to 96 [Liu Wei 威], from 107 [Liu Pu 普] to 206 [Liu Yi 翼] and from 212 to 220 [Liu Dun 敦]

40 **Donglai** 東來

[HHS 112/22.3474-75]

13 counties

104,297 households

484,383 persons

established in Former Han

41 **Qi** 齊

[HHS 112/22.3475-76]

6 counties

64,415 households

491,765 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Zhang 章 from 35 to 37

and of Liu Zhang and his successors from 43 to 206 [Liu Cheng 承]

Jing province 荊州 or region 部

[HHS 112/22.3476-85]

Seven commandery units, 117 counties,

1,399,394 households, 6,265,952 persons;

headquarters at Hanshou 漢壽 in Wuling

42 **Nanyang** 南陽

[HHS 112/22.3476-79]

37 counties

528,551 households

2,439,618 persons

established in Former Han

43 **Nan** 南

[HHS 112/22.3479-82]

17 counties

162,570 households

747,604 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Gong 劉恭, under the title of Jiangling 江陵, from 78 to 85

44 **Jiangxia** 江夏

[HHS 112/22.3482]

14 counties

58,434 households

265,464 persons

established in Former Han

45 **Lingling** 零陵

[HHS 112/22.3482-83]

13 counties

212,284 households

1,001,578 persons

established in Former Han

46 **Guiyang** 桂陽

[HHS 112/22.3483-84]

11 counties

135,029 households

501,403 persons

established in Former Han

47 **Wuling** 武陵

[HHS 112/22.3484]

12 counties

46,672 households

250,913 persons

established in Former Han

48 **Changsha** 長沙

[HHS 112/22.3485]

13 counties

255,854 households

1,059,372 persons

established in Former Han

kingdom of Liu Xing 興 from 24 to 37

Yang province 揚州 or region 部

[HHS 112/22.3485-92]

Six commandery units, 92 counties,

1,021,096 households, 4,278,538 persons;

headquarters at Liyang 歷陽 in Jiujiang

49 **Jiujiang** 九江

[HHS 112/22.3485-86]

14 counties

89,436 households

432,426 persons

established in Former Han

50 **Danyang** 丹陽

[HHS 112/22.3486-87]

16 counties

136,518 households

630,545 persons

established in Former Han

51 **Lujiang** 廬江

[HHS 112/22.3487-88]

14 counties

101,392 households

424,683 persons

established in Former Han;

in 37 incorporated the territory of Liu'an 六安, a kingdom of Former Han;

from 85 to 88 this territory was the fief of Liu Gong 恭, King of Liu'an

52 **Kuaiji** 會稽

[HHS 112/22.3488-89]

14 counties

123,090 households

481,196 persons

established in Former Han;

divided to form Wu in 129

53 **Wu** 吳

[HHS 112/22.3489-91]

13 counties

164,164 households

700,782 persons

established in 129 from the northern part of Kuaiji

54 **Yuzhang** 豫章

[HHS 112/22.3491-92]

21 counties

406,496 households

1,608,906 persons

established in Former Han;

divided to form Poyang 鄱陽 commandery in the early 190s;

divided to form Luling 廬陵 commandery in the early 190s

Yi province 益州 or region 部

[HHS 113/23.3506-16]

Twelve commandery units, 118 counties,

1,525,247 households, 7,242,028 persons;¹¹

headquarters at Luo 雒 in Guanghan

55 **Hanzhong** 漢中

[HHS 113/23.3506]

¹¹ These totals are doubtful, for they include the exaggerated figures for Yongchang: see note below.

9 counties
 57,334 households
 267,402 persons
 established in Former Han;
 kingdom of Liu Jia 嘉 from 24 to 27;
 kingdom of Liu Bei 備 from 219;
 from about 200 to 215 this territory was controlled by Zhang Lu, who called it Hanning 漢寧

56 **Ba** 巴

[HHS 113/23.3507-08]
 14 counties
 310,691 households
 1,086,049 persons
 established in Former Han;
 divided at the end of Han into Ba 巴, Baxi 巴西 and Badong 巴東¹²

57 **Guanghan** 廣漢

[HHS 113/23.3508]
 11 counties
 139,865 households
 509,438 persons
 established in Former Han
 divided in 108 to form a separate Dependent State

58 **Shu** 蜀

[HHS 113/23.3508-09]
 11 counties
 300,452 households
 1,350,476 persons
 established in Former Han
 divided in 123 to form a separate Dependent State

59 **Jianwei** 犍爲

[HHS 113/23.3509-10]
 9 counties
 137,713 households
 411,378 persons
 established in Former Han
 divided in 107 to form a separate Dependent State
 divided at the end of Han to form the commandery of Jiangyang 江陽

60 **Zangke** 牂牁

[HHS 113/23.3510-11]
 16 counties
 31,523 households
 267,253 persons
 established in Former Han

¹² The areas and nomenclature of these new commanderies varied: see deC 90.364-366 and deC 96.466 Map 21.

61 **Yuxi** 越雋

[HHS 113/23.3511-12]

14 counties

130,120 households

623,418 persons

established in Former Han

62 **Yizhou** 益州¹³

[HHS 113/23.3512-13]

17 counties

29,036 households

110,802 persons

established in Former Han

63 **Yongchang** 永昌

[HHS 113/23.3513-14]

8 counties

231,897 households

1,897,344 persons¹⁴established in 69 [see *sub* Liumiao 柳貌/邈]64 **Dependent State of Guanghan** 廣漢屬國

[HHS 113/23.3514-15]

3 counties

37,110 households

205,652 persons

divided from Guanghan to form a separate administration in 108

65 **Dependent State of Shu commandery** 蜀郡屬國

[HHS 113/23.3515]

4 counties

111,568 households

475,629 persons

divided from Shu to form a separate administration in 123¹⁵66 **Dependent State of Jianwei** 犍爲屬國

[HHS 113/23.3515]

2 counties

7,938 households

37,187 persons

divided from Jianwei to form a separate administration in 107

¹³ Note that the name of this commandery is the same as the title of its province: *cf.* the region/province of Jiaozhi below.

¹⁴ The population of Yongchang appears quite disproportionate to that of its neighbours. The figures probably represent a nominal, and exaggerated, count of the Ailao people who acceded to Han and justified the establishment of the commandery in 69. Not only are these numbers questionable, but they cast doubt on the total for the province as a whole: see note 11 above.

¹⁵ HHS 86/76.2857 says that this territory was renamed Hanjia 漢嘉 commandery during the reign of Emperor Ling. JS 4.439, however, dates the name change to 221, in the time of Liu Bei.

Liang province 涼州 or region 部¹⁶

[HHS 113/23.3516-22]

Twelve commandery units, 98 counties,

138,702 households, about 600,000 persons;¹⁷

headquarters at Long 隴 in Hanyang

67 Longxi 隴西

[HHS 113/23.3516-17]

11 counties

5,628 households

29,637 persons

established in Former Han;

from 36 to 37 this commandery included the territory of Jincheng

68 Hanyang 漢陽

[HHS 113/23.3517-18]

9 counties

57,334 households

267,402 persons

Tianshui 天水 in Former Han;

name changed to Hanyang in 72;

name changed to Tianshui at the end of Han;

in 188 the north-western part of Hanyang was divided off to form Nan'an 南安

69 Wudu 武都

[HHS 113/23.3518]

7 counties

20,102 households

81,728 persons

established in Former Han

70 Jincheng 金城

[HHS 113/23.3518-19]

10 counties

3,858 households

18,947 persons

established in Former Han;

from 36 to 37 this commandery was combined into Longxi;

in 101 the court ordered the restoration of Xihai 西海 commandery to the west of Jincheng near the Koko Nor/
 Lake Qinghai: this territory had been claimed by Wang Mang but was later abandoned; on this occasion
 too it does not appear that the unit was maintained for long;

in 110 the commandery administration was withdrawn into Longxi;
 it was returned about 118

71 Anding 安定

[HHS 113/23.3519]

¹⁶ Liang province of Former Han had been renamed Yong 雍 by Wang Mang. The name was restored at the beginning of Later Han. See also note 1 above.

¹⁷ See the note on Jiuquan and below.

8 counties
6,094 households
29,060 persons

established in Former Han;

in 111 the commandery administration was withdrawn into Youfufeng;
it was returned in 129, but was finally withdrawn in 141

72 **Beidi** 北地

[HHS 113/23.3519-20]

6 counties
3,122 households
18,637 persons

established in Former Han;

in 111 the commandery administration was withdrawn into Zuopingyi;
it was returned in 129, but was finally withdrawn in 141

73 **Wuwei** 武威

[HHS 113/23.3519-20]

14 counties
10,042 households
34,226 persons

established in Former Han

74 **Zhangye** 張掖

[HHS 113/23.3520]

8 counties
6,552 households
26,040 persons

established in Former Han

divided c. 110-120 to form the two separate Dependent States of Zhangye and of Juyan in Zhangye

75 **Jiuquan** 酒泉

[HHS 113/23.3521]

9 counties
12,706 households
about 50,000 persons¹⁸

established in Former Han

76 **Dunhuang** 敦煌

[HHS 113/23.3521]

6 counties
7,048 households¹⁹
29,170 persons

established in Former Han

77 **Dependent State of Zhangye** 張掖屬國

[HHS 113/23.3521]

¹⁸ The Treatise has no figures for individuals in Jiuquan, but Bn 47.159 suggests multiplying by the average [4] of members per household in neighbouring commanderies.

¹⁹ Bn 47.159 corrects the reading from 700 to 7,000.

5 counties
4,656 households
16,952 persons

divided from Zhangye to form a separate administration *c.* 110-120

78 **Dependent State of Juyan in Zhangye** 張掖居延屬國

[HHS 113/23.3521]

1 county
1,560 households
4,733 persons

divided from Zhangye to form a separate administration *c.* 110-120

Bing province 并州 or region 部

[HHS 113/23.3522-26]

Twelve commandery units, 98 counties,
114,991 households, 696,765 persons;
headquarters at Jinyang 晉陽 in Taiyuan

79 **Shangdang** 上黨

[HHS 113/23.3522-23]

13 counties
26,222 households
127,403 persons

established in Former Han

80 **Taiyuan** 太原

16 counties
30,902 households
200,124 persons

established in Former Han;
kingdom of Liu Zhang 章 from 26 to 35

81 **Shang** 上

[HHS 113/23.3524]

10 counties
5,169 households
28,599 persons

established in Former Han;

in 111 the commandery administration was withdrawn into Zuopingyi;
it was returned in 129, but was finally withdrawn in 140

82 **Xihe** 西河

[HHS 113/23.3524]

13 counties
5,698 households
20,838 persons

established in Former Han

83 **Wuyuan** 五原

[HHS 113/23.3524-25]

10 counties

4,667 households

22,957 persons

established in Former Han;

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu;

reduced to nominal county level under Xinxing 新興 commandery in 215

84 **Yunzhong** 雲中

[HHS 113/23.3525]

11 counties

5,351 households

26,430 persons

established in Former Han;

reduced to nominal county level under Xinxing 新興 commandery in 215

85 **Dingxiang** 定襄

[HHS 113/23.3525]

5 counties

3,153 households

13,571 persons

established in Former Han

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu;

reduced to nominal county level under Xinxing 新興 commandery in 215

86 **Yanmen** 鴈門

[HHS 113/23.3525-26]

14 counties

31,842 households

249,000 persons

established in Former Han

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu

87 **Shuofang** 鴈門

[HHS 113/23.3526]

6 counties

1,987 households

7,843 persons

established in Former Han;²⁰

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu;

in 140 the commandery administration was withdrawn into Wuyuan;

reduced to nominal county level under Xinxing 新興 commandery in 215

²⁰ For a period until 35 Shuofang was a separate provincial unit with a Governor 牧 [HHS 1B.58].

You province 幽州 or region 部

[HHS 113/23.3526-30]

Eleven commandery units, 90 counties,

>405,263 households, >2,212,888 persons;²¹

headquarters at Ji in Guangyang

88 **Zhuo** 涿

[HHS 113/23.3526-27]

7 counties

102,218 households

633,754 persons

established in Former Han

89 **Guangyang** 廣陽

[HHS 113/23.3527]

5 counties

44,550 households

280,600 persons

established in Former Han;

kingdom of Liu Liang 良 from 26 to 29;

abolished and territory taken over by Shanggu in 37;

restored as a commandery unit in 96

90 **Dai** 代

[HHS 113/23.3527-28]

11 counties

20,123 households

126,188 persons

established in Former Han

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu

91 **Shanggu** 上谷

[HHS 113/23.3528]

8 counties

10,352 households

51,204 persons

established in Former Han

from the late 30s to the early 50s this territory was largely abandoned to the Xiongnu,

but it was recovered after the accession of the Southern Shanyu

92 **Yuyang** 漁陽

[HHS 113/23.3528]

9 counties

68,456 households

435,740 persons

established in Former Han

²¹ The total figures for You province are uncertain, as there are figures missing for both Liaodong and its Dependent State *qqv*.

93 **Youbeiping** 右北平

[HHS 113/23.3528]

4 counties

9,170 households

53,475 persons

established in Former Han

94 **Liaoxi** 遼西

[HHS 113/23.3528-29]

5 counties

14,150 households

81,714 persons

established in Former Han

divided in 107 to form the Dependent State of Liaodong²²95 **Liaodong** 遼東

[HHS 113/23.3529]

11 counties

64,158 households

about 250,000 persons²³

established in Former Han

96 **Xuantu** 玄菟

[HHS 113/23.3529]

6 counties

10,594 households²⁴

43,163 persons

established in Former Han

97 **Lelang** 樂浪

[HHS 113/23.3529-30]

18 counties

61,492 households

257,050 persons

established in Former Han

98 **Dependent State of Liaodong** 遼東屬國

[HHS 113/23.3530]

6 counties

figures for households missing

figures for persons missing

divided from Liaodong to form a separate administration c. 110-120

²² In deC 84:460-465 I have argued that the Dependent State of Liaodong was not, as *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II:62 has it, on the shore of the present-day Gulf of Liaodong, but in the hill country of the Daling River 大凌河. Though the name would indicate that it was separated from Liaodong commandery, the bulk of its territory in fact came from Liaoxi.

²³ The Treatise has the same number of individuals for Liaodong as for Liaoxi. Bn 47.159 disregards both the household and the person, but, as in his dealing with Jiuquan above, I have multiplied by the average [4] of members per household in neighbouring commanderies.

²⁴ Bn 47.159 corrects the reading from 1,000 to 10,000.

Jiaozhi region 交趾[部] or **Jiao province** 交州²⁵

[HHS 113/23.3530-33]

Seven commandery units, 56 counties;

census figures are incomplete;

headquarters at Guangxin 廣信 in Cangwu

99 **Nanhai** 南海

[HHS 113/23.3530]

7 counties

71,477 households

250,282 persons

established in Former Han

100 **Cangwu** 蒼梧

[HHS 113/23.3530-31]

11 counties

111,395 households

466,975 persons

established in Former Han;

about 170 a new commandery of Gaoxing 高興, soon afterwards renamed Gaoliang 高涼 [or 高梁], was established on the coast south of Cangwu; it was abandoned about 180²⁶

101 **Yulin** 鬱林

[HHS 113/23.3531]

11 counties

figures for households missing

figures for persons missing

established in Former Han

102 **Hepu** 合浦

[HHS 113/23.3531]

5 counties

23,121 households

86,617 persons

established in Former Han

103 **Jiaozhi** 交趾

[HHS 113/23.3531-32]

12 counties

figures for households missing

figures for persons missing

established in Former Han

²⁵ Though the Treatise refers to this territory as Jiao province, it appears that for most of Later Han it was known as Jiaozhi, and was subject to an Inspector 刺史. Its status was changed and a Governor 牧 was appointed in 203: e.g. JS 15.464-65; deC 90.31-32. This means, of course, that the province had the same name as one of its constituent commanderies: the same situation applied to Yizhou commandery in Yi province [item 62]: HHS 113/23.3531.

²⁶ JS 15.464; deC 90.36. In 220 Sun Quan established a commandery centred on Gaoliang 高梁 county in the west of Hepu: HHS 113/23.3531. This was the same region as the earlier Gaoxing/Gaoliang, and no doubt represents a restoration of the earlier foundation.

104 **Jiuzhen** 九真

[HHS 113/23.3532]

5 counties

46,513 households

209,894 persons

established in Former Han

105 **Rinan** 日南

[HHS 113/23.3532]

5 counties

18,263 households

100,676 persons

established in Former Han

INDEX TO COMMANDERY UNITS

Anding 安定 commandery	71	Guiyang 桂陽 commandery	46
Anping 安平 commandery/kingdom	18	Han'an 漢安 commandery	7
Ba 巴 commandery	56	Hanning 漢寧 commandery	55
Badong 巴東 commandery	56	Hanxing 漢興 commandery	7
Baxi 巴西 commandery	56	Hanyang 漢陽 commandery	68
Beidi 北地 commandery	72	Hanzhong 漢中 commandery/kingdom	55
Beihai 北海 commandery/kingdom	39	Hedong 河東 commandery	3
Bohai 勃海 commandery	22	Hejian 河間 commandery/kingdom	19
Boling 博陵 commandery/kingdom	17	Henan 河南 commandery	1
Cangwu 蒼梧 commandery	100	Henei 河內 commandery	2
Changsha 長沙 commandery/kingdom	48	Hengnong 恆農 commandery	4
Changshan 常山 commandery/kingdom	16	Hepu 合浦 commandery	102
Chen 陳 commandery/kingdom	12	Hongnong 弘農 commandery	4
Chenliu 陳留 commandery	23	Huaiyang 淮陽 commandery/kingdom	12
Chengyang 城陽 commandery/kingdom	30, 32	Jiangling 江陵 kingdom	43
Chu 楚 commandery/kingdom	33	Jiangxia 江夏 commandery	44
Dai 代 commandery	90	Jiangyang 江陽	59
Danyang 丹陽 commandery	50	Jianwei 犍爲 commandery	59
Dingxiang 定襄 commandery	85	Jianwei Dependent State 犍爲屬國	66
Dong 東 commandery	24	Jiaodong 膠東 commandery/kingdom	39
Donghai 東海 commandery/kingdom	31	Jiaozhi 交趾 commandery	103
Donglai 東來 commandery	40	Jibei 濟北 kingdom	28
Dongping 東平 commandery/kingdom	25	Ji'nan 濟南 commandery/kingdom	36
Dunhuang 敦煌 commandery	76	Jincheng 金城 commandery	70
Fufeng 扶風 see Youfufeng	7	Jingzhao [yin] 京北尹 commandery	5
Ganling 甘陵 commandery/kingdom	20	Jiujiang 九江 commandery	49
Gaoliang 高涼/高粱 commandery	100	Jiuquan 酒泉 commandery	75
Gaomi 高密 commandery/kingdom	39	Jiuzhen 九真 commandery	104
Gaoxing 高興 commandery	100	Jiyin 濟陰 commandery/kingdom	30
Guangchuan 廣川 kingdom	20	Julu 鉅鹿 commandery/ kingdom	15
Guanghan 廣漢 commandery	57	Juyan in Zhangye DS 張掖居延屬國	78
Guanghan Dependent State 廣漢屬國	64	Kuaiji 會稽 commandery	52
Guangling 廣陵 commandery/kingdom	34	Langye 琅邪 commandery/kingdom	32
Guangping 廣平 commandery	15	Le'an 樂安 commandery/kingdom	38
Guangping 廣平 kingdom	15	Lecheng 樂城 commandery/kingdom	18
Guangyang 廣陽 commandery/ kingdom	89	Lelang 樂浪 commandery	97
Guangzong 廣宗 kingdom	15	Liang 梁 commandery/kingdom	10

Liaodong 遼東 commandery	95	Taiyuan 太原 commandery	80
Liaodong Dependent State 遼東屬國	98	Tianshui 天水 commandery	68
Liaoxi 遼西 commandery	94	Wei 魏 commandery	14
Lingling 零陵 commandery	45	Wu 吳 commandery	53
Linhuai 臨淮 commandery	35	Wudu 武都 commandery	69
Liu'an 六安 commandery	51	Wuling 武陵 commandery	47
Longxi 隴西 commandery	67	Wuwei 武威 commandery	73
Lu 魯 commandery/kingdom	13	Wuyuan 五原 commandery	83
Lujiang 廬江 commandery/kingdom	51	Xiapi 下邳 commandery/kingdom	35
Luling 廬陵 commandery	54	Xihai 西海 commandery	70
Nan 南 commandery/kingdom	43	Xihe 西河 commandery	82
Nan'an 南安 commandery	68	Xindu 信都 commandery	18
Nanhai 南海 commandery	99	Xinxing 新興 commandery	83, 84, 85, 87
Nanyang 南陽 commandery	42	Xiping 西平 kingdom	9
Pei 沛 commandery/kingdom	11	Xuantu 玄菟 commandery	96
Pengcheng 彭城 kingdom	33	Yanmen 鴈門 commandery	86
Pingyi 馮翊 see Zuopingyi	6	Yingchuan 潁川 commandery	8
Pingyuan 平原 commandery/kingdom	37	Yizhou 益州 commandery	62
Poyang 鄱陽 commandery	54	Yongchang 永昌 commandery	63
Qi 齊 commandery/kingdom	41	Youbeiping 右北平 commandery	93
Qiansheng 千乘 commandery/kingdom	38	Youfufeng 右扶風 commandery	7
Qinghe 清河 commandery/kingdom	20	Yuexi 越嶲 commandery	61
Rencheng 任城 commandery/kingdom	26	Yulin 鬱林 commandery	101
Rinan 日南 commandery	105	Yunzhong 雲中 commandery	84
Runan 汝南 commandery	9	Yuyang 漁陽 commandery	92
Shang 上 commandery	81	Yuzhang 豫章 commandery	54
Shangdang 上黨 commandery	79	Zangke 牂牁 commandery	60
Shangu 上谷 commandery	91	Zhangye 張掖 commandery	74
Shanyang 山陽 commandery/kingdom	29	Zhangye Dependent State 張掖屬國	77
Shu commandery 蜀郡	58	Zhao 趙 commandery/kingdom	21
Shu Dependent State 蜀郡屬國	65	Zhending 真定 commandery/kingdom	16
Shuofang 鴈門 commandery	87	Zhongshan 中山 commandery/kingdom	17
Shuofang 鴈門 province	87	Zhuo 涿 commandery	88
Sishui 四水 commandery/kingdom	34	Zichuan 葭川 commandery/kingdom	39
Taishan 太山 commandery	27	Zuopingyi 左馮翊 commandery/kingdom	6

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF LATER HAN

This summary of the government organisation of Later Han is designed to provide background and context for the official careers and activities of the men and women discussed in the biographies.

Some fragments of contemporary sources on the government of Later Han survive, notably the now anonymous *Hanguan* or *Hanguan mulu* 漢官目錄, the *Xiaoxue Hanguan pian* 小學漢官篇 by Wang Long with commentary by Hu Guang, *Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* 漢官典職儀式選用 and other works by Cai Zhi, and *Hanguan yi* 漢官儀 and other works by Ying Shao. Most material, however, is found in the Treatise on the Bureaucracy 百官志, *HHS* 114/24-118/28, taken over from the *Xu Han shu* by Sima Biao of the third century. MBeck 90:197-226 criticises Sima Biao's compilation for many omissions and a number of misinterpretations, and for presenting "essentially fluid subject-matter in static, somewhat impracticable terms." As he points out, the Treatise must be expanded and interpreted in the light of information from the annals and biographies of *Hou Han shu* and other texts.

In his comprehensive account of *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* [Bn 80], Bielenstein renders official titles according to the system established by Dubs, and I have followed the same formula in earlier publications. For the present work, however, partly due to a need for brevity, but also for the sake of clarity, I have made changes to that pattern. In the discussion which follows, I give Bielenstein's renderings in brackets, and I attach a table of cross-references based upon the transcription of Chinese titles.¹

THE IMPERIAL POWER

The Emperor (皇帝 *huangdi*) held supreme power in the state and was the sacral intermediary between the forces of Heaven and Earth and the world of men. During Later Han, his authority was all but absolute: the ruler might consult with his ministers or hold a full court conference, but his final decision was accepted without question. Most notably in time of crisis, documents prepared by the Imperial Secretariat and endorsed by the emperor were normally sufficient to remove even the highest and most powerful ministers from their positions.²

In contrast to many other royal and imperial states, formal arrangements for succession to the throne of Later Han were clear and generally accepted.³ During his lifetime, the ruler could name any of his sons as Heir (太子 *taizi*; Heir-Apparent), and the ceremony of accession was held as soon as he died and in the presence of the late sovereign's corpse. If an emperor died without naming an Heir, his Empress (皇后 *huanghou*), now Dowager (皇太后 *huang taihou*; Empress Dowager) could choose any of his sons or any male member of the imperial clan.⁴ In

¹ One particular change is that I refer to the head of a commandery, 太守 *taishou*, as the Administrator rather than the Grand Administrator; there was no significance to the prefix in Later Han. In similar fashion I normally omit the prefix "Chief" in rendering the title 都尉 *duwei*, which Bielenstein and Dubs cite as Chief Commandant; it was now likewise of marginal importance. [I do include it in rendering some titles awarded to non-Chinese leaders.]

² Notable examples of the exercise of imperial authority in this fashion are the overthrow of Dou Xian by Emperor He in 92, and the destruction of Liang Ji by Emperor Huan in 159. In 168 Dou Wu attempted to oppose the imperial orders issued at the behest of the palace eunuchs, but failed. In 189, after the eunuchs had killed the General-in-Chief He Jin, they again attempted to use the imperial authority: the orders were ignored and the eunuchs were slaughtered, but the event marked the end of organised government.

³ The succession procedures of the Xiongnu were complex, causing confusion, disagreement and division over several generations: see, for example, the biography of the Southern Shanyu Bi. In India, the death of any ruler frequently produced major conflict between his sons, whether or not he had designated an heir.

⁴ The right of the Dowager to determine the succession had been established during Former Han, when in 74 the Lady Shangguan 上官, Dowager of Emperor Zhao, deposed the emperor-elect Liu He 劉賀. Though the fifteen-year-old Dowager was acting under the influence of her grandfather Huo Guang 霍光, her formal authority was critical to the process [*QHX*: 465].

The Dowager's authority was confirmed for Later Han by the actions of the Dowager Deng Sui of Emperor He in 106, when she passed over one imperial son and chose a kinsman, Liu You, Emperor An. The authority was abused by the Lady Yan Ji, Dowager of Emperor An, in 125.

carrying out this responsibility, the Dowager had no obligation to consult with or take the advice of any particular official, no matter how high: the decision was frequently taken within the private apartments 定策禁中.

Should a new ruler be under age, the Dowager became **regent** for the duration of his minority.⁵ She took part in the affairs of court (臨朝 *lin zhao*), ruling with the same authority as an emperor.⁶ In practice, a regent Dowager commonly involved a senior male member of her family, father or brother, in the government, frequently with title as **General-in-Chief** (大將軍 *da jiangjun*). The General-in-Chief and some other senior officials could have "control of the Imperial Secretariat" (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*), which gave administrative command of government, but the regent Dowager had ultimate power, and could defy her male kinsmen.⁷

THE IMPERIAL HAREM, THE PRIVATE APARTMENTS AND THE EUNUCHS

Where Former Han reached a total of ten grades of imperial concubines, Later Han had only three ranks below the Empress: Honoured Lady (貴人 *guiren*; Honourable Lady), Beauty (美人 *meiren*; Beautiful Lady) and Chosen Woman (采女 *cainü*; Chosen Lady). This did not indicate any restriction on the number of women who could be engaged, and it is said that during the 160s Emperor Huan had more than six thousand.⁸

There was a general selection for the harem in the eighth month of each year, when palace officials, including a eunuch and a physiognomist, were sent about the region of the capital to review virgins of respectable family⁹ between the ages of thirteen and twenty *sui* [twelve to nineteen by Western count]. Candidates were graded on a scale of nine according to their physical attractions and their character, and were then placed at one or another rank in the harem. Women of leading families, or those who were well-connected, could also be recommended and accepted, and any concubine could be promoted by the emperor's wish or by other influence. It was generally expected that the Empress would be chosen from among women of high family, though this was not always the case, and in such a highly political matter the emperor had rather less power of decision.¹⁰

Within the harem, known as the Lateral Courts (掖庭 *yiting*), the separate apartments of the Empress were designated as the Palace of Prolonged Autumn (長秋宮 *Changqiu gong*); those of the Dowager were known as the Changle Palace 長樂宮, the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and on occasions when the emperor was brought to the throne from outside and his natural mother came to the capital, her apartments were styled the Yongle Palace 永樂宮, of Perpetual Joy. The head of the Empress's household, known as the Grand Prolonger of Autumn (大長秋 *da changqiu*), was a eunuch¹¹ with rank/salary of 2000 *shi*.¹² He commanded a large staff of officials, servants and slaves, responsible for all such matters as provisions, clothing and furnishing, horses and carriages, and secretaries for records and correspondence. A corps of bodyguards was commanded by the Supervisor of the Retinue of the Empress (中宮黃門冗從僕射 *zhonggong huangmen rongcong puyue*; Supervisor of the Extra Retinue of the Attendants of the Yellow Gates of the Empress).

⁵ The Dowager Deng Sui actually ruled until her death in 121, though her protégé Emperor An had taken the cap of manhood several years before that.

⁶ The *Duduan* of Cai Yong, cited by HHS 10B:436 TC, describes how when an emperor is a minor the Dowager attends court 臨朝. She sits on the dais looking to the east, while the emperor faces her. Submissions from members of the court are presented in two copies, one to each.

⁷ In 168, the regent Dowager Dou refused permission to her father Dou Wu, when he wanted to purge the palace eunuchs. In 189 the regent Dowager He rejected a similar request from her brother He Jin.

At Bn 80:151-154, Bielenstein discusses the position of the Dowager and her male relatives. His description is quite correct, but I believe that he confuses the terminology by identifying all men who held title as General-in-Chief as being Regents; I reserve the term regent for the Dowager. Bielenstein also describes the authority to control the affairs of the Secretariat [領 *ling shangshu shi* during Former Han] as an official title: Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing; I interpret it rather as descriptive.

⁸ Bn 80:74 notes that some former titles of concubines were restored about 170, possibly reflecting the increase under Emperor Huan.

⁹ A "respectable family" (良家 *liangjia*; blameless family) was defined as one whose members had not been convicted of a crime, and were not involved in medicine 醫, magic 巫, trade 商賈 or any handicraft manufacture 百工 [HS 28B:1644 commentary quoting Ru Shun 如淳 of the third century]. The category was used for a number of selection processes, including recruitment to the army [see Feathered Forest guards below] and, in some circumstances, for an official career [see Wang Lie].

¹⁰ Examples of women of humble family include the Empress Yan of Emperor Shun and the Empress He of Emperor Ling. Both the Empress Liang of Emperor Shun and the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan were chosen specifically on account of their excellent family background.

¹¹ The chief assistant to the Grand Prolonger of Autumn could be either a eunuch or a full man: see *sub* Liang He and Wu Kaiming.

¹² On ranks and salaries measured by *shi*, see below.

The head of the household of the Dowager, the Steward of the Changle Palace (少府 *shaofu*; Privy Treasurer), was normally a full man. Reflecting the senior status of his mistress, the Steward's rank was higher than that of the Grand Prolonger of Autumn, and was equal to that of a Minister in the outside court. The most senior eunuch official was the Coachman (太僕 *taipu*), while the Commandant of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*) was normally a full man. Depending upon circumstances, the Commandant was responsible either for the Dowager's protection or for holding her under house arrest.¹³ Stewards of the Yongle Palace were full men, while other officials of the household were eunuchs; the natural mother of the emperor had neither the political nor the ritual status of the Dowager and the Empress, and her establishment was correspondingly less important.

The ladies of the harem were naturally attended by female servants, and overall administration was controlled by the eunuch Prefect of the Lateral Courts (掖庭令 *yiting ling*), subject to the separate establishments of the Empress and the Dowagers; his staff included full men as well as eunuchs. Within such a closed and cloistered environment, with personal and family fortune depending upon favour and childbirth, there was predictably fierce competition for the emperor's interest and affection. Intrigue was endemic, quarrels were frequent, witchcraft and magic were often brought into service, and murder was not unknown. The Lateral Courts had their own prison (掖庭獄 *yiting yu*), while the Drying House (暴室 *bushi*), so named because it had traditionally been used for the preparation of silk, contained the harem hospital and also a private place of confinement. Several empresses died there, ostensibly of grief 以憂死.

After an emperor's death, it was normal practice for the women of his harem to leave the palace and be placed as notional guardians of his tomb; a few, more fortunate, were able to remain at the palace,¹⁴ and some, who had not received the ruler's personal attentions, were perhaps able to resume a life outside.

The emperor's own private apartments, closed to the public areas of the palaces by yellow doors, were managed by the Prefect of the **Yellow Gates** (黃門令 *huangmen ling*), and there was also a eunuch Prefect of the Palace Gardens (鉤盾令 *goushun ling*; Prefect Intendant of the Imperial Palace Gardens). Each of these officials, responsible for the day-to-day supervision of very large staffs, had rank/salary of 600 *shi*, as did the Supervisor of the Retinue (中黃門冗從僕射 *zhong huangmen rongcong puye*; Supervisor of the Extra Retinue of the Palace Attendants at the Yellow Gates), who commanded guards and escorts. There was also a eunuch office of Palace Internuncios (中謁者 *zhong yezhe*), which was responsible for communication between the emperor in his private apartments. During the latter part of the dynasty, at least from the time of eunuch power under Emperor Huan, the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates (黃門北寺獄 *huangmen beisi yu*; Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates) was used for political prisoners, particularly for enemies of the imperial eunuchs.

Besides these specific offices, there were two more general sets of eunuch officials. Firstly, at the beginning of Later Han, Emperor Guangwu appointed a number of Attendants at the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*; Junior Attendant at the Yellow Gates), who served as imperial messengers to the outside court from the private apartments of the palace. Their number was initially no more than ten, but increased considerably in later reigns; their rank/salary was 600 *shi*, equal to that of the administrative Prefects, but they were independent agents of the ruler.

Second, and growing in importance through the dynasty, were the **Regular Attendants** (中常侍 *zhong changshi*; Regular Palace Attendants), also agents and confidants of the emperor.¹⁵ Their rank/salary was at first 2000 *shi*, briefly reduced to 1000 *shi*, then made permanent at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*; their numbers were originally restricted to four, but later raised to ten and even higher. This level was comparable to that of a Minister in the outside court, and though the Regular Attendants had no formal subordinates they were generally recognised as leaders of the eunuchs in the palace.

¹³ The one eunuch recorded as having held this office is Cao Jie, who kept the Dowager Dou a prisoner in the late 160s.

¹⁴ See, for example, the Lady Feng I.

¹⁵ During Former Han, Regular Attendant had been a supernumerary office held by a full man; Later Han changed it to a formal position reserved for eunuchs [Bn 80:63 & 66].

Formally speaking, the officials of the private imperial apartments and the harem were responsible to the Minister Steward,¹⁶ but their close and intimate connection to the emperor meant that they were effectively independent of the hierarchy of the outer court, and during the second century they became a major political power.

KINGS AND NOBLES

It was a basic principle, established early in Former Han, that the title of **King** (王 *wang*; sometimes as "Prince") should be granted only to members of the imperial Liu family. At the beginning of Later Han some royal titles were awarded to leaders of the successful rebellion against Wang Mang, and the warlord Cao Cao was named King of Wei early in the third century, but these were both exceptional times, when the Han emperor did not have full control.

In the first part of Former Han, royal powers had been considerable, but they were removed during the course of the dynasty, and by the end of the first century BC kings had become no more than figure-heads. The tradition was maintained by Later Han, and though an imperial kinsman might be named as a king, he had no influence in the affairs of his nominal state; indeed, just because of their close relationship to the throne, kings were held under tight control. A royal state or kingdom (王國 *wangguo*), usually of commandery size, was governed by a Chancellor (相 *xiang*), who was appointed by the central government. There was a Tutor (傅 *fu*), also an imperial official, supervising personal conduct, and all members of the court were likewise appointed from the capital; none were answerable to the nominal ruler. A pension was paid, based upon the tax collected from the state, and kings were generally extremely wealthy, but they had no political power.

For the most part, kings were expected to stay on their fiefs, and came to the imperial capital only by permission. Some emperors were lenient, and allowed their brothers to reside at Luoyang, where life was a good deal more interesting than in the provinces. For the most part, however, kings led a comfortable life well out of the way of the government, and we learn of their activities only through the records of an occasional scandal involving sex, murder or, far more dangerous, dabbling in witchcraft.¹⁷

It was customary for the eldest son of a king by his principal wife to inherit his father's fief, while his brothers received county marquisates.¹⁸ Later generations and cadet lineages could be awarded less valuable fiefs, and if a royal line failed for lack of heirs, a cousin could be adopted across and enfeoffed to maintain the ancestral sacrifices.

Below the level of the kings, there was a complex system of noble ranks, in twenty grades, which could be awarded to any commoner either individually or by a general proclamation. Each rank gave certain privileges, notably relief from conscription and a degree of protection from the law, as a penalty might be commuted by sacrifice of one or more ranks.¹⁹ The two highest ranks, received only by direct grant from the emperor, were held by **marquises** (侯 *hou*) and secondary marquises (關內侯 *guannei hou*).²⁰

The major difference between the full marquises and the secondary marquises was that full marquises were normally granted a territorial fief and could expect to hand their honour to the next generation, while secondary marquises received only a pension, and inheritance was less common. At the beginning of Later Han, moreover, a number of the supporters of Emperor Guangwu were awarded marquisates of title: the Grand Tutor Zhuo

¹⁶ The Minister Steward (Privy Treasurer) is discussed under the Ministers below.

¹⁷ On this last, see Liu Ying, King of Chu.

¹⁸ These lower fiefs are discussed immediately below.

¹⁹ Loewe 60 provides a comprehensive discussion of the Han system of noble ranks, summarised by Bn 67:53.

²⁰ Renderings of these fiefdoms vary. *Hou* are commonly referred to as Marquises, but in *QHX* Loewe has adopted the term Nobles; I have followed the earlier system.

Handling of *guannei hou* has been even more varied. Bn 67 renders the title literally, as Marquis Within the Passes; I have previously followed Dubs' Marquis Within the Imperial Domain; Loewe *QHX* has Nobility of the Interior; and Cambridge 86 has Lesser Marquisate. For the present work I have adapted the last of these.

The phrase *guannei* is generally interpreted as referring to the Land Within the Passes, the imperial capital territory of Former Han. By tradition, subjects should not hold territorial fiefs in the region of their sovereign's domain.

Mao, for example, was named Marquis Who Proclaims Virtue, with a pension from the revenue of two thousand households; but this practice was gradually ended, and such awards were normally given only to non-Chinese.²¹

As a courtesy to the traditions of the past, Later Han gave titles to identified representatives of ancient royal and noble houses, including descendants of the rulers of Shang/Yin 商/殷 and of Zhou 周, both of whom were named as Dukes (公 *gong*) and of Confucius, whose family received a marquissate.²² These fiefs were evidently maintained until the end of the dynasty.

During Former Han, a full marquis had regularly received the territorial fief of a county, but Later Han adopted a more flexible system, and fiefs were frequently granted in smaller units, rising in rank from village (亭 *ting*; commune) to chief village (都亭 *duting*), district (鄉 *xiang*) and chief district (都鄉 *duxiang*).²³ The value of a marquissate was usually related to the size of the fief, but there are many cases where the revenue is defined in terms of a number of taxable households, and some senior marquises received revenue from more than one county.

As with kings, marquises of Later Han had no control over the administration of their nominal fiefs. Counties designated as marquissates were governed in the same fashion as any other, the only difference being that the magistrate was described as a Chancellor (相 *xiang*) rather than as a *ling* 令 or a *zhang* 長.²⁴ In theory, like the kings, a marquis could be expected to reside on his fief, but since many such feudatories, at least in the first generation, had been rewarded for their work at the court or in the administration, this provision was not always enforced. In particular, a marquis with supplementary title as a Servant at [the Spring and Autumn] Court (奉朝請 *fengchao qing*) was permitted to remain at the capital and held high rank at court conferences; during Later Han there were three grades of these Servants: Specially Advanced (特進 *te jin*) followed by Marquis at Court (朝廷侯 *chaoting hou*) and Marquis Attending Sacrifices (侍祠侯 *shici hou*). A feudatory who fell from favour, however, could be promptly exiled to his fief.

While it appears to have been the exception rather than the rule for a secondary marquissate to be transferred from father to son, full marquissates were generally hereditary, and there are a number of occasions that a fief was transferred to a cadet branch after the direct lineage had died out. Each succession, however, had to be approved and recorded, and the imperial government could exact a fine or fee at the time of transfer. This was certainly done by the regent Dowager Deng at a time of financial crisis early in the second century,²⁵ while there were a number of occasions that noble ranks were put on sale. The Han made some distinction between fiefs awarded for meritorious service and those that came from the grace and favour of the sovereign, notably to imperial relatives by marriage and, particularly in the second century, to palace eunuchs, but it was, as now, always a matter of judgement, and judgement was not always good.

It was rare for a woman to be enfeoffed in her own right. The sisters or daughters of an emperor were given title as Princess (公主 *gongzhu*), ranking equal with a marquis, and could be promoted to Senior Princess (長公主 *chang gongzhu*), ranking with a king. Each was granted a county as an estate (邑 *yi*), their husbands held rank as marquises, and their eldest sons inherited the fief. Daughters of kings also received title as Princesses, but their fiefs were districts and villages, and they were not passed down to their sons. Outside the imperial family, a few women were enfeoffed as Ladies (君 *jun*), with county fiefs, primarily because they were related to the emperor

²¹ Zhuo Mao's son Zhuo Zhong inherited his father's titular marquissate, but it was transferred to be a district fief [on which see below]. For awards to non-Chinese see Dian'an, Xushen and Yugui.

²² See Kong An, Ji Chang and Kong Zhi.

²³ *Duting* and *duxiang* were apparently territories about the capital of the larger unit: so that a *duting* was the village where the headquarters of the district was situated, and the *duxiang* contained the headquarters of a county. Unless it is necessary, in the body of this work I describe these fiefs only as villages or districts..

²⁴ On the administration of counties see below.

²⁵ See, for example, *sub* Deng Kang.

by marriage.²⁶ Emperor An honoured two of his wet-nurses, Song E and Wang Sheng, but this was predictably disapproved of.²⁷

SALARIES AND RANKS

The rank of any official was defined by his nominal salary, ranging through eighteen ranks from Ten Thousand *shi* (萬石 *wanshi*) for the very highest officials, through Fully 2000 *shi* (中二千石 *zhong erqian shi*), 2000 *shi* (*erqian shi*) and Equivalent to 2000 *shi* (比 *bi erqian shi*), down to the most junior officers at 100 *shi* or less. Salaries were paid partly in grain and partly in cash, in varying proportions and graded according to the official's position in the hierarchy, but the annual value was not identical to that indicated by his rank. Allowing for frequent donations and special grants, which could increase a man's income by half as much again, Bielenstein has calculated that all but the very lowest officers received an adequate income from the state; any corruption came rather from greed than from necessity.²⁸

In the discussion which follows, it may be borne in mind that high officials held rank/salary in the range of 2000 *shi*, while the head of a bureau at the capital or the magistrate of a medium-size county in the provinces was ranked at 600 *shi*.

EXCELLENCIES, MINISTERS AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS AT THE CAPITAL

At the beginning of each reign one distinguished official was named **Grand Tutor** (太傅 *taifu*). His status was higher than any other, and he could hold formal control of the Imperial Secretariat, but the office was normally a position of honour rather than of substance. When the incumbent died, the position fell into abeyance until the following reign.²⁹

For most of Former Han, the highest official of the government was the Imperial Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*), assisted by the Imperial Counsellor (御史大夫 *yushi dafu*; Grandee Secretary), who held censorial responsibilities. In 8 BC, however, this dual structure was replaced by three officials: the Grand Commandant (太尉 *taiwei*), the Grand Excellency over the Masses (大司徒 *da situ*) and the Grand Excellency of Works (大司空 *da sikong*); they were known as the **Three Excellencies** (三公 *san gong*). The new arrangement was followed by Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, with the most senior official styled as Grand Marshal (大司馬 *da sima*; Commander-in-Chief). In 51 AD the Grand Marshal was renamed Grand Commandant, while the prefix *da* "Grand" was dropped from the title of the *situ* and the *sikong*.³⁰

The Excellencies had general supervision over all aspects of the imperial government, and each had a small staff to assist him. The Grand Commandant was nominally the most senior, but all three were equal at Ten Thousand *shi*, so that, unlike Former Han, no one man held unmatched power. For active emperors such as Guangwu and his immediate successors, this arrangement ensured their control of government, but danger came when later rulers were neither so energetic nor so competent as their predecessors.

Below the Excellencies and ranked at Fully 2000 *shi* were nine **Ministers** (卿 *qing*), responsible for the bulk of the regular administration. The first three, formally under the supervision of the Grand Commandant, were

²⁶ These included the Lady Yin III, mother of Empress Deng of Emperor He, the Lady Yan Zong, mother of the Empress Yan of Emperor An, the Lady Yin V, mother of the Empress Liang of Emperor Shun, the Lady Sun Shou, wife of Liang Ji and sister-in-law of two empresses, the Lady Xuan, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, and the Lady Xing, mother of the Empress He of Emperor Ling.

²⁷ In 191, during his short-lived hold on power, the usurping general Dong Zhuo enfeoffed his grand-daughter Dong Bo.

²⁸ Two sets of figures, from 50 and 106 AD, list the amounts paid to officials at each grade, in *hu* 斛 of unhusked grain and in cash, and Bn 80:125-131 presents detailed calculations on the salary paid.

The *hu* or *shi* was a measure of capacity, 19.968 litres [*e.g.* Dubs 38:276-280 and Cambridge 86:xxxviii]. It is sometimes rendered as "bushel" or, incorrectly, as "picul" (a measure of weight). Given that the actual amount of the salary was not directly related to the rank, I prefer to follow the convention which uses the transliteration rather than an attempted translation.

²⁹ After Chen Fan was destroyed by the palace eunuchs in 168, Hu Guang took his place as Grand Tutor to Emperor Ling; this was the only time a ruler had more than one Grand Tutor.

³⁰ Dubs renders *san gong* as Three Dukes, and Bielenstein has the [*da situ*] and the [*da sikong*] as [Grand] Minister over the Masses and [Grand] Minister of Works. I find it preferable to describe them as Excellencies; in particular, it is confusing that the *da sinong*, rendered by Bielenstein as Grand Minister of Agriculture, was of lower rank than the plain Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works.

the Minister of Ceremonies (太常 *taichang*; Grand Master of Ceremonies), the Minister of the Household (光祿勳 *guangluxun*; Superintendent of the Imperial Household), and the Minister of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*; Commandant of the Guards). The Minister Coachman (太僕 *taipu*; Grand Coachman), the Minister of Justice (廷尉 *tingwei*; Commandant of Justice) and the Minister Herald (大鴻臚 *dahonglu*; Grand Herald) were under the Excellency over the Masses, while the Minister of the Imperial Clan (宗正 *zong zheng*; Director of the Imperial Clan), the Minister of Finance (大司農 *da sinong*; Grand Minister of Agriculture) and the Minister Steward (少府 *shaofu*; Privy Treasurer) were supervised by the Excellency of Works.³¹

The **Minister of Ceremonies** was responsible for the relations between the sovereign and the supernatural. He was in charge of worship at the imperial ancestral temples and the suburban altars, and responsible for the care of the imperial tombs and for such ceremonies as the Great Archery and Serving the Aged which were held each year at the Hall of the Circular Moat. One of his major subordinates was the **Court Astronomer** (太史令 *taishi ling*; Prefect Grand Astrologer), ranked at 600 *shi*, whose office maintained observations of the heavens, prepared the calendar, recorded portents, and advised on auspicious and ill-omened days. The Court Astronomer was also in charge of the literacy test which was administered to candidates for entry to the Imperial Secretariat or the Censorate; they were required to know some nine thousand characters and be able to write all recognised styles of calligraphy.³²

The Minister of Ceremonies also supervised the **Imperial University** (太學 *taixue*; Academy), including some thirteen Academicians (博士 *boshi*; Erudits) holding chairs for each of the five Confucian classics of the New Text school.³³ Academicians were Equivalent to 600 *shi* and the head of the University, the Libationer (祭酒 *jijiu*), ranked at 600 *shi*; despite the official emphasis on scholarship, this was no higher than any other regular bureau of general administration. The role of the University as a comparatively minor route of entry into the commissioned imperial service is discussed below.

The **Minister of the Household** was responsible for guarding the emperor within the public areas of the palace and when he was outside; the walls and gates of the palace were in the charge of the Minister of the Guards, while the harem was protected by eunuchs: in this way, no single officer had full control of the ruler's security.

The work of protection was carried out by gentleman cadets (郎 *lang*), organised in five corps, each commanded by a **General of the Household** (中郎將 *zhonglang jiang*; General of the Gentlemen of the Household).³⁴ The General of the Household for All Purposes (五官 *wuguan zhonglang jiang*), of the Left (左 *zuo zhonglang jiang*) and of the Right (右 *you zhonglang jiang*) were in charge of men who were essentially civilians: they had been nominated by their commanderies and were serving a period of probation before being appointed to substantive office in the civil service;³⁵ the numbers of these three corps (三署 *sanshu*) could total between 700 and 2000.

³¹ For convenience and swifter recognition of the significance of these ministerial offices, I have rendered each with the prefix Minister. Loewe has used a similar system, but with the term Superintendent [*e.g.* Loewe 74:310 and *QHX* 757-765].

³² Many scholars render the character *shi* in this title as Historian or Scribe, notably inspired by the fact that the great historian Sima Qian 司馬遷, compiler of *Shi ji* 史記, held appointment as *taishi ling*. However, though Bielenstein fairly describes the officer as "the most versatile and technically trained official" in the government [Bn 80:19], his responsibilities for the calendar, for portents and for specialised examinations did not necessarily extend to historical records. As Bielenstein observes, the official Diaries of Activity and Repose (起居注 *qiju zhu*), with detailed accounts of the emperor's day-to-day life within the court and the palace, were more likely to have been entrusted to intimate scribes, including eunuchs, rather than to an outside official, now matter how talented [Bn 80:163 and Bn 54:21-22]. Similarly, though the official history of Later Han was compiled at intervals through the dynasty, no *taishi ling* appears as a member of the relevant committee; and the other great historian Ban Gu, chief author of *Han shu*, never held that office.

³³ On the various schools of Later Han, see the chapter on Literary and Scholarly Works.

³⁴ The title *zhonglang jiang* presents problems of rendering, for it sometimes appears in circumstances which have little to do with any corps of gentleman at the capital. For much of Later Han, for example, the chief imperial agent at the court of the Southern Xiongnu was known as the *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang*, which I render simply as Emissary: see the section on Officials dealing with Non-Chinese peoples below. On occasion, moreover, a commander in the field could hold title as *zhonglang jiang*, as Ren Shang in 112 and Zhu Jun in 184. And when military agricultural colonies were established at the end of Han, many were supervised by Generals of the Household in Charge of Agriculture: in that context I render the title as Commissioner for Agriculture.

³⁵ This matter is discussed in the section on Recruitment below.

The other two units, Rapid as Tigers (虎賁 *huben*) and the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*), were of more practical use. The Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers, some 1500 strong, appear to have held their positions by hereditary right, but the 1700 men of the Feathered Forest were recruited from the sons and grandsons of soldiers who had died in battle and also from respectable families of Liang province.³⁶ The Feathered Forest corps provided guards for the imperial horse-parks of the northwest, and some of them may have been officer cadets for the army.

Counsellors (大夫 *dafu*), who took part in debate at court and provided advice to the emperor, were also subordinates of the Minister of the Household. They included the Household Counsellors (光祿 *guanglu dafu*; Imperial Household Grandee) at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, the Palace Counsellors (太中 *taizhong dafu*; Grand Palace Grandee) at 1000 *shi*, and the Attendant Counsellors (中散 *zhongsan dafu*; Palace Attendant Grandee) and Counsellors Remonstrant (諫議 *jianyi dafu*; Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant), both at 600 *shi*. Any of these, and particularly the high-ranking Household Counsellors, could receive special commissions as investigators or messengers on behalf of the emperor. Also at 600 *shi* were the **Consultants** (議郎 *yilang*; Gentleman Consultant); though nominally the most junior of the Counsellors at court, this position was frequently used as a holding appointment for a man in waiting for substantially higher office.

Under the general aegis of the Minister of the Household there was also provision for a number of special Commandants (都尉 *duwei*; Chief Commandant), appointed under one of three titles. In time of peace these military offices were effectively sinecures, but their incumbents were capable of command in war. There could be as many as ten Commandants of Cavalry (騎 *ji duwei*), five of Attendant Cavalry (鮒騎 *fujī duwei*) and three Commandants of the Equipage (奉車 *fengju duwei*); all were ranked at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*.

The Internuncios (謁者 *yezhe*), also formally under the Minister of the Household, are discussed in the section below on the Imperial Agencies.

The **Minister of the Guards** was responsible for the guards and patrols at the gates and walls of the two imperial palaces at Luoyang. He had some three thousand men under his command, of which the ordinary troops were conscripted for a year. They were carefully divided among a number of patrol units and guard-posts, with Prefects of the Guards (衛士令 *weishi ling*) for the Northern Palace and for the Southern Palace, and a Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages (公車司馬令 *gongju sima ling*). The two Gates for Official Carriages (公車門 *gongju men*), one at each palace, accepted memorials to the throne and received special nominees for office. The three Prefects ranked at 600 *shi*, but there was a Major (司馬 *sima*), at 1000 *shi*, in charge of each separate gate to the palace, and entrance was strictly controlled by a system of passports and tallies.

The **Minister Coachman** had two areas of responsibility. Firstly, his office was in charge of the carriages and horses of the imperial stables of Luoyang, for use by the emperor and appropriate members of his harem and his court. Secondly, and far broader in scale, he was in charge of the breeding and supply of horses for the army and for the manufacture of military equipment. Former Han had established great horse-parks in the northwest, and Later Han continued the system, the most important being the Liuma pasture 流馬苑 of "Roaming Horses" in Hanyang commandery. Towards the end of the first century, after the triumph over the Northern Xiongnu, some of the breeding grounds were reduced or abandoned, but a few years later, as fighting increased against the Qiang and other non-Chinese of the north and northwest, new parks were established southwest in Yi province, away from the now troubled region of Liang province.

The **Minister of Justice** was the chief legal officer of the empire. Assisted by a Director (正 *zheng*) and a staff of about 150, he was in charge of the administration of the law, could recommend changes, codifications and amnesties, and decided on cases submitted from the provinces. The Ministry maintained an Imperial Prison (詔獄 *zhaoyu*) at Luoyang,³⁷ and the Minister was responsible for death sentences each year.

The **Minister Herald** had charge of visitors to the imperial capital, including members of the imperial clan and non-Chinese embassies, and his officers guided people to their places at time of court ceremonies or imperial

³⁶ On respectable families (*liangjia*), see note 9 above.

³⁷ There were two Imperial Prisons at Luoyang, one under the Minister of Justice, one controlled by the Prefect of Luoyang: Bn 80:50.

sacrifices. With a comparatively small staff, his office received messengers from provinces and commanderies and kings, and the Minister supervised the inheritance of hereditary titles and fiefs; this last presumably in conjunction with the Minister of the Imperial Clan. It is probable that the Ministry had a small bureau of interpreters.

The **Minister of the Imperial Clan**, as his title implies, supervised the conduct of all members of the extended imperial family, including kings, marquises and princesses. Again with a small staff, usually less than fifty, his office maintained a register and, in particular, reported on occasions that an imperial kinsman committed a crime, so that the ruler could consider what level of penalty should be applied. As a matter of principle, the Minister was a member of the imperial Liu clan.

The **Minister of Finance** was the government Treasurer. During Former Han he shared responsibility for funding with the Minister Steward, who had control of the privy purse, but during Later Han all financial matters were placed under one ministry.³⁸ Officials of the Minister of Finance had charge of the treasury, the imperial mint and the great government granaries. They supervised and audited the collection of taxes, and implemented the policies of price control and government monopoly applied during the dynasty. To a very large degree, however, Later Han decentralised such financial matters, so that the production of salt and iron was entrusted to the governments of commanderies and kingdoms: and the great Ao Granary 敖倉, for example, which collected the grain brought from the east of China by the Vast Canal 鴻溝 network, was under the local control of the Intendant of Henan, the capital commandery.³⁹

The **Minister Steward** was in charge of all aspects of the emperor's personal life, including his food and drink, his health and entertainment, the maintenance of his harem and the imperial palaces and parks. The staff of the ministry was naturally extremely large, though several offices which were formally under the Steward's jurisdiction were in practice independent or attended the ruler personally: these included the eunuchs of the harem and the private apartments, discussed in a section above, and the Imperial Secretariat and the Censorate, discussed below.

Among officials directly involved with serving the emperor, one may note the Court Provisioner (太官令 *taiguan ling*; Prefect Grand Provisioner), who had charge of all aspects of imperial food and drink, including the kitchens and the supply of grains and meat, with special offices for delicacies, fruits and wine, and the Court Physician (太醫令 *taiyi ling*; Prefect Grand Physician). There were also officials for the wardrobe, valets, stationery, a storehouse and pay office, and for sacrifices within the palace; several of these were eunuchs.

The offices of the Eastern and Western Gardens (東園 *dong yuan* and 西園 *xi yuan*) lay apart from the main palace compounds but were directly related to the emperor. The Eastern Garden included workshops for ritual and funerary objects, including the celebrated jade shrouds, which could also be issued to members of the close imperial clan. The Western Garden, in contrast, was a pleasure park, much favoured by Emperor Ling, who also maintained personal treasuries there, funded by the sale of offices and titles, and by forced transfers from the public holdings of the Ministry of Finance. In 188 he established a private army, under eight Colonels of the Western Garden, of whom the chief was the eunuch Jian Shi, to assist in dealing with the general troubles of the empire.

Though the eunuch Prefect of the Palace Gardens was responsible for pleasure parks and gardens, there were also a number of hunting grounds outside the capital. Among them were the Vast Pond (鴻池 *hongchi*), the Shanglin Park (上林苑 *shanglin yuan*; Park of the Supreme Forest), and the Guangcheng Park (廣成苑 *guangcheng yuan*; Park of Extending Achievement).⁴⁰ Each was administered by a Prefect, and provided not only exercise and entertainment for the ruler but also birds and beasts for the imperial table.

³⁸ See Bn 80:46-47. In such circumstances it appears inappropriate and misleading to render the title *shaofu* as Privy Treasurer, and I have therefore adopted the reading Minister Steward.

³⁹ *HHS* 116/26:3590 and see under Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming, and Liu Da, Emperor He. Cf. however Bn 80:45-46 and 76:59-60.

⁴⁰ The Vast Pond lay to the east of Luoyang, the Guangcheng Park to the south, and the Shanglin Park to the west. They, and others, are described by Bn 76:80-83. The Shanglin Park was the second of that name: there was a Shanglin Park outside Chang'an during Former Han, and it was still maintained and occasionally visited by the rulers of Later Han. Additional parks were established by later rulers, notably Emperor

The Prefect of Insignia and Credentials (符節令 *fujie ling*), responsible for issuing official seals and other emblems of authority, fell under the jurisdiction of the Minister Steward, as did the imperial libraries (祕書 *bi/mishu*) for most of the dynasty.⁴¹ The **Orchid Terrace** (蘭臺 *lantai*), evidently the headquarters of the Censorate [on which see below], held official documents and archives, while the **Eastern Pavilion** (東觀 *dongguan*) held a similar collection which was used most notably for the on-going compilation of *Dongguan Hanji*, the history of Later Han itself. Both these buildings were in the Southern Palace, but there was a further collection in the **Hall of All-Embracing Brightness** (宣名殿 *xuanming dian*) of the Northern Palace; while the **Stone House** (石室 *shishi*), whose site is unspecified, housed the apocryphal texts strongly favoured by Emperor Guangwu.

Palace Attendants (侍中 *shizhong*), ranking at 2000 *shi* or its Equivalent, and **Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates** (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*; Gentlemen-in-Attendance of the Yellow Gates), at 600 *shi*;⁴² were under the Minister Steward. Palace Attendants frequently escorted the emperor; and for most of the first century they had full right of access to the palace; though the privilege was withdrawn by Emperor He the office remained one of high honour. Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates acted as liaison between the palace and the outside world, and served as ushers at formal gatherings of the court. There were also two sets of supernumerary appointments, **Serving within the Yellow Gates** (給事黃門 *jishi huangmen*) and **Serving within the Palace** (給事中 *jishi zhong*), which granted trusted access to the sovereign and were probably under the Minister Steward; full men held both offices, but eunuchs could be appointed as Serving within the Yellow Gates.⁴³

We have already observed that the Minister of the Household was responsible for the emperor's security within the public areas of the palace and outside, and the Supervisor of the Retinue for his protection within the harem, while officers under the Minister of the Guards controlled the gates of the palaces themselves. Besides these three commands, however, two further senior officials, again with separate units, guarded the capital. The **Bearer of the Mace** (執金吾 *zhijinwu*; Bearer of the Gilded Mace) was in charge of police in the city of Luoyang, outside the imperial palaces, while the **Colonel of the City Gates** (城門校尉 *chengmen xiaowei*) was responsible for the garrisons at each of the twelve gates of the capital. Both officials were ranked at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, comparable to but below the Ministers.

The **Court Architect** (將作大匠 *jiangzuo dajiang*), ranked at 2000 *shi*, again close to that of a Minister, was responsible for the construction, maintenance and repair of imperial and official buildings, and for roads about the capital. Most buildings were made of wood with tiled roofs, so dilapidation was constant, and fires were also frequent. Maintenance and repair were thus a considerable task and there was constant refitting and refurbishing. Some special projects required large-scale labour: the restoration of the Imperial University under Emperor Shun in the early 130s, for example, occupied more than a hundred thousand workmen for a year; Emperor Huan was known for building work, particularly his luxurious restoration of the Garden of the Shining Dragon (濯龍園 *zhuolong yuan*; Garden of the Sleek Dragon) in the Northern Palace; and during the 180s Emperor Ling engaged in a vastly extravagant and wasteful program.

One must assume that skilled workmen were hired when necessary, but a great part of the work was carried out by convicts controlled by the Prefect of the Enclosure of the Left (左校令 *zuoxiao ling*); in 124 an additional unit was set up under the Prefect of the Enclosure of the Right. There are a number of references to high officials who fell into disgrace and were sentenced to a term in the Enclosure on the Left.

Huan and Emperor Ling.

⁴¹ The collections were formally supervised by the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*), head of the Censorate, but in 159 a Custodian of the Private Library (祕書監 *mishu jian*) was appointed under the Minister of Ceremonies.

⁴² Former Han *huangmen lang* 黃門郎 (Gentlemen of the Yellow Gates) and *huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎 (Gentlemen in Attendance of the Yellow Gates), both being supernumerary positions. Under Later Han, *huangmen lang* were no longer appointed, while *huangmen shilang* became substantive officials; the character *shi* being sometimes omitted in the texts. I render the title as Gentleman at the Yellow Gates.

⁴³ The office of Cavalier Attendant (散騎 *sangqi*), which had been supernumerary under Former Han, was not used by Later Han. In 220 the court of Wei restored the position in two grades: Cavalier Regular Attendant (散騎常侍 *sangqi changshi*) and Cavalier Gentleman Attendant (*sangqi shi lang* 散騎侍郎): SGZ 2:58, JS 14:733; Fang 52:4, and see *sub* Sima Fu. Fang renders the titles as Senior and Junior Chamberlains, but I cite them without distinction as Cavalier Attendants.

The imperial capital and the region about it were administered in essentially the same way as any other territory in the empire, and the general system of local administration is discussed below. Because of the importance of the territory, however, and the nobles and high officials who lived there, there were some special arrangements.

The city and county of Luoyang was in the charge of a **Prefect** (令 *ling*), while the surrounding commandery of Henan was administered by an **Intendant** (尹 *yin*; Governor). The rank/salaries of the two officials were no higher than their counterparts in the provinces, though their duties were certainly more complicated. Besides the possibility of friction with people of position and influence, the Intendant of Henan was responsible for a number of markets about the city, and also for the great Ao Granary, the collection and distribution centre for supplying the capital. The Prefect of Luoyang had considerable authority to deal with criminals, including those of high rank, and had charge of an important Imperial Prison (獄朝 *zhaoyu*).

The capital province was governed by the **Director of Retainers** (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*; Colonel Director of Retainers).⁴⁴ His territory included seven commanderies: Henan, Henei and Hedong north of the Yellow River; Hongnong; and the so-called Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*) about the former capital of Chang'an, being Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi.⁴⁵ Though Inspectors of regular provinces ranked only at 600 *shi*, the Director of Retainers was Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, and he had special authority to supervise and if necessary impeach all officials in the capital province.⁴⁶

THE IMPERIAL AGENCIES

At the beginning of Later Han, as Emperor Guangwu appointed Xuan Bing his Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*; Palace Assistant Secretary), he arranged for him to take a separate place at court with the Director of the Retainers and the Director of the Imperial Secretariat; closely associated with the throne, they became known as the holders of the Three Special Seats (三獨坐 *san duzuo*). The direct contact of the emperor with these lower officials, together with the division of the highest position of the bureaucracy between the Three Excellencies, gave the ruler another means to influence the government.⁴⁷

The **Imperial Secretariat** (尚書 *shangshu*) was formally under the Minister Steward, and the Director (令 *ling*; Prefect of the Masters of Writing) ranked at 1000 *shi*. He was assisted by a Deputy Director (僕射 *puye*; Supervisor) at 600 *shi*, with individual Masters of Writing (*shangshu*), also at 600 *shi*, responsible for one of six Bureaus (曹 *cao*), each with a skilled staff of Gentlemen (郎 *lang*) in various ranks and Foreman Clerks (令史 *lingshi*).⁴⁸ The bureaus dealt variously with correspondence and documents relating to the senior ministers, the heads of provincial administration, memorials and petitions from common people, and non-Chinese states and tribes.

As the essential source for any official documents, including commissions and appointments to office, the Secretariat had great potential power, already reflected in the right to control the Secretariat (*lu shangshu shi*), which had been held by some high officials during Former Han and which continued during Later Han.⁴⁹ Its

⁴⁴ Former Han had appointed from time to time either a *sili xiaowei* or a *sili*: Bn 80:84-85. Later Han always appointed a *sili xiaowei*, and I use the shorter rendering. The province itself was known as Sili.

⁴⁵ The heads of these commanderies took their titles from their territories, and Dubs and Bielenstein render them accordingly, as Governor of Jingzhao 京兆尹, Western Sustainer 右扶風, and Eastern Supporter 左馮翊. I describe the head of Jingzhao as Intendant, but refer to the heads of the other two units as Administrators.

⁴⁶ The Directors Li Ying and Han Yan used their powers to effect against the palace eunuchs and their party in the 160s, as did Yang Qiu in the late 170s.

⁴⁷ HHS 17:927; deC 81:68-69. Bielenstein also makes this point, notably in Bn 79:68-70 and 80:149, though he discounts the claims by several modern Chinese scholars that the Excellencies became all but figure-heads.

⁴⁸ The fact that the office and some members of its staff are both described as *shangshu* can be confusing; I therefore refer to the office consistently as the Imperial Secretariat, and do not use the rendering Masters of Writing.

Though they are consistent within the Dubs/Bielenstein system, it is again confusing that the head and the second-in-command of the office are described as Prefect (*ling*) and Supervisor (*puye*), particularly as some departments of the government were headed by a *puye*. Rather than explain their role each time, I render the two as Director and Deputy Director, and I usually refer to their subordinate staff in generic terms.

⁴⁹ See above at note 7..

position became increasingly influential in the course of the dynasty, so that during the second century the Secretariat was heavily involved in policy and had a pivotal position in any coup d'état.⁵⁰

The title of the **Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk** reflected the original position of the office as one of two chief assistants to the Imperial Counsellor under Former Han. At the beginning of Later Han, however, the position was set up in similar fashion to the Secretariat: ranking at 1000 *shi*, the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was formally subordinate to the Minister Steward, but his close association to the emperor made it largely independent of that ministry. Most notably, the Palace Assistant and his subordinates, the Imperial Clerks (侍御史 *shiyushi*: Attending Secretaries), were responsible for checking memorials for possible offences and for supervising the conduct of state ceremonies. They could raise any matter of concern, could charge any official with an offence, and the most senior and experienced, the Imperial Clerks Preparers of Documents (治書 *zhishu shiyushi*), advised the ruler on cases referred by the Minister of Justice.

In this regard, though the Excellencies still exercised general supervision over the affairs of state, and the Secretariat could be called upon to investigate and adjudicate accusations of crime or lese-majesty,⁵¹ the Imperial Clerks had the right to take the initiative, and their office thus performed the essential functions of an **Imperial Censorate**.

The library of the Orchid Terrace, with a skilled staff of Foreman Clerks, evidently served as the headquarters of the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, and until 159 his office held general charge of all the imperial libraries; the duties were then transferred to a new Custodian of the Private Library.⁵²

Besides their attendance on the emperor, the Imperial Clerks also acted as his agents abroad, representing the ruler at a funeral or an enthronement, reporting on local problems, or taking action on his authority. From the time of Emperor An, moreover, Clerks and the Palace Assistant could be found in command of troops, frequently in circumstances where disorder was so widespread that the imperial forces needed a high level of co-ordination to deal with the problem; their use and effectiveness varied, and such duties were more regularly entrusted to professional military commanders, but Imperial Clerks appear in various campaigns until the last years of effective government.

Slightly below the Imperial Clerks, without their censorial powers but also agents of the emperor, were the **Internuncios**, whose rank was Equivalent to 600 *shi*, and who were headed by a Supervisor at Equivalent to 1000 *shi*. Chosen for commanding presence and a powerful voice, they took part in ceremonies at the capital, acted as envoys for the emperor to feudatories and non-Chinese peoples, and could be allocated to supervise and control potential dissidents. Besides this, however, Internuncios were sent on a wide range of special expeditions and projects, undertaking water control of the Yellow River and supervising frontier defence-works. A reserve and training camp established at Liyang in Wei commandery was under the permanent command of an Internuncio, and on occasion, like Imperial Clerks, Internuncios could lead troops in the field.

During Former Han and under Wang Mang, Special **Commissioners** clad in Embroidered Garments 繡衣直指 had been sent out with high censorial powers to review the administration of the provinces. This program was not maintained by Later Han,⁵³ and the closest parallel was the Special Commission of Eight, headed by Zhou Ju and Du Qiao, which was sent out by Emperor Shun in 142; it was unique to the dynasty, and achieved only limited success.

On many occasions, however, officials were sent out with a **Staff of Authority** (節 *jie*),⁵⁴ giving them special status in addition to their substantive rank. The staff itself was six feet in length, with ribbons at the top, and the

⁵⁰ See, for example, the activities of Yu Xu and Zuo Xiong in the time of Emperor Shun, and the coup of the eunuchs against Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168.

⁵¹ Two examples of the Secretariat in that role are the cases of Xiang Kai in 166 and Cai Yong and Cai Zhi in 178.

⁵² See above at note 41.

⁵³ There is one reference to a Commissioner in Plain Clothes 微服使者, Chang Feng, who was sent to review and report upon feelings among the people; there may have been others.

⁵⁴ Such officials are frequently described as Bearing the Staff of Authority (*zhijie* 持節) and the phrase may be rendered as Bearing

authority it conferred varied with the commission. Some messengers with the Staff had only a minor duty, as to grant promotion to a general in the field or serve as an envoy to a state, but at other times the Staff of Authority conferred wide-ranging powers, including the right to make senior appointments and to carry out executions without prior reference to the throne. It was commonly used in time of emergency, or where the local situation was too distant and complex for the normal procedure of submitting reports and receiving instructions.

THE PROVINCES

The Later Han empire was divided into thirteen provinces (州 *zhou*),⁵⁵ supervising more than a hundred commanderies (郡 *jun*) or equivalent units, which in turn governed almost 1200 counties (縣 *xian*), including marquisates and other fiefs. At the time of census about 140 the population was some 48 million individuals in 9.5 million households.

The administrative system of Han was notable for the manner in which it maintained checks and balances, so that, as we have seen, the protection of the emperor was in the hands of the eunuchs of the harem, the Minister of the Household and the Minister of the Guards, while other officers, commanding separate troops, controlled the gates of the palace and of the city, and the precincts within. The same technique and policy was applied in the territories outside the capital, where a complex structure of executive authority, balanced by supervision, restrained local independence and official corruption over the vast area of empire.

We have noted that the capital province was governed by the Director of Retainers, with rank at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, and special powers to deal with high officials and the nobility. At the beginning of the dynasty, other provinces were similarly ruled by Governors (牧 *mu*; Shepherds), at the same rank, with executive authority. In 42, however, and for a century and a half thereafter, regular provinces were placed under **Inspectors** (刺史 *cishi*), whose rank was only 600 *shi*, and who did not have direct authority over the commandery units within their territory. The Inspector reported each year on the affairs of his province, but he could only advise of wrongdoing; action was the prerogative of the central government.

There were two exceptions to this rule. Firstly and generally, when banditry or other disturbance was greater than could be dealt with by the resources of a single commandery, the Inspector was authorised to raise troops throughout the province, and he took command of the united forces. Second and specifically, because the region of Jiaozhi in the far south of the empire was distant from the capital, the Inspector held the Staff of Authority and could act on his own initiative.⁵⁶ In 188, moreover, shortly before the death of Emperor Ling and the collapse of central power, the system of Governors was in part restored; Governors and Inspectors were then appointed to one province or another according to circumstance.

Inspectors and Governors were appointed by the central administration, but their staff was recruited locally, and the chief of them were known as Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*; Attendant Clerks). At the centre were the Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*; Master of Records), the Attendant Officer (別駕 *biejia congshi*; Aide-de-Camp) and the Headquarters Officer (治中 *zhizhong congshi*; Attendant Clerk for the Bureau of Headquarters); the Headquarters Officer was responsible for local appointments and recommendations of individuals to the imperial capital. Other Assistant Officers were sent to supervise each commandery unit in the province.

The core of local government was the **commandery**, ruled by an Administrator (太守 *taishou*; Grand Administrator), whose rank was 2000 *shi*, with an Assistant (丞 *cheng*); in commanderies on the frontier the Assistant was styled a Chief Clerk (*zhangshi* 長史). Also on the frontier, and in commanderies within the empire when there was continuing serious trouble, a Commandant (都尉 *duwei*; Chief Commandant) was appointed to deal with military affairs; in some cases more than one, each in charge of a different region (部 *bu*). All these officials were appointed by the central government, and if the post of Administrator was vacant either the

Credentials.

⁵⁵ This includes the capital province under the Director of Retainers. During Former Han, and sometimes still in Later Han, provinces were also referred to as Regional Divisions (*bu* 部).

⁵⁶ See *Dongguan Hanji*, quoted by commentary to HHS 118/28:3618.

Assistant or the Commandant could act in place.

There was no real difference between the administration of a **kingdom** and that of a commandery: a kingdom was a commandery unit which had been made the fief of a member of the imperial house, but the king had no authority within his nominal state. A kingdom was headed by a Chancellor (相 *xiang*) rather than an Administrator, aided by a Chief Clerk rather than an Assistant and, unlike the commanderies, all kingdoms had a Commandant of the Capital (中尉 *zhongwei*).

The head of a commandery unit was responsible for all aspects of government within his territory, and he had a large number of locally-appointed officers (吏 *li*), ranging from high-level assistants in charge of specialised departments or bureaus, through clerks to *yamen* runners and policemen. Senior local members of staff included the head of the Bureau for All Purposes (五官曹 *wuguan cao*), the Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*; Master of Records) and the Officer of Merit (功曹 *gongcao*; Officer of the Bureau of Merit). Like the Headquarters Officer in a province, the Officer of Merit was responsible for local appointments and for nominations to the capital; he was respected, trusted and influential.

The titles of other commandery bureaus could vary from one jurisdiction to another, but the basic pattern was the same, with officers in charge of grain storage, population registers, legal matters and banditry, ritual ceremonies and schools. Later Han, moreover, had largely abolished the state monopolies and the central control of major resources, so that salt, iron, silver, lead and other minerals, together with special products such as cloth, fine stone and fruits, were now dealt with locally.

To check the conduct of subordinate counties, the commandery sent out Investigators (都郵 *duyou*), in the same fashion as the Assistant Officers of the province. Like the provinces, the commanderies were required to send annual reports and accounts, including information from the counties; and when a new Administrator took over he was obliged to report upon the conduct of his predecessor and, if appropriate, impeach him for his faults.

At this level, moreover, there were two strong policies. The first, the rule of avoidance, forbade commissioned officials to hold appointments within their native provinces, and the so-called *San-hu* 三互 regulations extended this prohibition to a connection by marriage.⁵⁷ The second prevented the head of a commandery from taking any action outside his official territory. It was for this reason that command of broader military operations within a province was entrusted to Inspectors, to commissioned generals or to other agents of the emperor; commandery troops could be used, but they were under external control.⁵⁸

Former Han established a number of **Dependent States** (屬國 *shuguo*) to supervise non-Chinese peoples subordinate to the empire but whose territory was not yet fully incorporated into the commandery system. Later Han followed the same policy, with Dependent States at both county and commandery level. On several frontiers, however, notably to the west in Yi province and to the northeast in You province, the establishment of a dependent state indicated a loosening of imperial control rather than expansion: in both those areas, dependent states covered territory which had been part of a regular commandery during Former Han.⁵⁹

A dependent state at commandery level was headed by a Commandant ranking at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, just below his neighbouring Administrator, and the functions of his regime were similar; the establishment of a dependent state often represented an extension and separation of a region (部 *bu*) within a commandery which had likewise been controlled by a Commandant. County-level units were commonly known as marches (道 *dao*), and the same name could also be applied to counties within regular commanderies which had large numbers of non-Chinese.

⁵⁷ See Shi Bi, and also the objection to the system presented by Cai Yong.

⁵⁸ In similar fashion, the head of a territorial unit was required to remain within his jurisdiction unless he had special permission: see, for example, the situation of Huangfu Gui and Hu Fang in 166.

⁵⁹ On the establishment of commandery-level dependent states in the time of Emperor An of Later Han, see deC 84:445-449. In the far north-western frontier of Liang province, however, dependent states which had been established by Former Han were retained by Later Han. On this region, see Loewe 67A:162.

The **county** was the lowest unit of local administration to be ruled by an official appointed by the central government. Formally speaking, counties of more than ten thousand households were headed by a Prefect (令 *ling*), with rank at 1000 *shi*; smaller had Chiefs (長 *zhang*) at 500 *shi* or at 300 *shi*; while the fief of a county marquis was governed by a Chancellor (相 *xiang*). The distinction between a Prefect and a Chief was not always strictly observed, however, and in the present work I refer to the generality of heads of counties as magistrates.⁶⁰

A county magistrate had an Assistant, and also one or more Commandants (here as *wei* 尉), for basic police and anti-banditry operations. Otherwise the administrative structure of a county reflected that of a commandery, though on a lesser scale and with smaller salaries for the local officers. There were official bureaus and schools, while subordinate districts and villages were supervised and controlled; their chiefs and headmen were formally appointed by the local government officer, but were normally men recognised by the community.

A county magistrate was certainly a commissioned officer of the imperial service, and in theory the assistants and commandants were too, but in practice these officials could gain their places though a direct imperial commission rather than by the full route of nomination, probation and appointment described below.⁶¹ There are also a number of cases recorded where the position of a county magistrate was filled, at least for the short term, by local appointment: such a brevet magistrate (守令 *shouling* or 守長 *shouzhang*) would be a man of distinction, generally with experience at headquarters.⁶²

APPOINTMENT AND RECRUITMENT

Both Former and Later Han distinguished between commissioned and non-commissioned members of the imperial service, and this was particularly noticeable in local government. Inspectors, Administrators, county magistrates and their chief assistants were commissioned officials, appointed from outside the territory they controlled, while their subordinate officers, recruited locally, had no immediate right to further promotion. At the capital, the distinction was less obvious, but certain positions, notably those ranked at 600 *shi* or above, were held only by commissioned officials, while many clerks and other lower officers had no expectation of advancement.

The essential principle, as for a military commission in many armies of the present day, was that the man concerned should receive formal recognition from the imperial government. Only when that was done could he expect to embark upon a career which would bring substantial responsibility and might lead to high office.

In essence, the process by which a man was chosen for commission followed three stages: nomination, probation, and examination. Depending upon circumstances, however, some men could by-pass one or more of these stages. The most common patterns are summarised below.

Commandery nomination as **Filial and Incorrupt** (孝廉 *xiaolian*; Filially Pious and Incorrupt) gave entry to one of three civilian corps of gentleman cadets (郎 *lang*) under a General of the Household. The candidate undertook a period of probation there, while also serving as a largely decorative guard to the emperor under the authority of the Minister of the Household. The cadets were in three ranks, Equivalent to 300 *shi*, to 400 *shi* and to 600 *shi*; it is likely that the normal period of probation was three years, with promotion by one rank each year.⁶³ At the end of that period, and at intervals during it, each man was assessed by the Minister of the Household and could be given substantive commissioned office, often as a county magistrate.

Following a system established by Former Han, for the first part of Later Han each commandery unit was required to nominate two Filial and Incorrupt candidates each year. In 92, more flexibly, it was ordered that one candidate should be presented for each 200,000 households of population, discounted for commanderies of smaller size. The average entry in either case was some 200 candidates each year, and one of the major duties of

⁶⁰ For the heads of certain counties such as Luoyang, because of their special status, I still use the term Prefect.

⁶¹ Sun Jian, for example, became a county Assistant on the basis of an imperial letter (朝書 *zhaoshu*).

⁶² Among several examples, we may cite Du Ji of Jingzhao, Li Yi of Zangke, Liu Yao of Dongping and Man Chong of Shanyang. Note, however, that the phrase *shouling* does not always indicate a brevet magistrate; it can be used as a general compound to refer to administrators (*taishou*) and magistrates (*ling*).

⁶³ There are limited details on the procedures, which varied in the course of two centuries; they are discussed by Bn 80:24 and 134-136.

the Officer of Merit in a commandery was to find suitable nominees. They were chosen from men of good family or scholarly repute, frequently but not necessarily from those who had held local office.

There were some checks on the suitability of Filial and Incorrupt candidates: until 126 the head of a commandery unit had to have held office for a full year before he could make a nomination, and in 132 it was ordered that candidates should be more than forty and should take an examination. This latter restriction can have lasted only a few years, and it is in general hard to judge how effective such restraints could be: it was ultimately essential that the imperial government should have an adequate number of officials, and the procedures for getting them were not always ideal.⁶⁴

Each New Year, as a commandery submitted its annual report, a local officer was sent to present them at the capital. This **Reporting Officer** (上計吏 [*shang*] *jili*; Official in Charge of Accounts) was able to provide direct information on his territory, and for several years, from 102 to 163, he received appointment as a probationary cadet in the same fashion as a man nominated Filial and Incorrupt.

There were also annual nominations of men of **Abundant Talent** (茂才 *maocai* or *moucai*), made by the Inspectors of provinces, by the Three Excellencies, and by the Minister of the Household; some seventeen candidates in any year.⁶⁵ Candidates of Abundant Talent had more prestige than those who were Filial and Incorrupt, and while they were sometimes required to present a memorial for assessment, they normally received immediate substantive appointment.⁶⁶

Some candidates and probationary officers were designated **First Class** (高第 *gaodi*), a distinction which frequently led to appointment as an Imperial Clerk, Inspector of a province, or similar trusted and censorial office.⁶⁷

Besides the right to nominate men of Abundant Talent, the Excellencies controlled an important route to commission within their own offices. If a gentleman was **invited to appointment in the office of an Excellency** (辟 *pi* ... 府 *fu*), he would take a place as a Senior or Junior Clerk (掾 *yuan* or 屬 *shu*) in a bureau. The rank was low and there was an element of probation, but the position gave access and insight to the procedures of government, and excellent opportunity for promotion to higher office. The number of these clerkships was limited, each Excellency having between twenty and thirty, but appointment and promotion may have been comparatively swift. A substantial number of men began their careers in this way, and many rose to high rank.⁶⁸

After three years service at the rank of 2000 *shi* or above, high officials gained the **ren** 任 **privilege of appointment** for their sons or other close kin. This allowed entry to the corps of gentleman cadets, on probation for commissioned rank. The same privilege could also be the subject of a special imperial grant, and there are a number of occasions that entry to the corps of cadets was awarded directly.

The imperial government could also call for **particular nominations**, identifying in an edict the officials who could present names and the qualities which the candidates should possess; these latter were usually couched in quite general terms, such as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright (賢良方正 *xianliang fangzheng*), Capable of Speaking Directly (能直言 *neng zhiyan*), Understanding the Classics (明經 *mingjing*) and Knowing the Way (有道 *youdao*). Nominees were brought to the capital, often in a special official carriage; they might present

⁶⁴ For reforms, see *sub* Zuo Xiong and Huang Qiong and, on the question of age, *HHSJJ* 6:269, where Hou Kang cites particularly the stele biographies of Wu Ban and Wu Rong. For evidence of favouritism and corruption, see *sub* Tian Xin; there are many others.

⁶⁵ During certain periods, the General-in-Chief shared with the Excellencies the right to nominate men of Abundant Talent. The title of this nomination had been Flourishing Talent (*xiucai*) in Former Han, but it was changed to avoid taboo on the personal name of the founding Emperor Guangwu.

⁶⁶ The style Exceptional Conduct (*yuyi* 尤異) was normally used as a comment upon local administration, with potential for accelerated promotion, but it sometimes served as a form of provincial nomination: see Miao Tong.

⁶⁷ The term First Class, which also appears as 第一 Number One, was also used for the assessment of an official's performance of his duties, and could lead to accelerated promotion.

⁶⁸ As with nomination for Abundant Talents, some Generals-in-Chief had the right to open an office and make clerical appointments in the same fashion as an Excellency.

a memorial for assessment or undergo a formal examination; and they could then receive appointment as an executive official or an imperial adviser, sometimes at very high rank.

On occasion, moreover, the emperor would issue a **specific invitation** to a man of exceptional reputation, often someone known for his scholarly achievements who had chosen the life of a hermit. This often entailed a complex pattern of offer, rejection and acceptance, for to attract such an individual could enhance the reputation of the court, while the man himself gained prestige from such imperial attention. Not all invitations were successful, and several gentlemen who came to the capital under these auspices failed to live up to their reputation; in effect, the process was often rather a matter of political show than a serious attempt to fill a senior post.⁶⁹

The Imperial University was an additional source of recruitment to senior ranks of the civil service, but not a particularly large one. A number of Academicians went on to further appointments, some as imperial advisers, rising as high as Palace Attendant, while a few rose to become commandery Administrators or Ministers in the central government. Such promotions were more common in the formative years under the founding Emperor Guangwu, who was personally concerned with the re-establishment of the University; in later years most Academicians appear to have contented themselves with a career in scholarship.

During Former Han and under Wang Mang, as many as a hundred students of the University had been able to gain entry to the imperial service through a system of annual **examinations**, but though Later Han maintained examinations for University purposes, they no longer served as a route to commissioned office.⁷⁰ A series of edicts from the later 140s, as the regent Liang family demonstrated its patronage of scholarship, provided new opportunities, but they were few compared to those offered by other routes, while the number of students soon afterwards reached thirty thousand.⁷¹ Attendance at the University could be useful for a man to establish his name and obtain nomination or appointment elsewhere, but it did not normally give direct entry to office.⁷²

We have already discussed the Three Corps under the Generals of the Household for All purposes, of the Left and of the Right, and noted that they were occupied by gentleman cadets on probation for commissioned appointments. There was also a lesser category of officials-in-waiting, the **Members of the Suite of the Heir** (太子舍人 *taizi sheren*). A designated Heir had a considerable household, but even when there was no Heir some cadets on probation were still given title as Members of the Suite. With nominal salary of only 200 *shi*, they ranked below the gentleman cadets; and during all of Later Han, no senior official is recorded as having gained entry to the imperial service solely by such an appointment.⁷³

Besides the three civilian corps of gentlemen, however, there may have been a parallel corps of **military cadets**. The Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers was apparently a hereditary unit, perhaps in the style of the later Manchu banners, but the Gentlemen of the Feathered Forest, recruited from the kinsmen of soldiers who had died in battle

⁶⁹ An example of this process is the case of Fan Ying: see also Vervorn 90:157-164. His experience was not satisfactory, but the appointment of He Chun, other hand, appears to have been a success.

⁷⁰ There are a few references to appointments of Junior Gentlemen (童子郎 *tongzi lang*), apparently available to boys of twelve or thirteen, of good family and scholarly bent. The position gave early entrance to the University and probation for a commissioned post in the civil service.

⁷¹ In 148 provision was made for thirty-one successful examinees to be given appointment to senior rank among the gentleman cadets, the next seventeen became members of the Suite of the Heir [on which, see below] and the next seventeen were appointed to the court of a king. In 156 a new system allowed candidates to take examinations in an increasing number of classics over a period of years, and to rise with each success, so that it became possible to obtain a substantive post in the bureaucracy; it would, however, have taken as many as eight years of academic success: deC 66B:73-74.

⁷² Bielenstein argues that entry by examination was available throughout Later Han [Bn 80:140 and 202-203], but I do not find his argument conclusive. The edicts of the 140s, providing for limited entry, indicate that the system had not been in operation up to that time, while there are no records of anyone entering the bureaucracy by such a route. Examinations were indeed maintained, as Bielenstein points out, but it does not appear that they led to anything more than possible promotion within the University itself.

⁷³ After the changes of the late 140s, some students of the University who passed the examinations in the third class received appointment as Literary Scholars (文學 *wenxue*) or Authorities on Ancient Matters (掌古 *zhanggu*) in commanderies and kingdoms. These offices, which also could be gained by other routes, presumably dealt with matters of scholarship and education, but again there are no cases recorded where they proved to be the beginning of a great career.

and from respectable families of the northwest, received their appointments as a reward for good conduct and some may have been destined for higher things.

Evidence on this question is slight, for the texts have few records of men at this low level. There are, however, two examples which may support the thesis. Firstly, during Former Han, the noted general Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 served what was evidently an apprenticeship as a member of the Feathered Forest troop; and second, in Later Han, the future usurper Dong Zhuo was a member of the Feathered Forest before he achieved commissioned appointment as a Major.⁷⁴ We may note, moreover, that there appears no other means by which men could be trained and assessed for substantial rank in the army, and it is difficult to believe that all officers were promoted directly from the ranks.

Finally, we may note abnormal forms of entry to the commissioned imperial service. The **sale of offices** had been used by Emperor Wu of Former Han to finance his great campaigns against the Xiongnu; his example was followed by the regent Dowager Deng at the time of the great Qiang rebellion in 109, and in 161 by Emperor Huan. All these, however, related to comparatively low positions in the guards, minor posts in the ministries and some noble ranks, though Emperor Huan did sell secondary marquisates. From 178, however, Emperor Ling put more substantial positions on the market, and by the mid-180s he had a system of fines for all officials taking a new post; the money went to his private treasury in the Western Garden.⁷⁵

At the same time, Emperor Ling was also arranging for graduates of his special **School at the Gate of the Vast Capital** (鴻都門學 *hongdu men xue*), skilled in calligraphy and literary composition, to enter the civil service. The program was bitterly opposed, and fell into oblivion in the chaos which followed the death of the ruler. Both these initiatives of Emperor Ling must be seen as aberrations.

THE ARMY

An army on campaign was commonly commanded by a **General** (將軍 *jiangjun*), sometimes, most frequently during the civil wars at the beginning of Later Han, by a Chief General (大將軍 *da jiangjun*). Later in the dynasty, title as *da jiangjun* could be awarded to a senior male relative of the Empress or regent Dowager: holders were Dou Xian, Deng Zhi, Geng Bao, Liang Shang, Liang Ji, Dou Wu and He Jin. Of these, only Dou Xian commanded troops in the field, and he owed his position to kinship. In such circumstances, to distinguish these political appointments at the capital from more regular holders of command, I render *da jiangjun* as General-in-Chief.⁷⁶

With the vast expansion of armies during time of civil war, many generals were appointed with flowery or slogan titles, such as General Who is Firm and Majestic (武威 *wuwei jiangjun*) or General Who Exterminates Rebels (討逆 *taoni jiangjun*). For most of the dynasty, however, the recognised titles were General of Chariots and Cavalry (車騎 *juji jiangjun*), General of Agile Cavalry (驃騎 *piaoqi jiangjun*), General of the Guards (衛 *wei jiangjun*), General on the Left or Right (左 *zuo* or 右 *you jiangjun*), General of the Van (前 *qian jiangjun*) and General of the Rear (後 *hou jiangjun*); like the General-in-Chief, these were usually court appointments and none were maintained consistently. During the course of the dynasty special designations were given for specific campaigns, such as General Who Subdues the West (征西 *zhengxi jiangjun*) and there was a long-term establishment of the General on the Liao (度遼 *du-Liao jiangjun*) on the northern frontier; this last is discussed in the section below dealing with non-Chinese peoples.

Below full generals, lieutenant-generals (偏將軍 *pian jiangjun*) and major-generals (裨將軍 *pi jiangjun*) could be appointed and, as noted above, Commandants of Cavalry (騎都尉 *qi duwei*) and of Attendant Cavalry

⁷⁴ HS 69:2971; HHS 72/62:2319, SGZ 6:171. Naturally enough, the histories are concerned primarily with commanders of high rank, who normally came from the great families of the empire, well connected to the throne; middle-ranking officers are seldom cited, and their background is given even less often. Archaeological texts, on the other hand, notably the strips from the northwest as studied by Loewe 67, deal chiefly with the lowest ranks.

⁷⁵ See Bn 80:141-142, deC 89:516-518.

⁷⁶ The General-in-Chief at the capital had at least nominal authority over the regiments of the Northern Army; many of the colonels were also members of the clan of imperial relatives by marriage.

(鮑騎都尉 *fūjī duwēi*), and Commandants of the Equipage (奉車都尉 *fēngchē duwēi*), normally sinecures at court, could also take command in the field; so on occasion did Generals of the Household and imperial agents with special commissions.

At the core of the military establishment of Later Han were the five regiments (部 *bù*) of the **Northern Army** (北軍 *beijūn*),⁷⁷ each commanded by a Colonel (校尉 *xiàowēi*) at Equivalent to 2000 *shì*. Stationed at encampments (營 *yíng*) near Luoyang, they were the Chang River Regiment (長水 *Changshuǐ*), the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueqí*; Picked Cavalry), the Garrison Cavalry (屯騎 *tūnqí*), the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound (射聲 *sheshēng*) and the Footsoldiers (步兵 *bùbīng*).⁷⁸ Second-in-command were Majors (司馬 *sīmǎ*) at 1000 *shì*, while an Adjutant (北軍中候 *beijūn zhōnghòu*; Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army), with a small staff, was responsible for inspection and supervision. Following the common practice of Han, the Adjutant ranked at 600 *shì*, well below the colonels and the majors.

Each regiment of the Northern Army had up to 750 men and 150 junior officers, for a total of some 4200. This was the central strategic reserve of the empire, and though their numbers were not large, the regiments were composed of professional soldiers, trained to a very high standard, who acted as stiffening for other conscripts and levies.⁷⁹ Colonelcies of the regiments were often awarded to lesser imperial relatives by marriage, but this does not appear to have affected their competence: in action they were presumably commanded by their majors.

The bulk of the imperial military forces was composed of volunteers and convicts (徒 *tú*), including those whose sentences had been commuted in exchange for military service (弛刑 *chíxíng*), and commandery levies, notably from the frontier territories. Unlike Former Han, there was no provision for general conscription or training in the inner commanderies of the empire.⁸⁰ Men could be summoned for military service in time of emergency, but they were not skilled soldiers, and most commuted their regular liability by payment of the *gengfu* 更賦 tax, a form of scutage which contributed substantially to the revenues of the imperial government.

There were two grades of **Major**, the regular officer (*sīmǎ* or 軍司馬 *jūn sīmǎ*) and the Senior Major (部別司馬 *biēbù sīmǎ*; Major with a Separate Command), either of which could command a regiment. Below them were Captains (候 *hòu*) in command of companies (曲 *qū*); lower ranks and units are mentioned in the frontier strips of the northwest, but seldom appear in the histories.⁸¹ Acting appointments (假 *jiǎ*) as Major or Captain were made in time of emergency; the officer concerned was generally expected to impress his own troops from able-bodied men of the region.

The staff of a general included a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhāngshǐ*), who could in some circumstances hold command of troops (將兵 *jiāngbīng* *chāngshǐ*). A Protector of the Army (護軍 *hùjūn*; Commissioner over the Army), an office which appears briefly under various guises during Former Han, served as a senior assistant with particular attention to military discipline.⁸² Towards the end of the dynasty there are references to Advisers to the Army (參軍事 *cānjūnshì*), a term which may initially have been a general description of counsellors or staff officers, but was later formalised as a regular appointment.

The officers described above normally held rank on campaign. More static forces were under a **Commandant** (都尉 *dūwēi*). We have observed the role of a Commandant within a frontier commandery or as head of a dependent state, but such officers also held charge of garrisons and fixed encampments: two important appointments were the Commandants of the Camp at Yong 雍營 in Youfufeng, and of the Tiger Tooth Encampment (虎牙營 *hūyá yíng*) at Chang'an, established against the threat from the non-Chinese Qiang in 110.⁸³ There were also Commandants in charge of the passes which led to central Asia, and at the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in

⁷⁷ During Former Han, guards within the capital and at the palaces, notably the cadets under the Generals of the Household, had been collectively known as the Southern Army, but the term was not used by Later Han.

⁷⁸ The Northern Army is sometimes referred to as *wuyíng* 五營, the Five Regiments.

⁷⁹ The Chang River Regiment was composed of volunteer cavalymen recruited from the Wuhuan people of the northeast; see *sub* Haodan.

⁸⁰ On this question, see deC 84:48-50, and Lewis 2000, but *cf.* Bn 80:114.

⁸¹ On these units and servicemen, see Loewe 67A, 76-77.

⁸² See HS 19A:737, discussed by deC 81:62.

⁸³ As described above, however, the recruitment and training camp at Liyang in Wei commandery was controlled by an Internuncio.

184 Commandants were stationed to guard the passes about Luoyang.⁸⁴ Their subordinate officers were majors and captains, as elsewhere.⁸⁵

Towards the end of Later Han there are increasing references to officers with the character *du* 督 in their title. Some served as senior staff officers, but by the early 200s we find Controllers or Chief Controllers (都督 *dudu*) holding command of major divisions in a field army.⁸⁶ Later again the term *dudu* was used for a high-ranking officer with wide authority over a contested frontier, and this became the established usage; in that context I render it as Area Commander.⁸⁷

OFFICIALS DEALING WITH NON-CHINESE PEOPLES

Many of the minor non-Chinese peoples with whom the empire had to deal were managed by the system of dependent states or by formal incorporation of their territory within the local government of commanderies and provinces. Along the northern frontier and in central Asia, however, the situations were more complex and required special handling.

During Former Han officials had been appointed to deal with the Wuhuan tribes of the northeast and the Qiang of the northwest. At the urging of Ban Biao, Emperor Guangwu likewise established a **Protector** of the Qiang (護羌校尉 *hu-Qiang xiaowei*; Colonel Protecting the Tibetans) and then a Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu-Wuhuan xiaowei*). With the Staff of Authority, rank at Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, and wide-ranging powers across commandery and provincial borders, the Protectors were responsible for dealings with the non-Chinese peoples of their frontier region, including the Di 氏 in the west and the growing power of the Xianbi 鮮卑 in the northeast. Each had a small civilian staff, and relied chiefly upon negotiation, but they could raise troops and command in the field when necessary. The Protector of the Wuhuan maintained a regular market at his headquarters in Shanggu commandery, trading particularly in horses and furs.

At the beginning of Later Han the **Xiongnu** were committed and dangerous enemies of the new Chinese state, but during the late 40s a succession quarrel caused the claimant Shanyu Bi to turn for support to China. He came with his followers to the Ordos region, kowtowed to the imperial representative, and established a puppet court at Meiji in Xihe commandery. He and his descendants, the Southern Shanyu, were supervised by an Emissary (使匈奴中郎將 *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang*; General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of the Xiongnu), whose rank was Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, and who was accompanied by a troop of guards.

A few years after this initial settlement, there was concern lest the two rival parties should seek to re-unite, and in 65 the office of General on the Liao (度遼將軍 *du-Liao jiangjun*; General Who Crosses the Liao River) was established on the northern loop of the Yellow River in Wuyuan commandery, to guard against such contacts, and to serve as a strike force against the Northern Xiongnu.⁸⁸ There were now only a limited number of Chinese settlers in this region, and it appears that the Trans-Liao army obtained most of its soldiers from the Camp at Liyang in Wei commandery, the chief recruitment and training centre for the North China plain.

The Chinese were involved in central Asia from the time of Emperor Wu in Former Han, and during the first century BC a Protector-General of the Western Regions (西域都護 *xiyu duhu*) had charge of dealing with the various oasis states of present-day Xinjiang. He was accompanied by Wu and Ji Colonels (戊己校尉 *wuji*

⁸⁴ On the passes of the northwest, see Loewe 67A:61; on the passes about Luoyang, see HHS 8:348; deC 89:550.

⁸⁵ HHS 114/24:3564 identifies the command of a Captain 候 as a *qu* 曲, and this is followed by Bn 80,120, who renders it as "company." The strips from Juyan in the far northwest have 候官 *houguan* [Loewe 67A:76; also as "company"], while there are places called Houguan or similar in the northwest, the northeast and in the southeast, no doubt taken from military garrisons [deC 84:457-458]. It seems likely that *qu* was the name of a unit in a mobile army, and *houguan* indicated a static position.

⁸⁶ As, for example, under Yuan Shao in 200 [HHS 74/64:2391; deC 96:254] and under Sun Quan in 208 [SGZ Wu 2:1118; deC 96:395].

⁸⁷ JS 24:729; deC 91:152.

⁸⁸ The position was initially qualified as 行 *xing*: "Acting" and was not made substantive until 110.

Despite its title, the Trans-Liao command had no connection to the river of that name in present-day Manchuria. There had been a general of that style under Former Han, who indeed operated in the northeast, but the incumbent during Later Han was entirely concerned with the northern steppe.

xiaowei), and aided by a Chief Clerk (長史 *changshi*) and a Senior Colonel (副校尉 *fu xiaowei*).⁸⁹

Later Han did not regain interest in central Asia until the 70s, and it was twenty years before Ban Chao established Chinese dominance in the territory and was rewarded with title as Protector-General. Contact was then disrupted by the rebellion of the Qiang in the early second century, and though some influence was regained, particularly though Ban Chao's son Ban Yong in the 120s, he held only the position of Chief Clerk. The office of Protector-General was not restored, and in later years a marginal control was exercised not by senior officers on the spot but by the Administrator of Dunhuang and the Inspector of Liang province.⁹⁰

CHINESE TITLES AND ENGLISH-LANGUAGE RENDERINGS

The Table below lists Chinese titles cited in the discussion of the Administrative Structure of Later Han. Arranged according to transcription, they are followed by the renderings used in the present work, and then [in brackets] by some variants which have been used by Dubs, Bielenstein, Loewe and the *Cambridge History of China* [Cambridge 86]. Though opinions and methods vary, there is still general consensus among scholars in the field, and differences are not so great as to render one system incomprehensible to those who are accustomed to another.⁹¹

<i>beijun</i> 北軍	Northern Army
<i>beijun zhonghou</i> 北軍中候	Adjutant of the Northern Army [Captain of the Centre]
<i>bi erqian shi</i> 比二千石	Equivalent to 2000 <i>shi</i> (rank/salary)
<i>biebu sima</i> 部別司馬	Senior Major [Major with a Separate Command]
<i>biejia congshi</i> 別駕從事	Attendant Officer [Aide-de-Camp]
<i>boshi</i> 博士	Academician [Erudit]
<i>bu</i> 部	regiment: see also <i>ying</i>
<i>bu</i> 部	regional division: see also <i>zhou</i>
<i>buping</i> 步兵	Regiment of Footsoldiers
<i>bushi</i> 暴室	Drying House
<i>cainü</i> 采女	Chosen Woman [Chosen Lady] (imperial concubine)
<i>can junshi</i> 參軍事	Adviser to the Army
<i>cao</i> 曹	Bureau or Department
<i>chang gongzhu</i> 長公主	Senior Princess
<i>Changle shaofu</i> 長樂少府	Steward of the Changle Palace [Privy Treasurer]
<i>Changle taipu</i> 長樂太僕	Coachman of the Changle Palace
<i>Changle weiwei</i> 長樂衛尉	Commandant of the Guards of the Changle Palace [Superintendent]
<i>Changqiu gong</i> 長秋宮	Palace of Prolonged Autumn
<i>Changshui</i> 長水	Chang River Regiment
<i>chaoting hou</i> 朝廷侯	Marquis at Court [Marquis Admitted to Court]
<i>cheng</i> 丞	Assistant
<i>chengmen xiaowei</i> 城門校尉	Colonel of the City Gates
<i>chengxiang</i> 丞相	Imperial Chancellor [Chancellor]
<i>chixing</i> 弛刑	convict with a commuted sentence
<i>cishi</i> 刺史	Inspector

⁸⁹ Most scholars render the title *fu xiaowei* as Lieutenant-Colonel. It seems clear from the contexts in which it is used, however, that this officer ranked above regular Colonels; the character *fu* should be interpreted as indicating a position as chief assistant and deputy to the Protector-General or other superior officer.

⁹⁰ The Western Regions in Later Han are discussed by deC 2006A.

⁹¹ In *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford UP 1985, Charles O Hucker provided a list of titles through all Chinese dynasties. I have not, however, found his renderings for the Han period reliable or acceptable.

<i>congshi</i> 從事	Assistant Officer [Attendant Clerk]
<i>da changqiu</i> 大長秋	Grand Prolonger of Autumn [Empress' Chamberlain]
<i>da honglu</i> 大鴻臚	Minister Herald [Grand Herald; Superintendent of State Visits]
<i>da jiangjun</i> 大將軍	Chief General (on active service)
<i>da jiangjun</i> 大將軍	General-in-Chief (political appointment)
<i>da sikong</i> 大司空	Excellency of Works [Grand Excellency of Works]
<i>da sima</i> 大司馬	Grand Marshal [Commander-in-Chief; Marshal of State]
<i>da sinong</i> 大司農	Minister of Finance [Grand Minister of Agriculture; Superintendent of Agriculture]
<i>da situ</i> 大司徒	Excellency over the Masses [Grand Excellency over the Masses]
<i>dafu</i> 大夫	Counsellor
<i>dao</i> 道	march
<i>diyi</i> 第一	Number One
<i>dong yuan</i> 東園	Eastern Garden
<i>dongguan</i> 東觀	Eastern Pavilion
<i>du</i>	Controller
<i>dudu</i> 都督	Chief Controller; later Area Commander
<i>du-Liao jiangjun</i> 度遼將軍	General on the Liao [General Who Crosses the Liao River; General, Trans-Liao Command]
<i>duting</i> 都亭	chief village
<i>duwei</i> 都尉	Commandant [Chief Commandant]
<i>duxiang</i> 都鄉	chief district
<i>duyou</i> 都郵	Investigator
<i>erqian shi</i> 二千石	2000 <i>shi</i> (salary)
<i>fengchao qing</i> 奉朝請	Servant at [the Spring and Autumn] Court
<i>fengju duwei</i> 奉車都尉	Commandant of the Equipage [Chief Commandant; Commandant, Imperial Carriages]
<i>fu</i> 傅	Tutor
<i>fuji duwei</i> 鮒騎都尉	Commandant of Attendant Cavalry [Chief Commandant]
<i>fujie ling</i> 符節令	Prefect of Insignia and Credentials
<i>fu xiaowei</i> 副校尉	Senior Colonel [Lieutenant-Colonel]
<i>gaodi</i> 高第	First Class
<i>gengfu</i> 更賦	military tax
<i>gong</i> 公	Duke
<i>gongcao</i> 功曹	Officer of Merit [Officer of the Bureau/Department of Merit]
<i>gongju men</i> 公車門	Gates for Official Carriages
<i>gongju sima ling</i> 公車司馬令	Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages
<i>gongzhu</i> 公主	Princess
<i>goushun ling</i> 鉤盾令	Prefect of the Palace Gardens [Prefect Intendant of the Imperial Palace Gardens]
<i>guanglu dafu</i> 光祿大夫	Household Counsellor [Imperial Household Grandee; Counsellor of the Palace]
<i>guangluxun</i> 光祿勳	Minister of the Household [Superintendent of the Imperial Household; Superintendent of the Palace]
<i>guannei hou</i> 關內侯	secondary marquis [Marquis Within the Passes <i>or</i> Marquis Within the Imperial Domain <i>or</i> Noble of the Interior <i>or</i> Lesser Marquis]
<i>guiren</i> 貴人	Honoured Lady [Honourable Lady] (concubine)
<i>Henan yin</i> 河南尹	Intendant of Henan [Governor]

<i>hongdu men xue</i> 鴻都門學	School at the Gate of the Vast Capital
<i>hou</i> 侯	marquis [noble/nobility]
<i>hou</i> 候	Captain
<i>houguan</i> 候官	company [on garrison duty]
<i>hou jiangjun</i> 後將軍	General of the Rear
<i>huang taihou</i> 太皇后	Dowager [Empress Dowager]
<i>huangdi</i> 皇帝	Emperor
<i>huanghou</i> 皇后	Empress
<i>huangmen beisi yu</i> 黃門北寺獄	Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates [Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates]
<i>huangmen ling</i> 黃門令	Prefect of the Yellow Gates
<i>huangmen shilang</i> 黃門侍郎	Gentleman at the Yellow Gates [Gentleman-in-Attendance of the Yellow Gates]
<i>huben</i> 虎賁	Rapid as Tigers/Rapid as a Tiger (imperial guards unit)
<i>hujun</i> 護軍	Protector of the Army [Commissioner over the Army]
<i>hu-Qiang xiaowei</i> 護羌校尉	Protector of the Qiang [Colonel Protecting the Tibetans; Colonel Protector]
<i>hu-Wuhuan xiaowei</i> 護烏桓校尉	Protector of the Wuhuan [Colonel Protecting the Wuhuan; Colonel Protector]
<i>huya ying</i> 虎牙營	Tiger Tooth Camp at Chang'an
<i>ji duwei</i> 騎都尉	Commandant of Cavalry [Chief Commandant; Commandant, Cavalry]
<i>jia</i> 假	acting appointment
<i>jiangbing changshi</i> 將兵長史	Chief Clerk in Command of Troops
<i>jiangjun</i> 將軍	General
<i>jiangzuo dajiang</i> 將作大匠	Court Architect
<i>jianyi dafu</i> 諫議大夫	Counsellor Remonstrant [Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant; Advisory Counsellor]
<i>jie</i> 節	Staff of Authority
<i>jiji</i> 祭酒	Libationer
<i>jili</i> 計吏	Reporting Officer [Official in Charge of Accounts]
<i>Jingzhao yin</i> 京兆尹	Intendant of Jingzhao [Governor]
<i>jishi huangmen</i> 給事黃門	Serving within the Yellow Gates
<i>jishi zhong</i> 給事中	Serving within the Palace
<i>juji jiangjun</i> 車騎將軍	General of Chariots and Cavalry
<i>jun sima</i> 軍司馬	Major
<i>jun</i> 君	Lady (with a fief)
<i>jun</i> 郡	commandery
<i>lang</i> 郎	Gentleman/Gentleman Cadet
<i>lantai</i> 蘭臺	Orchid Terrace [Lantai Depository]
<i>liangjia</i> 良家	respectable family [blameless family; well-established family]
<i>ling</i> 令	county magistrate [Prefect]; see also <i>zhang</i>
<i>lingshi</i> 令史	Foreman Clerk
<i>liubo shi</i> 六百石	600 <i>shi</i> (rank/salary)
<i>Liuma yuan</i> 流馬苑	Pasture/Horse-park of Roaming Horses
<i>lu shangshu shi</i> 錄尚書事	authority over the Imperial Secretariat
<i>Luoyang ling</i> 洛陽令	Prefect of Luoyang
<i>maocai</i> 茂才	Abundant Talent
<i>meiren</i> 美人	Beauty [Beautiful Lady] (imperial concubine)

<i>mishu jian</i> 祕書監	Custodian of the Private Library
<i>mingjing</i> 明經	Understanding the Classics
<i>mu</i> 牧	Governor [Shepherd; Regional Commissioner]
<i>neng zhiyan</i> 能直言	Capable of Speaking Directly
<i>pi jiangjun</i> 裨將軍	Major-General
<i>pi</i> 辟 ... <i>fu</i> 府	invited to appointment in the office (of an Excellency)
<i>pian jiangjun</i> 偏將軍	Lieutenant-General
<i>piaoji jiangjun</i> 驃騎將軍	General of Agile Cavalry [Cavalry on the Alert]
<i>puye</i> 僕射	Supervisor <i>or</i> Deputy Director (in the Imperial Secretariat)
<i>qian jiangjun</i> 前將軍	General of the Van
<i>qing</i> 卿	Minister [Minister of State]
<i>qu</i> 曲	company [in a field army]
<i>ren</i> 任	privileged appointment
<i>san duzuo</i> 三獨坐	Three Special Seats [the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, the Director of the Retainers and the Director of the Imperial Secretariat]
<i>san gong</i> 三公	Three Excellencies
<i>sanfu</i> 三輔	Three Adjuncts (commanderies about Chang'an)
<i>sanshu</i> 三署	the three corps (of cadet Gentlemen of the Household)
<i>shangshu</i> 尚書 [office]	Imperial Secretariat
<i>shangshu</i> 尚書 [official]	Master of Writing
<i>shangshu ling</i> 尚書令	Director of the Imperial Secretariat [Prefect of the Masters of Writing]
<i>shangshu puye</i> 尚書僕射	Deputy Director of the Secretariat
<i>shaofu</i> 少府	Minister Steward [Privy Treasurer; Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury]
<i>shesheng</i> 射聲	Regiment of Archers Who Shoot at a Sound [Archers under Training]
<i>shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang</i> 使匈奴中郎將	Emissary to the Xiongnu [General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of the Xiongnu]
<i>shici hou</i> / 侍祠侯	Marquis Attending Sacrifices
<i>shishi</i> 石室	Stone House
<i>shiyushi</i> 侍御史	Imperial Clerk [Attending Secretary; Secretary in Attendance]
<i>shizhong</i> 侍中	Palace Attendant
<i>shouling</i> 守令	brevet magistrate
<i>shouzhang</i> 守長	brevet magistrate
<i>shu</i> 屬	Junior Clerk in the office of an Excellency [Associate]
<i>shuguo</i> 屬國	dependent state
<i>sikong</i> 司空	Excellency of Works
<i>sili xiaowei</i> 司隸校尉	Director of Retainers [Colonel Director of Retainers; Colonel, Internal Security]
<i>sima</i> 司馬	Major
<i>situ</i> 司徒	Excellency over the Masses
<i>taichang</i> 太常	Minister of Ceremonies [Grand Master of Ceremonies; Superintendent of Ceremonial]
<i>taifu</i> 太傅	Grand Tutor [Senior Tutor]
<i>taiguan ling</i> 太官令	Court Provisioner [Prefect Grand Provisioner]
<i>taipu</i> 太僕	Minister Coachman [Grand Coachman; Superintendent of Transport]
<i>taishi ling</i> 太史令	Court Astronomer [Prefect Grand Astrologer; Director, Astronomy]
<i>taishou</i> 太守	Administrator [Grand Administrator; Governor]
<i>taiwei</i> 太尉	Grand Commandant [Supreme Commander]

<i>taixue</i> 太學	Imperial University [Academy]
<i>taiyi ling</i> 太醫令	Court Physician [Prefect Grand Physician; Director of the Physicians-in-Chief]
<i>taizhong dafu</i> 太中大夫	Palace Counsellor [Grand Palace Grandee; Grand Counsellor of the Palace]
<i>taizi</i> 太子	Heir [Heir-Apparent]
<i>taizi sheren</i> 太子舍人	Member of the Suite of the Heir
<i>taoni jiangjun</i> 討逆將軍	General Who Exterminates Rebels
<i>te jin</i> 特進	Specially Advanced
<i>ting</i> 亭	village [commune]
<i>tingwei</i> 廷尉	Minister of Justice [Commandant of Justice; Superintendent of Trials]
<i>tongzi lang</i> 童子朗	Junior Gentleman
<i>tu</i> 徒	convict
<i>tunji</i> 屯騎	Garrison Cavalry Regiment
<i>wang</i> 王	King [Prince]
<i>wangguo</i> 王國	kingdom/state
<i>wanshi</i> 萬石	Ten Thousand <i>shi</i> (rank/salary)
<i>wei</i> 尉	county commandant
<i>wei jiangjun</i> 衛將軍	General of the Guards [of Defence]
<i>weishi ling</i> 衛士令	Prefect of the Guards
<i>weiwei</i> 衛尉	Minister of the Guards [Commandant of the Guards; Superintendent of the Guards]
<i>wenxue</i> 文學	Literary Scholar/Education Officer
<i>wuguan cao</i> 五官曹	Bureau for All Purposes
<i>wuguan zhonglang jiang</i> 五官中郎將	General of the Household for All Purposes
<i>wuji xiaowei</i> 戊己校尉	Wu and Ji Colonels
<i>wuwei jiangjun</i> 武威將軍	General Who is Firm and Majestic
<i>xi yuan</i> 西園	Western Garden
<i>xian</i> 縣	county
<i>xiang</i> 相	Chancellor
<i>xiang</i> 鄉	district
<i>xianliang fangzheng</i> 賢良方正	Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright
<i>xiao huangmen</i> 小黃門	Attendant at the Yellow Gates [Junior Attendant at the Yellow Gates]
<i>xiaolian</i> 孝廉	Filial and Incorrupt [Filially Pious and Incorrupt]
<i>xiaowei</i> 校尉	Colonel
<i>xing du-Liao jiangjun</i> 行度遼將軍	Acting General on the Liao
<i>xiucai</i> 秀才	Flourishing Talent
<i>xiyu duhu</i> 西域都護	Protector-General of the Western Regions
<i>xuanming dian</i> 宣名殿	Hall of All-Embracing Brightness
<i>yezhe</i> 謁者	Internuncio [Imperial Messenger]
<i>yezhe puye</i> 謁者僕射	Supervisor of the Internuncios
<i>yi</i> 邑	estate of a Princess
<i>yilang</i> 議郎	Consultant [Gentleman Consultant]
<i>ying</i> 營	camp/encampment [regiment/division]
<i>yiting</i> 掖庭	Lateral Courts [Sleeping Apartments]
<i>yiting ling</i> 掖庭令	Prefect of the Lateral Courts
<i>yiting yu</i> 掖庭獄	Prison of the Lateral Courts
<i>Yong ying</i> 雍營	Camp at Yong in Youfufeng

<i>Yongle shaofu</i> 永樂少府	Steward of the Yongle Palace [Privy Treasurer]
<i>you jiangjun</i> 右將軍	General on the Right
<i>you zhonglang jiang</i> 右中郎將	General of the Household of the Right
<i>youdao</i> 有道	Knowing the Way
<i>youfufeng</i> 右扶風	Administrator of Youfufeng [Western Sustainer; Metropolitan Superintendent of the Right]
<i>youxiao ling</i> 右校令	Prefect of the Enclosure of the Right
<i>youyi</i> 尤異	Exceptional Conduct
<i>yuan</i> 掾	Senior Clerk in the office of an Excellency [Division Head]
<i>yueji</i> 越騎	Elite Cavalry Regiment [Picked Cavalry]
<i>yulin</i> 羽林	Feathered Forest (imperial guards unit) [Elite Yulin]
<i>yushi dafu</i> 御史大夫	Imperial Counsellor [Grandee Secretary; Imperial Clerk Grandee]
<i>yushi zhongcheng</i> 御侍中丞	Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk [Palace Assistant Secretary; Assistant to the Imperial Counsellor]
<i>zhang</i> 長	county magistrate [Chief]; see also <i>ling</i>
<i>zhanggu</i> 掌古	Authority on Ancient Matters [Recorder of Precedent]
<i>zhangshi</i> 長史	Chief Clerk
<i>zheng</i> 正	Director [under the Minister of Justice]
<i>zhengxi jiangjun</i> 征西將軍	General Who Subdues the West
<i>zhijie</i> 持節	Bearing the Staff of Authority/Bearing Credentials
<i>zhijinwu</i> 執金吾	Bearer of the Mace [Bearer of the Gilded Mace; Superintendent of the Capital]
<i>zhishu shiyushi</i> 治書侍御史	Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents
<i>zhizhong congshi</i> 治中從事	Headquarters Officer [Attendant Clerk for the Bureau of Headquarters]
<i>zhong changshi</i> 中常侍	Regular Attendant [Regular Palace Attendant]
<i>zhong erqian shi</i> 中二千石	Fully 2000 <i>shi</i> (rank/salary)
<i>zhong huangmen rongcong puye</i> 中黃門冗從僕射	Supervisor of the Retinue [Supervisor of the Extra Retinue of the Palace Attendants at the Yellow Gates]
<i>zhonggong huangmen rongcong puye</i> 中宮黃門冗從僕射	Supervisor of the Retinue of the Empress [Supervisor of the Extra Retinue of the Attendants of the Yellow Gates of the Empress]
<i>zhonglang jiang</i> 中郎將	General of the Household [General of the Gentlemen of the Household; Leader of the Gentlemen of the Household]
<i>zhongsan dafu</i> 中散大夫	Attendant Counsellor [Palace Attendant Grandee]
<i>zhongwei</i> 中尉	Commandant of the Capital [Superintendent of the Capital]
<i>zhong yezhe</i> 中謁者	Palace Internuncio [Messenger]
<i>zhou</i> 州	province [region]; see also <i>bu</i> 部
<i>zhubu</i> 主簿	Registrar [Master of Records]
<i>zong zheng</i> 宗正	Minister of the Imperial Clan [Director of the Imperial Clan; Superintendent]
<i>zuo jiangjun</i> 左將軍	General on the Left
<i>zuo zhonglang jiang</i> 左中郎將	General of the Household of the Left
<i>zuopingyi</i> 左馮翊	Administrator of Zuopingyi [Eastern Supporter; Metropolitan Superintendent of the Left]
<i>zuoxiao ling</i> 左校令	Prefect of the Enclosure of the Left

EARLY SOURCES

PART I: STANDARD HISTORIES

HHS *Hou Han shu* 後漢書:¹

Annals 本紀 and *liezhuan* 列傳 by Fan Ye 范曄 (396-446), with commentary [TC] compiled under the auspices of Li Xian 李賢, Heir of Tang 章懷太子 (651-684);

Treatises 志 incorporated from the *Xu Han shu* 續漢書 of Sima Biao 司馬彪 (third century), with commentary by Liu Zhao 劉昭 (sixth century) [LC]:

Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar 律歷志

Treatise on Ceremonial 禮儀志

Treatise on Sacrifices 祭祀志

Treatise on the Heavens 天文志

Treatise on the Five Powers 五行志

Treatise on Administrative Geography 郡國志

Treatise on the Bureaucracy 百官志

Treatise on Carriages and Robes 輿服志;

citation by chapter numbers within sections of the work:

HHS 1A = *HHS* annals 1A

HHS 11/1 = *HHS liezhuan* 1 [chapter 11 of the whole work]

HHS 101/11 = *HHS* treatises 11 [chapter 101 of the whole work]

pagination to Beijing 1965 punctuated edition of *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局,

with some references to the Palace 欽定 edition of the *Wuying dian* 武英殿 (nineteenth century lithograph by the *Wuzhou tongwen* 五洲同文 Publishing House),

to the Bona 百衲 edition of the Commercial Press 商務印書館, Shanghai 1958,

and to *HHS jijie* 集解 [*HHSJJ*] compiled by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 and students, with additional comments *jiaobu* 校補 to each chapter, in the *Wanyou wenku* 萬有文庫 edition of the Commercial Press, Shanghai [WYWK]; individual commentators may be indicated after the *Jijie* reference: e.g.

HHSJJ 76/66.2719 Hui Dong

Indexes: *GoKanjō goi shusei* 後漢書語彙集成, Kyoto 1961,

and Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 41, reprinted Taipei 1966, and *Renming suoyin*, compiled by *Zhonghua shuju*: see at * below

HS *Han shu* 漢書 by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) and others, with commentary by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) and others; *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1962

JS *Jin shu* 晉書 by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648) and others; *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1974

JTS *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 by Liu Xu 劉昫 of the ninth century, *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1975

SGZ *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297), with official commentary [PC] compiled by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) and presented to Liu Yu 劉裕, founding Emperor Wu 武 of the Song 宋 dynasty, in 429;²

citation by chapter numbers within sections of the work:

SGZ 1 = *Wei shu* 魏書 1

SGZ Shu 1 = *Shu shu* 蜀書 1

SGZ Wu 1 = *Wu shu* 吳書 1

¹ On the historiography of *HHS* see Bn 54, Hulsewé 61 and, on the Treatises, MBeck 90.

² On the historiography of *SGZ* see deC 70 and deC 90.533-589.

pagination to Beijing 1959 punctuated edition of *Zhonghua shuju*, with some references to *SGZ jiejie* 集解 [SGZJJ] compiled by Lu Bi 盧弼, Mianyang 1936, in the facsimile edition by Yiwen 藝文 Publishers, Taipei;
Indexes: Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 33, reprinted Taipei 1966, and *Renming suoyin*, compiled by *Zhonghua shuju*: see at * below

SJ Shi ji 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (146-c.86 BC), with commentaries:

Jijie 集解 by Pei Yin 裴駟 (fifth century);

Suoyin 索隱 by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (eighth century);

Zhengyi 正義 by Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (eighth century);

Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1959

SS Song shu 宋書 by Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1974

XTS Xin Tang shu 新唐書 by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Song Qi 宋祁 and others of the eleventh century, *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1975

All other standard histories, *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書, *Liang shu* 梁書, *Chen shu* 陳書, *Wei shu* 魏書, *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書, *Zhou shu* 周書, *Sui shu* 隋書, *Nan shi* 南史, *Bei shi* 北史 and *Song shi* 宋史 are likewise cited from *Zhonghua shuju*.

Ershisi shi renming suoyin 二十四史人名索引, Beijing 1997, is a comprehensive index of personal names in all editions of the histories published by *Zhonghua shuju*.

PART II: OTHER PRIMARY TEXTS: BOOKS³

Anon. see *QJHHS*

Baopu zi 抱朴子 by Ge Hong 葛洪 (fourth century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

biezhuan 別傳 see Secondary Biography *sub voce*

Bowu zhi 博物志 ascribed to Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

Chuguo xianxian zhuan 楚國先賢傳 by Zhang Fang 張方 of Jin, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

DGHJ Dongguan Han ji 東觀漢記 by various authors of the first and second centuries AD,⁴ in *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 [SBBY]

³ When a fragment of a work is cited by a commentary to *Hou Han shu* or to *Sanguo zhi*, the reference is given to that commentator rather than to a modern collection or edition.

⁴ In 72 Ban Gu was appointed to chair the committee of historians commissioned by Emperor Ming to compile the annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu 世祖本紀. Ban Gu and his colleague Yin Min evidently represented the interest of the Dou family, their fellow committee-members Meng Ji and Ma Yan were chosen to represent the rival faction of the Empress Ma, and two other scholars were neutral. Their work, initially known as the "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記, became the first part of *Dongguan Hanji*.

In 120 Liu Taotu and his cousin Liu Yi were commissioned to work with Liu Zhen and Li You on the official history of Later Han, later known as *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記. The history had been started by Ban Gu and others under orders from Emperor Ming, with the initial title "Diary of the Jianwu Period" 建武注記. This second instalment contained annals for the period 58 to 106, being the reigns of Emperors Ming, Zhang, He and the infant Shang, together with tables and biographies of leading men, imperial relatives by marriage and noted scholars, and the whole compilation was now entitled *Han ji* 漢記 "Record of Han."

Early in the reign of Emperor Huan, about 151, the government controlled by the Empress Liang Nüying and her brother Liang Ji ordered a third instalment of the "Records of Han" 漢記 *Han ji*, official history of the Later Han dynasty, known later as *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記. The chief scholars involved at this time were Fu Wuji, Huang Jing, Cui Shi, Bian Shao and Yan Du, and the compilation included annals, tables of kings and marquises, accounts of the Xiongnu and the Qiang. Fu Wuji and Huang Jing also compiled a Treatise of Geography 地理志, which was evidently edited by Sima Biao to compose the Treatise of Administrative Geography 郡國志 for his *Xu Han shu*.

Through the 150s and early 160s the committee continued work on this third instalment of the official "Record of Han" 漢記, adding a Table of the Bureaucracy and biographies of empresses and other individuals, including the eunuchs Cai Lun and Sun Cheng. Scholars identified as taking part in the project at one time or another include Cui Shi, Yan Du, Deng Si, Bian Shao, Cao Shou and Zhu Mu.

Probably in 177 a further continuation was ordered by Emperor Ling. The senior scholar was Ma Midi, and other members of the committee were Cai Yong, Han Yue, Lu Zhi and Yang Biao. Their work included annals for emperors An and Shun, for the infants Chong and Zhi and for Emperor Huan, with biographies updated to the end of the reign of Emperor Huan in 168. It was at this time that the history acquired the name of *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, from the Eastern Pavilion of the Southern Palace, where the library and workrooms were located.

In addition to the co-operative compilation, Cai Yong also composed ten Treatises from the official archives and from material passed to him by his former teacher Hu Guang. [These treatises were known as *yi* 意 instead of *zhi* 志 to avoid taboo on the personal name of Emperor Huan.]

Dian lue 典略 by Yu Huan 魚豢 (third century), quoted in *SGZ* PC

FSTY *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 "A Compendium of Popular Customs" by Ying Shao 應劭, Centre franco-chinois d'études sinologiques, Publication 3;

[this edition, which contains an index-concordance, includes ten full chapters and six of fragments; these latter are indicated by a suffix: e.g. 3f];

see also Nylan 83

Gaoshi zhuan 高士傳 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (third century), quoted in *HHS* TC and cited by *HHSJJ*

Gaoshi zhuan 高士傳 by Xi/Ji Kang 稽康 (third century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

Guangzhou xianxian zhuan 廣州先賢傳 [author unknown], fragments cited by Miyakawa 60 from *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志 "Gazetteer of Guangdong Province" by Ruan Yuan 阮元 and Jiang Fan 江藩, 1822 reprinted Shanghai 1934, and by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

Guwen yuan 古文苑 by Zhang Qiao 章樵 (Song), in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 Intranet: Sikuquanshu.com [SKQS]

Hainei xianxian zhuan 海內先賢傳 [author unknown (third century)], quoted in *HHS* TC

[*Hanmo*] *Yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記, quoted in *SGZ* PC

Han-Wei xianxian xingzhuang 漢魏先賢行狀, fragment preserved in *Taiping yulan*, cited by Hou Kang in *HHSJJ*

HHJ *Hou Han ji* 後漢紀 by Yuan Hong 袁宏 (328-396), in *WYWK*

Hou Han nan ji 後漢南記 by Zhang Ying 張瑩, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

HQ *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Hua Qiao 華嶠 (d.293) in *QJHHS*

HYGZ *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 by Chang Qu 常璩 [mid-fourth century] and others, cited from *Guoxue jiben congshu* 國學基本叢書, Taiwan Commercial Press 1968;

also the *Huayang guo zhi jiaobu tuzhi* 校補圖志 [HYGZJBTZ] edition compiled by Ren Naiqiang 任乃強, Shanghai 1987;⁵

and the index *Kayōkoku shi jinmei sakuin* 華陽國志人名索引, compiled by Taniguchi Fusao 谷口房男, Tokyo 1983

Jiangbiao zhuan 江表傳 by Yu Pu 虞溥 of the third century, quoted in *SGZ* PC

Jingzhao jiushi 京兆舊事, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ* [perhaps part of the *Sanfu jiushi* by Wei Biao q.v. below]

Jiuzhou chunqiu 九州春秋 ascribed to Sima Biao 司馬彪 (third century), quoted in *SGZ* PC

Jiangbiao zhuan 江表傳 by Yu Pu 虞浦 (third century), quoted in *SGZ* PC

Jingdian [xuanru dayi] xulu 經典玄儒大義序錄 by Shen Wen'a 沈文阿 (sixth century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*

Jiuzhou chunqiu 九州春秋 ascribed to Sima Biao 司馬彪, quoted in *SGZ* PC

Kuaiji dianlu 會稽典錄 by Yu Yu 虞預 (fourth century), quoted in *SGZ* PC

Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記 by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 of Tang, in *SKQS*

Lingdi ji 靈帝紀 by Liu Ai 劉艾 (fl.200), quoted in *SGZ* PC

Lun heng 論衡 by Wang Chong q.v. (first century AD); see Forke 07 and 11

Cai Yong later compiled also the Annals of the reign of Emperor Ling, but that work was soon lost.

In the early 220s, after the abdication of Emperor Xian in favour of Cao Pi, first Emperor of Wei, the elder statesman Yang Biao continued and completed the history down to the end of the Han dynasty.

See Bn [54], 10-11. MBeck [90], 19-27, *Texts*, 471-472 [Bielenstein and Loewe]

⁵ *Huayang guo zhi* is a well-organised and valuable history of Yi province, present-day Sichuan, with a quantity of detail, though it frequently contains material that is anecdotal and/or appears unreliable. Transmission, however, is far less secure than that of standard histories such as *HHS* and *SGZ*, and there are many places where names and dates are confused. Where *HYGZ* is clearly in error, I have not indexed or itemised the variants.

- QJHHS* *Qijia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書 compiled by Wang Wentai 汪文臺, Taipei 1974: includes the remnant texts of five *Hou Han shu*: by Xie Cheng [XC], by Xue Ying [XY], by Hua Qiao [HQ], by Yuan Shansong [YSS], of the *Xu Han shu* by Sima Biao [XHS], and of the *Hou Han ji* 後漢記/紀 by Zhang Fan [ZF];
at the end of the collection, there are some fragments of histories of Later Han whose authors cannot be identified; these are cited as *Anon*
- Qunfu lu* 群輔錄 compiled by Tao Qian 陶潛 [Tao Yuanming 淵明] (365-427), cited by Shen Qinhan in *HHSJJ*
- Runan xianxian zhuan* 汝南先賢傳, ascribed to Zhou Fei 周裴 (third century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- Samguk-sagi* 三國史記, completed by Kim Pusik (1075-1151), Sonjin Mumhwasa, Seoul 1969
- Sanfu jiushi* 三輔舊事 by Wei Biao (first century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- Sanfu jue* 三輔決錄 by Zhao Qi (second century), quoted in *HHS TC* and *SGZ PC*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Guo Tai 郭泰別傳 [author unknown], quoted in *HHS TC* and *SGZ PC*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Hua Tuo 華佗別傳 [author unknown], quoted in *HHS TC* and by *SGZ PC*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Li He 李郃別傳 [author unknown], cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Xu Kui 許逵別傳 [author unknown], cited from *Taiping yulan* by Shen Qinhan in *HHSJJ*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Yin Xun 尹勳別傳 [author unknown], quoted in *HHS TC*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄意別傳 [author unknown], cited by *Taiping yulan* and Hou Kang in *HHSJJ*
- Secondary Biography [biezhuan] of Zhongli Yi 鍾離意別傳 [author unknown], cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- Shi tong* 史通 by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721) in Pu Qilong 浦起龍 [ed.] *Shitong tongshi* 通釋, Shanghai 1978
- Shi xi* 世系 i.e. the genealogies of *XTS* 71A-75B, as cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*.
- Shixue pian* 始學篇 by Xiang Jun 項竣/陵 of the third century, cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- SJZ* *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (fifth/sixth century), in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊; Index: Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 17 reprinted Taipei 1966
- Shudian* 書斷 by Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘 of Tang, in *SKQS*
- Soushen ji* 搜神記 by Gan Bao 干寶 (fourth century), cited by Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*
- SSXY* *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 of the fifth century, with commentary by Liu Jun 劉峻 of the sixth; see Mather 76
- Sun Sheng 孫盛 (fourth century), author of some histories, including *Weishi chunqiu* q.v., and various works of commentary described as *Ping* 評, *Zaji* 雜記, et al., quoted in *SGZ PC*
- Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, encyclopaedia edited by Li Fang 昉李 (tenth century), cited in *HHSJJ*
- Tong dian* 通典 by Du You 杜佑 (735-812), in *Shitong* 十通 edition, Commercial Press 1935
- Wei-Jin shiyu* 魏晉世語 by Guo Song 郭頌 (third century), quoted in *SGZ PC*
- Weishi chunqiu* 魏氏春秋 by Sun Sheng 孫盛 q.v., quoted in *SGZ PC*
- Wen xuan* 文選 collection of Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531); see Knechtges 82 and 87
- Wu lu* 吳錄 by Zhang Bo 張勃 (third century), quoted in *SGZ PC*
- XC* *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Xie Cheng 謝承 (fl. 200), in *QJHHS*.⁶
- XHS* *Xu Han shu* 續漢書 by Sima Biao 司馬彪, in *QJHHS*
and see sub *Treatises of Fan Ye's Hou Han shu* above]
- Xiangyang jijiu zhuan* 襄陽耆舊傳 by Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (fourth century), quoted in *HHS LC*
- Xiandi chunqiu* 獻帝春秋 by Yuan Ye 袁曄 (third century), quoted in *HHS TC* and *SGZ PC*
- Xiandi qiju zhu* 獻帝起居注 [author unknown], quoted in *HHS TC* and *SGZ PC*
- Xianxian xingzhuang* 先賢行狀 [author unknown], quoted in *HHS TC*

⁶ The text of this work, now in fragments, is not always reliable. The history contains many anecdotes and accounts of unusual behaviour, with some references to Qin and Former Han.

- XY *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Xue Ying 薛瑩 (d.282), in *QJHHS*
Yibu qijiu zhuan 益部耆舊傳 by Chen Shou 陳壽? (233-297), quoted in *SGZ PC*
Yingxiong ji 英雄記 see [Hanmo] *Yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記
Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚, encyclopaedia compiled by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (seventh century), cited in *HHSJJ*
YSS *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Yuan Shansong 袁山松 (d.401), in *QJHHS*
ZF *Hou Han ji* 後漢記/紀 by Zhang Fan 張璠, in *QJHHS*
Zhi lin 志林 by Yu Xi 虞喜 (fourth century), quoted in *SGZ PC*
ZZTJ *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), with *variorum* commentary *Kaoyi* 考異 by Sima Guang, and commentary by Hu Sanxing 胡三行 (1230-1302), Beijing 1956

PART III: OTHER PRIMARY TEXTS: STELE AND INSCRIPTIONS

- Beitu* *Beijing Tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編 compiled by Xu Ziqiang 徐自強, Beijing 1989
Cai *Cai zhonglang wenji* 蔡中郎文集, the Collected Works of Cai Yong, in *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 [identified by the item number within each chapter]
LHJSJ *Liang-Han jinshi ji* 兩漢金石記 compiled by Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733-1818), Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi 1789
LS and *LX* *Li shi* 隸釋 and *Li xu* 隸續, compiled by Hong Kuo [or Hong Gua] 洪适 of Song, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1983;
LS 21-23 incorporates the *Jigu lu* 集古錄 of Ouyang Fei 歐陽棐;
LS 24-26 contains the *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 of Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠;
LS 27 contains an extract from the anonymous *Tianxia bei lu* 天下碑錄, with titles of some extant stele from the Han and Three Kingdoms
Nagata 94 Nagata Hidemasa 永田英正, *Compilation of Stone Inscriptions in the Han Dynasty* 漢代石刻集成, Kyoto 1994
Shike shiliao congshu xinbian 石刻史料新編, Xinwenfeng 新文豐出版公司, Taiwan 1977;
includes *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 [*JSCB*] compiled by Wang Chang 王昶;
and *Shike tiba suoyin* 石刻題索引, an index compiled by Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣

MODERN WORKS

- Balazs 48 Étienne Balazs, "Entre révolte nihiliste et évasion mystique: les courants intellectuels en Chine au III^e siècle de notre ère," *Études asiatiques* 2 (1948), 27-55; translated by Hope M Wright in *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: variations on a theme*, Yale UP 1964, 226-254
- Balazs 50 —, "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han," *TP* 39 (1950), 83-131; translated by Hope M Wright in *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*, 187-225
- Balazs 64A see Balazs 50
- Balazs 64B see Balazs 48
- Barrett 86 see *sub* Demiéville 86
- BMFEA *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm
- Bn 54 Hans Bielenstein, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty: with prolegomena on the historiography of the Hou Han shu*, in BMFEA 26, 1954 [includes an appendix of the genealogy of the imperial clan from Emperor Gao of Former Han to the generation of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han]
- Bn 59 —, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty: volume II, the civil war*, in BMFEA 31, 1959
- Bn 67 —, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty: volume III, the people*, in BMFEA 39, 1967
- Bn 76 —, *Lo-yang in Later Han Times*, in BMFEA 48, 1976
- Bn 79 —, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty: volume IV, the government*, in BMFEA 51, 1979
- Bn 80 —, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, Cambridge UP 1980
- Bn 81 —, "Later Han Inscriptions and Dynastic Biographies: a historiographical comparison," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology, Section on History and Archaeology*, Academia Sinica, Taipei 1981, 571-586
- Bn 86A —, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in CHOC:223-290
- Bn 86B —, "The Institutions of Later Han," in CHOC:491-519
- Bodde 75 Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and other annual observances during the Han dynasty 206 B.C.-A.D. 220*, Princeton UP 1975
- Bodde 86 —, "The State and Empire of Ch'in," in CHOC:20-102
- CHOC *The Cambridge History of China, volume 1, The Ch'in and Han empires 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, Cambridge UP 1986 [chapters cited by individual authors]
- C/C 99 Robert Joe Cutter and William G Crowell, *Empresses and Consorts: selection from Chen Shou's Records of the Three States translated with annotations and introduction*, Hawai'i UP 1999 [and see also Cutter 85 and Cutter 92]
- Chavannes 05 Édouard Chavannes, "Les pays d'Occident d'après le *Wei lio*," in *TP* [New Series] 6 (1905), 519-571
- Chavannes 06 —, "Trois généraux chinois de la dynastie des Han Orientaux," in *TP* [New Series] 7 (1906), 210-269
- Chavannes 07 —, "Les pays d'Occident d'après le *Heou Han chou*," in *TP* [New Series] 8 (1907), 149-234
- Chavannes 10 —, *Le T'ai Chan: essai de monographie d'un culte Chinois*, Paris 1910
- Ch'en 66 Ch'en Chih-mai, *Chinese Calligraphers and their Art*, Melbourne 1966

- Ch'en 75 Ch'en Ch'i-yün [Chen Chi-yun], *Hsün Yüeh (A.D. 148-209): the life and reflections of an early medieval Confucian*, Cambridge UP 1975
- Ch'en 80 Ch'en Ch'i-yün, *Hsün Yüeh and the mind of Late Han China: a translation of Shen-chien with introduction and annotations*, Princeton UP 1980
- Ch'en 86 Ch'en Ch'i-yün, "Confucianist, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in *CHOC*:766-807
- Ch'ü 72 Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, edited by Jack L Dull, *Han Social Structure*, Washington UP, Seattle 1972
- Cutter 85 Robert Joe Cutter, "The Incident at the Gate: Cao Zhi, succession and literary fame," in *TP* 71 (1985), 228-262
- Cutter 92 —, "The Death of Empress Zhen: fiction and historiography in early medieval China," in *Journal of the Oriental Society of America* 112 (1992), 577-583 [see also C/C 99]
- de Bary 60 William Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson [compilers], *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Columbia UP 1960
- deC 66A Rafe de Crespigny, *The Biography of Sun Chien*, Canberra 1966
- deC 66B —, "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han," *Chung Chi Journal* 6.1 (November 1966), 67-78
- deC 67 —, "An Outline of the Local Administration of the Later Han Empire," *Chung Chi Journal* 7.1 (November 1967), 57-71
- deC 70 —, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*, Canberra 1970
- deC 75A —, "Political Protest in Imperial China: the great proscription of Later Han 167-184," in *PFEH* 11 (March 1975), 1-36
- deC 75B —, "The Harem of Emperor Huan: a study of court politics in Later Han," *PFEH* 12 (September 1975), 1-42
- deC 76 —, *Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty: the memorials of Hsiang K'ai to Emperor Huan*, Canberra 1976
- deC 80 —, "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168 AD," in *TP* 66 (1980), 41-83
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MODERN COMMENTATORS QUOTED IN *HHSJJ* AND *SGZJJ*

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Chen Jingyun 陳景雲 (d.1747) | Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) |
| Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (seventeenth-century) | Shen Mingyi 沈銘彝 [Qing] |
| Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1696-1773) | Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓 (1775-1832) |
| Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (1746-1809) | Su Yu 蘇輿 [Qing] |
| Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊 (1765-1837) | Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) |
| Hou Kang 侯康 (1798-1837) | Wang Wentai 汪文臺 [Qing] |
| Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697-1758) | Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917) |
| Liu Congchen 劉從辰 [Qing] | Zhao Yiqing 趙一清 [eighteenth century] |
| Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804) | Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌 (1814-1884) |
| Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 (1744-1813) | |

LITERARY AND SCHOLARLY WORKS OF LATER HAN

This list is designed as an index to writings mentioned in the various biographies; fuller details are provided under the entries for the various authors. I have made no attempt to record every work mentioned in the histories: that work has been comprehensively carried out by Hou Kang and Yao Zhenzong.

The major genres of writing common at this time are rendered as follows:

<i>bei</i> 碑 stele inscription [funerary or commemorative]	<i>mu zhi</i> 墓誌/志 tomb marker
<i>biezhuan</i> 別傳 secondary biography	<i>shi</i> 詩 poem
<i>fu</i> 賦 rhapsody	<i>song</i> 頌 hymn
<i>lei</i> 誄 eulogy	<i>ya</i> 雅 ode
<i>ling</i> 銘 inscription	<i>zan</i> 讚 eulogy
<i>ling biao</i> 靈表 memorial statement	<i>zhangju</i> 章句 commentary or detailed commentary
<i>lun</i> 論 discussion or essay	[lit. "Exposition in Paragraphs and Sentences"]
<i>mu biao</i> 墓表 tomb inscription	<i>zhen</i> 箴 exhortation

Larger works were commonly measured in *pian* 篇 sections, which could contain a number of *juan* 卷 scrolls.

Modern measurements equate *juan* to chapters.

PART I: CONFUCIAN CLASSICS, SCHOOLS AND COMMENTARIES¹

1. Five Classics were represented by Academicians at the Imperial University:

Book of Changes: *Yi jing* 易經 or *Zhou yi* 周易

New Text:

Shi interpretation [of Shi Chou 施讎 of Former Han]*²

Meng interpretation [of Meng Xi 孟喜 of Former Han]*

Liangqiu interpretation [of Liangqiu He 梁丘賀 of Former Han]*

Jing interpretation [of Jing Fang 京房 of Former Han]*

Old Text:

Fei interpretation [of Fei Zhi 費直 of Former Han]

Gao interpretation [of Gao Xiang 高相 of Former Han]

Classic of History: *Shu jing* 書經 or *Shangshu* 尚書

New Text [based upon the version of Fu Sheng 伏勝 of Qin/Former Han]

Ouyang interpretation [Ouyang Gao 歐陽高 of Former Han]*

Elder Xiahou 大夏侯 [Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 of Former Han]*

Younger Xiahou 小夏侯 [Xiahou Jian 夏侯建, nephew of Sheng]*

Old Text 古文尚書 [allegedly found in a wall of the house of Confucius and sponsored by Kong Anguo 孔安國 of Former Han]

Classic of Poetry: 詩經 *Shi jing* [comprising the Airs of the States 國風 *Guo feng*, the Greater and Lesser Odes 大雅 *Daya* and 小雅 *Xiaoya*, and the Hymns 頌 *Song*]

New Text:

Han 韓詩 founded by Han Ying 韓嬰 of Former Han*

¹ HHS 79/69A:2545; *Texts*, Bn 79:184-197, and Tjan 49. **Bold** lettering indicates the citation system used in this work.

² An asterisk * indicates that the school was represented by an Academician at the University.

Lu 魯詩 founded by Shen Pei 申培 of Former Han*

Qi 齊詩 founded by Yuan Gu 轅固 of Former Han*

Old Text:

Mao 毛詩 founded by Mao Heng 毛亨 and his nephew Chang 萇 of Former Han

Ritual 禮: the present-day *Yi li* 儀禮 and *Li ji* 禮記³ known variously as:

Shi li 士禮: New Text version, first identified by Gao Tangsheng 高堂生 of Former Han

Li gu jing 禮古經 or *Yi li* 逸禮 "Lost Rites": Old Text version, said to have been found in the wall of Confucius' house during Former Han

Li jing 禮經: Han term for the present *Yi li*, incorporating records/notes 記 *ji*

Yi li 儀禮: this title, first cited in the *Lun heng* of Wang Chong of the first century AD, later became the standard name for the present-day *Yi li*

Qu li 曲禮: title of a work cited by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD

New Text schools of interpretation/editions:

Elder Dai 大戴 [Dai De 戴德 of Former Han]*

Younger Dai 小戴 [Dai Sheng 戴聖, nephew of Dai De]*

Qing [Qing Pu 慶普 of Former Han]*⁴

Chunqiu 春秋 *Spring and Autumn Annals*

Gongyang 公羊 commentary [ascribed to the New Text]

Zhuang/Yan interpretation [of Zhuang Pengzu 莊彭祖 of Former Han]*⁵

Yan interpretation [of Yan Anle 顏安樂 of Former Han]*

Guliang 穀梁 commentary [ascribed to the New Text]

Zuo zhuan 左傳 [ascribed to the Old Text]

sponsored by Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC-23 AD)*⁶

2. Other works of Confucianism not included in the University canon:

Analects of Confucius 論語 *Lun yu*⁷

Book of Mencius 孟子 *Mengzi*

Book of Filial Piety 孝經 *Xiao jing*

in both an Old Text and a New Text version

Er ya 爾雅⁸

Zhou li 周禮: originally known as 周官 *Zhou guan* "Offices of the Zhou dynasty"

Old Text, sponsored by Liu Xin 劉歆

Note: The **Stone Classics** 石經 were engraved by Cai Yong, Ma Midi and others, in response to an edict of 175; the work was completed about 183. The classics chosen were *Analects*, *Changes*, *Ritual*, *History*, and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary. See Bn 76.70 and deC 89.481-483, also *Li shi* 14 [which includes an extract from the *Poetry* in the Lu interpretation: this must be from later work of the Wei period.]

3. Later Han editions and commentaries to the Confucian classics

Analects 論語

by Bao Xian 鮑咸

by Cheng Ping 程秉

by He Xiu 何休

³ See *Texts*:234-241 [Boltz] and 293-297 [Riegel].

⁴ The Qing school was initially represented by an Academician at the University, but was later disestablished.

⁵ After Liu Zhuang 劉莊, Emperor Ming, came to the throne in 57, the surname Zhuang 莊 was tabooed as Yan 嚴.

⁶ Emperor Guangwu established a chair for *Zuo zhuan*, but allowed it to lapse a few years later.

⁷ Though the *Analects* were not represented by a chair at the University, they were included in the Stone Classics of 175 at the expense of the *Poetry*: see *sub* Cai Yong.

⁸ The *Er ya* dictionary is listed by *HS* 30:1718 in the section allocated to the *Book of Filial Piety*. Its history is discussed by *Texts*: 94-99 [South Coblin].

by Ma Da 麻達
 by Ma Rong 馬融
 by Yu Fan 虞翻
 by Zhang Zhao 張昭
 by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

Book of Changes 易經

by Cheng Ping 程秉
 by Cui Zhuan 崔篆: *Zhouyi lin* 周易林, a study of divination
 by Dong Yu 董遇
 by Fan Ying 樊英: *Fanshi xue* 樊氏學 "Teachings of Mr Fan"
 by Feng Hao 馮顥
 by Gui Dan 注丹: *Yi tonglun* 易通論, later known as *Guijun tong* 注君通 "Explanations of Master Gui"
 by Jing Luan 景鸞: *Yi shuo* 易說 "Discussion on the *Changes*," in his *He-Luo jiaoji* 河洛交集 "Connected Collection to [the Map from] the Yellow River and [the Book from] the Luo"
 by Liu Biao 劉表 [see also also Qimu Kai 綦母闔 *et al.*]
 by Lu Ji 陸績
 by Ma Rong 馬融
 by Qimu Kai 綦母闔, Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷 and others for Liu Biao 劉表: the "Later Edition" 後定 [and note Liu Biao above]
 by Wang Lang 王朗: *Yi zhuan* 易傳
 by Wei Boyang 魏伯陽
 by Xu Jun 許峻: *Yi lin* 易林 and other studies
 by Xun Shuang 荀爽: *Yi zhuan* 易傳
 by Yu Fan 虞翻
 by Yuan Jing 袁京: *Nan ji* 難記 "Record of Problems"
 by Yuan Taibo 袁太伯
 by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

Book of Filial Piety 孝經

by He Xiu 何休
 by Liu Xi 劉熙
 by Ma Rong 馬融
 by Yan Jun 嚴峻
 by Zheng 鄭 of the second century AD [probably not Zheng Xuan 鄭玄]
 by Wang Fu 王輔, on *Xiao jing wei Yuanshen qi* 孝經緯援神契, an apocryphal work associated with the *Book of Filial Piety*
 by Zhai Fu 翟輔, on the apocrypha to the *Book of Filial Piety*

Chunqiu 春秋 [*Spring and Autumn Annals*]

with Gongyang and Guliang commentaries, and *Zuo zhuan*

by Dong Yu 董遇: *Zuo zhuan zhuhei bieyi* 左傳朱墨別異, a *variorum* edition
 by Fan Shu 樊榘/條: *Fanhou xue* 樊侯學 "Teachings of the Marquis Fan" later abridged by Zhang Ba 張霸 *q.v.*
 by Fu Qian 服虔: *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jie[yi]* 春秋左氏傳解[詁] "Explanation of *Zuo zhuan*"
 by He Xiu 何休: *Chunqiu Gongyang jiegu* 春秋公羊解詁
 by Jia Hui 賈徽: *Zuoshi tiaoli* 左氏條例
 by Jia Kui 賈逵: "Explanation and Commentary" 解詁 to *Zuo zhuan*
 by Kong Jia 孔嘉: *Zuo zhuan shuo* 左氏說
 by Kong Qi 孔奇: *Chunqiu Zuoshi shan* 春秋左氏刪

- by Li Yu 李育 IV: *Nan Zuozhuan yi* 難左傳義 "Errors in *Zuo zhuan*"
 by Liu Mu 劉睦: commentary to *Chunqiu*
 by Liu Tao 劉陶: *Chunqiu tiaoli* 春秋條例
 by Peng Wang 彭汪: commentary to *Zuo zhuan*
 by Qimu Kai 綦母闔, Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷 and others for Liu Biao 劉表: the "Later Edition" 後定
 by Tang Gu 唐固: commentaries to Gongyang and Guliang
 by Xie Gai 謝該, compiled by Yue Xiang 樂詳: *Xieshi shi* 謝氏釋 "Explanations by Mr Xie," also known as *Zuozhuan wen qishier shi* 左傳問七十二事 "Questions on Seventy-two Matters in *Zuo zhuan*"
 by Xun Shuang 荀爽: *Chunqiu tiaoli* 春秋條例
 by Yang Zhong 楊終: *Chunqiu* 春秋外傳
 by Ying Rong 穎/穎容: *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan tiao li* 春秋左氏條例
 by Zhang Ba 張霸: "Mr Zhang's Study" 張氏學, abridgement of Fan Shu 樊榘/儵 q.v.
 by Zhang Zhao 張昭: commentaries to both *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*
 by Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
 by Zhong Xing 鍾興: abridgement of the detailed commentary to *Chunqiu* from Former Han

Classic of History 書經 *Shu jing* or 尚書 *Shangshu*

- by Cheng Ping 程秉
 by Huan Rong 桓榮 and Huan Yu 桓郁, abridging the work of Zhu Pu 朱普 of Former Han: "Greater and Lesser Commentaries of the Ministers of Ceremonies the Lords Huan" 桓君大小太常章句
 by Liu Tao 劉陶: the "Median Edition" 中文尚書 of the Old Text and New Text
 by Lu Zhi 盧植
 by Ma Rong 馬融
 by Mou Qing 牟卿 of Former Han and Mou Zhang 牟張/長: 牟氏章句 [abridged by Zhang Huan 張奐 (see below)]
 by Qimu Kai 綦母闔, Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷 and others for Liu Biao 劉表: the "Later Edition" 後定
 by Wang Su 王肅, who allegedly forged an ancient text [and also *Kongzi jiayu* q.v.]
 by Wei Hong 衛宏: *Gu Shangshu xunzhi* 古文尚書訓旨, an exposition of the Old Text
 by Xun Shuang 荀爽: 尚書正經 *Shangshu zhengjing*
 by Zhang Huan 張奐: *Shangshu jinan* 尚書記難; also an abridgement of the commentary by Mou Jing and Mou Zhang
 by Zhang Kai 張楷 [doubtful authenticity]
 by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
 by Zhou Fang 周防: *Shujing zaji* 書經雜記

Classic of Poetry 詩經 *Shi jing*

- by Du Fu 杜撫: *Shi tiyue yitong* 詩題約義通 and see also *sub* Xue Han 薛漢
 by Du Qiong 杜瓊
 by Fu An 伏黯, detailed commentary later abridged by Fu Gong 伏恭
 by Fu An 伏黯: *Jieshuo* 解說 "Explanation of Terms"
 by Hou Ba 侯芭
 by Jing Luan 景鸞: *Shi jie* 詩解 "Explanation of the Poetry," in his *He-Luo jiaoji* 河洛交集 "Connected Collection to [the Map from] the Yellow River and [the Book from] the Luo"
 by Ma Rong 馬融
 by Qimu Kai 綦母闔, Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷 and others for Liu Biao 劉表: the "Later Edition" 後定
 by Xue Han 薛漢 and Du Fu 杜撫: a detailed commentary

by Xue Han 薛漢: *Mao-Shi xu* 毛詩序, a preface to the Mao recension

by Xun Shuang 荀爽: *Shi zhuan* 詩傳

by Zhang Kuang 張匡

by Zhao Ye 趙曄: *Shi xili shenyuan* 詩細歷神淵, interpreting the classic by calendrical calculations

by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

Er ya 爾雅

by Li Xun 李巡

Mencius 孟子 *Mengzi*

by Cheng Zeng 程曾

by Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧

by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

Ritual 禮

by Cao Bao 曹褒

by Cao Chong 曹充

by Liu Biao 劉表 [see also Qimu Kai 綦母闔 *et al.*]

by Lu Zhi 盧植

by Ma Rong 馬融

by Qimu Kai 綦母闔, Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷 and others for Liu Biao 劉表: the "Later Edition" 後定 [and note Liu Biao above]

by Xun Shuang 荀爽

by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄

Zhou li 周禮 or *Zhou guan* 周官

by Du Zichun 杜子春

by Jia Kui 賈逵

by Lin Shuo 臨/林碩

by Ma Rong 馬融

by Zhang Heng 張衡

by Zhang Pingzi: *Zhouguan jieshuo* 周官解說

by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄: *Zhouguan zhu* 周官注

by Zheng Zhong 鄭眾

PART II: OTHER WORKS

Ai dian 哀典 "An Account of Mourning" by Li You 李尤

Ailao zhuan 哀牢傳 "Account of the Ailao People" by Yang Zhong 楊終

Baigua fu 白鵠賦 "Rhapsody on the White Crane," by Cui Qi 崔琦

Ba-Shu qijiu zhuan 巴蜀耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Ba and Shu" by Wang Shang 王商, Zhao

Qian 趙謙 and Zheng Qin 鄭勤/廛

Beizheng fu 北征賦 "Rhapsody on a Northward Journey" by Ban Biao 班彪

Bian dao lun 辯道論 by Cao Zhi 曹植

Bian-he tong zhi lun 辯和同之論 "Discussion on the Reconciliation of Differences" by Liu Liang/Cen 劉梁/岑

Bian lun 邊論, a discussion of the frontier, by Du Du 杜篤

Bingyun tu 兵雲圖, a table for predicting the course of warfare from the appearance of clouds, see *sub* Yang You 楊由

Boguan zhen 百官箴 "Admonitions to Officials" by Hu Guang 胡廣 and others

Bohu tong 白虎通 "The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall" by Ban Gu 班固

Bohu tongyi 白虎通義, summary account of the general significance of the discussions in the White Tiger Hall

Bohu tong delun 白虎通德論 i.e. *Bohu tongyi* by Ban Gu 班固 and others

Bohu yizou 白虎議奏, memorials from the conference in the White Tiger Hall

- Cai Yong bencao* 蔡邕本草, a work of pharmacology by Cai Yong
- Cao Dagu ji* 曹大家集, collected works of Ban Zhao 班昭, collected by the Lady Ding 丁氏
- Caoshu shi* 草書勢, a treatise on Grass Style calligraphy, by Cui Yuan 崔瑗
- Ce shibing ye fu* 刺世疾邪賦 "Rhapsody on the Ills of the Times" by Zhao Yi 趙壹
- Changyan* 昌言 "Admirable Words" by Zhongchang Tong 仲長統, with an Introduction by Miao Xi 繆襲
- Chanwei* 讖緯, apocrypha, imperial edition by Xue Han 薛漢 [and see *sub* Yin Min 尹敏]
- Chaoshui lun* 潮水論, an account of the Chao River in south China, by Yan Jun 嚴峻
- Chenfang shi* 晨風詩, a mourning poem, by Yang Zhong 楊終
- Chenliu fengsu zhuan* 陳留風俗傳 "Record of the Customs of Chenliu" by Juan Cheng 圈稱
- Chenliu qijiu zhuan* 陳留耆舊傳 "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Chenliu" by Juan Cheng 圈稱, sponsored by Yuan Tang 袁湯
- Chenzi* 陳子, collected works by Chen Ji 陳紀
- Chonghou lun* 崇厚論 "Essay in Praise of Liberality" by Zhu Mu 朱穆
- Chu ci zhangju* 楚辭章句, commentary by Wang Yi 王逸 [and see *Li sao*]
- Chunqiu Han yi* 春秋漢議 by He Xiu 何休
- Chunqiu Han yi bo* 春秋漢議駁 by Fu Qian 服虔
- Cishe shuo* 刺奢說, an essay against extravagance, by Feng Hao 馮謨
- Cisong bi* 辭訟比 "Precedents for [Civil] Cases" by Chen Chong 陳寵
- Daosao fu* 悼騷賦 by Liang Song 梁竦
- Daque fu* 大雀賦 "Rhapsody on the Great Bird [from the West]" by Ban Zhao 班昭
- Daru lun* 大儒論 "An Essay on Great Confucianism" by Wang Chong 王充
- Dayan xuanji* 大衍玄基, on prognostications, by Wang Jing 王景
- De xing* 德行 "Virtuous Conduct," a posthumous record of Li Gu 李固, compiled by Du Fang 杜訪, Zhao Cheng 趙承 and others
- Denglou fu* 登樓賦 "Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower" by Wang Can 王粲
- Dengtai fu* 登臺賦 "Rhapsody on Climbing the Terrace" by Cao Zhi 曹植
- Dili zhi* 地理志 "Treatise of Geography" by Fu Wuji 伏無忌
- Dongdu fu* 東都賦 "Rhapsody on the Eastern Metropolis" by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記: by Ban Gu 班固, Bian Shao 邊韶, Deng Si 鄧嗣, Du Fu 杜撫, Liu Taotu 劉陶駢, Liu Yi 劉毅, Liu You 李尤, Liu Zhen 劉珍, Yan Du 延篤, Zhu Mu 朱穆 *et al.*; also *Yi* 意 Treatises by Cai Yong 蔡邕
- Dongli [ji]* 洞歷紀, presumably a study of historical precedents, by Zhou Shu 周樹
- Dongzheng fu* 東征賦 "Rhapsody on an Eastward Journey" by Ban Zhao 班昭
- Dudian* 獨斷 "Solitary Decisions[?]" by Cai Yong 蔡邕
- Fa yan* 法言 by Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han, commentary by Hou Ba 侯芭
- Fan Han Fei* 反韓非 "Against Han Feizi" by Liu Tao 劉陶
- Fanshi xue* 樊侯學 "Teachings of the Marquis Fan" by Fan Shu 樊噲
- Fanshi xue* 樊氏學 "Teachings of Mr Fan" by Fan Ying 樊英: a commentary to the *Book of Changes* *q.v.* above
- Feng-Shan shu* 封禪書 "Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices" by Yang Zhong 楊終
- Feng-Shan yi ji* 封禪儀記, "Record of the Observance of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices" by Ma Dibo 馬第伯
- Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 "A Compendium of Popular Customs" by Ying Shao 應劭
- Fu Meng Ke* 復孟軻 "In Support of Mencius" by Liu Tao 劉陶
- Fuhou gujin zhu* 伏侯古今注 "Notes of the Marquis Fu on Things Ancient and Modern" by Fu Wuji 伏無忌
- Gan sao* 感騷, an elegy for Qu Yuan, by Ying Feng 應奉
- Guangcheng song* 廣成頌 "Hymn to the Guangcheng Park" by Ma Rong 馬融
- Guangwu shouming zhongxing song* 光武受命中興頌 "Hymn on the Receipt of the Mandate and the Restoration" by Liu Cang 劉蒼, with commentary by Jia Kui 賈逵
- Guijun tong* 桂君通 "Explanations of Master Gui [on the *Book of Changes*]" by Gui Dan 桂丹

- Guitian fu* 歸田賦 "Rhapsody on Returning to the Fields" by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Guo yu* 國語, commentaries by Jia Kui 賈逵 ["Explanation and Commentary" 解詁], by Tang Gu 唐固 and by Yu Fan 虞翻
- Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 "Ancient Han Ceremonial" ascribed to Cai Zhi 蔡質
- Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀, an account of the institutions of Former Han, by Wei Hong 衛宏
- Han shi* 漢詩 "Poems of Han," by Wang Yi 王逸
- Han shi* 漢事 "Affairs of Han" by Ying Feng 應奉
- Han shu houxu* 漢書後序 "Postscript to the *History of Han*" by Ying Feng 應奉
- Han shu* 漢書 by Ban Biao 班彪, Ban Gu 班固, Ban Zhao 班昭 and others; commentary by Ying Shao 應劭
- Han song* 漢頌 "Hymns of Han" by Cao Shuo 曹朔
- Han yi* 漢儀 "Han Ceremonial" ascribed to Cai Zhi 蔡質
- Han yi* 漢議, a compendium of legal cases and precedents, by Ying Shao 應劭
- Han yu* 漢語, a collection of moral tales, by Xun Shuang 荀爽
- Hande chungiu* 漢德春秋 by He Ying 何英
- Hande song* 漢德頌 "Hymns to the [Men of] Virtue of Han" by Liu Fu 劉復
- Hanguan* 漢官 or *Hanguan mulu* 漢官目錄; anonymous compilation on official titles
- Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* 漢官典職儀式選用 "Administrative Observances of the Han Official System Selected for Use" by Cai Zhi 蔡質
- Hanguan liyi gushi* 漢官禮儀故事 "Ceremonial Precedents for Han Offices" by Ying Shao 應劭
- Hanguan mulu* 漢官目錄 see *Hanguan* 漢官
- Hanguan yi* 漢官儀 "Ceremonial of Han Offices" by Ying Shao 應劭
- Hanguan zhu* 漢官注 "Notes on Han Offices" by Ying Shao 應劭
- Hanji* 漢紀, a chronicle of Former Han, by Xun Yue 荀悅
- Hanji* 漢記 see *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記
- Hanlü zhangju* 漢律章句 and similar titles, commentaries to the laws of Han compiled variously by Guo Lingqing [possibly Guo Hong 郭弘/宏 or his son Guo Gong 郭躬], by Ma Rong 馬融, by Shusun Xuan 叔孫宣 and by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
- Hanmo yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記 "Records of the Heroes and Champions at the End of Han" by Wang Can 王粲
- Hanzhong qijiu zhuan* 漢中耆舊傳, "Venerable Men and Ancient Affairs of Hanzhong" by Zhu Gui 祝龜
- Hetu Luoshu* 河圖洛書, "The Diagrams from the Yellow River and the Book from the Luo," works of divination; explanations by Zhu Cang 朱倉: *He-Luo jie* 河洛解, and see *sub* Yang Tong 楊統
- He-Luo jiaoji* 河洛交集 "Connected Collection to [the Diagrams from] the Yellow River and [the Book from] the Luo" by Jing Luan 景鸞 [and see *sub* *Book of Changes* and *Classic of Poetry* above]
- Hou Han shu* 後漢書 by Xie Cheng 謝承
- Huainan zi* 淮南子, commentaries by Gao You 高誘 and by Ma Rong 馬融
- Huang Xi bian* 皇羲篇, a study of the legendary emperor Fuxi 伏羲, by Liu Hong 劉宏, Emperor Ling
- Huangde zhuan* 皇德傳 "An Account of Sovereign Virtue" by Hou Jin 侯瑾
- Hunli ye wen* 婚禮謁文, on the ceremonial for visits at times of marriage, by Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
- Hunyi zhu* 渾儀注, a commentary on the armillary sphere, by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Ji jing* 針經, a treatise on acupuncture, by the Old Man of the Fu River 涪翁老父
- Jiadian song* 嘉瑞頌, hymn in honour of a phoenix and a dragon, by Yang Zhong 楊終
- Jian lun* 檢論 by Zou Bin 鄒邠: a commentary on the *Xin lun* 新論 of Huan Tan 桓譚
- Jianwu zhuji* 建武注記 "Diary of the Jianwu Period" [originally *Shizu benji* 世祖本紀] by Ban Gu 班固, Chen Zong 陳宗, Du Fu 杜撫, Ma Yan 馬嚴 and Meng Ji 孟冀
- Jiaoshi lun* 矯世論 "A Discussion on Reform" by Hou Jin 侯瑾
- Jiaozhou yiwu zhi* 交州異物志, a *collectanea* of strange matters from south China by Yang Fu 楊孚 [and see *Yiwu zhi*]

- Jiebin fu* 解擯賦 "Rhapsody to Explain [my] Rejection" by Zhao Yi 趙壹
- Jieyi* 譏義 "Censures" by Wang Chong 王充
- Ji-Han fuchen zan* 季漢輔臣贊 "Praises of Ministers Who have Supported Junior Han" by Yang Xi 楊戲/羲
- Jihui pian* 記誨篇, a text on conduct, by Su Jing 蘇竟
- Jin dan jue* 金丹訣 [an ancient Taoist text], commentary by Yin Changsheng 陰長生
- Jin dao* 琴道 "On the Art of the Lute" by Huan Tan 桓譚, completed by Ban Gu 班固
- Jingfang songshuo* 經方頌說 "Eulogy and Explanation of the Classical Arts" by Li Zhu 李助
- Jingzhou xing jing* 荊州星經, a list of celestial omens compiled on the orders of Liu Biao 劉表 [also known as *Jingzhou xing zhuan* 荊州星傳]
- Jingzhou xing zhuan* 荊州星傳 or *Jingzhou zhan* 荊州占, a list of celestial omens, by Liu Rui 劉叡
- Jisu* 譏俗 "On Common Morality" by Wang Chong 王充
- Jiugong fu* 九宮賦 "Rhapsody on the Nine Palaces" by Huang Xiang 黃香
- Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 "Nine Chapters on the Art of Mathematics," compiled in Qin and Former Han, with Later Han additions, completed in the first century AD; commentary by Liu Hong 劉洪, and see *sub* Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
- Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術 "Nine Chapters on the Art of Mathematics;"
- Jizhou ji* 冀州記, a history of Ji province, by Xun Wei 荀緯
- Jueshi dumu* 決事都目 "General Principles for Deciding Cases" by Chen Chong 陳寵
- Kongzi ban* 孔子版 "Tablet of Confucius," an oracular work
- Kongzi jiaju* 孔子家語 "Home Sayings of Confucius," allegedly a forgery by Wang Su 王肅
- Kuang Laozi* 匡老子 "In Support of Laozi" by Liu Tao 劉陶
- Laozi ming* 老子銘 stele composed by Bian Shao 邊韶
- Laozi* 老子 [*Daode jing* 道德經], commentaries by Dong Yu 董遇 [*Laozi xunzhu* 老子訓注], by Ma Rong 馬融 and by Yu Fan 虞翻
- Li lue* 禮略 "Outline of the *Ritual*" by Jing Luan 景鸞, a study of divination techniques
- Li lun* 歷論 "Essay on the Calendar" by Jia Kui 賈逵
- Li sao* 離騷 of Qu Yuan 屈原, commentaries by Ban Gu 班固, by Jia Kui 賈逵 [both as *Li sao jing zhangju* 離騷經章句] and by Ma Rong 馬融
- Li shi* 隸勢, an essay on aspects of the "Clerical Style," by Zhong 鍾 [personal name unknown]
- Liangdu fu* 兩都賦 "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" by Ban Gu 班固
- Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 "Biographies of Women;" commentary by Ma Rong 馬融 either to the work compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 of Former Han or to the relevant chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書 of Ban Gu 班固 *et al.*
- Lieyi zhuan* 列異傳 "Chronicle of Strange Events" compiled by Cao Pi 曹丕
- Lingdi ji* 靈帝紀 by Liu Ai 劉艾
- Lingguang dian fu* 靈光殿賦 "Rhapsody on the Hall of Numinous Brilliance" by Wang Yanshou 王延壽
- Ling xian* 靈憲 "The Spiritual Constitution of the Universe" by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Lishi yaolu* 李氏藥錄 by Li Dangzhi 李當之
- Louke fa* 漏刻法, a manual on the clepsydra, by Yin Kui 殷旭/夔
- Louke jing* 漏刻經, on the clepsydra, by Huo Rong 霍融
- Lüli yi* 律曆意 "Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar" by Cai Yong 蔡邕 and Liu Hong 劉洪
- Lun du fu* 論都賦 "Rhapsody on the Capitals" by Du Du 杜篤
- Lun heng* 論衡 "Discourses Weighed in the Balance" by Wang Chong 王充
- Lun jiu jun wei* 論舊君諱, an essay on the ancient use of taboo names, by Wang Lang 王朗 and Zhang Zhao 張昭
- Lun wen* 論文 "Essay on Literature" by Cao Pi 曹丕
- Luoshen fu* 洛神賦 "Rhapsody on the Goddess of the Luo River" by Cao Zhi 曹植
- Luoshu* 洛書 "The Book from the Luo River," a text of divination, see *sub* Yang Tong 楊統
- Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, commentary by Gao You 高誘

- Meng fu* 夢賦 "Dream Rhapsody" by Wang Yanshou
Mingshi lun 明世論, on current affairs, by Du Du 杜篤
Mouzi 牟子 by Mou Rong 牟融
Mouzi 牟子 [not by Mou Rong], a Buddhist apologia attributed to a retired scholar-official of Cangwu in the second century AD [see Zürcher 59:13].
Nanbei jiao guanmian ch'efu zhidu 南北郊冠冕車服制度 "Regulations for the Caps, Crowns, Carriages and Robes for the Northern and Southern Sacrifices [to Heaven and to Earth]" by Liu Cang 劉蒼 and others
Nandu fu 南都賦 "Rhapsody on the Southern Capital" by Zhang Heng 張衡
Nanyang wenxueguan zhi 南陽文學官志 "Account of the Literary Office in Nanyang" by Cui Yuan 崔瑗
Nei chan 內讖 [apocrypha], commentary/explanation by Yang Tong 楊統
Niaoqing zhan 鳥情占, on prognostication by the appearance of birds, by Wang Qiao 王喬
Nü jie 女誡 "Precepts for Women" by Ban Zhao 班昭
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Pang xi pian 滂喜篇 by Jia Fang 賈魴/訪, a commentary to the calligraphy manual *Cang jie* 蒼頡, originally composed by the minister Li Si 李斯 of Qin
Pei wang tonglun 沛王通論 "Comprehensive Essays by the King of Pei" by Liu Fu 劉輔
Poqun lun 破羣論 "Discussion on Eliminating Factions" by Liu Liang/Cen 劉梁/岑
Qi feng 七諷 "Seven Incitements" by Fu Yi 傅毅
Qi shuo 七說 "The Seven Discussions" by Huan Lin 桓麟/麟 and Huan Bin 桓彬
Qi tan 七歎 "Seven Laments" by Li You 李尤
Qi xu 七序 "Seven Essays" by Liang Song 梁竦
Qi yao lun 七曜論 "The Seven Heavenly Bodies" by Liu Tao 劉陶
Qi'ai shi 七哀詩 "Poem of Seven Sorrows" by Wang Can 王粲
Qianfu lun 潛夫論 "Comments of a Recluse" by Wang Fu 王符
Qiju zhu 起居注 "Diary of Activity and Repose" for Emperor Ming, compiled under the auspices of the Lady Ma 馬, his widowed Empress and Dowager
Qiping 其平, on prognostication, by Yang You 楊由
Renwu zhi 人物志 "Record of Men and Things" by Liu Shao 劉邵
Renxiao lun 仁孝論 "Essay on Humanity and Filial Piety" by Yan Du 延篤
Sanfu jiushi 三輔舊事, an account of the region about Chang'an, by Wei Biao 韋彪
Sanfu jue lu 三輔決錄 "Evaluative Records of the Three Adjuncts" by Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧
Sanzhou lun 三州論 "Essay on the Three Provinces" by Jiang Ji 蔣濟
Shanghan lun 傷寒論 "Dissertation on Typhoid Fever" by Zhang Ji 張機
Shanyang xianxian zhuan 山陽先賢傳 "Accounts of Worthy Men of the Past of Chenliu" by Zhongchang Tong 仲長統
Shen Nong bencao jing 神農本草經 pharmacopeia ascribed to Hua Tuo and Zhang Ji 張機, compiled by Wu Pu 吳普
Shenjian 申監 "Extended Reflections" by Xun Yue 荀悅
Shenjue song 神雀頌 "Hymn to the Sacred Birds" by Jia Kui 賈逵
Shenqing fu 申情賦 "Expressing my Feelings" by Ma Zhi 馬芝
Shi ben 世本, a treatise on government, by Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷
Shi fa 諡法, a study of posthumous titles, by Liu Xi 劉熙
Shi hui 釋誨 "Instruction Explained" by Cai Yong 蔡邕
Shi ji 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷, revised and extended by Yang Zhong 楊終
Shi ming 釋名 dictionary by Liu Xi 劉熙

Shi ming 釋名 dictionary by Liu Zhen 劉珍

Shibi wen 石壁文 by Fan Ying 樊英

Shiwu lun 世務論 "Essays on Affairs of the World" by He Wen 何汶

Shiyao lun 時要論 "Essay on the Needs of the Time" by Wang Ji 王基

Shizu benji 世祖本紀, annals of the reign of Emperor Guangwu, see *Jianwu zhuji*

Shu ke 屬科, administrative code of Shu-Han, compiled by Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, Fa Zheng 法正, Li Yan 李嚴,

Liu Ba 劉巴 and Yin Ji 尹籍

Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 dictionary by Xu Shen 許慎

Shushu ji yi 數術記遺, "Memoir on some Traditions of Mathematical Art," largely concerned with Taoism and divination, by Xu Yue 徐岳

Si chou 四愁 "Four Sorrows" poem by Zhang Heng 張衡

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Siti shushi 四體書勢 "Aspects of the Four Styles of Calligraphy" by Wei Ji 衛覬

Sixuan fu 思玄賦 "Contemplating the Cosmos" by Zhang Heng 張衡

Sun Jian 孫堅 and Sun Ce 孫策, biographies by Zhang Hong 張紘

Sunzi bingfa 孫子[武]兵法 "The Art of War" ascribed to Sun Wu; commentaries by Cao Cao 曹操 and by Shen You 沈友

Taiping jing 太平經 see Gan Ji 干吉, Gong Chong 宮崇, Xiang Kai 襄楷

Taiping qingling shu/dao 太平清/青領書/道 see Gan Ji 干吉, Gong Chong 宮崇, Xiang Kai 襄楷

Taixuan jing 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery" by Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han; commentaries by Cui

Yuan 崔瑗, by Hou Ba 侯芭, by Lu Ji 陸績, by Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷, by Zhang Heng 張衡 and by Zou Bin 鄒邠

Tangzi 唐子 by Tang Qiang 唐羌

Tangzi 唐子 by Tang Tan 唐檀

Tangqi jing 彈碁經, a treatise on a form of chess, by Liang Ji 梁冀

Tongren lun 金人論 "Discussion by the Metal Men" by Wang Jing 王景

Han shu 漢書: Treatise on the Heavens 天文志 and Introduction to the Table of Officials 百官公卿表 by Ma Xu 馬續

Waiqi zhen 外戚箴 "Exhortations to the Consort Clan" by Cui Qi 崔琦

Wang Zhi 王稚/稚, biography compiled by his disciples

Wangming lun 王命論 "Essay on the Mandate" by Ban Biao 班彪

Wangzi 王子 by Wang You, collated by Wang Huo 王濩/獲

Wanji lun 萬機論 "Myriad Subtleties" by Jiang Ji 蔣濟

Wei qingzi 韋卿子 "The Book of Minister Wei," the collected works of Wei Biao 韋彪

Wei zhi 慰志 "Rhapsody of Regret" by Cui Zhuan 崔篆

Weizi 魏子 by Wei Lang 魏朗

Wen shen 問神 "Question to the Gods" by Zhou Jizhen 周季貞

White Tiger Hall Discussions, see *Bohu tong* 白虎通

Wujia yaoshuo zhangju 五家要說章句 "Detailed Commentary to Major Points of the Five Classics" by Liu Zhuang 劉莊, Emperor Ming, and Huan Yu 桓郁 *q.v.*

Wujing yi 五經異義 "Different Meanings of the Five Classics" by Xu Shen 許慎

Wushi bencao 吳氏本草, a pharmacological work, by Wu Pu 吳普

Wuxing zhangju 五行章句, a detailed commentary on the school of the Five Powers, by Liu Zhuang 劉莊, Emperor Ming

Wuxing zhi 五行志 "Treatise on Portents/the Five Powers" by Dong Ba 董巴

Wuyi zhi ge 五噫之歌 "Five Exclamations" by Liang Hong 梁鴻

Wu-Yue chunqiu 吳越春秋 by Zhao Ye 趙曄, with a supplement 外記 by Zhang Xia 張遐

- Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 "Veritable Images of the Five Sacred Peaks," a set of mystical diagrams, also known as *Wuyue tu* 五岳圖; see Lu Nüsheng 魯女生, Feng Heng 封衡 [or Feng Junda 君達] and Zuo Ce 左慈
- Xiandi ji* 靈帝紀 by Liu Ai 劉艾
- Xiangsu ji* 鄉俗記 "Record of Local Customs [of Shu commandery]" by Zhao Ning 趙寧
- Xianshi fu* 顯士賦 "Revealing my Aspirations" by Feng Yan 馮衍
- Xiaoxue Hanguan pian* 小學漢官篇 "Han Offices Explained for Beginning Students" by Wang Long 王隆, with commentary by Hu Guang 胡廣
- Xidu fu* 西都賦 "Rhapsody on the Western Metropolis" by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Xin li* 新禮 "New Rituals" by Cao Bao 曹褒
- Xin lun* 新論 by Huan Tan 桓譚, commentary by Zou Bin 鄒邠: *Jian lun* 檢論
- Xin shu* 新書, the collected works of Xun Shuang 荀爽
- Xingli lun* 刑禮論 "Essay on Criminal Law and Ritual" by Liu Yi 劉廙 and Ding Yi 丁廙
- Xuan si* 玄思 by Zou Bin 鄒邠: a commentary to the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 "Classic of the Great Mystery" by Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han
- [*Yang Tong*] *jiafa zhangju* 楊統家法章句, a handbook and commentary to his school of thought, by Yang Tong
- Yangxing jing* 養性經, a Taoist treatise on cultivation of the spirit, by Wu Guang 巫光
- Yangxing shu* 養性書 "On Macrobiotics" by Wang Chong 王充
- Yaoyan* 要言 "Precepts" by Chen Rong 陳融
- Yi fa* 醫法, on medicine, by Ji Liao 蒯遼
- Yi* 意 treatises to *Dongguan Hanji* by Cai Yong 蔡邕
- Ying binnan* 應賓難 "Replies to Questions from a Guest" by Hou Jin 侯瑾
- Ying xian* 應閒 "Response [to Criticism] of my Idleness" by Zhang Heng 張衡
- Yingwu fu* 鸚鵡賦 "Parrot Rhapsody" by Ni Heng 禰衡
- Yingxiong ji* 英雄記 see *Hanmo yingxiong ji* 漢末英雄記 by Ying Shao 應劭
- Yishi* 弈勢, a treatise on the art of chess, by Ying Chang 應瑒
- Yiwu zhi* 異物志, a general *collectanea* of strange matters, by Yang Fu 楊孚 [and see *Jiaozhou yiwu zhi*]
- Yuanyi huaide geshi* 遠夷懷德歌詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Embracing the Virtue [of Han]" presented by the Zuodu 苻都 people [see *sub* Tangzou 唐苴]
- Yuanyi lede geshi* 遠夷樂德歌詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Delighting in the Virtue [of Han]" presented by the Zuodu people [see *sub* Tangzou]
- Yuanyi mude geshi* 遠夷慕德歌詩 "Songs of the Distant Barbarians Longing for the Virtue [of Han]" presented by the Zuodu people [see *sub* Tangzou]
- Yue jue shu* 越絕書, a historical gazetteer, by Yuan Kang 袁康? or by Zhao Ye 趙曄? or by other writers⁹
- Yueling zhangju* 月令章句, commentary to an ancient calendrical text, by Jing Luan 景鸞
- Yue niu lu* 越絕錄, a historical work, by Wu Jungao 吳君高
- Yufu zhi* 輿服志 "Treatise on Carriages and Robes" by Dong Ba 董巴
- Yukou lun* 禦寇論 "Discussion on How to Resist the Insurgents" by Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧
- Yuntian tu* 憚天圖, a chart of the heavens, by Lu Ji 陸績
- Zeng Boma wang Biao* 曾白馬王彪 poem "To Cao Biao, King of Boma" by Cao Zhi 曹植
- Zhanghua fu* 章華賦 "Rhapsody on the Zhanghua Pavilion" by Bian Rang 邊讓
- Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, commentary by Gao You 高誘
- Zhen* 箴 "Exhortations" compiled by Yang Xiong 楊雄 of Former Han, supplemented by Cui Yin 崔駰, Cui Yuan 崔瑗 and Liu Tao 劉陶
- Zhen ling* 箴銘 "Admonitions Engraved in Stone" by Yuan Wenshu 袁文術
- Zheng lun* 政論 "An Essay on Government" by Cui Shi 崔寔/實

⁹ See *Texts*: 490-493 [Scheussler and Loewe].

Zheng lun 政論 "An Essay on Government" by Liu Yi 劉廙

Zheng wu 政務 "On Government" by Wang Chong 王充

Zheng zhi 鄭志, on questions in the classics, by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, compiled by his students

Zhenmai fa 診脉法, a treatise on medicine, by the Old Man of the Fu River 涪翁老父

Zhong lun 中論 "Discussions of the Mean" by Xu Gan 徐幹

Zhou bei suan jing 周髀算經 "The Arithmetical Classic of the Gnomon and the Circular Paths of Heaven;"
commentary by Zhao Junqing 趙君卿 *q.v.*

Zhuan shi 篆勢, an essay on aspects of the traditional Seal Script, by Cai Yong 蔡邕

Zhuide fu 追德賦 "Rhapsody of Virtue Remembered" by Liu Hong 劉宏, Emperor Ling

GENERAL INDEX

This index has two main purposes: first to serve as an introduction to particular topics and second to supply characters for special terms and smaller places that are not dealt with in the sections above on administrative structure and official geography. A full index would be cumbersome and unwieldy, and I seek only to offer a guide, not a concordance. I therefore limit the citations as follows:

- Books and commentaries are generally dealt with in the list of Literary and Scholarly Works, but a few special cases are indexed here.
- Territories listed in the Provinces and Commandery Units of Later Han are normally cited only by the page of that table, shown in *italics*. Some special cases, notably commanderies established during the time of civil war during the last years of the dynasty, have more detailed citations.
- Most official titles are discussed in the survey of the Administrative Structure, to which page references are given in *italics*. Further citations are provided for unusual offices or those of special interest.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>abdication, of Emperor Xian of Han, 43, 45, 70, 75, 155, 211, 355, 348, 352, 375, 411, 541, 555, 575, 578, 801, 828, 839, 859, 897, 901, 945, 1086
 other, 158, 529, 542, 1010
 Academician 博士, 1222, 1232, and see Imperial University and Libationer
 acupuncture, 87, 195, 217, 292, 332, 406, 610, 680, 915, and see medicine
 Adjuncts, the Three 三輔, 1103, and see Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi
 Commandant of the Adjunct Capital Region, 京輔都尉, 1092
 Adjutant, 626, 714, and see Northern Army
 Administrator 太守 1216, 1228
 adoption, 41, 43, 47, 162, 195, 300, 329, 448, 936, 1182
 by eunuchs, 35, 48, 88, 214, 230, 242, 244, 316, 387, 475, 533, 574, 766, 772, 776, 783-84, 818, 827, 905, 943, 948, 1030, 1045, 1122, 1125, 1131, 1181
 maintaining lineage/succession,</p> | <p>40, 44, 49, 50, 229-30, 247, 266, 381-82, 484, 504, 541, 768, 900, 905, 943, 1002, 1009-10, 1013, 1138, 1149, 1165
 between lineages, 50, 70, 162, 708, 1012, 1164
 by women, 22, 47, 121, 247, 279
 refused, 118, 919
 Adviser to the Army 參軍事, 950, 1234
 agricultural colonies 屯田 [also as military colonies, military agricultural colonies, farming colonies]
 on external frontiers and in the Western Regions, 1, 8, 23, 41, 126, 131, 180, 190, 234, 296, 321, 457, 476, 614, 654, 726, 1109
 within China, 28, 32, 36, 37, 63, 272, 293, 297, 322, 324, 426, 463, 505, 531, 622, 716, 750, 773, 800, 894, 932, 1007, 1026, 1038, 1159
 Agricultural Colonies, Commandant 屯田都尉, 28, 152, 716, 1026
 Agriculture, Colonel in Charge 典</p> | <p>濃校尉, 439, 738
 Commandant in Charge 宜禾都尉, 439
 Commissioner 典農中郎將, 716, 738, 936, 1026, 1111, 1222
 Ailao 哀牢 people, 405, 497, 562, 606, 611, 632, 838, 889, 968, 1120, 1121
 altars, imperial:
 Altar, Northern 北郊 [Altar of Earth], 40, 460, 565, 613
 Altar, Southern 南郊 [Altar of Heaven], 40, 179, 209, 270, 460, 565, 613, 898, 1108
 Altar for Rain 雩場, 565
 [Five] Suburban Altars, 五郊祀, 30, 40, 151, 460, 608, 613
 Anding 安定 commandery, 1207
 Andun 安敦 [emperor of Rome], 1, 600
 Anling 安陵 in Youfufeng, 317, 656
 Anping 安平 commandery/kingdom, 105, 430, 1055, 1059, 1115, 1165, 1197
 Anxi 安息 state [Parthia], 239, 663
 Anyang 安陽 in Runan, Princess of, 32, 930</p> |
|---|---|---|

- Anyi 安邑 in Hedong, 73, 87, 133, 195, 198, 302, 523, 555, 569, 822, 839
- Anzhong 安衆 in Nanyang, 487, 493, 567, 750
- Ao Granary 敖倉 in Henan, 70, 126, 260, 317, 383, 472, 532, 536, 605
- apocryphal texts 讖緯, 33, 40, 84, 194, 204, 207, 318, 338, 346, 367, 394, 439, 460, 477, 498, 504, 565, 574, 701, 756, 812, 825, 854, 922, 947, 960, 965, 979, 1028, 1039, 1049-50, 1126, 1127, and see divination
- Archers Who Shoot at a Sound 射聲 Regiment, 1234
- Archery ceremony, see Great Archery
- Area Commander 都督, 50, 63, 92, 185, 211, 218, 313, 410, 411, 463, 623, 624, 626, 634, 663, 857, 866, 883, 996, 1018, 1048, 1058, 1064, 1111, 1164, 1235, and see Laixiang
- armillary sphere, 229, 382, 617, 970, 1050
- Arsenal 武庫 at Luoyang, 656
- Art of War* 兵法 ascribed to Sima Rangju 司馬穰苴, 215, 248
- Art of War* 兵法 ascribed to Sunzi 孫子 [Sun Wu 武], 35, 38, 223, 731
- Ascending the Imperial Tombs 上陵 ceremony, 30
- Assistant of a commandery 丞, 1228
- Assistant of a county 丞, 1230
- Assistant Officer 從事 in a province, 1228
- astronomy/astrology, 9, 29, 187, 190, 209, 226, 233, 242, 403, 415, 464, 526, 584, 617, 654, 704, 721, 776, 777, 819, 822, 866, 886, 942, 952, 960, 964, 966, 979, 1027, 1101, 1147, 1180
- Astronomer, Court 太史令, 1222, and Bureau of Astronomy, 78, 109, 222, 228, 246, 292, 304, 320, 358, 382, 454, 475, 508, 726, 743, 778, 814, 824, 899, 917, 918, 920, 935, 970, 1046, 1049-50, 1071, 1078, 1174, 1176, 1179, and see calendar and Moon Office and Spiritual Terrace
- Attendant at the Yellow Gates 小黃門, 1218
- Attendant Officer 別駕從事 in a province, 1228
- auspicious grain 嘉禾, 616, 707, 960
- Authority, Staff of 節, 1227-28, 1235
- Authority on Ancient Matters 掌古, 1232
- Ba 巴 commandery, 1205
- Badong 巴東 commandery, 1205
- Bailang shan 白狼山, see White Wolf Mountain
- Banshun 板楯 people, 46, 86, 191, 216, 237, 308, 437, 515, 691, 891, 1015, 1063, 1100, 1107
- Bao 保, see Mo and Bao
- Baoye Road 褒斜道, 59, 97, 230, 581, 818, 832, 860, 953, 1105, 1106, 1174
- Baxi 巴西 commandery, 1205
- Bearer of the Mace 執金吾, 1225
- Beauty 美人 [imperial concubine], 1217
- Beginning of Spring 立春 festival, 310
- Beidi 北地 commandery, 1208
- Beihai 北海 commandery/kingdom, 1201
- Beimang 北芒 hills, 112, 288
- Beiping 北平 in Zhongshan, 830, 1090
- Bian River/Canal 卞河/水, 37, 196, 317, 606, 819, 835, 1011
- Bing province 并州, 1209
- Biyang 比陽 county in Nanyang, Princess, 468
- Biyong* 辟雍, see Circular Moat
- Black Mountain 黑山 bandits, 23, 24, 237, 271, 281, 357, 399, 409, 516, 545, 624, 634, 697, 708, 745, 762, 772, 788, 808, 864, 878, 949, 994, 1010, 1020, 1062, 1064, 1083, 1162, 1185
- Bobo 白波 bandits, 23, 280, 302, 325, 419, 516, 679, 712, 949, 1020, 1104
- Bohai 勃海 commandery, 1198
- Boling 博陵 commandery/kingdom, 1197
- Boma 白馬 hills in Henei, bandits, 70
- Boma 白馬 in Dong commandery, 440; King [under Wei], 35, 366
- Book of Filial Piety*, moral influence, 82, 127, 208, 754, 824, 888
- Boyang 鄱陽, see Poyang
- brevet magistrate 守令/長, see magistrate
- Bright Hall 明堂, 40, 337, 460, 565, 608, 613, 1039, 1108, 1169
- Bronze Horse 銅馬 bandits, 70, 112, 133, 145, 225, 250, 348-49, 560, 726, 766, 820, 868, 971, 1019
- Buddha 浮圖/浮屠/Buddhism, 120, 579, 602, 607, 887, 1028, 1158-59, 1173
- Bureau 曹, 1221, 1226, 1229, 1230, 1231
for All Purposes in a commandery 五官曹, 1229
- Buwei 不韋 in Yizhou commandery [later in Yongchang], 542
- cadet gentleman 郎, 1222, 1230
three [civilian] corps 三署, 1222
- Caiyang 蔡陽 in Nanyang, 487, 490, 519, 537, 539, 558, 567, 594
- calendar, 103, 146, 148, 167, 315,

- 368, 384, 578, 617, 1112, 1126, 1127, 1128-29
 under Emperor Guangwu, 911, 1157
 under Emperor Ming, 13, 152, 383, 946, 1066, 1074
 under Emperor Zhang, 21, 367, 408, 410-11, 462, 498, 503, 761, 850, 917, 920, 925, 940, 1066
 under Emperor He, 925, 1175-76
 under Emperor An, 50, 84, 108, 344, 416, 447, 524, 718, 740, 1049, 1150
 under Emperor Shun, 20, 995, 1177-78
 under Emperor Ling, 30, 68, 215, 222, 292, 385, 507, 510, 1175, 1178
 under Wei, 75, 246, 304, 772, 918
 under Wu, 31-32, 388, 510
 calligraphy, 29, 48, 71, 101, 104, 175, 176, 274, 292, 306, 325, 351, 354, 364, 453, 534, 632, 633, 683, 724, 741, 756, 794, 808, 851, 852, 973, 1036, 1052, 1090, 1091, 1109, 1114, 1133, 1135, 1156, 1185
 under Emperor Ling, 366, 376, 448, 453, 500, 501, 512, 955, 1019
 canal works, 37, 109, 130, 156, 184, 200, 310, 496, 660, 801, 807, 825, 834, 999, and see water control, also *sub*
 Bian, Hutuo, Junyi, Pinglu, Quanzhou, Yang and Vast Canals
 Cangwu 蒼梧 commandery, 1213
 Canlang 參狼, see Shenlang tribe of the Qiang
 Cap of Manhood, to take 加元服/capping 冠禮, 34, 92, 98, 123, 177, 450, 454, 456, 460, 474, 498, 513, 533, 555, 572, 581, 586, 589, 591, 596-97, 798, 1006, 1069, 1072, 1140
 Capital Granary 京師倉 in Hongnong, 132, 288, 295, 568, 733, 829, 835, 997
 Capital Hostel 都亭 at Luoyang, 169-70
 Captain 候, 1234-35
 Cavalier Attendant 散騎侍郎, 1225
 Cavalier Regular Attendant 散騎常侍, 1225
 Celestial Masters 天師 [Taoist], 1051, 1065, and see the biography of Zhang Lu
 Censorate [Imperial Clerks], 1222, 1224, 1225, 1227
 Chancellor, Imperial 丞相, 37, 1221
 Chancellor of State 相國, 158, 361, 1099, 1135
 Chancellor 相 of a county marquisate, 1220
 Chancellor 相 of a kingdom, 1220
 Chang River 長水 Regiment, 40, 308, 472, 716, 1234
 Chang Slope 長阪 in Nan commandery, 37, 40, 481, 862, 911, 1043, 1114
 Chang'an 長安 in Jingzhao, *saepe*
 Chang'an, Lady of 長安君, 918
 Changcheng 昌城 in Julu, 552, 556, 595
 Changguang 長廣 commandery, 312
 Changle Palace [Prolonged Joy] 長樂宮, 161, 812, 1217
 Coachman 長樂太僕, 10, 1218
 Commandant of the Guards 長樂衛尉, 43, 48, 81, 166, 323, 616, 805, 849, 850, 897, 982, 1044, 1109, 1218
 Steward 長樂少府, 283, 340, 347, 437, 449, 470, 473, 912, 1097, 1155, 1218
 Changling 長陵 in Youfufeng [later in Jingzhao], 268, 841
 Changlü 昌慮 in Donghai [as a commandery], 978
 Changping Slope 長平阪, 301, 650
 Changqiu Palace [Prolonged Autumn] 長秋宮, 1217, and see Grand Prolonger of Autumn
 Changsha 長沙 commandery/kingdom, 1203
 Changshan 常山 commandery/kingdom, 1197
 Changshan Pass 常山關, 870
 Changshe 長社 in Yingchuan, Princess, 262, 468
 Changyi 昌邑 in Shanyang, 7, 768, 959
 Chaoqe 朝歌 in Henei, 679, 998-99
 Chen 陳 commandery/kingdom, 1196
 Chencang 陳倉 in Youfufeng, 91, 157, 225, 301, 308, 356, 624, 630, 814, 1101
 Cheng'an 成安 in Yingchuan, Princess, 554
 Chengdu 成都 in Shu commandery, *saepe*
 Chenggao 成臯 in Henan, 701, 722
 Chengyang 城陽 commandery/kingdom, 261, 771, 1199, 1200
 Chengyang 城陽 in Langye, 570
 Chengyang 成陽 in Jiying, 277, 540, 960, 979, 1133-34
 Chenliu 陳留 commandery, 1198
 Chief Clerk 長史
 in a commandery, 1228
 in a kingdom, 1229
 to a general, 1234
 see also *sub* Western Regions
 Chief Clerk in Command of Troops 將兵長史, 5, 24, 80, 115, 790, 791, 812, 866, 1234
 Chief Controller 都督, 1235, and see Area Commander
 chief district 都鄉, 1220
 Chief General 大將軍, 1233 [and see General-in-Chief]
 of Agile Cavalry 驃騎大將軍,

- 180, 383, 1177
Who Supports Han 輔漢大將軍, 1035
chief village 都亭, 1220
Chongling 春陵 in Nanyang, 435, 487, 490, 519, 539, 558, 567, 594-95, 1167
Chosen Woman 采女 [imperial concubine], 1217
Chu 楚 commandery/kingdom, 1200
Chu ci 楚辭 "The Songs of the South," 635, 838
Chuge, see Xiuchuge 休著/屠各
Chuihui 垂惠 in Pei, 379, 584, 620, 651, 760, 800, 1142-43, 1148
Circular Moat, Hall 辟雍 [*Bi-yong*], 230, 337, 340, 438, 460, 477, 565, 571, 722, 806, 1039, 1108, 1164, and see Great Archery and Serving the Aged clepsydra, 358, 411, 743, 850, 978, 1050
Coach-houses for the imperial equipage, Prefect 車府令, 906
Coachman 太僕 at a royal court, 373, see also Minister Coachman and *sub* Palace of Perpetual Peace
coinage/currency, 145, 158, 270, 471, 548, 563, 659, 750, 1160
Collator 校書 in an imperial library, 6, 114, 174, 549, 648, 669, 838
Colonel 校尉, 1234
Northern Army 北軍校尉, 1234
Western Garden 西園校尉, 1234
see also *sub* Western Regions
Colonel of the City Gates 城門校尉, 1125
colonies 屯田, see agricultural colonies
Commandant of a commandery 都尉, 1228-29
of a county 尉, 1230
of a Dependent State 屬國都尉, 1229
Commandant of Attendant Cavalry 鮪馬都尉, 1223
Commandant of Cavalry 騎都尉, 1223
Commandant of the Capital 中尉 in a kingdom, 1229
Commandant of the Equipage 奉車都尉, 1223
commandery 郡, 1228
Commission of Eight (in 142), 181, 221, 294, 339, 413, 450, 473, 475, 631, 1045, 1145, 1150, 1227
Commissioner in Embroidered Garments 繡衣直指, 57
Commissioner in Plain Clothes 微服使者, 57, 415
Commissioner to the [Northern] Frontier 安邊節使, 890
company in a field army 曲, 1235
company in a garrison position 候官, 1235
Consultant 議郎, 1223
Controller 督, 1235
convict 徒, 1234
convict with sentence commuted 弛刑, 1234
Copper Bird Terrace 銅雀臺 at Ye city, 38, 51
Counsellor, Attendant 中散大夫, 1223
Counsellor, Household 光祿大夫, 1223
Counsellor, Palace 太中大夫, 1223
Counsellor Remonstrant 諫議大夫, 1223
Counsellor, Royal 御侍大夫 under Wei, 333, and see Imperial Counsellor
county 縣, 1220, 1226, 1230
Court Architect 將作大匠, 1225
Court Astronomer 太史令, see *sub* astronomy
Court Musician 太樂令, see *sub* music
Court Physician 太醫令, 126, 187, 219, 292, 320, 360, 489, 696, 740, 944, 1131, 1224 and see medicine
Court Provisioner 太官令, 83, 247, 737, 1034, 1224
court, take part in the affairs of/attend 臨朝 [regent Dowager], 122-23, 136
Criminals, Officer for 賊曹 in a commandery, 55, 89, 342, 873, 1069
Dai 代 commandery, 1211
Daifang 帶方 commandery, 268, 1036
Dali Lake 大里湖 in Yongchang, 405, 606, 611, 632, 838, 1120
Daling River 大凌河, 37, 125, 590, 781
Dan'er 僇耳 people, 607, 1043
Dangxiang 當鄉 in Runan, 402
Danyang 丹陽 commandery, 1204
non-Chinese of the hills, see Shanyue 山越
Daqin 大秦 [Roman Empire], 1, 125, 239, 600, 990
Datong 大彤 bandits, 208, 365, 1035, 1135
Dayuan 大宛 [Ferghana], 432, 704, 885, 969
Dependent State 屬國, 1229
Di 氏 people, 390, 416, 639, 659, 685, 700, 710, 761, 855, 872, 969, 1056, 1164
White Horse 白馬 tribe, 269, 402
Xingguo 興國 tribe, 1
Di 禘 and Xia 禘 sacrifices, 1039
Dian Lake 滇湖, 811
Didao 狄道 in Longxi, 248
Dingjun Mountain 定軍山, battle (219), 38, 185, 194, 283, 352, 482, 829, 884-85, 1048, 1113
Dingling 丁零 people, 56
Dingtao 定陶 in Jiying, 250, 580
Dingxi 丁奚 in Beidi, 177-78, 257, 355, 731, 747, 1133

- Dingxiang 定襄 commandery, 1210
- Director 正 in the Ministry of Justice, 74, 83, 281
- Director of the Army 軍正, 800
- Director of Retainers 司隸校尉, 1226, 1228
- Disrespect 不敬, 13, 30-31, 79, 346, 529, 618, 945, 956, 1047, 1131
- district 鄉, 1220, 1230
- divination and fortune-telling, 94, 99, 150, 154, 198, 207, 221, 227, 233, 265-66, 269, 281, 304, 314, 315, 327, 339, 375, 384, 394, 403, 412, 423, 431, 444, 464, 491, 551, 618, 634, 670, 675, 679, 688, 703, 713, 734, 754, 759, 766, 771, 806, 807, 808, 819, 866, 901, 903, 917, 918, 934, 977, 998, 1027, 1050, 1131, 1149, and see apocrypha, astronomy/astrology, dreams; by birds, 829, 964 by diagrams and numbers, 105, 217, 265, 414, 421, 584, 818, 917, 960, 1096, 1119 by oracle bones, 454, 518, 526, 907 by wind/weather, 191, 207, 209, 403, 404, 405, 464, 708, 721, 740, 866, 872, 895, 964, 1027, 1032, 1037, 1049, 1127
- Dodder Park 菟苑 at Luoyang, 451
- Dong 東 commandery, 1198
- Dong'a 東阿 in Dong commandery, 92, 1026
- Dong'an 東安 in Langye [as a commandery], 566, 712, 835
- Dongguan 東莞 in Donghai [as a commandery], 978
- Donghai 東海 commandery/kingdom, 1200
- Donglai 東來 commandery, 1202
- Dongping 東平 commandery/kingdom, 1199
- Dongwuyang 東武陽 in Dong commandery, 1025
- Dongye 東冶 in Kuaiji, 765, 823, 1122
- Dongzhou Troops 東州兵, 573, 587, 1106
- Dowager 皇太后, 1216-18
- dreams, 20, 78, 93, 121, 187, 203, 237, 269, 282, 331, 333, 403, 438, 444, 491, 527, 545, 554, 593, 635, 694, 751, 755, 763, 798, 838, 863-64, 886, 915, 916, 944, 970-72, 1047, 1068, 1074, 1115, 1128, 1146, 1150
- Drying House 暴室, see prisons
- Duke 公, see under fiefs
- Duke Who Continues and Honours the Yin 殷紹嘉公, 389
- Dukes 公, see Excellencies
- Duling 杜陵 in Jingzhao, 796, 841, 931
- Dunhuang 敦煌 commandery, 1208, Administrator, 1236
- Dunrenyi 敦忍乙 people, 676
- E 鄂 in Jiangxia; see Wuchang
- Eastern Garden 東園, 524, 1224
- Eastern Pavilion 東觀 library, 1225
- education, 101, 467, 670, 707, 754, 823, 925, 986, 1136, 1222, 1232
- Assistant Officer for Education 勸學從事/師友從事 in a province, 704, 980, 986, 1075, 1147
- Education Officer/ Literary Scholar in a commandery 文學[掾], 77, 176, 263, 858, 863, 876, 955, 964; offices 學官, 543, 619, 863; Senior Officer 文學祭酒, 1019
- Education, Colonel for 典學校尉 in Shu-Han, 401
- see also *Book of Filial Piety*
- Elite Cavalry 越騎 Regiment, 1234
- Emissary to the Xiongnu 使匈奴 中郎將, 1235
- Emperor 皇帝, 1216
- Empress 皇后, 1217
- Empty City stratagem 空城計, 863, 1115, 1173
- Enclosure of the Left/Right, Prefect 左/右校令, 1225
- epidemics, see sickness
- Er ya* 爾雅 dictionary, 173, 367, 433
- Examiner 校事 [censorial officer under Cao Cao], 243, 617, 1106
- Excellencies, the Three 三公, 1221, 1222, 1226-27, 1231
- Excellency over the Masses 司徒/Grand Excellency over the Masses, 1221
- Excellency of Works 司空/Grand Excellency of Works, 1221
- Exceptional Quality 尤異 [of administration], 83, 151, 184, 217, 230, 583, 833, 1053, and see *sub* nomination
- faction 部黨, accusations, 31-32, 107, 184, 206, 214, 248, 320, 334, 349, 357, 378, 533, 556, 602, 766, 805, 831, 840, 892, 894-95, 939, 958, 967, 1054, and see *sub* proscription
- Fan 范 in Dong commandery, 207
- Fan 樊 in Nanyang, siege (219), 38, 47, 156, 308, 483, 663, 686, 689, 905, 982, 997, 1158
- Fangling 房陵 commandery, 114, 399, 504, 667, 887
- Fanting Mountain 凡亭山, battle (169), 189
- farming, see agriculture
- Feathered Forest guards 羽林郎, 1223, 1232-33
- General of the Household 中郎將, 1222-23
- Inspector of the Left 羽林左監, 335
- Fen River 汾水, 293, 357, 368, 712, 1020

- Feng and Shan 封禪 sacrifices, 134, 214, 285, 337, 460, 565, 641, 968, 1039, 1108
- Fengyi Mountain 逢義山, battle (168), 189
- festivals of Fishes and Dragons 魚龍 and the Manyan 曼延 monster, 126
- First Class 高第, 1231, and see Number One
- Five Banners 五幡 (*Wufan*) bandits, 224, 651, 868
- Five Dou of Rice sect 五斗米道 or Rice Sect or Rice Rebels 米賊, 1066, and see the biography of Zhang Lu
- Five Streams 五溪/濞溪/武溪 people, 258, 542, 660, also as Five Gorges
- Five Towers 五樓 (*Wulou*) bandits, 224, 868, 971, 1077, 1173
- Five-fold Experienced 五更, 214, 337, 608, 1153
- Flying Fox Road 飛狐道, 180, 800
- Footsoldiers 步兵 Regiment, 1234
- Foreman Clerk 令史, 142, 666, 1121, 1130, 1226, 1227
- Four Types of Virtuous Conduct 四行, 201, 493, 876
- Fu River 涪水, 54, 87, 267, 270, 292, 631, 680, 841, 932, 961, 1023
- Fu 涪 in Guanghan, 875, 1174
- Fucheng 父城 in Yingchuan, 223, 672
- Fuchun 富春 in Wu, 313, 330, 769, 994, 1032
- Fufeng 扶風, see Youfufeng
- Fuhan 枹漢 in Longxi, 753-54
- Fuling 阜陵 in Jiujiang, King, 485, 493, 500, 503, 518, 544, 550, 571
- Funan 扶南 state, 626
- Fuping 富平 in Beidi, battle (117), 124, 652, 719
- Fuping 富平 in Pingyuan, bandits, 236, 261, 909
- Fuyang 復陽 in Nanyang, 904, 1167
- Fuyu 夫餘 people, 125, 237, 263, 271, 581, 600, 763, 861, 971
- Gan River 贛水 in Yuzhang, 795, 1046
- Ganling 甘陵 commandery/kingdom, 1198
- Ganyu 贛榆 in Langye, 71, 153, 689
- Gaocheng 高城 in Bohai, Princess, 33
- Gaogouli 高句驪 people, 23-24, 26, 84, 108, 125, 210, 217, 254, 257, 263, 268, 385, 581, 590, 611, 677, 702, 763, 861, 970-71, 988, 1029, 1036, 1171
- Gaoliang 高涼/高梁 commandery, 1213
- Gaoliu 高柳 in Dai commandery, 369, 869
- Gaomi 高密 commandery/kingdom, 1202
- Gaoping 高平 in Shanyang, Princess, 229, 468
- Gaoxing 高興 commandery, 1213
- Gaoyi 高邑 in Changshan, 560
- Garden of the Shining Dragon 濯龍園, 599, 602
- Garrison Cavalry 屯騎 Regiment, 1234
- Gates for Official Carriages, Prefect of the Majors 公車 [門]司馬令, 177, 892, 1001, 1049, 1154, 1223
- Gate of the Vast Capital 鴻都門 at Luoyang, 40, 67, 105, 146, 394, 400, 438, 551, 634, 740, 902, 922, 1019, 1057, 1105, 1119, 1155
- School 鴻都門學, 30, 376, 500, 512-13, 947, 955, 958, 1019, 1233
- General 將軍, 1233
- of Agile Cavalry 驃騎將軍, 143, 157, 176, 191, 356, 489, 531, 639, 1086, 1150, 1233
- of Chariots and Cavalry 車騎將軍, 1233
- Controller and Protector 都護將軍, 365
- of the Guards 衛將軍, 1233
- on the Left 左將軍, 1233
- on the Liao 度遼將軍, 606, 1233, 1235, Acting 行, 874, 1235
- New Beginning (*gengshi*) 更始將軍, 567
- of the Rear 後將軍, 1233
- on the Right 右將軍, 1233
- of Towered Ships 樓舟將軍, 191
- of the Van 前將軍, 1233
- Who Detests the Xin Dynasty 厭新將軍, 532
- Who Exterminates the Caitiffs 討虜將軍, 772
- Who Exterminates Rebels 討逆將軍, 765, 1233
- Who is Firm and Majestic 武威將軍, 542, 1233
- Who Maintains the South in Peace 鎮南將軍, 486, 1166
- Who Smashes the Caitiffs 破虜將軍, 769
- Who Subdues the West 征西將軍, 249, 1233
- Who Supports Han 輔漢將軍, 494, 997
- Who Supports the State 輔國將軍, 233
- General-in-Chief 大將軍, 1217, 1233, and see Chief General
- General of the Household 中郎將, 1222
- for All Purposes 五官中郎將, 1222
- of the Left 左中郎將, 1222
- of the Right 右中郎將, 1222
- see also Feathered Forest and Rapid as Tigers guards
- General of the Household Manager of the Army 掌軍中郎將, 150

- General of the Household
Protector of the Xiongnu 護匈奴中郎將, 1053, and see Emissary
- Gong 共 in Henei, Princess, 492
- Gong'an 公安 in Nan commandery, 481, 588, 738
- Governor 牧 of a province, 1228
- grain policy/price control, 472, 536, 605, and see monopolies
- Ever-Full Granary 常滿倉, 472, 605
- Ever-Normal Granaries 常平倉, 472
- Office for Price Adjustment and Stabilisation, 均輸官, 472, 536, 634
- granaries, official
- commandery office 倉曹, 106
 - county granary, 980
 - Great Granary 太倉 at Luoyang, 605, 705, 777, 880, 1106, see also Ao Granary and Capital Granary
- granaries open in time of distress, 126, 144, 183, 209, 259, 300, 316, 475, 592, 625, 762
- Grand Chief Commandant for Han 漢大都尉 [non-Chinese], 139, 990, and see Western Regions
- Grand Commandant 太尉, 1221
- Grand Excellency over the Masses 大司徒, 1221, and see Excellency over the Masses
- Grand Excellency of Works 大司空, 1221, and see Excellency of Works
- Grand Marshal 大司馬, 47, 72, 85, 191, 210, 264, 267, 272, 383, 414, 418, 438, 495, 531, 550, 559, 563-64, 568, 579, 585, 626, 627, 739, 760, 777, 799, 868, 894, 909, 932, 961, 983, 1084, 1101, 1108, 1153, 1166-68, 1171, 1221, and see Grand Commandant and the biography of Wu Han;
- Grand Marshal of the Van 前大司馬, 495
- Grand Master 太師, 158, 821-22, 920, 1162,
- Grand Minister of Agriculture 大司農, see Minister of Finance
- Grand Prolonger of Autumn 大長秋, 1217, and see Changqiu Palace
- Grand Tutor 太傅, see *sub* Tutor
- Great Archery 大射 ceremony, 40, 244, 337, 608, 613, 1069, 1164
- Great Exorcism 大讎, 126
- Great Peace, Book of* 太平經, 238
- Great Peace, Way of 太平道, 514-15, 1058 and see the biography of Zhang Jue
- Great Refractoriness 大逆, 137, 393, 579, 1131
- Green Calf 青犢 bandits, 13, 260, 317, 365, 766, 868, 1019
- Gu River 穀水, 825, and see Stone Bridge
- Guandu 官度 in Henan, battle (200), 37, 42, 98, 243, 290, 376, 386, 631, 716, 730, 763, 884, 905, 928, 996, 1011, 1018, 1048, 1105
- Guangchuan 廣川 kingdom, 1198
- Guang'e 廣阿 in Julu, 255, 382, 397, 559
- Guanghan 廣漢 commandery, 1205
- Guanghan 廣漢 in Guanghan, 932, 1023
- Guanghan Dependent State 廣漢屬國, 1206
- Guangle 廣樂 in Liang, 317, 580, 760, 869, 871, 1142
- Guangling 廣陵 commandery/kingdom, 1200
- Guangping 廣平 commandery/kingdom, 180, 553, 744, 868, 1197
- Guangyang 廣陽 commandery/kingdom, 1211
- Guangzong 廣宗 kingdom, 1197
- Guanjun 冠軍 in Nanyang, Princess, 517
- Guantao 館陶 in Wei, Princess, 493
- Guardian of Honesty 司直, 179, 236, 656, 824, 920
- Guisai 媯塞 state, 745
- Guiyang 桂陽 commandery, 1203
- Guling 固陵 commandery, 683
- Gumo 姑墨 state, 5-6, 8, 23-24, 457
- Hall of All-Embracing Brightness 宣名殿 library, 608, 1225
- Hall of the Established Beginning 建始殿, 761
- Hall of Virtuous Light 德陽殿, 338, 765
- Han Feizi 韓非子, 206, 549, 1151
- Han 韓 people, see Mahan 馬韓
- Han'an 漢安 commandery, 1195
- Hanchang 漢昌 commandery, 621, 628
- Handan 邯鄲 in Zhao, 111, 118, 184, 250, 260, 365, 386, 419, 530, 559-60, 696, 800, 823, 868, 893, 1036, 1062, 1157
- Hangu Pass 函谷關 in Hongnong, 197-98, 800, 981
- Hanning 漢寧 commandery, 1205
- Hanshou 漢壽 in Wuling, 830
- Hanshou Village, Marquis 漢壽亭侯 [Guan Yu], 277
- Hanxing 漢興 commandery, 1195
- Hanyang 漢陽 commandery, 1207
- Hanzhong 漢中 commandery/kingdom, 1204
- He 郾 in Changshan, 560
- Headquarters Officer 治中從事 in a province, 61, 82, 152, 331, 348, 419, 609, 695, 730, 806, 823, 828, 831, 951, 1038, 1155, 1228
- Hedong 河東 commandery, 1194
- Hefei 合肥 in Jiujiang, 37, 79, 239, 273, 313, 319, 331, 375, 377, 410, 467, 505, 628, 683, 692, 754, 773, 777, 789, 795, 861, 910, 923, 946, 973, 1052, 1064, 1079

- Heir 太子, 1216
- Hejian 河間 commandery/kingdom, 1197
- Henan 河南 commandery, 1194
- Intendant 河南尹, 1224
- Henei 河內 commandery, 1194
- Hengnong 恆農 commandery, 1194
- Hepu 合浦 commandery, 1213
- Hetu 河圖, Diagrams from the Yellow River, 384, 960, 1119
- Heyang 河陽 in Zuopingyi, 46, 722
- Hongnong 弘農 commandery, 1194
- Hongxi/Hongqi dam 鴻郤陂, 112, 915
- Honoured Lady 貴人 [imperial concubine], 1217
- Houguan 候官 in Kuaiji, 304, 313, 315, 726, 1031, 1083
- Hu/Ku 苦 in Chen, 20, 275, 390
- Huai River 淮河, *saepe*
- Huai 懷 in Henei, 594
- Huaili 懷里 in Youfufeng, 45, 97, 502, 650, 658, 724
- Huainan zi 淮南子, 246, 350, 649
- Huaiyang 淮陽 commandery/kingdom, 1196
- Huan 皖 in Lujiang, 239, 296, 414, 424, 467, 570, 628, 1015, 1022, 1064, 1083, 1093
- Huang-Lao 黃老, 119-20, 127, 165, 199, 202, 208, 217, 275, 310, 324, 380, 396, 494, 553, 579, 597, 601-02, 607, 714, 720, 767, 858, 887, 952, 1058, 1114, 1117, 1123, 1148, 1173
- Huang Shan 黃山 range in Danyang, 74, 313, 381, 663, 712, 1180
- Huangcheng 皇城 in Shangdang, 12, 223, 419, 1075, 1159
- Huangzhong 湟中 [the valley of the Xining 西寧河 or Huang River 湟水], 130, 301
- Loyal Auxiliary of Barbarians 湟中義從胡, 14, 130, 188-89, 283, 653
- Huayin 華陰 in Hongnong, 190, 289, 418, 785, 805, 1042, 1161
- battle (23), 132, 568, 835, 997
- battle (211), 38, 47, 92, 301, 324, 419, 463, 639, 650, 853, 884, 902, 940, 958, 1051, 1056, 1135, 1164
- Hui and Mo 濊貊 people, 26, 217, 263, 581, 970
- Huling 湖陵 in Shanyang, 379, 580, 760, 804, 1142
- Huoja 獲嘉 in Henei, Princess, 215, 518
- Huosuo 獲索 bandits, 231, 261, 294, 909
- Hutuo Mountain 壺頭山 in Wuling, 258, 889
- Hutuo River 呼/虜沱河, 534, 651, 800, 940
- canal project, 114, 130, 496
- Huyang 湖陽 in Nanyang, 199, 487, 552, 604
- Princess, 517
- immortal/ity 仙人, 61, 68, 78, 210, 238, 294, 332, 362, 380, 437, 702, 726, 778, 815, 829, 882, 975, 994, and see longevity
- Impartial and Just 中正, 75, 737
- Imperial Clerks 侍御史 in the Censorate, 1227
- Preparer of Documents 治書侍御史, 1227
- Imperial Clerk in Command of Troops 督軍御史, 146
- Imperial Counsellor 御侍大夫, 95, 470, 543, 563, 1221, 1227
- Imperial Secretariat 尚書, see Secretariat
- Imperial University 太學, 1222, 1225, 1232
- Impiety 無/不道, 20, 136, 166, 233, 278, 351, 389, 393, 406, 430, 466, 491, 494, 507, 527, 567, 579, 581, 593, 613, 678, 738, 751, 823, 858, 1102, 1106
- India, 600, 607, 611, 1120
- Insignia and Credentials, Prefect 符節令, 1225
- Inspector 刺史 of a province/region, 1228-1231, 1236
- Internuncios 謁者, 1227
- Supervisor 謁者僕射, 1227
- Internuncio for Engineering 將作謁者, 835
- Internuncio in charge of the Camp at Liyang 監黎陽營謁者, 130, 386, 408, 937, 1098 [as Internuncio in charge of the Reserve Camp of the Trans-Liao Command 監度遼營謁者], 1227, 1234
- Investigator 都郵, 1229
- invitation to the office of an Excellency 辟公府, 1231
- iron, 854, 881, and see metal and monopolies
- Jade Hall 玉堂 at Luoyang, 610
- Jade House 玉室, see Stone House in Chengdu
- Jade Sceptre Park 畢圭苑, 513, 722, 948
- Japan, 268, 563
- Wa/Wo 倭 people, 125, 697, 741, 787
- Ji province 冀州, 1196
- Ji 冀 in Hanyang, 230, 316, 376, 453, 639, 687, 840, 847, 849, 854, 869, 898, 938, 943, 950, 965, 1094, 1104, 1180
- Ji 薊 in Guangyang, 117, 224, 257, 260, 272, 559, 586, 693-94, 799, 823, 971, 1098, 1157, 1121
- Ji Colonel 己校尉 see Wu and Ji Colonels
- Jiameng 葭萌 in Guanghan, 231, 358, 482, 888
- Jian'an 建安 in Kuaiji, 313
- Jianchang 建昌 in Yuzhang, 781
- Jiang 絳 in Hedong, 1158
- Jiangling 江陵 kingdom, 507, 1202
- Jiangling 江陵 in Nan command-

- ery, 37, 40, 47, 53-54, 239, 328, 425, 427, 436, 467, 481, 528, 628, 667, 671, 680, 738, 773, 792, 862, 905, 1152-53, 1166
- Jiangxia 江夏 commandery, 1203
- Jiangyang 江陽 in Jianwei [as a commandery], 89, 93, 580, 695, 738
- Jiangzhou 江州 in Ba, 54, 211, 218, 269, 270, 561, 717, 792-93, 941, 1023, 1043, 1107, 1114-15
- Jianwei 犍爲 commandery, 1205
- Jianwei Dependent State 犍爲屬國, 1206
- Jianye 建業 in Danyang, 622, 767, 773-74, 910, 1052, 1063
- Jiao province 交州/Jiaozhi region 交趾部, 1213
- Jiaodong 膠東 commandery/kingdom, 1202
- Jiaozhi 交趾 commandery, 1213
- Jibei 濟北 kingdom, 1199
- Jie Bridge 界橋 in Qinghe, battle (192), 272, 711, 934, 1010
- Jiedu Village 解瀆亭 in Hejian, Marquis, 147, 492, 510, 546, 612, 880
- Jiluo Mountain 稽落山 in Mongolia, battle (89), 115, 171, 249, 256, 258, 447, 742, 796, 874, 930, 937
- Ji'nan 濟南 commandery/kingdom, 1201
- Jincheng 金城 commandery, 1207
- Jing province 荊州, 1202
- Jingzhao/Jingzhao yin 京北尹 commandery, 1194
- Intendant [*vin*] 京北尹, 1226
- Jinmen 金門 hills in Henei, bandits, 70
- Jinpu 金蒲 in Jushi, 252, 275
- Jinwei ranges 金微山 in the Altai Mountains, 256
- Jinxiang 金鄉 in Shanyang, 321
- Jinyang 晉陽 in Taiyuan, 634, 1058
- Jishi Mountain 積石山, battle (160), 188
- Jiujiang 九江 commandery, 1203
- Jiuyan 酒泉 commandery, 1208
- Jiuyuan 九原 in Wuyuan, 614-15, 763
- Jiuzhen 九真 commandery, 1214
- Jiyang 棘陽 in Nanyang, 52, 439, 487-88, 558, 567, 594, 803
- Jiyin 濟陰 commandery/kingdom, 1199
- Ju River 菊水 in Nanyang, 327
- Ju 莒 in Langye, 195-96, 890, 1021
- Ju 劇 in Zichuan [later in Beihai], 261, 1035
- Juancheng 甄城 in Jiyin, 282, 929
- Juchao 居巢 in Lujiang, 1022
- Juli 巨里 in Ji'nan, 211, 261
- Julu 鉅鹿 commandery/ kingdom, 1196
- Jumi 拘彌 state, 2, 5, 94, 144, 210, 372, 640, 704, 709, 819, 885, 897, 899, 916, 969, 1102
- Junior Clerk 屬 in the office of an Excellency, 1231
- Junior Gentleman 童子朗, 349, 748, 893, 1024, 1098, 1183, 1232
- Junyi 浚儀 in Chenliu, 1018
- Princess, 604
- Junyi Trench 浚儀渠, 818, 835, 1018
- Jushi region [Turfan], 6, 14, 24, 72, 125, 163, 213, 252, 275, 356, 432, 476, 497, 587, 606, 646, 885, 1026, 1104, 1128
- Jushi, Further 後車師 state, 1, 3, 8, 15, 44, 51, 73, 125, 202, 248-49, 252, 275, 319, 380, 387, 679, 680, 691, 702, 725, 740, 754, 757, 780, 787, 826-27, 860, 900, 935, 939, 991, 1044, 1174
- Jushi, Nearer, 前車師 state, 1, 8, 51, 73, 190, 202, 248-49, 252-53, 275, 356, 387, 757, 780, 826-27, 860, 885, 900, 1040, 1174
- Justice, Department 理曹 [Wei], 243, 692, and see Department of Law 法曹
- Juyan in Zhangye Dependent State 張掖居延屬國, 1209
- Juyong 居庸 in Guangyang, 710
- Juyong Pass 居庸關, 870
- Kaiyang 開陽 in Langye, 521, 1021
- Kangju 康居 state [Sogdiana], 5, 704, 969, 1132
- kingdom 王國, 1219, 1229
- Ku 苦 in Chen, see Hu 苦
- Kuaiji 會稽 commandery, 1204
- Kunming 昆明 people, 632
- Kunyang 昆陽 in Yingchuan, 119, 919
- battle (23), 72, 111, 167, 223, 231, 434, 488, 550, 558-59, 567-68, 651, 672, 714, 799, 804, 810, 821, 1107, 1171, 1177
- La 臘 winter/New Year sacrifice, 305, 972-73
- Laixiang 庾降 territory in Yi province, Area Commander, 113, 416, 662, 1086
- Langye 琅邪 commandery/kingdom, 1200
- Langzhong 閬中 in Ba, 202, 1040, 1043
- Lanling 蘭陵 in Donghai, 15, 317-18
- Lantian 藍田 in Jingzhao, 827, 931
- Laozi 老子, 119-20, 181, 275, 380, 390, 549, 597, 601, 648, 812, 843, 1058, 1149, 1181, and see Huang-Lao
- Laozi ming 老子銘 stele, 20, 275, 601
- Lateral Courts 掖庭, 129, 212, 1217-18
- Prefect 掖庭令, 18, 1217
- and see *sub* prisons

- Law, Department 法曹 [Wei], 243,
and see Department of Justice
- Le'an 樂安 commandery/kingdom,
1201
- Lcheng 樂城 commandery/
kingdom, 1197
- Legal Matters, Officer 決曹 in a
commandery, 342, 670, 672,
828, 986, and see *sub* Criminal,
Law and Justice departments
- Leiyang 耒陽 in Guiyang, 854
- Lelang 樂浪 commandery, 1212
- Leling 樂陵 commandery, 69, 297
- Li 里 people, 1087
- Li 歷 in Hanyang, 373, 378
- Liang province 涼州, 1207
Inspector 涼州刺史, 1236
- Liang province rebellion, see the
biographies of Beigong Boyu
and Han Sui
- Liang 梁 commandery/kingdom,
1196
- Lianju 令居 in Jincheng, 685, 896
- Liaodong 遼東 commandery, 1212
- Liaodong Dependent State 遼東屬
國, 1212
- Liaoxi 遼西 commandery, 1212
- Libationer 祭酒, 141, 910, 1019
- Libationer, as head of the Imperial
University 太學祭酒, 1222
- Libationers 祭酒 [under Zhang
Lu], 1067
- Libationers of the Rice Magicians
米巫祭酒, 343, 669, 832, 949,
1073, 1098
- libraries, see Eastern Pavilion,
Orchid Terrace, Palace Library,
Private Library, Stone House
- Lieutenant-General 偏將軍, 1233
- Ligui 驪歸 state, 861, 1021
- Linchuan 臨川 commandery, 1165
- Lingguang Palace 靈光宮 in Lu,
538, 838
- Lingling 零陵 commandery, 1203
- Lingzhou 靈州 in Beidi, 138, 444,
930
- Linhuai 臨淮 commandery, 1201
- Linlü 林慮 in Henei, 249, and see
619, 785, 843, 936, 1180, and
see immortality
- Longlü 隆慮 in Henei, Princess,
579
- Longxi 隴西 commandery, 1207
- Lu 魯 commandery/kingdom,
1196
- Luduo 鹿蓼 people, 889
- Lueyang 略陽 in Tianshui, 381,
402, 438, 453, 794, 848
- Luhun Pass 陸渾關, 197-98, 894
- Lujiang 廬江 commandery/king-
dom, 1204
- Luling 廬陵 commandery, 1204
- Luo 雒 people of Jiaozhi, 1119
- Luo 雒 in Guanghan, 268, 573,
588, 653, 689, 712, 718, 777,
803, 830, 1073, 1095
- Luoping 平皋 in Dong, Princess,
554
- Luoshu 洛書, Book from the Luo,
384, 960, 1119
- Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan [imperial
capital], *passim*
Prefect 洛陽令, 1226
- Luyang 魯陽 in Nanyang,
Princess, 492
- magic/witchcraft, 20, 39, 72, 207,
210-11, 217, 239, 307, 309,
332, 343, 350, 376, 379, 442,
502, 506, 579, 609, 632, 711,
743, 815, 829, 836, 850, 880,
894, 895, 903, 917, 998, 1040,
1059, 1060, 1094, 1176, 1180
accusations, 60, 86, 119, 122,
137, 160, 260, 499, 571, 589,
599, 750, 812, 94, 890, 974-76,
984, 1074, 1167
mystical diagrams, 384, 618,
960, 1119, 1180
Yue magic 越方, 617, 1094
- magistrate of a county 令 or 長,
1230
brevet 守令/長 [within one's
own commandery] 14, 52, 177,
343, 366, 368, 435, 574, 662,
671, 673, 679, 680, 691, 695,
- Longlü 隆慮
- Linqiong 臨邛 in Shu, 268
- Lintao 臨洮 in Longxi, 25, 396,
403, 543, 641, 659
- Linyi 林邑 state, 626, 681
- Linying 臨穎 in Yingchuan,
Princess, 528
- Linyuan 臨沅 in Wuling, 542, 889
- Linzi 臨淄 in Ji'nan, 71, 261, 556,
926, 1051, 1135
- Liqu 黎丘 in Nan commandery,
26, 53, 705, 792, 896, 1100
- Literary Scholar 文學 in a house-
hold, 246, 292
see also Education Officer
in a commandery and *sub*
nomination
- Liu'an 六安 commandery/king-
dom, 1204
- Liuma pasture/horse-park 流馬苑,
316, 1223
- Liuzhong 柳中 in the Western
Regions, 8, 190, 252, 275, 457
- Liwu 蠡吾 in Zhongshan,
Marquis, 456, 526, 544-45,
576, 595, 638, 937, 1093, 1141
- Lixia 歷下 in Ji'nan, 261
- Liyang 黎陽 in Wei, 378, 996
- Liyang Camp 黎陽營, 3, 130, 171,
183, 263, 386, 388, 476, 652,
674, 685, 710, 721, 748, 874,
1020, 1024, 1084, 1107, and
see Internuncio
- Liyi 鄺邑 in Nanyang, Princess,
545
- Long Road 隴道 to the Western
Regions, 15, 139, 308, 353,
458, 476, 718
- Long Slope 隴坻 in Tianshui/
Hanyang, 134, 197, 225, 262,
318, 402, 651, 680, 840, 848,
898, 951, 1030
- Longbian 龍編 in Jiaozhi com-
mandery, 739
- Longcheng 龍城 in Mongolia, 16,
171, 249, 796
- longevity, 39, 150, 159, 217, 239,
307, 332, 360-61, 425, 466,

- 938, 956, 1091, 1136, 1139, 1230
 temporary or provisional 守令/長, 536, 626, 664, 976, 1045, 1080, and see brevet above
 Magistrate of the Markets 市長, 99, 740
 Mahan/Ma and Han) 馬韓 people, 263
 Major [軍]司馬, 1234
 Major, Acting 假司馬, 256, 258, 283, 769, 1084, 1234
 Major, Senior 別部司馬, 1234
 Major of the Vermilion Bird Gate 朱爵司馬, 574
 Major of the Xuanwu Gate 玄武司馬, 7
 Major-General 裨將軍, 1233
 Manbo 曼柏 in Wuyuan, 2, 874
 Manyan 曼延 monster, 126
 Maoling 茂陵 in Youfufeng, 152-53, 813, 931
 march 道, 1229
 Marquis 侯, 1219, and see under fiefs
 Servant at Court 奉朝請, 71, 112, 115, 135, 168, 251, 256, 262, 462, 495, 531, 557, 651, 715, 720, 1024, 1168
 Specially Advanced 特進, 43, 48, 116, 118, 131, 134, 136, 162-64, 168, 200, 229, 286, 326, 426, 447, 458, 461, 464, 642-43, 646, 766, 948, 976, 981, 985, 1099
 Marquis at Court 朝廷侯, 472
 Marquis Attending Sacrifices 侍祠侯, 472, 1044
 Marquis in Recompense of Perfection 褒成侯, 393-95
 Marquis Who Honours the Sage 崇聖侯, 393
 Marquis Who Honours Virtue 崇德侯, 502, 505, 508, 525, 533, 538, 550, 553, 578, 603
 Marquis, secondary 關內侯, 1219
 Master of Writing 尚書, see Secretariat
 medicine, 63, 130, 195, 210, 233, 239, 244, 292-293, 299, 327, 332-333, 360-361, 362, 406, 421, 434, 442, 554, 557, 610, 678, 778, 798, 815, 850, 851, 915, 933, 1055, 1060, 1120, 1168, and see acupuncture and longevity and sickness
 Medicines, Officer for 尚藥監, 244, and see Court Physician
 Mei 鄆 in Youfufeng, 100, 149, 152
 Meiji 美稷 in Xihe, 17-18, 23, 56, 186, 227, 257, 305-06, 446, 458, 655-56, 707, 781, 782, 795, 840, 878, 899, 1040, 1052
 Meiyang 美陽 in Youfufeng, battle (185), 11, 15, 157-58, 1077, 1147
 Meiyang Pass 美陽關 in Youfufeng, 458
 Meng Crossing 孟津 of the Yellow River, 139, 224, 397, 530, 719, 1156, and see Mengjin
 Mengjin 孟津 in Henan, 144, 957, and see Meng Crossing
 metal/metallurgy, 184, 297, 585, 721, 854, 881
 Commandant for Metal, 司金都尉, 298
 Commissioner for Metal, 司金中朗將, 1085
 Internuncio in charge of Metallurgical Production, 監冶謁者, 297
 Mi 密 in Henan, 1173
 Mianchi 澠池 in Hongnong, 155, 368
 Mianzhu 綿竹 in Guanghan, 54, 176, 211, 423, 572-73, 731, 777, 799, 830, 1024
 military agricultural colonies 屯田, see agricultural colonies
 Military Commissioner 堅軍使者, 572, 587
 Min River 閩江 in present-day Fujian, 313, 320, 331, 873, 875, 1015, 1179
 Min River 岷江 in present-day Sichuan, 54-55, 322, 715, 870, 961, 1023, 1114
 Minister Coachman 太僕, 1223
 Minister Herald 大鴻臚, 1223-24
 Minister of Ceremonies 太常, 1222
 Minister of Finance 大司農, 1224
 Minister of Justice 廷尉, 1223
 Director 正 in the Ministry of Justice, 74, 83, 281
 Minister of the Guards 衛尉, 1223
 Minister of the Household 光祿勳, 1223-24
 Minister of the Imperial Clan 宗正, 1224
 Minister Steward 少府, 1224-25
 Minzhong 閩中, 902
 Mo Slope 摩陂 in Nanyang, 185
 Mo 麻 and Bao 保 encampments in Jiangxia, 778, 1152
 monopolies and government
 production of salt, iron and other commodities, 181, 473, 496, 505, 565, 585, 593, 605, 631, 645, 824, 853, 1065, 1129, 1135, 1160
 Moon, Office for Phases and Eclipses 弦望月食官, 383, 946, 1074
 Mount Chonggao 崇高山, 787, and see Mount Songgao
 Mount Heng 恆山, 1167
 Mount Hua 華山, 46, 181, 190, 206, 292, 619, 691, 772, 785, 805, 1005, 1042, 1161
 Mount Liangfu 梁父山, 565
 Mount Long 隆山 in Nanyang, 331
 Mount Peng 彭山 in Nanyang, 186
 Mount Song/Songgao 嵩高山, 787, and see Mount Chonggao
 Mount Tai 泰山, 87, 93, 285, 460, 475, 496, 565, 579, 812, 907, 1039, 1059
 bandits, 58, 159, 268, 744, 768, 771, 866, 978, 996, 1021-22,

- 1093
 Mount Yanren 燕然山 in
 Mongolia, 249, 796
 music, 5, 11, 18, 28, 29-31, 76,
 103, 125, 433, 479, 495, 527,
 535, 599, 649, 678, 725, 735,
 811, 856, 911, 990, 1007, 1009,
 1153
 ceremonial music, 13, 40, 116,
 270, 339, 485, 489, 498, 538,
 602, 642, 669-70, 977, 980,
 1045, and see pitchpipes
 Court Musician 太樂令, 57,
 179
 Gentleman of the Court Music
 雅樂郎, 178
 Yu Musician 太子樂, 40
 Mysteries, Study of [*Xuan xue*],
 375, 578, 617, 618, 801, 1149
- Nan 南 commandery/kingdom,
 1202
 Nan'an 南安 commandery, 1207
 Nanhai 南海 commandery, 1213
 Nanpi 南皮 in Bohai, 411, 1013,
 1018
 Nanxiang 南鄉 commandery, 287
 Nanyang 南陽 commandery, 1202
 Nanzheng 南鄭 in Hanzhong, 270,
 322, 519, 931
 Neihuang 內黃 in Wei, Princess,
 468
 Nieyang 涅陽 in Nanyang,
 Princesses, 545, 604
 Nine Distinctions 九錫, 38, 95,
 156, 570, 683, 929, 1007, 1037
 Ning 寧 in Shanggu, 262, 308
 Ningping 寧平 in Huaiyang/Chen,
 Princess, 154, 489
 Niuzhu 牛渚 in Danyang, 201,
 998
 nomination/recommendation:
 Able to Deal in Affairs of State
 能從政者, 347
 Able to Speak Directly and
 Admonish Unflinchingly 能直
 言極諫, 1123
 Abundant Talent 茂才, 1231
 Advantageous Proposals, to put
 forward 上便宜, 246
 Capable and Good, Sincere and
 Upright 賢良, 96, 536
 Confucian Scholarship 儒學
 [qualification 科 for nomina-
 tion], 347
 Direct Speech 直言, 241, 540,
 881
 Exceptional Quality 尤異, 672,
 and see also *sub voce*
 Extremely Filial 至孝, 205,
 925, 927
 Extremely Filial and of Except-
 ional Conduct 至孝獨/篤行,
 101
 Extremely Filial and Knowing
 the Way 至孝有道, 1116
 Filial and Fraternal Affection
 孝悌 [qualification 科 for nom-
 ination], 347
 Filial and Incorrupt 孝廉, 1230
 First Class 高第/Number One
 第一, 1231, and see also *sub
 voce*
 Flourishing Talent 秀才, see
 Abundant Talent
 Kind and Worthy 仁賢, 127,
 208
 Knowing the Classics 通經,
 823
 Knowing the Way 有道, 22,
 64, 150, 175, 207, 266, 290,
 291, 403, 421, 734, 740, 751,
 812, 866, 888, 892, 918, 927,
 984, 1062, 1091, 1112, 1116,
 1127, 1175
 Literary Ability 文吏, 347
 Literary Scholar 文學, 235, and
 see also *sub voce*
 Men of Honour 義士, 532, 767
 Plain and Honest 敦朴/樸,
 127, 208, 1056
 Qualified to Deal with Com-
 plex Affairs 理劇, 77, 1102
ren 任 right, 40, 41, 42, 67, 82,
 146, 230, 236, 245, 248, 250,
 264, 268, 328, 346, 394, 438,
 441, 646, 740, 789, 826, 902,
 922, 1019, 1057, 1105, 1149,
 1155, 1176, 1231
 Sincere and Upright 方正, 64,
 127, 208, 310, 328, 394, 403,
 439, 550, 709, 772, 783, 887,
 960, 1091
 Understanding the Classics 明
 經, 107, 151, 434, 596, 858,
 956, 1008, 1082, 1147
 Worthy and Good 賢良, 913,
 1052
 Worthy and Good, Sincere and
 Upright 賢良方正, 105, 150,
 207, 373, 410, 522, 526, 546,
 572, 584, 619, 733, 761, 802,
 809, 888, 927, 1020, 1060,
 1111, 1127, and see Capable
 and Good
 Worthy Confucian Gentleman
 living in Obscurity 隱士大儒,
 409
 see also Reporting Officer
 Northern Army 北軍, 1234, and
 see Archers Who Shoot at a
 Sound, Chang River, Elite
 Cavalry, Footsoldiers and
 Garrison Cavalry;
 Adjutant 北軍中候, 294, 319,
 392, 485, 735, 1165, 1179,
 1234
 Northern Road 北道 of the
 Western Regions, 8, 252, 275,
 356, 371, 388, 432, 476, 827
 Number One 第一 grading of a
 magistrate, 442, 984, 1028;
 in classical scholarship, 230
 see also First Class
- Office for Sacrificial Grains and
 Animals 廩犧官, 151
 Officer of Merit 功曹 in a com-
 mandery, 1229, 1231
 Orchid Terrace 蘭臺 library, 4, 6,
 30, 235, 367, 433, 438, 513,
 968
 Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk

- 御侍中丞, 1226-67, and see Censorate
- Palace Attendant 侍中, 1225
- Palace Gardens, Prefect 鉤盾令, 62, 1130, 1224
- Palace Internuncio 中謁者, 1218
- Palace Library 中書 of Wei, 503, 779
- Palace of Perpetual Joy, see Yongle Palace
- Palace of Perpetual Peace, Coachman 永安太僕, 827
- Palace of Prolonged Joy, see Changle Palace
- Palace School for Noble Families 四姓小侯學校, 112, 115, 127, 452, 608, 644, 704, 707, 1071
- Palace Workshop 尚方, 27, 126, 229, 711, and see Eastern Garden
- Panyu 番禺 in Nanhai, 342
- Pei 沛 commandery/kingdom, 1196
- Pei/ Xiaopei 沛/小沛 in Pei, 480
- Pengcheng 彭城 kingdom, 1200
- Pengcheng 彭城 in Chu/Pengcheng, 317
- Pengli 彭蠡 lake/marshland, 348
- Perfect Man 真人, 190, 275, 597, 975, 978
- physiognomy, 559, 679, 778, 822, 865, 1027, 1088, 1128, 1161
of men, 242, 246, 412, 521, 678, 865, 1001, 1112, 1136
of women, 121, 454, 530, 532, 634, 664, 865, 874
of horses, 23, 1161
- Ping province 平州 under Gongsun Du, 266
- Pingchun 平春 in Jiangxia, King, 540, 1122
- Pinggao 平皋 in Henei, Princess, 554
- Pinglin 平林 in Nanyang, 567
Troops, 73, 465, 487-88, 567, 810, 821
- Pinglu Trench 平虜渠, 156
- Pingshi 平氏 in Nanyang, Princesses, 603, 609, 637
Lady of 平氏君, 1104
- Pingshu 平舒 in Dai, Marquis, 639
- Pingyang 平陽 in Hedong, 293, 357, 638, 686, 712, 1020, 1135
Marquis, 215, 217
Princess, 535
- Pingyi 馮翊, see Zuopingyi
- Pingyi 平邑 in Dai, Princess, 550
- Pingyuan 平原 commandery/kingdom, 1201
- Pishi 皮氏 in Hedong, 368
- pitchpipes 音律, 178, 320, 932, 940, 960, 1047
Expectant Appointee Watcher of the Zhong Pitchpipe 待詔候鍾律, 983
- Piyang 泚陽, see Biyang 比陽 in Nanyang
- plague, see sickness
- Ploughing the Sacred Field 耕藉田, 38, 347, 496, 606, 608
- portraits, 61, 69, 77, 240, 327, 344, 348, 374, 376, 390, 421, 434, 439, 454, 488, 500, 720, 886, 888, 890, 915, 922, 931, 933, 954, 955, 960, 970, 977, 1019, 1120, 1165
at the Cloud Terrace 雲臺 at Luoyang, 55, 71, 180, 226, 231, 251, 262, 318, 366, 373, 383, 398, 427, 442, 531, 595, 640, 652, 661, 696, 715, 798, 801, 804, 825, 972, 1024, 1031, 1169, 1173
- Poyang 鄱陽 region of Yuzhang, 153, 313, 348, 377, 439, 466, 622, 626, 693, 694, 814, 990, 1165
- Poyang 鄱陽 commandery, 25, 52, 1140, 1204
- Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace 郎中令, 314, 422
- Prefect of the Guards 衛士令, 1223
- Princess/Senior Princess 公主, 1220, and see under fiefs
- prisons at the capital:
Imperial Prison 詔獄 at the Ministry of Justice, 62, 107, 190, 385, 443, 550, 1080, 1129, 1151, 1165, 1223
Imperial Prison 詔獄 under the Prefect of Luoyang, 80, 592, 1044, 1223, 1226
Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates 黃門北寺獄, 63, 201, 437, 549, 725, 888, 984, 1218
- prisons outside the capital:
commandery/kingdom, 72, 103, 106, 142, 166, 173, 206, 339, 368, 412, 461, 688, 735, 737, 915, 924, 975, 1003, 1087, 1099
county, 177, 209, 292, 797, 1021, 1025, 1131-32, 1136, 1141
province, 1165
- prisons in the harem:
Drying House 暴室, 119, 974, 1218, Bailiff 暴室齋夫, 1170
Prison of the Lateral Courts 掖庭獄, 60, 137, 589, 599, 751, 1074, 1218
- Private Library, Custodian, 祕書監, 371, 836, 851, 929, 1225
- proscription 禁錮, 84, 101, 126, 140, 185, 195, 215, 299, 313, 334, 339, 349, 353, 357, 430, 449, 452, 524, 533, 556, 621, 632, 648, 744, 745, 805, 840, 967, 983, 1053, 1118, 1143, 1183
- Proscribed Party/Faction 黨錮, 55, 65, 81, 158, 170, 364, 511, 513, 541, 623, 947, 1097, 1141
First Faction Incident (166-167), 21, 65, 77, 80, 106, 169-70, 181, 201, 279, 290, 326, 346, 359, 363, 394, 404, 436-37, 602, 680, 735, 812, 933, 982, 984, 986, 1016, 1037, 1066, 1075, 1103, 1143, 1169
Second Faction Incident and

- the Great Proscription (169-184), 3, 43, 44-45, 47, 55, 66, 68, 77-78, 98, 166, 170, 181, 198, 201, 205, 220, 232, 272, 292, 311, 315, 318, 323, 329, 354, 355, 363, 383, 384, 437, 463, 485, 511, 540-41, 550, 603, 630, 704, 734, 744, 751, 776, 783, 784, 791, 809, 842, 857, 866, 881, 908, 920-24, 927, 963, 982, 988, 1006, 1016, 1027, 1056, 1076, 1086, 1103, 1116, 1127, 1133, 1155, 1163, 1169
- Protector of the Army 護軍, 42, 85, 194, 283, 297, 308, 348, 377, 639, 834, 877, 914, 923, 961, 1130, 1152, 1167, 1234
- Protector of the Qiang 護羌校尉, 1235
- Protector of the Wuhuan 護烏桓校尉, 1235
- Protector-General of the Western Regions 西域都護, 1235-36
- province 州 or region 部, 1228
- Puban Crossing 蒲阪津, 38, 905, 1164
- Pulei Lake 蒲類海, 248, 358, 587
- Pure Conversation 清談, 379, 395, 907
- Puyang 濮陽 in Dong, 138, 613, 625, 995; Princess, 522
- Qi 齊 commandery/kingdom, 1202
- Qi Mountain 祁山 in Hanyang, 378, 1094
- Qi Park 淇園 in Henei, 397
- Qi Pass 箕關 in Henei, 133
- Qiang people, *passim*
- First Great Rebellion (107-118), 123-24
- Second Rebellion (140-144), 476
- tribal groups:
- Bi'nan 卑湍, 140, 420, 766, 1178
- Dangdian 當關, 674, 1021
- Dangjian 當煎, 159, 188, 385, 600, 632, 652, 663, 674, 723
- Dazangyi 大衆夷, 51
- Dianna 滇那, 188
- Gongtang 鞏店, 366, 1095
- Goujiu 句就, 140
- Han 罕, 1095
- Hunu 狐奴, 446
- Jiaogong 効功, 308
- Lejie 勒姐, 159, 188, 253
- Lianyu 零吾, 188, 353
- Li'nan 離南, 446
- Shaodang 燒當, 25, 131, 139, 140, 159, 160, 188, 250, 253, 306, 308-09, 543, 566, 641-42, 652-53, 663, 674, 677, 723, 896, 1088
- Shaohe 燒何, 22, 188, 253, 652, 674, 1046, 1095-96
- Shendi 沈氏, 652
- Shenlang 參狼, 407, 567, 659, 896
- White Horse 白馬, 385, 405, 613, 653, and see Di people
- Xianlian 先零, 124, 139, 140, 188-89, 227, 353, 515, 601, 639, 652, 659, 663, 684, 718, 723
- Zhong 鍾, 139, 380, 403, 653
- Qiansheng 千乘 commandery/kingdom, 1201
- Qiantang River 錢唐江, 770, 816
- Qiantang 錢唐 in Wu, 90, 694, 864, 1140
- Qiao 譙 in Pei, 34, 35, 37, 48-49, 976
- Qiaoyao 僬僥 tribe, 632
- Qichun 蕲春 in Jiangxia, 313, 382, 671, 753, 779, 894
- Qing province 青州, 1201
- Qing Dyke 青陂 in Runan, 433
- Qing River 清水, 272, 934
- Qing Shan 青山 hills in Beidi, 225
- Qinghe 清河 commandery/kingdom, 1198
- Qingzhou Troops 青州兵, 36, 368, 996, 1022
- Qinshui 沁水 in Henei, Princess, 595
- Qiongzou 邛都 in Yuexi, 544, 715
- Qiongzou 邛都 people, 228
- Qiuzi 龜茲 state, 5-6, 8, 15, 23-24, 73, 86, 94, 174, 190, 252, 275, 277-78, 292, 371, 457, 537, 590, 611, 699, 731, 745, 791, 885, 891, 970, 991, 1095, 1132, 1174
- Qiuzi 龜茲 in Shang commandery, 1053
- Qu 朐 city in Donghai, 153, 689, 777, 869
- Quanzhou Trench 泉州渠, 156
- Queen Dowager 王太后, 288
- Quintuply Experienced 五更, 1033
- Quyong Spring 曲陽泉 in Xiapi, 238
- Rang 穰 in Nanyang, 177
- Rapid as Tigers guards 虎賁郎, 1223, 1232
- General of the Household 虎賁中郎將, 1222-23
- Red Cliffs 赤壁 in Jiangxia, battle (208), 37, 40, 47, 90, 239, 277, 285, 296, 344, 371, 427, 467, 480-81, 538, 621, 626, 628, 773-74, 1090, 1152, 1172
- Red Eyebrows 赤眉 [*Chimei*] bandits/rebels, 195-98 *et saepe*
- region 部 within a commandery, 1228, and see province
- Registrar 主簿 in a commandery, 1229
- in a province, 1228
- Regular Attendant 中常侍, 1218
- religious rebels 妖賊, 81, 96, 108, 191, 211, 276, 311, 386, 414, 416, 475, 477, 514, 534, 551, 573, 600, 601, 605, 611, 661, 758, 856, 901, 904, 910, 986, 1024, 1025, 1048, 1051, 1080-81, 1093, and see the biographies of Zhang Jue [Yellow Turbans] and of Zhang Lu [Rice sect]

- Rencheng 任城 commandery/
kingdom, 1199
 Reporting Officer [上]計吏, 46,
68, 86, 96, 107, 146, 173, 182,
187, 203, 205, 240, 259, 271,
282, 290, 301, 353, 366, 375,
395, 435, 510, 543, 577, 585,
685, 691, 694, 705, 725, 748,
779, 817, 838, 851, 859, 880,
906, 946, 968, 986, 988, 1061,
1112, 1121, 1125, 1231
 Rice Sect [Five Dou of Rice sect]
五斗米道 or Rice Rebels 米賊,
see the biography of Zhang Lu
 Rinan 日南 commandery, 1214
 roads and road-works, 14, 53, 60,
91, 285, 306, 309, 410, 429,
439, 460, 496, 615, 627, 659,
660, 665, 709, 744, 798-99,
844, 848, 854, 860, 999,
1067, 1091, 1101, 1119, 1141,
1156, and see Baoye Road,
Flying Fox Road, Long Road,
Northern Road, Southern Road,
trestle roads and canals
 Roman Empire, see Daqin
 Rongyang 滎陽 in Henan, 113,
472, 475, 492, 605-06, 746,
812, 817, 819, 835, 886
 battle (190) 36, 42, 716, 909,
964
 Rongyang 滎陽 commandery, 771
 Ru River 汝水 in Runan, 112,
427, 433
 Runan 汝南 commandery, 1195
 Ruxu 濡須 in Lujiang, 38, 47,
153, 239, 377, 628, 633, 773,
778, 910, 1038, 1148, 1159
 Ruyang 汝陽 in Runan, Princess,
507
 Ruyin 汝陰 in Runan, 751-52
 commandery, 62

San-hu 三互 regulations, 30, 735,
921
 Sanmen Gorges 三門峽 of the
Yellow River, 410, 418-19,
470, 944

 Sanshui 三水 in Anding, 614
 Seal of State 傳國璽, 769, 909,
1012
 Secretariat, Imperial of Han, 尚
書, 1216
 authority over/control of the
affairs of 錄尚書事, 1217
 bureaus 曹, 1226
 Deputy Director [Supervisor]
尚書僕射, 1226
 Director [Prefect] 尚書令,
1226
 Foreman Clerks 令史, 1226
 Gentleman 郎, 1226
 Masters of Writing [officers]
尚書, 1226
 Secretariat of Gongsun Shu, 894
 Secretariat of Shu-Han: 83, 155,
194, 325, 378, 411, 421, 433,
442, 471, 648, 963, 972, 1074,
1086, 1172
 Secretariat of Wei: 58, 70, 100,
102, 109, 178, 185, 234, 303,
312, 335, 375, 436, 453, 543,
553, 622, 663, 672, 746, 852,
859, 884, 905, 907, 908, 914,
915, 924, 928, 1056, 1117
 Secretariat of Wu: 239, 275, 619,
741, 781, 783, 853, 924, 937
 seismograph 候風地動儀, 475,
1050
 Senior Clerk 掾 in the office of an
Excellency, 1231
 Senior Colonel 副校尉, 171, 249,
256, 258, 937, 1236
 under the Emissary to the
Xiongnu, 17, 840
 under the General on the Liao,
401
 for the West of the Yellow
River 河西副校尉, 213
 see also *sub* Western Regions
 Senior Major 別部司馬, 1234
 Serving the Aged 養老 ceremony,
30, 40, 151, 214, 236, 337,
409, 412, 608, 613, 620, 947,
960, 1005, 1008, 1033, 1153;
in a commandery, 442, 707

 Serving within the Palace 給事中,
148, 338, 759, 1129, 1225
 Serving within the Yellow Gates
給事黃門, 1104, 1173, 1225
 Seven Masters of the Jian'an
period 建安七子, 72, 144, 306,
393, 593, 724, 803, 904, 962,
986, 1052
 Shan 擲 people, 990
 Shan Crossing 陝津 of the Yellow
River, 418
 Shang 上 commandery, 1209
 Shang 商 in Hongnong, 184
 Shangdang 上黨 commandery,
1209
 Shangdu 賞都 commandery, 829
 Shanggu 上谷 commandery, 1211
 Shanggui 上邽 in Tianshui/
Hanyang, 438, 722, 794, 849,
938
 Shanglin Park 上林苑 near
Chang'an, 225, 448
 Shanglin Park 上林苑 near
Luoyang, 696
 Shangyong 上庸 commandery,
504, 667, 729-30, 905
 Shanshan 善鄯 state, 1, 4-6, 8, 51,
125, 190, 252, 275, 277-78,
356, 476, 699, 780, 827, 885,
991, 1040
 Shanyang 山陽 commandery/
kingdom, 1199
 Duke, 521 [Liu Jing]
 Shanyang in Henei 山陽公, Duke,
555 [Liu Xie, former emperor]
 Shan-yue 山越 [non-Chinese of
the hills in southeast China],
212, 313, 515, 745, 773, and
see Yue people
 Shaobei 芍陂 lake, 819
 She 葉 in Nanyang, see Ye/She
 Shehu Valley 射虎谷, see Shoot-
Tiger Valley
 Shentu 身毒, see India
 Shequan 射犬 in Henei, 250, 254,
365, 672, 762, 868, 923, 971
Shi shu 史書 "Book of History,"
121

- Shining Dragon, Garden 濯龍園 at Luoyang, 599, 602
- Shoot-Tiger Valley 射虎谷 in Hanyang, battle (169), 189, 1061
- Shouchun 壽春 in Jiujiang, 112, 571, 639, 737, 777, 929, 951, 1012
- Shouyang Mountain 首陽山, 63, 761, 914,
- Shu commandery 蜀郡, 1205
- Shu Dependent State 蜀郡屬國, 1206
- Shu 舒 in Lujiang, 639, 962
- Shu-Han 蜀漢 state, see the biography of Liu Bei
- Shule 疏勒 state, 2, 5, 8, 46, 86, 93, 94, 95, 123, 174, 210, 319, 371-72, 457, 611, 669, 682, 683, 718, 720, 791, 891, 904, 916, 973, 1083, 1132
- Shule 疏勒 in Jushi, 252
- Shuofang 鴈門 commandery, 1210
- Shuofang 鴈門 province, 1210
- Si River 泗水, 318, 651, 688, and see Sishui
- sickness, widespread, 34, 58, 72, 126, 183, 292, 422, 514-15, 593, 600, 633, 634, 904, 985, 986, 1058, 1080, 1136
- sickness in an army, 37-38, 260, 285, 314, 481, 660, 782, 803, 1064
- Sili 司隸 [the capital province], 1194
- Sishui 泗水 commandery/kingdom, 1201
- Sixth Venerable One 六宗, 128, 415, 581, 897
- slaves and slavery, 24, 27, 54, 97, 116, 146, 154, 162, 164, 168, 216, 222, 266, 272, 283, 305, 308, 337, 344, 345, 354, 359, 380, 387, 422, 431, 432, 439, 440, 447, 451, 461, 463, 464, 489, 491, 492, 501, 507, 517, 525, 537, 538, 539, 552, 565, 613, 635, 642, 643, 644, 655, 666, 669, 687, 694-95, 705, 719, 741, 742, 754, 756, 775, 776, 782, 784, 801, 845, 866, 905, 914, 925, 976, 977, 990, 993, 994, 1010, 1030, 1036, 1055, 1126, 1139, 1147, 1160, 1174, 1181
- Soils and Grains 社稷, worship, 565
- Song 宋 in Runan, Duke, 389
- Songzi 宋子 in Julu, 250, 258-59, 262
- Southern Road 南道 of the Western Regions, 278
- Specially Advanced 特進, see *sub* Marquis
- Spiritual Jade Park 靈琨苑, 513, 722, 948
- Spiritual Terrace 靈臺 observatory at Luoyang, 40, 337-38, 565, 613, 982, 1108
- Spiritual Terrace 靈臺 in Jiying, 277, 729, 960, 979, 1133, 1134
- Stables for Thoroughbreds 駉驥廄, 513
- Stone Bridge 石橋 at Luoyang, 14, 97, 378, 451, 653, 714, 726, 730, 744, 809, 834, 839, 1110
- Stone Classics 石經, 30, 32, 236, 433, 486, 513, 517, 647, 726, 759, 764, 786, 947, 969, 1078, 1083, 1113, 1181
- Stone House 石室 archive/library at Luoyang, 346, 1225
- Stone House 石室 or Jade House 玉室 hall in Chengdu, 244
- Suanzao 酸棗 in Chenliu, 1010
- Suite of the Heir 太子舍人, 84, 98, 268, 291, 346, 363, 368, 390, 422, 452, 513, 575, 596, 714, 781, 927, 1005, 1008, 1183, 1232
- Member, 太子舍人 in the Bureau of Astronomy, 222, 416, 917, 1047
- Palace Cadet 太子中庶子, 408
- Suiyang 睢陽 in Liang, 317, 379, 579-80, 708, 759-60, 869, 1142
- Suoju 莎車 state, 1, 5-6, 25, 94, 167, 192, 277-78, 300, 387, 388, 692-93, 704, 713, 731, 745, 861, 885, 899, 969, 1021, 1132, 1174
- Supervisor of the Retinue of the Emperor [中黃門] 冗從僕射, 185, 1218
- Supervisor of the Retinue of the Empress 中宮[黃門] 冗從僕射, 1217
- sweet dew 甘露, 24, 431, 617, 707, 729, 734, 811, 874, 876, 923, 1123
- Taishan 太山 commandery, 1199
- Taiyuan 太原 commandery, 1209
- Tan 鄴 in Donghai, 153, 317-18
- Tangming 堂明 state, 626
- Tangyang 堂陽 in Julu, 982, 1077
- Tanxiang 檀鄉 [Tan District] in Dong commandery, bandits, 149, 159, 180, 372, 420, 431, 531, 651, 825, 868, 971, 981, 1173, 1177
- Tao 桃 in Dongping/Rencheng, 688-89
- tax and corvee, administration, 67, 77, 473, 564, 599, 617, 676, 777, 841, 854, 882, 1028, 1029, 1053, 1065, 1073, 1075, 1088, 1111, 1116, 1121, 1167, 1182, 1224
- heavy, 417, 423, 475, 513, 572, 645, 712, 885, 930, 1000
- relief/exemption, 67, 37, 124, 125, 126, 312, 328, 355, 359, 364, 427, 496, 512, 581, 592, 597, 599, 606, 645, 684, 1120, 1182
- gengfu* 更賦 military tax/com-mutation, 565, 1029, 1234
- Temples, Imperial Ancestral 宗廟, 110, 151, 168, 310, 477, 516, 565, 583, 592, 602, 977, 1108, 1153
- Temple of the Eminent

- Founder 高廟 at Chang'an, 133, 400
 Temple of the Eminent Founder 高廟 at Luoyang, 214
 Duplicate Temple of the Eminent Founder 高原廟 at Pei, 317
 Temple of the Epochal Founder 世祖廟, 608
 Temple of Confucius 孔子廟 in Lu, 11, 295, 389, 390-91, 394-95, 736, 875, 973, 1100
 Three Dukes 三公, see Three Excellencies
 Three Enclosures 三雍, see Bright Hall, Circular Moat and Spiritual Terrace
 Three Excellencies 三公, 1221-22, 1226-27, 1231
 Three Excellencies Mountain 三公山 in Changshan, 212, 734, 881
 Three Special Seats 三獨坐, 920, 1226, and see Director of Retainers, Secretariat and Censorate
 Three Terraces 三臺 [Secretariat 尚書, Internuncios 謁者, and either the office of Insignia 符節 or the Censorate], 1008
 Thrice Venerable of the State 國三老, 230, 409, 412, 529, 620, 947, 960, 1005, 1008, 1153
 Thrice Venerable of a locality 三老, 208, 707, 815, 834, 961, 982, 1101
 Thrice Venerable 三老 [rebel title], 195-97, 566, 1015
 Tianshui 天水 commandery, 1207
 Tianzhu 天竺, see India
 Tiger Tallies 虎符, 184
 Tiger Tooth Camp 虎牙營 at Chang'an, 227, 257, 570, 719, 754, 785, 874, 1102, 1109, 1177, 1234
 Tong Pass 潼關 in Hongnong, 38, 301, 905, 1164
 Tong River 銅水 in Runan, 310
 trestle roads 閣道, 97, 309, 744, 848, 1091
 Troops from Pinglin 平林兵, see Pinglin
 Troops from the Lower Yangzi 下江兵, 72-73, 86, 196, 364, 426, 465, 476, 488, 688, 803-04, 810, 821, 894, 1023, 1032, 1033, 1171
 Troops from Xinshi 新市兵, see Xinshi
 Tuogan fortress 它乾城 in Qiuzi, 190, 457
 Tutor, Grand, to an emperor 太傅, 30, 65, 110, 123, 134, 166, 170-72, 181, 193, 220, 311, 315, 327, 333, 340, 355, 437, 450, 474, 486, 496, 510, 546, 547, 552, 585, 589, 610, 616, 647, 676, 701, 704, 714, 757, 783, 811, 887, 907 [in Shu-Han], 932, 999, 1012, 1013, 1060, 1087, 1097, 1100, 1109, 1133, 1151, 1173, 1221
 Tutor [Senior/Junior] to the Heir 太子 [太/少]傅, 86, 90, 182, 312, 329, 335-36, 340, 391, 453, 474, 609, 697, 808, 898, 924, 932, 1071-72, 1078, 1080, 1085, 1089, 1119, 1120, 1132
 Tutor to a king 傅, 27, 89, 179, 236, 246, 310, 508, 525, 526-27, 538, 540, 674, 729, 735, 857, 956, 1219
 Vast Canal 鴻溝, 37, 126, 472, 475, 536, 605, 607, 819, 835, 1019, 1076
 Vast Pond 鴻池 park, 126, 1096
 village 亭, 1220
 Wa/Wo 倭 people, see Japan
 Wan 宛 in Nanyang, 28, 265, 324, 325, 423, 425, 434, 567, 583, 686, 714, 795, 854, 954, 988, 1041, 1057, 1069, 1081, 1160, 1179
 fighting at (20s), 73, 113, 153, 197, 372, 406, 465, 488, 519, 530, 558-59, 561, 567, 803, 810, 821, 942, 981, 1032
 fighting at (184), 305, 706, 769, 908, 1068, 1162
 Wang 芒 in Pei, 180
 Wannian 萬年 in Zuopingyi, Princess, 468
 water control, general, 14, 112, 126, 185, 310, 433, 505, 565, 645, 693, 722, 731, 819, 831, 915, 1046, 1123
 commandery office, 177, 641, 693, 741, 1040
 Assistant Officer in a province 河隄從事, 1077
 on the Yellow River, 21, 113, 196, 605-06, 817, 819, 835, 886, 1019, 1076;
 Internuncio for Control of the Yellow River 河堤謁者, 80, 746, 817, 819, 1008
 Weaving House 織室, 637
 Wei 魏 commandery, 1196
 Wei 衛 in Dong commandery, duchy, 147, 361
 Wei 濊 people, see Hui and Mo people
 Wei 魏 state, see the biography of Cao Cao
 Weili 尉黎/犁 state, 6, 195, 277-78, 1016, 1062
 Weixing 魏興 commandery, 730
 Weixu 危須 state, 6, 1016, 1062
 Welcome the Ethers [of the season] 迎時氣 ceremony, 30, 498, 608
 Wen 溫 in Henei, 397, 913
 Wensu 溫宿 state, 6, 8, 23, 24, 457
 Western Garden 西園, 1224
 treasury of Emperor Ling, 100, 355, 513-14, 1233
 colonels [private army of Emperor Ling], 11, 35, 98, 215, 311, 316, 355, 372, 514, 517, 683, 882, 1010, 1100, 1104, 1113

- Western Regions, Chief Clerk 西域長史, 6, 8, 94, 640, 709, 744, 754, 819, 991, 1040, 1102, 1236
Colonel 西域校尉, 1235, and see Senior Colonel below and Wu and Ji Colonels
Grand Chief Commandant 大都尉 [non-Chinese], 94-95, 388, 885
Protector-General 都護 [Chinese official], 1235-36
Protector 護西域 646
Senior Colonel 副校尉, 190, 292, 432, 457, 718, 1095, 1236;
Senior Colonel Protector 護西域副校尉, 8
wet-nurses, imperial, 21, 84, 92, 136, 138, 154, 206, 247, 346, 376, 411, 412, 417, 422, 439, 473, 491, 501, 508, 539, 550, 554, 576, 581-82, 665, 669, 736, 752, 809, 823, 828, 831, 833, 839, 895, 961, 965, 1006, 1079, 1104, 1141, 1170, 1184
White Horse 白馬 tribe, see *sub* Di people and *sub* Qiang
White Tiger Hall 白虎觀, conference, 7, 33, 87, 98, 142, 340-41, 367, 439, 498, 553, 591, 608, 612, 616, 728, 858, 903, 968, 1071, 1095
White Wolf Mountain 白狼山 battle (207), 25, 37, 40, 237, 268, 388, 613, 677, 698, 700, 780, 781, 790, 879, 890, 938, 1009, 1014, 1064
Winter Wine 冬酒 ceremonies, 236
witchcraft, see magic
wounds as disqualification for civil office, 829
Wu and Ji Colonels 戊己校尉, 73, 157, 213, 249, 275, 497, 718, 1046, 1058, 1235
Wu Colonel 戊校尉, see Wu and Ji Colonels
Wu Pass 武關 in Hongnong, 132, 197, 495, 568, 684, 733, 931, 997
Wu Stream 蕪溪/武溪 in Wuling, 543, 888, and see Five Streams people
Wu 吳 commandery, 1204
Wu 吳 in Kuaiji/Wu commandery, 695, 763
Marquis, 765
Wu 吳 state, see the biography of Sun Quan
Wu'an 武安 in Wei, Princess, 518
Wuchang 武昌 city [formerly E 鄂 in Jiangxia], 273, 767
Wuchang 武昌 commandery, 739-40
Wude 武德 in Anping, Princess, 535
Wudu 武都 commandery, 1207
Wuhu 烏潁 people, 274, 453
Wuhuan 烏桓 people, *passim*
Red Mountain 赤山 group, 696, 899, 1028-29
Wulei 烏壘 state, 745
Wulin 烏林, see Red Cliffs
Wuling 武陵 commandery, 1203
Wuqi 五溪, see Five Streams
wushu 五鑄, see coinage
Wusun 烏孫 people, 5, 8, 252, 435, 796
Wuwei 武威 commandery, 1208
Wuxi 五溪, see Five Streams
Wuxiao 五校 bandits, 70, 149, 180, 242, 256, 258, 261, 365, 383, 584, 744, 760, 825, 869
Wuyang 武陽 in Jianwei, 54-55, 245-46, 740, 870
Wuyang 舞陽 in Yingchuan, Princess, 544
Lady, 315
Wuyin 舞陰 in Nanyang, 1107
Princesses, 486, 579
Wuyuan 五原 commandery, 1209
Xi 西 in Longxi [later in Hanyang], 54, 262, 318, 438, 460, 794, 818, 840, 849, 869, 898, 1112, 1154
Xi'an 西安 in Qi, 926
Xia 袷 sacrifice, see Di and Xia sacrifices
Xiabian 下辯 in Wudu, 999
Xiagui 下邳 in Jingzhao, 808, 837
Xiakou 夏口 in Jiangxia, 769
Xianbi 鮮卑 people, *saepe*, and see the biographies of Qizhijian and of Tanshihuai
Xianglin 象林 in Rinan, 681
Xiangyang 襄陽 in Nan commandery, 85, 181, 277, 446, 485, 686, 758, 769, 862, 905, 1018, 1052
siege (219), 277, 504, 712, 838, 1056
Xiangyang 襄陽 commandery, 683
Xiangyi 襄邑 in Chenliu, 317, 902
Xianling 先零 see Xianlian tribe of the Qiang
Xianyang 咸陽 in Youfufeng, 225
Xiao 蕭 in Pei, 529, 558, 560
Xiao-Chang'an 小長安, battle (22), 52, 73, 111, 408, 426, 465, 488, 489, 519, 529, 558, 586, 594, 604, 682, 803, 810, 821
Xiaopei 小沛 *i.e.* Pei city in Pei commandery
Xiapi 下邳 commandery/kingdom, 1201
Xiapi 下邳 in Xiapi, 34, 48, 244, 307, 343, 464, 479, 577, 606, 701, 772, 804, 875, 877, 902, 913, 949, 1042, 1062, 1083
siege (198), 36, 67, 174, 244, 285, 321, 480, 625, 706, 708, 755, 820, 857, 912, 996, 1018, 1051, 1084
Xiaquyang 下曲陽 in Julu, 281, 651, 1034
Xi'e 西鄂 in Nanyang, 23, 185, 786
Xifang 西防 in Shanyang, 180, 379
Xihai 西海 commandery, 590,

- 691, 1070, 1207
 Xihe 西河 commandery, 1209
 Xincheng 新成 commandery, 667
 Xindu 信都 commandery, 1197
 Xindu 信都 in Xindu, 224, 442, 559, 638, 640, 695-96, 715, 798, 893, 971, 982, 1077, 1176
 Xinfeng 新豐 in Jingzhao, 209, 330, 875, 1101
 Xinping 新平 in Zuopingyi, 1111
 Xinshi 新市 in Jiangxia, 810, 821 Troops, 73, 196, 364, 434, 465, 487-88, 650, 810, 821, 1166
 Xinxing 新興 commandery, 1210
 Xinye 新野 in Nanyang, 111-13, 705, 979
 Lady 新野君, 111, 899, 974 Princess, 586
 Xiongnu 匈奴 people [Northern and Southern], see the biographical entries for Bi, for Dou Xian, and for Shanyu clans:
 Xiluo 醯落, 921
 Xiuchuge/Chuge 休著/屠各, 700, 898, 921, 1020, 1053, 1085
 Xubu 須卜, 921, 992, 1020
 Xiping 西平 in Jincheng, 377, 711 commandery, 177
 Xiping 西平 kingdom, 1195
 Xiuwu 脩武 in Henei, Princess, 473
 Xiye 西夜 state, 885
 Xu province 徐州, 1200
 Xu 許 city in Yingchuan, agricultural colonies at, 36, 297, 324, 716, 936, 1026
 imperial capital transferred to, 36, 92, 141, 149, 156, 185, 233, 287, 302, 334, 427, 470, 555, 712, 814, 909, 928-29, 945, 949, 955, 958, 987, 1010, 1055, 1057, 1107, 1131, 1135
 puppet imperial capital under Cao Cao, 63, 69, 95, 97, 102, 155, 255, 301, 319, 333, 360, 361, 362, 375, 459, 480, 505, 536, 543, 555, 587, 647, 662, 672, 678, 692, 779, 801, 807, 812, 823, 852, 873, 892, 929, 950, 1016, 1019, 1051, 1056, 1110-11, 1128
Xuan xue 玄學, see Mysteries
 Xuantu 玄菟 commandery, 1212
 Xuchang 許昌, 901, and see Xu city
 Xunyang 尋陽 in Lujiang, 628
 Xunyi 枸邑 in Youfufeng, 1092
 Xuwu 徐無 in Youbeiping, hills, 790
 Yan province 兗州, 1198
 Yan Crossing 延津 of the Yellow River, 861, 996
 Yang Canal 陽渠, 472, 605, 1039 Bridge 陽渠橋, 653, and see Stone Bridge
 Yang province 揚州, 1203
 Yang'an 陽安 in Runan, Princess, 517
 commandery, 427
 Yangche Slope 楊車阪 in Hanzhong, 416
 Yangcheng 陽城 in Yingchuan, 307
 Yangdi 陽翟 in Yingchuan, 291 Princess, 566
 Yangping Pass 陽平關 in Hanzhong, 38, 246, 902, 943, 1077
 Yangping 陽平 in Dong [as a commandery], 750
 Yanmen 鴈門 commandery, 1210
 Yanqi 焉耆 state, 5-6, 8, 73, 195, 237, 252, 275, 277-78, 287, 292, 371, 476, 590, 744, 885, 1016, 1062, 1132
 Yan-Xin 厭新 "Detest the Xin dynasty" bandits, 532
 Yanzhi 閼氏, consort of the Xiongnu Shanyu, 256, 258
 Ye 鄴 in Wei, 52, 71, 132, 356, 420, 431, 539, 566, 868, 893, 1116
 under the Cao family, 12, 37, 45, 51, 58, 81, 93, 102, 162, 185, 241, 293, 298, 303, 357, 368, 410, 462-63, 469, 639, 650, 654, 686, 700, 749, 768, 851, 884, 902, 914, 931, 954, 957, 962, 997, 1009, 1022, 1031, 1064, 1067, 1175;
 Prefect 令, 368
 under the Yuan family, 37, 42, 156, 218, 296, 408, 411, 467, 657, 667, 711, 730, 761, 788, 896, 899, 905, 916, 978, 987, 994, 1005, 1009, 1010, 1013, 1015, 1018, 1020, 1084, 1085, 1092, 1118
 Ye/She 葉 in Nanyang, 829
 Yellow Gates, Attendant 小黃門, 1218
 Yellow Gates, Gentleman 黃門侍郎, 1225
 Yellow Gates, Northern Prison 黃門北寺獄, 1218
 Yellow Gates, Prefect 黃門令, 1218
 Yellow Gates, Serving within 給事黃門, 1104, 1225
 Yellow Turban 黃巾 rebellion, see the biography of Zhang Jue
 Yewang 野王 in Henei, 422-23, 680, 1084
 Yi province 益州, 1204
 Yi 易 in Hejian, 271, 272, 276, 791, 864, 889
 Yicheng 宜城 in Nan commandery, 1100
 Yidao 夷道 in Nan commandery, 54, 432
 Yidu 宜都 in Nan [as a commandery], 207, 667, 1043
 Yiling 夷陵 in Nan commandery, 239, 791, 792, 896
 Yin'an 陰安 in Wei, Princess, 518
 Yingchuan 潁川 commandery, 1195
 Yingtao 嬰陶 in Julu, King [Liu Kui], 526
 Yingyin 潁陰 in Yingchuan,

- Princess, 520
- Yinping 陰平 in the Dependent State of Guanghan, 245-46
- Yinyang 陰陽 teachings, 80, 238, 292, 425, 456, 496, 688, 903, 949, 960, 1088, 1178
- Yique 伊闕 in Henan, 1037
- Yiwu/lu 伊吾/盧 in the Western Regions, 51, 125, 163, 432, 457, 468, 476, 606, 640, 664, 718, 780, 797, 937, 1016
- Yiyang 益陽 in Changsha, Princess, 396, 468
- Yiyang 宜陽 in Hongnong, 198, 225
- Yiyang 弋陽 in Runan [as a commandery], 794
- Yiyang 易陽 in Zhao, 905
- Yizhou 益州 commandery, 1206
- Yong 雍 province, 1193
- Yong Camp 雍營, 719, 1044, 1234
- Yong'an 永安 in Ba, 483
- Yongchang 永昌 commandery, 1206
- Yongle Palace [Perpetual Joy] 永樂宮, 147, 359, 937, 1217
- Steward 少府, 75, 200, 827, 914, 1218
- Yongning 永寧 in Kuaiji, 304, 311, 313
- Yongqiu 雍丘 in Chenliu, 995, 1017, 1025, 1037, 1069
- Yongyang 永陽 commandery, 313
- You province 幽州, 1211
- Youbeiping 右北平 commandery, 1212
- Youfufeng 右扶風 commandery, 1195
- Youlai 尤來 Mountain in Taishan, bandits, 71, 196, 539, 651, 766, 868, 893, 1019, 1035
- Yu province 豫州, 1195
- Yu River 滹水, 488, 567
- Yu Valleys 榆谷 on the upper Yellow River, 41, 140, 276, 674
- Yu 虞 in Liang, 580
- Yu 鄒 in Ganling, 361, 1163
- Yuan River 沅水 in Wuling, 543, 889
- Yuanjie 允街 in Jincheng, 188
- Yuanwu 原武 in Henan, 108, 236, 1024
- Yuanya 允吾 in Jincheng, 21, 81, 301, 1180
- Yue 越 people of the south and southeast, 339, 442, 814, 963, 966, and see Shanyue
- Yue cloth 越布, 617
- Yue magic 越方, 617, 1094
- Yuexi 越嵎 commandery, 1206
- Yuezhi 月氏/支 peoples: Greater 大月氏 [Kushan], 2, 5-6, 94, 497, 590, 891, 973, 1132
- Little 小月氏 tribes [in north-west China], 14, 130, 168, 321, 590, 674, 685
- Yulin 鬱林 commandery, 1213
- Yunmeng 雲夢 marshland in Nan commandery, 193, 592, 599
- Yunzhong 雲中 commandery, 1210
- Yutian 于寔/于閼 state, 2, 5-6, 25, 94, 144, 192, 210, 277-78, 300, 372, 387, 590, 640, 699, 704, 709, 713, 723, 744, 745, 754, 780, 819, 861, 885, 897, 899, 916, 1021, 1102, 1132
- Yuyang 滹陽 in Nanyang, Princess, 530
- Yuyang 漁陽 commandery, 1211
- Yuzhang 豫章 commandery, 1204
- Yuzhong 榆中 in Jincheng, 1147
- Zangke 牂牁 commandery, 1205
- Zhang River 漳水, 641, 693, 1040
- Zhangling 章陵 in Nanyang, 595, 610
- commandery, 349, 399, 1111
- Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, 246, 706
- Zhangye 張掖 commandery, 1208
- Zhangye Dependent State 張掖屬國, 1208
- Zhao 趙 commandery/kingdom, 1198
- Zhencheng 鄆城 in Jiyan, King, 35, 51
- Zhending 真定 commandery/kingdom, 1197
- Zheng 鄭 in Jingzhao, 197, 535, 691
- Zhengqiang 征羌 in Runan, 379, 402
- zhibo* 直百, see coinage/currency
- Zhongmou 中牟 in Henan, 616, 632, 683, 716, 964
- Zhongshan 中山 commandery/kingdom, 1197
- Zhouzhi 熬屋 in Youfufeng, 633, 810-11
- Zhu'a 祝阿 in Pingyuan, 71, 261
- Zhuangzi 莊子, 448, 648
- Zhuo 涿 commandery, 1211
- Zhuoye Mountain 涿邪山 in Mongolia, 56, 171, 228, 796, 896, 919, 937, 1029
- Zichuan 蓄/淄川 commandery/kingdom, 1202
- Zigui 秭歸 in Nan commandery, 588
- Zong 寶 people, 191, 237, 415-16, and see Di 氏
- Zuodu 茆都 people, 269, 420, 468, 607, 786, 790, 1158
- Zuoneishi 左内史 commandery, 435, 934
- Zuopingyi 左馮翊 commandery/kingdom, 1195

LIST OF STYLES

For each biographical entry, I include the style [zi 子] where it is known; when only the style of a person is recorded, it appears as a normal entry, though marked by brackets []. The list below provides cross-references from style to surname+personal name. In a few cases, we are told of the childhood name; these are also included.

Aihou 哀侯=Yang You 楊由
 Aman 阿瞞=Cao Cao 曹操
 Anguo 安國=Guan Xing 關興
 Asu 阿穌=Qin Lang 秦朗
 Ayi 阿巖=Pang Jian 龐儉
 Ban 母班=Humu Jipi 胡母季皮
 Baojian 堅寶=Xu Xuan 徐宣
 Benchu 本初=Yuan Shao 袁紹
 Biecheng 別成=Fu Gan 傅幹
 Binbo 賓伯=Fei Guan 費觀
 Binqing 郊卿=Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧
 Binshi 賓石=Sun Song 孫嵩/崧
 Binshuo 賓碩=Sun Song 孫嵩/崧
 Bo'an 伯安=Liu Yu 劉虞
 Boben 伯本=Kong Dan 孔耽
 Bobing 伯并=Tangxi Dian 堂谿典
 Bochang 伯長=Liu Shou 劉壽
 Bochu 伯初=Geng Bing 耿秉
 Bochu 伯楚=Yuan Peng 袁彭
 Bochun 伯春=Huan Yu 桓虞
 Bochun 伯春=Shao Xun 邵馴
 Bochun 伯春=Wei Xun 隗恂
 Bochun 伯春=Zhang Chong 張充
 Bochun 伯淳=Liang Hong 梁鴻
 Boda 伯達=Sima Lang 司馬朗
 Boda 伯達=Xu Shu 徐淑
 Boda 伯達=Zhang Yu 張禹
 Boda 伯達=Ren Jun 任峻
 Boda 伯達=Zhang Min 張敏
 Bodao 伯道=Hao Zhao 郝昭
 Bodao 伯道=Qiao Shu 橋術
 Bode 伯德=Zhou Tang 州湯
 Bodu 伯度=Dou Xian 竇憲
 Bodu 伯度=Li Fa 李法
 Bodu 伯度=Ren Xun 任循
 Bodu 伯都=Li Xi 李翕
 Bodun 伯敦=Wang Chun 王純

Bofang 伯方=Liang Mao 涼茂
 Bofu 伯符=Sun Ce 孫策
 Bogao 伯高=Long Shu 龍述
 Bogao 伯高=Zhao Song 趙嵩
 Bogong 伯恭=Zhang Yi 張翼
 Bogui 伯珪/圭
 =Gongsun Zan 公孫瓚
 Boguo 伯括=Duchong 杜崇
 Bohai 伯海=Sun He 孫河
 Bohai 伯海=Zhong Xin 仲訢
 Bohao 伯豪=Zuo Xiong 左雄
 Bohe 伯和=Liu Xie 劉協
 Bohe 伯河
 =Huang Shang/Xiang 黃尚/向
 Bohe 伯闔=Dan Wang 但望
 Bohou 伯侯=Duchong 杜畿
 Bohou 伯厚=Zhu Zhen 朱震
 Bohuai 伯淮=Jiang Gong 姜肱
 Bohuai 伯槐=Chang Lin 常林
 Bohuan 伯桓
 =Yong Wang/Yi 雍望/翌
 Boji 伯奇=Yue Hui 樂恢
 Boji 伯濟=Guo Huai 郭淮
 Boji 伯濟=Xu Ying 徐英
 Boji 伯紀=Luo Yan 羅衍
 Bojian 伯儉=Yan Wen 閻溫
 Bojian 伯堅=Duchong 杜根
 Bojian 伯堅=Zheng Gu 鄭固
 Bojian 伯堅=Zhou Pan 周磐
 Bojian 伯建=Hu Yi 胡伊
 Bojie 伯喈=Cai Yong 蔡邕¹
 Bojin 伯進=Xu Shu 徐淑
 Boju 伯舉=Yin Mao 尹茂
 Boju 伯車=Liang Ji 梁冀
 Bokang 伯康=Wu Kuang 吳匡
 Bokao 伯考=Zhi Shou 鄧壽
 Bokuang 伯況=Liu Fang 劉方

Bokuang 伯況=Su Jing 蘇竟
 Bokuang 伯況=Zhou Dang 周黨
 Boguo 伯括=Duchong 杜崇
 Bolang 伯郎=Meng Tuo 孟佗
 Boli 伯儼=Song/Zong Ju 宋/宗俱
 Boli 伯儼=Zong/Song Ju 宗/宋俱
 Boliang 伯梁=Wei Heng 衛衡
 Bolin 伯麟=Liu Xiu 劉脩/修
 Boling 伯靈=Zhu Gui 朱龜
 Boluan 伯鸞=Liang Hong 梁鴻
 Bomi 伯彌=Feng Sheng 逢盛
 Bomiao 伯苗=Deng Zhi 鄧芝
 Boming 伯明=Li Guang 李光
 Boming 伯明=Li Zhao 李昭
 Bonan 伯南
 =Han Yan/Yin 韓續/演/寅
 Bonan 伯南=Qin Shao 秦邵/邵
 Bonan 伯南=Wu Zhou 武周
 Boneng 伯能
 =Deng Sheng/Cheng 鄧盛
 Boning 伯寧=Man Chong 滿寵
 Bopi 伯邳
 =Yang Huai/Zhun 楊淮/準
 Boping 伯平=Qin Peng 秦彭
 Boping 伯平=Zhou Xi 州熹
 Boping 博平=Duchong 度尚
 Boqi 伯奇=Han Lang 寒朗
 Boqi 伯岐=Zhang Yi 張巖
 Boqi 伯岐=Zou Bin 鄒邠
 Boqi 伯旗=Xun Qi 荀祈
 Boqi 伯起=Wen Yi 溫益
 Boqi 伯起=Yang Zhen 楊震
 Boqi 伯齊=Hu Zheng 胡整
 Boqian 伯謙
 =Xianyu Huang 鮮于璜
 Boqian 伯騫=Liu Zong 柳宗
 Boqian 伯騫=Ma Shi 馬寔/實

¹ There was another Cai Bojie, whose personal name is not recorded.

Boqiang 伯彊=Zhang Tai 張泰
 Boqin 伯禽=Shen Fu 沈輔
 Boqin 伯禽=Zhu Pu 朱普
 Boqing 伯卿=Ren Guang 任光
 Boqiu 伯求=He Yong 何顥
 Boran 伯然=Zhao Kuan 趙寬
 Boran 伯然=Zhao Yan 趙儼
 Borang 伯讓=Chen Qian 陳謙
 Borao 伯饒=Xu De 許德
 Borao 伯饒=Zhang Ba 張霸
 Boren 伯仁=Chen Bao 陳褒
 Boren 伯仁=Li You 李尤
 Boren 伯仁=Zhang Chun 張純
 Boren 侯伯仁
 =Xiahou Shang 夏侯尚
 Borong 伯榮=Wang Yong 王永
 Boru 伯儒=Wei Ji 衛覲
 Boshan 伯山=Cao Zeng 曹曾
 Boshan 伯山=Dou Lin 杜林
 Boshan 伯山=Geng Chun 耿純
 Boshen 伯慎=Zhang Wen 張溫
 Bosheng 伯升=Liu Yan/Yin 劉縯
 Bosheng 伯升=Tan Xian 譚賢
 Bosheng 伯盛=Hou Cheng 侯成
 Boshi 伯世=Sheng Yun 盛允
 Boshi 伯始
 =Han Leng/Ling 韓棱/稜
 Boshi 伯始=Hu Guang 胡廣
 Boshi 伯師=Cao Zhong 曹眾
 Boshi 伯師=Yin Mu 尹睦
 Boshi 伯師=Zhao Jun 趙峻
 Boshi 伯式=Zhe Xiang 折像/象
 Boshi 伯時=Shi Chen 史晨
 Boshi 伯時=Zhou Chang 周暢
 Boshu 伯篠=Xun Kun 荀綰
 Bosi 伯嗣=Ren Yin 任胤
 Bosun 伯孫=Liang Song 梁松
 Bota 伯達=Gao Hui 高恢
 Botai 伯泰=Zhao Shao 趙邵
 Botai 伯臺=Chen Ya 陳雅
 Botiao 伯條
 =Xun Yu/Yi 荀昱/翊/翌
 Botong 伯通=Peng Chong 彭寵
 Bowei 伯威=Liang Qin 梁瑾
 Bowei 伯威=Ma Leng 馬棱
 Bowei 伯瑋=Geng Xun 耿勳
 Bowen 伯文=Fu Long 伏隆
 Bowen 伯文=Yue Ji 樂己

Bowu 伯武=Fang Zhi 房植
 Bowu 伯武=Gao Hong 高弘
 Boxi 伯僖=Zhang Shou 張壽
 Boxia 伯夏=Liang Shang 梁商
 Boxian 伯先=Liu Zhi 劉植
 Boxian 伯猷=Yang Ci 楊賜
 Boxiang 伯向=Dou Zhang 竇章
 Boxiang 伯庠=Deng Bao 鄧豹
 Boxiao 伯蕭=Bi Feng 費鳳
 Boxin 伯信=Lu Xun 陸遜
 Boxing 伯興=Liu Ban 劉殷
 Boxing 伯興=Wang Ji 王基
 Boxing 伯行=Teng Yan 滕延
 Boxiu 伯休=Han Kang 韓康
 Boxiu 伯休=Zhu Tian 祝恬
 Boxiu 伯修
 see Xun Yu/Yi 荀昱/翊/翌
 Boxu 伯徐=Kang Xu 抗徐
 Boxu 伯緒=Huan Jie 桓階
 Boya 伯雅=Zhang De 張德
 Boya 伯雅=Zhang Xuan 張玄
 Boyan 伯彥=Han Kui 韓攄
 Boyang 伯陽=Sun Ben 孫賁
 Boyang 伯陽=Xia Fang 夏方
 Boyang 伯陽
 =Yang Feng/A'ruo 楊豐/阿若
 Boyang 伯陽
 =Zhao Xi 趙熹/壹/熹
 Boye 伯業=Wang Zun 王尊 IV
 Boye 伯業=Yuan Yi 袁遺
 Boyi 伯義=Cheng Xin 程信
 Boyi 伯儀=Zhong Qiu 仲球
 Boyi 伯夷=Dou An 杜安
 Boyi 伯奕=Jiang Xu 姜敘
 Boyi 伯益=Guo Yi 郭奕
 Boyi 伯益=Guo Yi 郭奕
 Boyi 伯義/儀=Wang Zhang/
 Shang 王章/璋/商
 Boyi 伯邑=Zheng Qin 鄭勤/廩
 Boyin 伯尹=Xiang Bao 向豹
 Boying 伯應=Xuan Feng 宣豐
 Boying 伯英=Zhang Zhi 張芝
 Boyou 伯游=Li Xiu 李脩/修
 Boyou 伯猷=Yang Ci 楊賜
 Boyou 伯篠
 see Xun Yu/Yi 荀昱/翊/翌
 Boyu 伯於=Hu Su 胡肅
 Boyu 伯玉=Li Shu 李儵

Boyu 伯玉=Tian Yi 田邑
 Boyu 伯玉=Wang Zhang 王璋
 Boyu 伯玉=Wei Zheng 魏整
 Boyu 伯瑜=Dou Qiong 杜瓊
 Boyu 伯豫=Li Quan 李權
 Boyu 伯豫=Liu Kai 劉愷
 Boyu 伯與=Wang Ji 王基
 Boyu 伯遇=Song Feng 宋豐/豐
 Boyu 伯魚=Diwu Lun 第五倫
 Boyuan 伯元=Liang Wei 梁鮪
 Boyuan 伯元=Yin Xun 尹勳
 Boyue 伯約=Jiang Wei 姜維
 Bozai 伯載=Zhang Chao 張超
 Bozhang 伯張=Xu Gan 徐幹
 Bozhao 伯昭=Geng Yan 耿弇
 Bozhao 伯昭=Wang Hui 王暉
 Bozhen 伯珍=Lai Li 來歷
 Bozhen 伯眞
 =Deng Sheng/Cheng 鄧盛
 Bozhen 伯真=Chen Qiu 陳球
 Bozhi 伯志=Sima Deng 司馬登
 Bozhi 伯志
 =Song/Zong Yi 宋/宗意
 Bozhi 伯志
 =Zong/Song Yi 宗/宋意
 Bozhi 伯持=Zhou Chang 周暢
 Bozhi 伯直=Cai Leng 蔡稜
 Bozhong 伯重=Hu Lei 扈累
 Bozhou 伯周=Xie Yun 謝惲
 Bozhu 伯著=Yong Dou 雍竇
 Bozhuo 伯卓=Liang Ji 梁冀
 Bozong 伯宗=Geng Gong 耿恭
 Bozong 伯宗=Liu Qin 劉勤
 Bozong 伯宗=Wang Gong 王龔
 Bozong 伯宗=Xia Qin 夏勤
 Bozong 伯宗=Zhang Sui 張睢
 Bozu 伯祖=Liu You 劉祐
 Cangshu 倉舒=Cao Chong 曹沖
 Chanbo 產伯
 =Chao Hanjiang 鼂漢薑/彊
 Changbo 鄭長伯
 =Zheng Chun 鄭純
 Changchong 長沖
 =Xi Guang 錫光
 Changde 長德=Wang Chang 王萇
 Changhua 萇華=Fei Zhi 肥駱
 Changji 長季=Han Chong 韓崇
 Changjun 長君=Zhao Ye 趙曄

Changping 長平=Ma Kuang 馬況
 Changping 長平=Zhao Xiao 趙孝
 Changqing 長倩=Xun Yun 荀惲
 Changquan 長全=Guo Jiu 郭究
 Changsheng 長生=Guan Yu 關羽
 Changsheng 長生=Zhou Shu 周樹
 Changsun 長孫=Chen Yuan 陳元
 Changsun 長孫=Ren Yan 任延
 Changwen 長文=Chen Qun 陳羣
 Changwen 長文
 =Wang Hong 王宏
 Changwen 長文=Zhen Yu 甄宇
 Changxu 長緒=Sun Shao 孫邵
 Changyu 長魚=Fan Shu 樊傺
 Chanruo 彥若=He Zong 何宗
 Chanying 彥英=He Zong 何宗
 Chaoguang 昭光
 =Ren Gu/Jia 任覈
 Chengbo 承伯=Ma Qi 馬齊
 Chengguo 成國=Liu Xi 劉熙
 Chengming 承明=Pan Jun 潘潛
 Chengyuan 承淵=Ding Feng 丁奉
 Chouhou 綏侯=Guo Ji 郭伋
 Chun'guang 春光
 =Gongsun Ye 公孫曄
 Chunqing 春卿=Huan Rong 桓榮
 Chunqing 春卿
 =Yang Guang 楊廣
 Chuqi 初起=Qin Jie/Xie 秦頡
 Churen 處仁=Zhang Cun 張存
 Chushan 初山=He Chang 何萇
 Chuxu 處虛=Zhang Xuan 張玄
 Cibo 次伯=Jiang Ge 江革
 Ciming 慈明
 =Xun Shuang/Yu 荀爽/譚
 Ciqing 慈卿=Wang Wang 王望
 Ciqing 次卿=Yan Yan 嚴延
 Cisun 次孫=Li Shan 李善
 Ciwen 次文=Zhong Xing 鍾興
 Ciweng 次翁=Jiang Ge 江革
 Ciyang 次陽=Yuan Wei 袁隗
 Dachun 大春=Jing Dan 井丹
 Dafang 大房
 =Xin Tong/Yong 辛彤/彤
 Daguo 大國=Liu Yi 劉逸
 Daiping 代平=Sun Lang 孫朗
 Daming 大明=Zhou Xin 周昕
 Daochu 道初=Cui Jiu 崔湫

Daohe 道和=Cui Wen 崔溫
 Daozhen 道真=Yin Zhen 尹珍
 Daxun 大遜=Li Chong 李充
 Dayi 太儀=Wu Liang 吳良
 De'ang 德印=Li Yong 李顥
 De'ang 德昂=Li Hui 李恢
 Decao 德操=Sima Hui 司馬徽
 Dedu 德度=Zhao Zi 趙咨
 Degao 德高=Han Song 韓嵩
 Degong 德公=Li Xie 李燮
 Degong 德公=Wei Zhao 魏昭
 Deguang 德光=Gong Jiao 龔曠
 Degui 德珪=Cai Mao 蔡瑁
 Delian 德璉=Ying Chang 應瑒
 Demou 德謀=Cheng Pu 程普
 Derang 德讓=Kong Qian 孔謙
 Derong 德容=Zhang Ji 張既
 Deru 德儒=Cui Lin 崔林
 Derun 德潤=Kan Ze 闕澤
 Deshan 山=Feng Dai 馮岱
 Deshan 德山=Deng Fang 鄧方
 Deshan 德山=Wu Liang 五梁
 Deshu 德樞=Cheng Bing 程秉
 Deshu 德樞=Cheng Ping 程秉
 Desi 德嗣=Yin Li 殷禮
 Deta 德達=Sun Li 孫禮
 Dewei 德偉=Wei Huang 韋晃
 Dewei 德偉=Jin Yi 金祿
 Dexian 德賢=Li Ren 李仁
 Dexin 德信=Ma Zhong 馬忠
 Dexiong 信=Mu Bing 沐并
 Dexu 德緒=Gong Lu 龔祿
 Deyan 德豔=Zong Yu 宗預
 Deyao 德曜=Meng Guang 孟光
 Deyi 德禕=Jin Yi 金祿
 Deyu 德瑜=Wu Qiong 伍瓊
 Deyun 德雲=Fan Ling 樊陵
 Deyu 德瑜=Wu Fu 伍孚
 Dezhong 德仲=Yang Zong 楊宗
 Dezhou 德胄=Shi Miao 時苗
 Dezu 德祖=Yang Xiu 楊脩
 Digong 第公=Li Zhang 李章
 Ding'an 安定=He Jin 何進
 Ding'an 定安=Yu Xu 虞詡
 Dinggong 定公=Geng Kui 耿夔
 Dinggong 定公=Lü Dai 呂岱
 Dingqing 人定卿
 =Wenren Xi 聞人襲

Dingzu 定祖=Ren An 任安
 Disun 弟孫=Zhai Zun 祭遵
 Fangzheng 方正=Yang Qiu 陽球
 Fenggao 奉高=Yuan Lang 袁閭
 Fengqing 奉倩=Xun Can 荀粲
 Fengqing 奉卿=Gao Hong 皋閔
 Fengxian 奉先=Liu Zu 劉祖
 Fengxian 奉先=Lü Bu 呂布
 Fengxiao 孝奉=Guo Jia 郭嘉
 Fengxun 奉遜=Li Hong 李鴻
 Fucheng 甫成=Guo Fu 郭輔
 Fuguo 輔國=Li Yi 李翊
 Fuguo 輔國=Xue Biao 薛彪
 Fuluan 輔鸞=Xie Bi 謝弼
 Fuxing 甫興/輔興
 =Shang/Xiang Xu 尚/向詡/栩
 Fuxing 甫興/輔興
 =Xiang/Shang Xu 向/尙栩/詡
 Fuxiu 甫休
 =Wei Duan/Rui 韋端/瑞
 Fuxuan 輔宣=Xie Bi 謝弼
 Gaoqing 高卿=Fa Zhen 法真
 Genju 根矩=Bing Yuan 邴原
 Gong'a 公阿=Zhao Bing 趙炳/炳
 Gongbi 公弼=Xu Xiang 許相
 Gongchao 公超=Tao Shuo 陶碩
 Gongchao 公超=Zhang Kai 張楷
 Gongda 公達=Xun You 荀攸
 Gongdu 公度=Sima Liang 司馬量
 Gongfang 公房=Guo Xi 郭禧/僖
 Gongfang 公方=Meng Ying 孟英
 Gongfang 公方=Zhang Qian 張遷
 Gongfen 公憤=Zhao Tai 趙臺
 Gongfu 公甫=Zhao Xin 趙訢
 Gongfu 公覆=Huang Gai 黃蓋
 Gongfu 公輔=Han Yi 韓翼
 Gongfu 公輔=Lu Kuang 魯匡
 Gonggan 公幹=Liu Zhen 劉楨
 Gonggao 公高=Xun Wei 荀緯
 Gongheng 公衡
 =Huang Quan 黃權
 Gongji 公紀=Lu Ji 陸績
 Gongji 尹功季=Yin Min 尹敏
 Gongjie 公節=Wang Kuang 王匡
 Gongjin 公瑾=Zhou Yu 周瑜
 Gongju 公舉=Fei Shi 費詩
 Gongli 公禮=Sun Shao 孫韶

- Gongli 公里
 =Zhongchang Tong 仲長統
 Gongliang 公梁=Zhao Song 趙誦
 Gongliang 公良=Du Kui 杜夔
 Gonglu 公路=Yuan Shu 袁術
 Gongmiao 公苗=He Qi 賀齊
 Gongming 公明=Xu Huang 徐晃
 Gongping 公平=Ma Fang 馬防
 Gongqi 公旗/祺=Zhang Lu 張魯
 Gongqian 公謙=Shi Bi 史弼
 Gongqing 公卿=Wang Jia 王嘉
 Gongran 公然=Wang Qing 王青
 Gongren 公仁=Dong Zhao 董昭
 Gongshan 公山=Liu Dai 劉岱
 Gongshan 公山=Liu Dai 劉岱
 Gongshi 公始=Zhang Fang 張方
 Gongshu 公叔=Zhu Mu 朱穆
 Gongsi 公嗣=Liu Shan/Chan 劉禪
 Gongsi 公嗣=Liu Yi 劉廙
 Gongsun 公孫=Yin Song 尹頌/訟
 Gongtai 公臺=Chen Gong 陳宮
 Gongti 公悌=Fu Xuan 傅選
 Gongting 公挺=Yang Qi 楊琦/奇
 Gongwei 公偉=Yang Qi 楊琦/奇
 Gongwei 公偉=Zhu Jun 朱儁/雋
 Gongwei 公威=Meng Jian 孟建
 Gongwei 公瑋=Chen Yu 陳瑀
 Gongwen 公文
 =Guo Liang 郭涼/涼
 Gongxi 公喜/熙=Yuan Pang 袁滂
 Gongxian 公先=Su Buwei 蘇不韋
 Gongxian 公先
 =Zhang Cheng 張承
 Gongxian 公先=Zhang Feng 張奉
 Gongxiang 公向=Feng Ti 馮懿
 Gongxiao 公孝=Cen Zhi 岑晊
 Gongxin 公信=Feng Yuan 馮元
 Gongxin 公信=Feng Yun 馮允
 Gongxing 興=Hu Qian 胡潛
 Gongxiu 公休=Li Xuan 李宣
 Gongxiu 公休=Wu Can 吳粲
 Gongxu 公緒
 =Kong Zhou 孔伵/胄
 Gongxu 公緒=Luo Tong 駱俊
 Gongxu 公績=Ling Tong 凌統
 Gongxuan 公選
 =Wang Hong 王閔
 Gongya 公雅=Huan Dian 桓典
- Gongyan 公琰=Huang Wan 黃琬
 Gongyan 公琰=Jiang Wan 蔣琬
 Gongye 公業=Zheng Tai 鄭泰/太
 Gongyi 公儀=Zhang Biao 張表
 Gongyi 公儀=Zhang Fan 張範
 Gongyi 公奕=Jiang Qin 蔣欽
 Gongyou 公淤
 =Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年
 Gongyou 公祐=Sun Gan 孫乾
 Gongyuan 公元=Zhu Mu 朱穆
 Gongyuan 公圓=Zhou Gui 周規
 Gongyuan 公淵=Liao Li 廖立
 Gongzai 公載=Guo Zhi 郭芝
 Gongze 公則=Guo Tu 郭圖
 Gongzhen 公振=Wei Zhen 衛臻
 Gongzhi 公知=Xiang Kai 襄楷
 Gongzhi 公至=Han Ji 韓暨
 Gongzhong 公仲=Yan Gan 嚴幹
 Gongzhong 公仲
 =Liu Xi/Jia 劉喜/嘉
 Gongzhu 公助=Wang Fu 王輔
 Gongzi 公子=Xue Han 薛漢
 Gongzi 公次=Wen Xu 溫序
 Gongzu 公祖=Chong Dai 种岱
 Gongzu 公祖=Qiao Xuan 橋玄
 Gongzu 恭祖=Ba Su 巴肅
 Gongzu 恭祖=Tao Qian 陶謙
 Gongzu 恭祖=Xue Qin 薛勤
 Guangshi 廣世=Chen Chong 陳充
 Guangyuan 廣元=Shi Tao 石韜
 Guofu 國輔=Dü Wei 杜微
 Guoping 國平=Qin Peng 秦彭
 Guorang 國讓=Tian Yu 田豫
 Guoshan 國山=Wang Fu 王甫
 Guoyi 國儀=Sun Fu 孫輔
 Hanbo 漢伯=Jing Luan 景鸞
 Handa 漢達=Qiao Min 譙敏
 Hanfeng 漢豐=Cao Jie 曹節
 Hangong 漢公=Chen Dan 陳耽
 Hanhe 含和=Wu Rong 武榮
 Hannan 漢南=Li Miao 李邈
 Hanru 漢儒=Liang Fu 諒輔
 Hansheng 漢升
 =Huang Zhong 黃忠
 Hansheng 漢盛
 =Lü Qiang 呂彊/強
 Hanwen 漢文=Dong Yi 董翊
 Hanyu 漢瑜=Chen Gui 陳珪
- Hanzong 漢宗=Dong Hui 董恢
 Hengzhi 恆直
 =Guo Liang 郭亮/諒
 Hongbo 弘伯=Qian Hong 騫宏
 Hongmo 鴻默=Li Hu 李護
 Hongqing 鴻卿=Feng Gun 馮緄
 Hongqing 鴻卿=Xu Jing 許敬
 Hongsi 弘嗣=Wei Zhao 韋昭
 Hongyu 鴻豫=Chi Lü 郗慮
 Houguang 侯光
 =Yunqi Yao 運期耀
 Houqing 厚卿=Yuan Liang 袁良
 Hua Ziyu 子魚=Hua Xin 華歆
 Huangong 桓公=Liu Kun 劉昆/琨
 Huangong 桓公=Su Chun 蘇純
 Huangqing 皇卿=Feng Gun 馮緄
 Huanzhong 桓鍾=Guo Zhen 郭鎮
 Huazhong 華中=Ying Shun 應順
 Huida 惠達=Sima Jin 司馬進
 Huigong 惠公=Fu Zhan 伏湛
 Huigong 惠公=Guo He 郭賀
 Huiji 惠姬=Ban Zhao 班昭
 Huimeng 惠孟=Wang Yuan 王元
 Huiqing 惠卿=Xu Shu 許淑
 Huishu 惠怒=Zhang Wen 張溫
 Huiwen 惠文=Zhou Jia 周嘉
 Huzi 胡子=Liu Lin 劉林/臨
 Jiajing 嘉景=Pi Xiang 蕃嚮
 Jiamou 嘉謀=Zhou Zhong 周忠
 Jianbo 堅伯=Zhou Pan 周磐
 Jiangong 建公=Sima Fang 司馬防
 Jiangping 江平=Ma Fang 馬防
 Jianhou 建侯=Zhao Dun 趙敦
 Jianshou 建壽=Kong Yao 孔曜
 Jianxian 建賢=Li Li 李立
 Jianyang 建陽=Ding Yuan 丁原
 Jibao 季寶=Yang Mao 羊茂
 Jibao 季豹
 =Cao Gan/Lang 曹幹/良
 Jiben 季本=Jin Yuan 金援
 Jibi 季弼=Chen Jiao 陳矯
 Jibo 機伯=Yin Ji 尹籍
 Jicai 季才=Lu Jun 陸駿
 Jicai 季才=Yang Jun 楊俊
 Jicai 季纔=Xu Yi 徐奕
 Jichan 季產=Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
 Jichang 季常=Ma Liang 馬良
 Jichang 季長=Ma Rong 馬融

Jicheng 季承=Liu He 劉邵
 Jicheng 季誠=Feng Xin 馮信
 Jida 季達=Sima Kui 司馬旭
 Jidao 季道=Wang Ze 王澤
 Jide 季德=Lai Yan 來豔
 Jidu 季度=Tangxi Xie 堂谿協
 Jiexin 節信=Wang Fu 王符
 Jieying 節英=Duan Gong 段恭
 Jiezai 節宰=Zhao Yue 昭約
 Jifang 季方=Chen Chen 陳謹
 Jigao 季高=Fan Ying 樊英
 Jigao 季高=Wu Xiong 吳雄
 Jigong 季公=Ding Hong 丁鴻
 Jigong 季公=Li Zi/Ci 李兹/慈
 Jigong 季公=Wang Gong 王恭
 Jigui 季珪=Cui Yan 崔琰
 Jiguo 季過=Geng Ye 耿晔
 Jihe 季和=Xun Shu 荀淑
 Jihong 季鴻=Gu Feng 顧奉
 Jihui 季回=Gao Xu 高詡
 Jiji/qi 季期=Zhang Xie 張協
 Jijiang 季姜=Wen Ji 文極
 Jijiang 季將=Kong Zhou 孔宙
 Jijie 季節=Liu Yu 劉瑜
 Jijie 季節=Wei Yi 韋義
 Jiliang 季良=Du Bao 杜保
 Jilin 季林=Liu Sheng 劉勝
 Jiling 季陵=Liu Sheng 劉勝
 Jimeng 季孟=Wei Ao 隗囂
 Jiming 季明=Cheng Yishi 成翊世
 Jiming 季明=Liu Xi 劉喜/熹/熹
 Jiming 季明=Sun Huan 孫奂
 Jiming 季明=Wei Bao 韋豹
 Jiming 季明=Zhong Hao 鍾皓
 Jiming 紀明=Duan Jiong 段頌
 Jimo 季默=Cheng Ji 程畿
 Jimou 季謀=Fa Yan 法衍
 Jinnan 季南=Guo Zhen 郭鎮
 Jin'e 進娥=Li Er 李珥
 Jingbo 敬伯=Wang Tang 王堂
 Jingbo 景伯=Chong Gao 種嵩
 Jingbo 景伯=Jia Kui 賈逵
 Jingbo 景伯=Yuan Bao 袁苞
 Jingcai 敬才=Hu Miao 胡邈
 Jingcheng 景成=Dai Jiu 戴就
 Jingda 敬達=Meng Yu 孟鹹/郁
 Jingda 敬達=Lai Min 來敏
 Jingdao 敬道=Dou Tong 竇統

Jingfeng 敬風=Lu Kai 陸凱
 Jinggong 敬公=Gao Huo 高獲
 Jinggong 敬公=Xia Gong 夏恭
 Jinggong 景公=Chen Zhong 陳重
 Jingli 敬禮=Ding Yi 丁廙
 Jingliao 景遼=Tang Chao 唐超
 Jingming 景明=Zhang Dao 張導
 Jingping 敬平=Ma Liao 馬廖
 Jingqing 景情=Xun Yi 荀顗
 Jingqing 景卿=Shisun Fen 士孫奮
 Jingran 景然=Han Xuan 韓宣
 Jingrang 敬讓=Zhang Xin 張歆
 Jingshan 景山=Xu Miao 徐邈
 Jingsheng 景升=Liu Biao 劉表
 Jingsun 經孫=Liu Xi 劉歛
 Jingtong 敬通=Feng Yan 馮衍
 Jingwen 敬文=Xue Zong 薛綜
 Jingxing 景興
 =Wang Lang/Yan 王朗/嚴
 Jingyou 景由=He Wen 何汶
 Jingyu 敬輿=Liu Ji 劉基
 Jingyuan 景完=Cao Quan 曹全
 Jingzai 景載=Zheng Yan 鄭彥
 Jingzhong 敬仲=Cai Lun 蔡倫
 Jingzhong 敬仲=Wei Hong 衛宏
 Jingzu 敬祖=Ba Zhi 巴祗
 Jini 季尼=Liu Yao 劉曜
 Jining 季寧=Lu Kang 陸康
 Jiping 季平=Lü Kai 呂凱
 Jiping 季平=Xi/Yuan Yan 奚/爰延
 Jiping 季平=Yuan/Xi Yan 爰/奚延
 Jiping 季平=Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
 Jiping 機平=Yang Xuan 楊璇/璇
 Jipu 季酺=Wang Zheng 王政
 Jiqi 季齊=Fan Ying 樊英
 Jiqi/ji 季期=Zhang Xie 張協
 Jiqing 季卿=Ren Tang 任棠
 Jiquan 季權=Xiahou Wei 夏侯威
 Jique 季闕=Xu Xu 許栩
 Jiran 季然=Cheng Ji 程畿
 Jirui 季叡=Hu Shuo 胡碩
 Jishan 季山=Xu Jun 許峻
 Jishan 紀山=Chen Shan 陳禪
 Jishi 季士=Li Yu 李禹
 Jishi 季師=Xu Xun 許訓
 Jishu 季叔=Yang Feng 楊奉
 Jitu 紀圖=Fu Bao 傅保/寶
 Jiwei 季偉=Ma Rong 茅容

Jiwei 季爲=Miao Hong 繆紅
 Jiwen 季文=Li Yi 李軼
 Jixi 季習=Wang Bo 王博
 Jixing 季興=Cao Teng 曹騰
 Jixing 季行=Geng Ji 耿紀
 Jixiu 季休=Yang Hong 楊洪
 Jixu 季緒=Liu Xiu 劉脩
 Jiya 季雅=Dü Du 杜篤
 Jiyang 紀陽=Dong Chun 董春
 Jiye 季意=Liu Cheng 劉丞
 Jiying 季英=Wu You 吳祐/佑
 Jiyou 季友=Humu Ban 胡母班
 Jiyu 季玉=Liu Zhang 劉璋
 Jiyu 季瑜=Ying Xun 應珣
 Jiyu 季遇=Geng Ye 耿晔
 Jize 季則=Ma Xu 馬續
 Jizhi 季智
 =Qiu Lan/Xiang 仇覽/香
 Jizhi 季智=Qiu Lingju 丘靈舉
 Jizhi 季智=Yuan Bo 袁博
 Jizhi 季智=Zhang Xi 張熹
 Jizhi 季直=Dong Yu 董遇
 Jizhi 季直=Zhi Xun 摯恂
 Jizhong 季重=Wu Zhi 吳質
 Jizhou 季周=Xie Du 謝篤
 Jizhu 季主=Ma Yuan 馬員
 Jizi 季子=Li Li 李歷
 Jizu 季租=Feng Xun 馮巡
 Jizuo 季佐=Sun Kuang 孫匡
 Jubo 巨伯
 =Liu Zhi/Zhong 劉祉/終
 Juda 巨達=Xiang Lang 向朗
 Jugao 巨高=Cao Song 曹嵩
 Jugong 巨公=Guo Min 郭旻
 Jugong 巨公=Xuan Bing 宣秉
 Jugong 巨公=Zhu Zeng 竺曾
 Juguang 巨光=Pei Mao 裴茂
 Jujian 巨堅=Zhou Chao 州超
 Junjun 巨君=Zheng Hong 鄭弘/宏
 Jun'ai 儁乂=Zhang He 張郃
 Junbo 君伯=Wei Ying 魏應
 Junce 君策=Shisun Rui 士孫瑞
 Junchang 君長=Bao Yong 鮑永
 Junchang 君長=Yin Mo 殷謨
 Junchu 君初=Zhao Zi 趙咨
 Junda 君大=Xun Ren 郇/荀恂
 Junda 君達=Sheng Ji 盛吉
 Junda 君達=Feng Gao 封告

Junda 君達=Feng Heng 封衡
 Junda 君達=Geng Bao 耿寶
 Junfang 君房=Hou Ba 侯霸
 Jungao 君高=Mou Zhang 牟張/長
 Jungong 君公=Dü Shi 杜詩
 Jungong 君公=Wang Zun 王遵
 Jungong 君貢=Zhuge Gui 諸葛珪
 Junguang 君光=Zhou Jing 周憬
 Junhuang 君黃=Qiao Xuan 譙玄
 Junji/qi 君期=Lu Fang 盧芳/方
 Junju 君舉=Yang Tiao 楊調
 Junlang 君郎/朗=Liu Yan 劉焉
 Junlang 君郎=Feng Liang 馮良
 Junli 君理=Zhu Zhi 朱治
 Junlin 俊林=Cao Ru 曹儒
 Junlin 俊林=Xiahou Ru 夏侯儒
 Junling 君陵=Yin Xing 陰興
 Junmeng 君孟
 =Yin Lu/Mu 陰陸/陸
 Junping 君平=Ma Kuang 馬況
 Junping 君平=Shi Yan 施延
 Junqi/ji 君期=Lu Fang 盧芳/方
 Junqian 君遷=Li Gao 李嵩
 Junqian 君遷=Ma Cheng 馬成
 Junqiao 君橋=Zhao Song 趙松
 Junqing 君卿=Feng Liang 馮良
 Junran 君然=Cen Peng 岑彭
 Junrong 君榮=Shisun Rui 士孫瑞
 Junshan 君山=Huan Tan 桓譚
 Junshang 君上=Lü Gai 呂蓋
 Junshang 君上=Zhang Xing 張興
 Junshu 君叔=Lai Xi/She 來歙
 Junsu 君嗣
 =Liu Desheng 劉德升/昇
 Junsu 君嗣=Zhang Yi 張裔
 Junsu 君思=Tang You 唐佑
 Junsu 君肅=He Zhi 何祗
 Juntai 君臺=Guan Zun 管遵
 Junwen 僞文=Zhang He 張郃
 Junwen 君文=Jia Fu 賈復
 Junwen 君文=Liu Yi 劉軼
 Junweng 君翁=Zang Gong 臧宮
 Junxia 君夏=Zhang Xuan 張玄
 Junxian 君先=Pei Bi 裴畢
 Junxian 君賢=Guo Qian 郭虔/乾
 Junya 君雅=Wu Feng 吳鳳

Junyan 君嚴=Wang Liang 王梁
 Junyang 盧君陽
 =Suolu Fang 索盧放
 Junye 君業=Guo Dian 郭典
 Junye 君業=Ren Yong 任永
 Junye 君業=Zhu Cai 朱才
 Junyi 君義=Shi Ren 士仁
 Junyin 君因
 =Chen Mao/Mou 陳茂
 Junyou 君游=Wan Xiu 萬脩/修
 Junyou 君游=Zhang Kan 張堪
 Junyu 君玉=Lü Gai 呂蓋
 Junyu 君魚=Kong Fen 孔奮
 Junyun 君雲=Fan Zhong 樊重
 Junzhang 君章=Zhi Yun 鄧惲
 Junzhong 君中=Cai Shun 蔡順
 Junzhuo 君卓=Xue Cheng 薛丞
 Junzi 君子=Shi Yan 施延
 Juqing 屠巨卿
 =Shentu Gang 申屠剛
 Juqing 巨卿=Gong Sui 龔遂
 Juqing 巨卿=He Yan 蓋延
 Juqing 巨卿=Kong Xun 孔恂
 Jushan 巨山=Kong Song 孔嵩
 Jusheng 巨勝=Zhou Xie 周勰
 Jushi 巨師=Pang Hong 龐宏
 Jusun 巨孫=Dü He 杜合
 Juwei 巨尉=Wang Lin 王琳
 Juxian 巨先=Linghu Yu 令狐禹
 Juxian 巨先=Yuan She 袁涉
 Juyou 巨遊=Li Ye 李業
 Juzi 莒子=Han Meng 韓猛
 Kangcheng 康成
 =Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
 Kongcai 孔才=Liu Shao 劉邵
 Kongdu 孔都=Qin Shang 秦尚
 Konghe 孔和=Zhou Xuan 周宣
 Kongming 孔明=Hu Zhao 胡昭
 Kongming 孔明
 =Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮
 Kongqu 孔渠=Yang Pei 楊沛
 Kongru 孔儒=Liang Yu 梁寓
 Kongshan 孔山=Deng Fang 鄧方
 Kongshu 孔叔
 =Linghu Shao 令狐邵
 Kongwen 孔文=Gao Dai 高岱

Kongxin 孔信=Qiu Shen 仇審
 Kongxiu 孔休=Yin Guan 殷觀
 Kongyi 孔異=Hao Zhou 浩周
 Kongzhang 孔璋=Chen Lin 陳琳
 Kuanfang 貫方=Gao Yi 高頤
 Kuan'guang 貫光=Gao Yi 高頤
 Liangdao 梁道
 =Jia Kui/Qu 賈逵/衢
 Ligong 禮公=Qian Xin 錢訢
 Lingming 令明=Pang De 龐惠/德
 Lingqing 令卿
 =Guo Hong 郭弘/宏
 Lingzi 令則=Luo Xian 羅憲
 Linshu 林叔=Zheng Mao 鄭袤
 Linzong 林宗=Guo Tai 郭泰/太
 Lou Yuankao 元考
 =Lou Shou 婁壽
 Lou Zibo 子伯=Lou Gui 婁圭
 Lou Zici 子次=Lou Wang 婁望
 Mancai 曼才=Yan Jun 嚴峻
 Mancheng 曼成=Li Dian 李典
 Manji 曼基=Wen Hui 溫恢
 Manqing 曼倩=Xun Xian 荀詵
 Mao'an 茂安=Dong Fu 董扶
 Maochang 茂長=Xue Yong 薛永
 Maoni 茂尼=Chang Qia 常洽
 Maotai 茂泰=Ning Shu 甯叔
 Maotong/Moutong 茂通
 =Li Sheng 李勝
 Mengben 孟本=Xu Qiu/Jiu 徐璆
 Mengbo 孟博=Fan Pang 范滂
 Mengchang 孟嘗/常
 =Xue Bao 薛苞/苞
 Mengda 孟達=Wei Biao 韋彪
 Mengde 孟德=Cao Cao 曹操
 Mengdu 孟度=Yan Xian 閻憲
 Menggao 孟高=Dong Zhuo 董擢
 Menggao 孟高=Liu Ling 劉陵
 Menggao 孟高=Zhong Xuan 仲選
 Menggong 孟公=Chen Xun 陳遵
 Menggong 孟公=Liu Gong 劉龔
 Menghou 孟侯=Yan Feng 嚴豐
 Menghou 孟侯=Yang Mu 楊牧
 Menghou 孟侯=Zhang Pu 張輔
 Mengjian 孟堅=Ban Gu 班固²
 Mengjian 孟堅=Jia Cong 賈琮

² There was another Ban Mengjian, whose personal name is not recorded.

Mengjian 孟堅=Wang Hui 王誨
 Mengjian 孟建=Fan Shao 樊紹
 Mengjie 孟節=Li He 李邵
 Mengju 孟舉=Juan Cheng 圈稱
 Mengping 孟平=Xu Qiu/Jiu 徐璆
 Mengqi 孟起=Ma Chao 馬超
 Mengqing 孟卿=Zhao Qin 趙勤
 Mengsun 孟孫
 =Chunyu Gong 淳于恭
 Mengsun 孟孫=Dou Gu 竇固
 Mengsun 孟孫=He Xi 何熙
 Mengsun 孟孫
 =Guiyang Hong 觥陽鴻
 Mengwen 孟文=Yang Huan 楊渙
 Mengxi 孟喜=Cai Yan 蔡衍
 Mengxin 孟信=Yang Mu 楊牧
 Mengyang 孟陽=Liu Xiong 劉熊
 Mengyou 孟由=Qin Jian 禽堅
 Mengyu 孟玉=Xu Qiu/Jiu 徐璆
 Mengyu 孟玉
 =Zhou Qiu/Jiu 周璆/糾
 Mengyuan 孟元=Li Ji 李幾
 Mengyuan 孟元=Zhou Yong 州永
 Mengyuan 孟元=Chang Yi 常翊
 Mengzhuo 孟卓
 =Zhang Miao 張邈
 Mengzong 孟宗=Du Zhen 杜真
 Miaocai 妙才
 =Xiahou Yuan 夏侯淵
 Miaogao 妙高=Chen Du 陳度
 Miqing 靡卿=Fan Hong 樊宏
 Misun 秘孫
 =Liu Zhen/Bao 劉珍/寶
 Mou 茂 see Mao 茂
 Nanhe 南和=Zhang Yu 張裕
 Nanrong 南容=Fu Xie 傅燮
 Ningbo 寧伯=Zhao Xun 趙勳
 Ningfang 甯方=Xu Man 許曼
 Nüxun 女荀=Xun Cai 荀采
 Pengzu 彭祖=Cao Yu 曹宇
 Pianzu 翩祖 see Yang Zhi 羊陟
 Pinghou 平侯=Feng Huan 馮煥
 Pingqing 平卿
 =Zheng Ju/Qu 鄭據/璩
 Pingshu 平叔=Deng Xun 鄧訓
 Pingshu 平叔=He Yan 何晏
 Pingsun 平孫=Zhou Rong 周榮
 Pingwang 平王=Qin Zhou 秦周

Pingzhong 仲平=Zhao Yan 趙晏
 Pingzhong 平仲=Liu Shun 劉順
 Pingzhong 平仲=Dai Feng 戴封
 Pingzhong 平仲=Wang You 王祐
 Pingzi 平子=Zhang Heng 張衡
 Puzi 鋪子=Hou Ba 侯芭
 Qianjiu 千秋
 =Liu Zhen/Bao 劉珍/寶
 Qiaoqing 僑卿=Dong Xian 董憲
 Qiaoqing 喬卿=Fa Zhen 法真
 Qiaoqing 喬卿=Guo He 郭賀
 Qiaoqing 喬卿=Wei Ba 隗霸
 Qiaozhi 驕稚=Xu Xuan 徐宣
 Qinzong 欽仲=Li Zhuan 李譔
 Qinzong 欽仲=Li Xuan 李譔
 Qiongyu 瓊玉
 =Cheng Zhenjue 程貞決
 Qiqing 齊卿=Wei Jie 魏桀/傑
 Qishi 起世=Zhou Bo 州博
 Qiusun 秋孫
 =Liu Zhen/Bao 劉珍/寶
 Ranming 然明=Zhang Huan 張奐
 Rendu 仁篤=Xu Ci 許慈
 Renming 仁明=Zhou Yu 周囑
 Rongzu 榮祖=Liu Chong 劉寵
 Ruqing 孺卿=Ma Dun/Fu 馬敦/敷
 Ruqing 孺卿=Niu Han 牛邯
 Rusun 孺孫=Liu Hong 劉弘/宏
 Ruwen 孺文=Su Zhang 蘇章
 Ruzhong 儒/孺仲=Wang Ba 王霸
 Ruzi 孺子=Xu Zhi 徐稚
 Shanling 山陵=Sun Qiu 孫璆
 Shanming 山名=Chen Ji 陳紀
 Shanpu 山甫=Kong Jia 孔嘉
 Shaobo 召伯=Dubang 杜邦
 Shaofu 邵輔=Yuan Hong 袁弘
 Shaogan 少贛=Zheng Xing 鄭興
 Shaogong 召公=Zheng Kai 鄭凱
 Shaogong 邵公=He Xiu 何休
 Shaogong 邵公=Yuan An 袁安
 Shaojie 少節=Mao Yi 毛義
 Shaolin 少林=Wang Chun 王忖
 Shaoping 少平=Dong Xuan 董宣
 Shaoping 邵平=Zhu Liang 祝良
 Shaoqing 少卿=Guo Dan 郭丹
 Shaoqing 少卿=Xu Qian 徐遷
 Shaoqing 少卿=Yi Ying 乙瑛
 Shaoqing 邵卿=Zhu Liang 祝良

Shaotong 少通=Yan Xin 嚴訢
 Shaoxian 少閑=Wei Tan 魏譚
 Shaoxian 紹先=Huo Yi 霍弋
 Shaoxuan 少玄=Wang Yin 王音
 Shaoying 少英=Wei Lang 魏朗
 Shaoyou 少幼=Li Tong 李統
 Shaoyou 少游=Zhang Fang 張昉
 Shaozhang 少張=Xu Jing 許荆
 Shaozi 少子=Cheng Gong 承宮
 Shaozi 少子=Pang An 逢安
 Shenfu 申甫=Chong Shao 种叟
 Shengbo 升伯=Hou Qi 侯祈
 Shengda 升達=Fan Min 樊敏
 Shengda 聖達=Yang Qiao 楊喬
 Shengda 聖達
 =Shen/Zhen Feng 沈/甄豐
 Shengda 聖達
 =Zhen/Shen Feng 甄/沈豐
 Shenggong 聖公=Liu Xuan 劉玄
 Shengguo 盛國
 =Yang Chong 楊充
 Shenghou 升侯=Gong Tiao 龔調
 Shengji 升濟
 =Gongsun Du 公孫度
 Shengjian 聖建
 see Yang Qiao 楊喬
 Shengming 聖明=Fang Chu 方儲
 Shengping 升平
 =Gaotang Long 高堂隆
 Shengqing 升卿=Jia Fang 賈魴/訪
 Shengqing 升卿=Yu Xu 虞詡
 Shengqing 聖卿=Ma Yu/Xu 馬余
 Shengshu 升叔=Zhou Zhang 周章
 Shengtai 聖臺=Sun Qiang 孫羌
 Shengxian 盛先
 =Chen Bao/Shi 陳寶/實
 Shengzhen 聖眞
 =Huang Chang 黃昌
 Shibi 士鼻=Wang Bi 王畢
 Shicheng 士成=Su Zhang 蘇章
 Shichun 始春=Huan Luan 桓鸞
 Shici 叔慈=Xun Jing 荀靖
 Shide 德世=Yang Ding 羊定
 Shigong 世公=Wang Fu 王阜
 Shihui 士會=Qin Jia 秦嘉
 Shiju 世舉=He Ju 何矩
 Shilin 世林=Zong Cheng 宗承
 Shiqi 士起=Guan Jing 關靖

Shiqing 世卿=Zhao Wuji 趙無忌
 Shishu 世叔=Cao Shou 曹壽
 Shishu 世叔=Ying Feng 應奉
 Shiwei 世威=Feng Zhou 馮冑
 Shixian 世賢=Duan Guang 段光
 Shixin 世信=Liu Chong 劉寵
 Shiyi 世益=Li Liang 李諒
 Shiyong 世英=Huang Qiong 黃瓊
 Shiyong 世遊=Yu Cheng 庾乘
 Shiyong 士遊=Jiang Shi 姜詩
 Shiyuan 士元=Pang Tong 龐統
 Shiyun 史雲
 =Fan Dan/Ran 范丹/冉
 Shizai 士載=Deng Ai 鄧艾
 Shizi 士則=Deng Fan 鄧範
 Shizong 始宗=Liu Xian 劉先
 Shoucheng 壽成=Ma Teng 馬騰
 Shubao 叔寶=Yang Mao 羊茂
 Shuben 叔本=Ren Mo 任末
 Shubi 叔弼=Sun Yi/Yan 孫翊/愷
 Shubo 叔博=Wang Yan 王晏
 Shubu 叔布=Zhou Shu 周舒
 Shuchang 叔暢=Ji Mao 吉茂
 Shuchun 叔春=Ding Han 丁邯
 Shuda 叔達=Duan Bin 杜賓
 Shuda 叔達=Meng Min 孟敏
 Shuda 叔達=Meng Yu 孟軻/郁
 Shuda 叔達=Sima Yu 司馬宇
 Shuda 叔達=Zhou Teng 周騰
 Shude 叔德=Xia Kan 夏堪
 Shudu 叔度=Huang Xian 黃憲
 Shudu 叔度=Lian Fan 廉范/範
 Shudu 叔都
 =Song/Zong Zi 宋/宗資
 Shudu 叔都=Tian Hui 田輝
 Shudu 叔都
 =Zong/Song Zi 宗/宋資
 Shufang 叔方=Chen Zheng 陳正
 Shufang 叔方=Liu Ju 劉矩
 Shufang 叔方=Zhang Dun 張敦
 Shufu 叔輔=Teng Fu 滕撫
 Shugao 叔高=Dou Yuan 竇元
 Shugao 叔高=Ren Jun 任峻
 Shugao 叔高=Yang Fen 養奮
 Shugao 叔高=Zhang Liao 張遼
 Shugong 叔公=Bi Min 辟敏
 Shugu 叔固=Yan Du 延篤
 Shuhe 叔和=Dufu 杜撫

Shuhe 叔和=Wang Tiao 王調
 Shuhe 叔和=Wu Shun 吳順
 Shuhe 叔和=Xiang Song 項誦
 Shuhe 叔河=Ding Fang 丁飭
 Shuhou 叔侯=Gong Tiao 龔調
 Shuji 叔奇=Zhao Feng 趙豐
 Shuji 叔紀=Deng Hong 鄧弘/宏
 Shujian 叔堅=Yan Du 延篤
 Shujie 叔節=Yang Bing 楊秉
 Shujie 叔節=Han Chi 韓勅
 Shujing 叔敬=Liang Song 梁竦
 Shujing 叔景=Luo Hun 羅暉
 Shujing 叔經=Wang Zhen 王真
 Shuju 叔鉅=Fan Xian 范顯
 Shujun 叔俊=He Ying 何英
 Shukang 叔康
 =Yang Kuang/Zhang 楊匡/章
 Shulang 叔朗=Sun Jiao 孫皎
 Shuliang 叔梁=Yin Qin 尹勤
 Shulin 叔林=Kong Gui 孔桂
 Shulin 叔林=Liu Ru 劉儒
 Shuling 叔陵=Cai Xuan 蔡玄
 Shuling 叔陵=Lu Pi 魯丕
 Shulong 叔龍=He Kui 何夔
 Shuli 叔慮=Geng Guo 耿國
 Shulu 叔路=Song You 宋由
 Shuman 叔鸞=Dai Liang 戴良
 Shumao/Shumou 叔茂
 =Wang Chang 王暢/暢
 Shumao/Shumou 叔茂
 =Zhao Jian 趙戩
 Shuming 叔明=Cai Zhao 蔡昭
 Shuming 叔明=Chen Yan 陳弇
 Shuming 叔明=Lu Bao 陸褒
 Shuming 叔明=Yu Cheng 虞承
 Shuming 叔明
 =Zhang Hao 張皓/浩
 Shupan 陸叔盤=Lu Yu 陸紆
 Shupi 叔皮=Ban Biao 班彪
 Shuping 叔平=Dai She 戴涉
 Shuping 叔平=Sima Jun 司馬鈞
 Shuping 叔平=Song Du 宋度
 Shuping 叔平=Yuan Chang 袁敞
 Shuqi 叔起=Wang Zhi 王稚/稚
 Shuqi 叔齊=Chu Xi 褚禧
 Shuqi 叔齊=Fu Gong 伏恭
 Shuqing 叔倩=Xun Wu 荀侯
 Shuqing 叔卿=Yang Bing 楊秉

Shuquan 叔權
 =Xiahou Cheng 夏侯稱
 Shurang 叔讓=Hu Qianyi 胡千億
 Shurong 叔榮=Duan Qiao 杜喬
 Shuru 叔儒=Han Yue 韓說
 Shuru 叔儒
 =Liang Yongguo 梁永國
 Shushan 叔山=Ma Guang 馬光
 Shusheng 叔盛=Liu Mao 劉茂
 Shusheng 叔盛=Zhao Kang 趙康
 Shushi 叔師=Wang Yi 王逸
 Shushi 叔時=Yin Hua 殷華
 Shusi 叔嗣=Zhang Xiu 張休
 Shutong 叔通=Cao Bao 曹褒
 Shuwei 叔威=Zhang Meng 張猛
 Shuwei 叔韓=Hu Qianyi 胡千億
 Shuwen 叔文=Lu Huan 陸桓
 Shuwen 叔文=Shi Bao 史苞
 Shuwen 叔文=Wei Shun 韋順
 Shuwu 叔武=Sun Huan 孫桓
 Shuxian 叔憲=Geng Guo 耿國
 Shuxiang 叔庠
 =Song/Zong Jun 宋/宗均
 Shuxiang 叔庠
 =Zong/Song Jun 宗/宋均
 Shuxing 叔興=Li Hui 李恢
 Shuya 叔牙=Wei Man 魏滿
 Shuya 叔牙=Yan Cen 延岑
 Shuya 叔雅=Bao An 鮑昂
 Shuyang 叔陽=Song Deng 宋登
 Shuyang 叔陽=Zhang Xi 張翕
 Shuyang 叔陽=Zhu Bo 朱勃
 Shuye 叔業=Bao Xun 鮑勛
 Shuye 叔業=Cai Xi 蔡攜
 Shuye 叔業=Jia Hong 賈洪
 Shuyi 叔毅=Li Gang 李剛
 Shuyi 叔異=Ru Yu 汝郁
 Shuyi 叔異=Miao Yu 繆宇
 Shuyi 叔異=Sima Zhi 司馬直
 Shuying 叔穎=Dong Min 董曼
 Shuying 叔英=Li Xun 李恂
 Shuying 叔英=Sun Jun 孫俊
 Shuyou 叔優=Wang Rou 王柔
 Shuyu 叔玉=Zhou Zhong 州忠
 Shuyu 瑜叔=Li Jin 李瑾/珪
 Shuyuan 元=Zhu Fu 朱浮
 Shuyuan 叔元=Huan Yan 桓焉
 Shuyuan 叔元=Luan Ba 樂巴

Shuzai 叔宰=Feng Hao 馮顥=
 Shuze 叔則=Hun Dian 閼典
 Shuzhao 叔昭=Deng Kui 鄧惺
 Shuzhen 叔珍=Chen Gui 陳龜
 Shuzhen 叔貞=Zhao Jian 趙堅
 Shuzhi 叔智=Huo Xu 霍誥
 Shuzhi 叔治=Wang Xiu 王脩
 Shuzhi 叔至=Chen Dao 陳到
 Shuzhong 叔仲=Yang Kuan 楊寬
 Shuzhong 叔重=Xu Shen 許慎
 Sigong 嗣公=Xu Xu 許續
 Siqian 思潛=Yin Mo 尹默
 Siran 思然=Ji Mu 吉穆
 Sizong 嗣宗=Zhang Guang 張廣
 Sizu 嗣祖=Yang Zhi 羊陟
 Sizu 思祖=Lu Chang/Ci 陸暢/賜
 Suigao 遂高=He Jin 何進
 Suigong 綏公=Xing Mu 邢穆
 Suizong 綏宗=Wu Liang 武梁
 Sunde 孫德=Li Fu 李福
 Sunjing 孫卿=Jing Dan 景丹
 Sunqing 孫卿=Zhu Chang 朱佺
 Taiqing 臺卿=Zhao Qi 趙岐/歧
 Taisheng 臺生
 =Zhao Jia/Qi 趙嘉/岐/歧
 Taizhong 泰中=Guo Chang 郭敞
 Tianxiu 恬休=Han Kang 韓康
 Tingbo 亭伯=Cui Yin 崔駟
 Tongta 通達=Hu Min 胡敏
 Tongyao 通耀=Wang Rui 王叡
 Tongzhi 通直=Guo Yu 郭玉
 Wangsi 王思=Yan Zun 嚴遵/尊
 Wanyi 萬億=Li Tong 李通
 Wanyi 萬億=Li Tong 李通
 Weibo 偉伯=Feng Qin 馮勤
 Weichang 偉長=Xu Gan 徐幹
 Weidu 偉度=Hu Ji 胡濟
 Weifang 生偉防
 =Zhousheng Feng豐
 Weigong 偉公=Zhou Fang 周防
 Weigong 偉恭=Li Su 李肅
 Weigong 威公=Yang Yi 楊儀
 Weihao 豪=Zhao Bao 趙苞
 Weijie 偉節=Jia Biao 賈彪
 Weijun 偉君
 =Pi Tong/Yong 邳彤/彤
 Weijun 偉君=Xu Yang 許楊/陽
 Weijun 衛君=Zhang Ji 張稷

Weikang 偉康=Jia Xu 賈許
 Weikao 威考=Cui Lie 崔烈
 Weiming 偉明=Fu Rong 符融
 Weiming 甫威明
 =Huangfu Gui 皇甫規
 Weiming 威明=Li Liang 李亮 [
 Weinan 偉南=Li Shao 李邵
 Weinan 偉南=Li Chao 李朝
 Weiping 偉平=Xie Cheng 謝承
 Weiqing 偉卿=Deng Chen 鄧晨
 Weiqing 威卿=Ma Yan 馬嚴
 Weiqing 威卿=Shen Rong 沈戎
 Weishi 威石=Sun Cong 孫琮
 Weishi 威碩=Liu Yan 劉琰
 Weitai 偉壺=Wang Guan 王觀
 Weiyan 威彥=Shi Xie 士燮
 Weize 偉則=Hu Zong 胡綜
 Weizhang 偉章=Zhao Ang 趙昂
 Wenbao 文寶=Lü Guo 呂國
 Wenbao 文寶=Sun Jing 孫敬
 Wenbao 文寶=Wang Jie 王戒
 Wenbiao 文表=Rui Xuan 芮玄
 Wenbiao 文表=Bing Xuan 邴玄
 Wenbiao 文表=Qin Song 秦松
 Wenbiao 文表=Wang Shang 王商
 Wenbo 文伯=Dong Jun 董鈞
 Wenbo 文伯
 =Su/Yu Kuang 王/玉況
 Wenbo 文伯=Wang Kuang 王況
 Wenbo 文博=Zhu Ling 朱靈
 Wencai 文才?=Hu Zhen 胡軫
 Wencai 文才=Bao Chu 鮑出
 Wenchang 文長=Wei Yan 隗延
 Wenchu 文楚=Zhao Zi 趙咨
 Wende 文德=Hu Zhi 胡質
 Wendu 文都=Wang Yi 王邑
 Wen'gao 文高=Fan Fan 樊梵
 Wen'gao 文高=He Chang 何敞
 Wen'gao 文高=Wang Bin 王斌
 Weng'ao 翁敖=Liu Qing 劉慶
 Wengjun 翁君=Han Xin 韓歆
 Wengjun 翁君=Li Zhu 李助
 Wengjun 翁君=Yang Mang 楊莽
 Wengong 文公=Bao Die 鮑疊
 Wengong 文公
 =Wenren Tong 聞人統
 Wengong 文公=Zheng Hun 鄭渾
 Wengshu 翁叔=Ma Midi 馬日磾

Wengu 文固=She Jian 射堅
 Wengui 文珪=Pan Zhang 潘璋
 Wengzhong 翁中=Zhou Ba 周霸
 Wenhe 文和=Jia Xu 賈詡
 Wenhe 文和=Xuan He 玄賀
 Wenheng 文衡=Feng Zun 馮遵
 Wenhong 文宏=Xuan He 玄賀
 Wenhui 文惠=Gao Rou 高柔
 Wenji 文姬=Cai Yan 蔡琰
 Wenji 文季=Pei Hui 裴徽
 Wenji 文季=Zhu Hui 朱暉
 Wenji 文紀=Zhang Gang 張綱
 Wenjian 文堅=Jing Yi 景毅
 Wenjie 文節=Han Fu 韓馥
 Wenjie 文節
 =Yang Shan/Chan 楊禪
 Wenjin 文進=Zhang Nan 張南
 Wenju 文矩=Cheng Zhi 程祗
 Wenju 文舉=Kong Rong 孔融
 Wenkai 文開=Yuan Cheng 袁成
 Wenkai 袁成=Yuan Ping 袁平
 Wenli 文理=Liu Zhi 劉質/瓚
 Wenli 文理=Tao Dun 陶敦
 Wenli 文禮=Bian Rang 邊讓
 Wenli 文禮=Kong Bao 孔褒/褒
 Wenlie 文烈=Cao Xiu 曹休
 Wenlin 文林=Huan
 Ye/Yu/Yan 桓曄/煜/嚴/儼/礪
 Wenlin 文林=Yang Fei 顏斐
 Wenluan 文鸞=Bing Liang 邴良
 Wenluan 文鸞=Rui Liang 芮良
 Wenming 文明=Zhou Huan 周奐
 Wenming 文明=Zhu Hao 朱皓
 Wenqi 文起=Liao Fu 廖扶
 Wenqian 文謙=Yue Jin 樂進
 Wenqiang 文彊=Fa Xiong 法雄
 Wenqiang 文彊
 =Huang Xiang 黃香
 Wenran 文然=Ji Miao 吉邈
 Wenran 文然=Yang Xi 楊戲/羲
 Wenruo 文若=Xun Yu 荀彧/郁
 Wenshan 文山=Li Jun 鄺峻
 Wenshan 文山=Wang Long 王隆
 Wensheng 文勝=Li Yan 酈炎
 Wenshi 文始=Ren Fang 任昉/方
 Wenshi 文始
 =Shisun Meng 士孫萌
 Wenshi 文始=Wang Fang 王防

Wenshi 文師=Su Ze 蘇則
 Wenshu 文叔=Liu Xiu 劉秀
 Wenshu 文舒=Wang Chang 王昶
 Wenshu 文舒=Zhang Chang 張昶
 Wensi 文寺=Li Qing 李磬
 Wensi 文思=Luo Su 駱肅
 Wensi 文思=Ma Ying 馬英
 Wenta 文達=Huang Lang 黃朗
 Wenta 文達=Li Tong 李通
 Wenta 文達=Zhang Liao 張遼
 Wentai 文臺=Sun Jian 孫堅
 Wenti 文悌=Ren Kai 任愷
 Wentong 文通=Gao Feng 高鳳
 Wentong 文通=Yan Bao 嚴苞
 Wentong 文通
 =Zhang Kuang 張匡
 Wentong 文通=Zhou Yu 周紆
 Wenwei 文偉=Fei Yi 費禕
 Wenwei 文威=Geng Wu 耿武
 Wenxian 文先=Yang Biao 楊彪
 Wenxiang 文嚮
 =Xu Sheng/Cheng 徐盛
 Wenxiang 文祥=Xi Zhen 習禎
 Wenxiong 文雄=She Yuan 射援
 Wenxiu 文休=Diwu Xun 第五巡
 Wenxiu 文休=Xu Jing 許靖
 Wenxiu 文繡=Yu Xin 虞欽
 Wenya 文雅=Miao Pei 繆裴
 Wenya 文雅=Miao Xi 繆襲
 Wenyang 文陽=Sun Xiang 孫香
 Wenyao 文饒=Liu Kuan 劉寬
 Wenyi 文义=Gongsha Mu 公沙穆
 Wenyi 文儀=Kou Huan 寇權
 Wenyi 文儀=Wang Lian 王連
 Wenyi 文儀=Xie Gai 謝該
 Wenyi 文義=Yang Ren 楊仁
 Wenyou 文優=Li Ru 李儒
 Wenyou 文有=Tan Fu 檀敷
 Wenyu 文玉=Yin Song 陰嵩
 Wenyu 文蔚=Lu Cui 路粹
 Wenyuan 文元=Li Tong 李通
 Wenyuan 文元=Zhu Mu 朱穆
 Wenyuan 文淵=Bao Yu 鮑昱
 Wenyuan 文淵=Fan Jin 范津
 Wenyuan 文淵=Zheng Quan 鄭泉
 Wenyuan 淵=Ma Yuan 馬援
 Wenye 文約=Han Sui 韓遂
 Wenzai 文載=Yue Xiang 樂詳

Wenze 文則=Yu Jin 于禁
 Wenzhang 文章
 =Huang Xiang 黃向
 Wenzhi 文直=Zhou Buyi 周不疑
 Wenzi 文則=Wu Fan 吳範
 Wenzi 文則=Yan Xiang 嚴像/象
 Wenzu 文祖=Wang Kao 王考
 Wuru 武孺=Jia Zong 賈宗
 Wuxing 武興=Feng Qi 封祈
 Wuxuan 武宣=Dan Yang 單颺
 Wuxuan 武宣=Shan Yang 單颺
 Wuzhong 武仲=Fu Yi 傅毅
 Xiafu 夏甫=Huang Zhen 黃真
 Xiafu 夏輔=Yuan Hong 袁閔
 Xianda 顯達=Sima Xun 司馬恂
 Xianfu 顯甫=Yuan Shang 袁尚
 Xiangong 憲公=Li Ji 李基
 Xiangong 顯公=Fu Fu 輔服
 Xiangsun 襄孫=Chen Yuan 陳元
 Xianhe 憲和=Jian Yong 簡雍
 Xianqing 顯卿=Guo Xun 郭訓
 Xiansi 顯思=Yuan Tan 袁譚
 Xianyi 顯奕=Yuan Xi 袁熙
 Xianyong 顯雍=Yuan Xi 袁熙
 Xianzong 顯宗=Wen Gong 溫貢
 Xiaobin 小賓=Sima Jun 司馬均
 Xiaobo 小伯=Chen Zhan 陳湛
 Xiaochu 孝初=Zong Ci 宗慈
 Xiaocun 孝存=Lin Shuo 臨/林碩
 Xiaofu 孝甫=Gao Shen 高慎
 Xiaogong 孝公=Ding Hong 丁鴻
 Xiaoju 孝琚=Meng Xuan 孟琬
 Xiaolian 孝連=Ding Lan 丁覽
 Xiaoqi 孝起=Chen Zhen 陳震
 Xiaoqi 孝起=Feng Guan 封觀
 Xiaoran 孝然=Qiao Xian 譙先
 Xiaoren 孝仁=Cang Ci 倉慈
 Xiaoshan 孝山=Li Nan 李南
 Xiaoshan 孝山=Shi Cen 史岑
 Xiaoshan 孝山=Su Shun 蘇順
 Xiaosui 孝遂=Cheng Yang 程陽
 Xiaosun 孝孫=Feng Fang 馮魴
 Xiaosun 孝孫=Liu Jia 劉嘉
 Xiaosun 孝孫=Ma Fang 馬防
 Xiaowei 孝威=Tai Tong 臺佟
 Xiaowei 孝城=Xue Ti 薛悌
 Xiaoxian 孝先=Bian Shao 邊韶
 Xiaoxian 孝先=Chen Zhong 陳忠

Xiaoxian 孝先=Mao Jie 毛玠
 Xiaoyi 孝懿=Li Yi 李義
 Xiaoyou 孝友=Su Lin 蘇林
 Xiaoyu 孝裕=Meng Guang 孟光
 Xiaoyuan 孝元=Yang Fu 楊孚
 Xiaoyuan 孝遠=Luo Jun 駱俊
 Xiaoze 孝則=Gu Shao 顧邵
 Xiaozhang 孝章
 =Sheng Xian 盛憲
 Xiaozhi 孝治=Dong An 董黯
 Xiaozhi 孝直=Fa Zheng 法正
 Xiaozhong 孝仲=Zhu Zun 朱遵
 Xiayou 俠游=Geng Kuang 耿況
 Xibo 義伯=Wang Xiang 王象
 Xihou 細侯=Guo Ji 郭伋
 Xijun 細君=Fan Chong 樊崇
 Xijun 細君=Liu Xin 劉歆
 Xingba 興霸=Gan Ning 甘寧
 Xingxian 興先
 =Diwu Zhong 第五種
 Xingzu 祖=Yang Xu 羊續
 Xingzu 興祖=Heng Fang 衡方
 Xingzu 行祖=Li Yun 李雲
 Xiubo 休伯=Po Qin 繁欽
 Xiufu 休甫
 =Wei Duan/Rui 韋端/瑞
 Xiugong 秀升=Cheng Zeng 程曾
 Xiulian 休璉=Ying Qu 應璩
 Xiuming 休明=Huang Xiang 皇象
 Xiuming 休明=Wei Zhu 韋著
 Xiumu 休穆=Zhu Huan 朱桓
 Xiurui 秀叡=Hu Shuo 胡碩
 Xiuruo 休若=Xun Yan 荀衍
 Xiuyuan 休元=Feng Xi 馮習
 Xiuyuan 休元=Feng Yi 馮習
 Xiuzhao 休昭=Dong Yun 董允
 Xuande 宣德=Zhu Jie 朱頡
 Xuande 玄德=Liu Bei 劉備
 Xuanfeng 玄風=Bu Jing 卜靜
 Xuangao 宣高=Zang Ba 臧霸
 Xuangong 玄公
 =Zhang Mu 張胤 []
 Xuanguang 宣光=Zhou Ju 周舉
 Xuanmeng 宣孟
 =Pang Xiong 龐雄
 Xuanren 宣仁=Gao Bao 高褒
 Xuansheng 宣聲=Xue Xia 薛夏
 Xuansi 宣嗣=Bing Zhi 郢祉

Xuansi 宣嗣=Rui Zhi 芮祉
 Xuansui 宣睢=Zhou Xin 州歆
 Xuanxing 宣興=Zhou Long 州龍
 Xuanyu 宣豫=Zhou Mu 州穆
 Yada 雅達=Sima Tong 司馬通
 Yaguang 雅光=Lang Yi 郎顗
 Yagui 雅珪=Zhao Yan 趙琰
 Yanbo 延博=Yin Bao 尹苞
 Yancai 彥材=Fu Gan 傅幹
 Yanfang 彥方=Wang Lie 王烈
 Yangshi 陽士=He Xia 和洽
 Yanhuang 彥皇=Zhan Qian 棧潛
 Yanhuang 彥黃=Pei Xuan 裴玄
 Yankao 彥考=Wang Lie 王烈
 Yanlin 彥林=Fu Gan 傅幹
 Yanlin 彥林=Huan Bin 桓彬
 Yanlong 彥龍=Sun Zi 孫資
 Yanming 彥明
 =Yan Xing/Yan 閔行/豔
 Yannian 延年=Wei Ba 隗霸
 Yanshan 彥善=Zhao Yue 趙越
 Yanxin 彥信=Zhao Qian 趙謙
 Yanyun 彥雲
 =Wang Ling 王陵/凌/凌
 Yanchang 彥長=Wei Yu 衛愉
 Yanzhen 彥真=Zhang Sheng 張升
 Yanzu 彥祖=Zhou Xie 周燮
 Yaoqing 堯卿=Xie Yiwu 謝夷吾
 Yaoqing 曜卿
 =Yuan Huan 袁渙/煥
 Yeqing 謁卿=Xu Fang 徐防
 Yibo 意伯=Zhao Jie 趙戒/誠
 Yide 益德=Zhang Fei 張飛
 Yidu 異度=Kuai Yue 蒯越
 Yi'en 益恩=Zheng Yi 鄭益
 Yifang 義方=Gao Biao 高彪
 Yifeng 義封=Zhu Ran 朱然
 Yigao 義高=Ying Rong 應融
 Yigong 義公=Han Dang 韓當
 Yijiu 義舊=Jiang Pin 姜嬪
 Yiju 義舉=Shen Dan 申耽
 Yiliao 宜僚=Ban Yong 班勇
 Yingbo 穎伯=Chong Fu 种拂
 Yingbo 穎伯=Yang Bi 楊弼
 Yin'gong 隱公=Huang Fu 黃浮
 Yiqi 義起=Gongsha Fan 公沙樊
 Yiqiang 義彊=Wang Shi 王士
 Yiqing 異卿=Xu Shao 徐少

Yiqing 益卿=Zhao Qin 趙勤
 Yiqu 義渠=Jiang Qi 蔣奇
 Yiquan 義權=Xiahou He 夏侯和
 Yishan 義山=Yang Fu 楊阜
 Yize 義則=Gongsha Kui 公沙逵
 Yizhen 義眞
 =Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩
 Yongnan 永南=Li Chao 李朝
 Yongnan 永南=Li Shao 李邵
 Yongnian 永年=Peng Yang 彭萊
 Yongning 永甯=Yuan Bi 袁祕
 You'an 幼安=Guan Ning 管寧
 Youchang 幼常=Ma Su 馬謖
 Youchun 幼春=Ding Chen 丁綝
 Youda 司馬幼達
 =Sima Min 司馬敏
 Youji 幼季=Yin Min 尹敏
 Youjian 幼簡=Guo Xian 郭憲
 Youju 幼舉=Juan Cheng 圈稱
 Youling 幼陵=Fan Zhun 樊準/淮
 Youping 幼平=Zhou Tai 周泰
 Youping 游平=Dou Wu 竇武
 Youqi 幼起=Dai Shao 戴紹
 Youqi 幼起=Fu Xie 傅燮
 Youquan 幼權
 =Xiahou Rong 夏侯榮
 Youruo 攸若=Xun Shen 荀諝
 Youtai 幼臺=Sun Jing 孫靜
 Youweng 游翁=Wang Yuan 王元
 Youyi 幼異=Ru Yu 汝郁
 Youzheng 幼正=He Chang 何萇
 Yuanbi 元弼=Fu Kuang 輔匡
 Yuanbin 元賓=Qiao Dai 橋載
 Yuanbin 元賓=Qiao Zai 橋載
 Yuanbo 元伯=Liu Long 劉隆
 Yuanbo 元伯=Wang Ba 王霸
 Yuanbo 元伯=Zhang Shao 張劭
 Yuancai 元才=Gao Gan 高幹
 Yuanchang 元常=Zhong Yao 鍾繇
 Yuanchang 元長=Han Rong 韓融
 Yuanchang 元長=Han Shao 韓韶
 Yuanchun 元春=Li Yu 李育
 Yuanda 元大=Xu Ling 徐陵
 Yuande 元德=Zhu Mu 祝睦
 Yuanfang 元方=Chen Ji 陳紀
 Yuanfang 元方
 =Wang Chang 王敞
 Yuanfang 放元=Zuo Ce 左慈

Yuanfeng 元鳳
 =Zhang Xiang 張翔
 Yuanfeng 元鳳=Huan Lin 桓麟/驎
 Yuanfu 元復
 =Taishi Xiang 太史享
 Yuanfu 元服=Yuan He 袁賀
 Yuanfu 元甫=Ge Gong 葛龔
 Yuanfu 元輔=Wang Yi 王翊
 Yuangu 元固=He Xun 蓋勳
 Yuangui 元珪=Zhao Yao 趙瑤
 Yuanhai 元海=Ma Jiang 馬江
 Yuanhao 元皓=Tian Feng 田豐
 Yuanhou 元侯=Yan Bin 燕邠
 Yuanhua 元化=Chen Tiao 陳調
 Yuanji 元基
 =Yin Xiu/Xun 陰脩/循
 Yuanji 元機=Jin Xuan 金旋
 Yuanji 元集=Jia Xu 賈栩
 Yuanjian 元儉=Liao Hua 廖化
 Yuanjian 元堅=Liang Xiu 梁休
 Yuanjiang 元將=Wei Kang 韋康
 Yuanjiang 元江=Zhang Ji 張濟
 Yuanjie 元節=Yi Li 伊立
 Yuanjie 元節=Zhang Jian 張儉
 Yuanjie 元節=Heng Li 衡立
 Yuanju 元矩=Song Zi 宋則
 Yuanlao 元老=Zhang Biao 張表
 Yuanli 元禮=Li Ying 李膺
 Yuanling 元靈=Zhu Gui 祝龜
 Yuanlong 元龍=Chen Deng 陳登
 Yuanmao/Yuanmou 元茂
 =Pan Xu 潘勗
 Yuanming 元明=Qin Lang 秦朗
 Yuannai 元艾=Huang Yun 黃允
 Yuanqi 元起=Gui Hao 矯皓
 Yuanrang 侯元讓
 =Xiahou Dun 夏侯惇
 Yuanrang 元讓=Shen Huang 審晃
 Yuanshang 元上=Kong Biao 孔彪
 Yuansheng 元升=Zhi Xi 脂習
 Yuansheng 元勝=Zhu Yue 朱越
 Yuanshi 元始
 =Cui Shi/Zhi 崔寔/治
 Yuanshi 元始=Cui Zhi 崔治
 Yuanshi 元石=Sun Gen 孫根
 Yuanshu 元叔=Zhao Yi 趙壹
 Yuansi 元嗣=Han Hao 韓浩
 Yuansi 元嗣=Zhao Xi 趙襲/息

Yuanta 元達=Zhao Yu 趙昱
 Yuantai 元泰=Wang Mou 王謀
 Yuantu 元圖=Pang Ji 逢紀
 Yuanwei 元偉
 =Cao Jie/Meng 曹節/萌
 Yuanwei 元偉=Qiao Mao 橋瑁
 Yuanxian 元先=Cui Ji 崔濟
 Yuanxian 元顯=Ma Fu 馬浮
 Yuanxiang 元襄=Dai Hong 戴宏
 Yuanxiao 元孝=Wang Zhi 汪直
 Yuanxiong 元雄=Ding Gong 丁宮
 Yuanxiong 元雄=Wu Ban 吳班
 Yuanxiu 元脩
 =Zhang Liangze/Ze 張亮則
 Yuanyi 元異=Sima Jun 司馬儁
 Yuanyi 元異=Zhang Biao 張表
 Yuanyi 元異=Zuo Biao 左表
 Yuanying 元穎=Liu Fu 劉馥
 Yuanyu 元瑜=Ruan Yu 阮瑀
 Yuanyue 元約=Wu Zi 吳資
 Yuanzai 元宰=Liu Heng 劉衡
 Yuanze 元則=Huan Fan 桓範
 Yuanzhang 元章=Duan Yi 段熲
 Yuanzhen 元貞=Li Xian 李咸
 Yuanzhi 元智=Xun Tan 荀曇
 Yuanzhi 元直=Xu Shu 徐庶
 Yuanzhi 元直=Zhou Buyi 周不疑
 Yuanzhi 元知=Kong Chou 孔疇
 Yuanzhong 元仲=Cao Rui 曹叡
 Yuanzhuo 元卓=Li Xian 李咸
 Yuanzhuo 元卓=Liu Hong 劉洪
 Yuanzhuo 元卓=Pan Qian 潘乾
 Yuanzong 元宗
 =Zhang Sheng/Cheng 張盛
 Yugao 于高=Liu Hong 劉弘
 Yunchang 雲長=Guan Yu 關羽
 Yunci 允慈=Gongshe Fu 公沙孚
 Yunnan 允南=Qiao Zhou 譙周
 Yunqing 雲卿=Zhu Cang 朱倉
 Yunrang 允讓
 =Gongshe Ke 公沙恪
 Yuqing 愚卿=Liu Min 柳敏
 Yuqing 虞卿=Xu Ying 許嬰
 Zhaobo 伯昭=Geng Yan 耿弇
 Zhaogong 昭公
 =Chen Chong 陳寵
 Zhaoji 昭姬=Cai Yan 蔡琰
 Zhaoqing 昭卿=Jin Dan 金丹

Zhengfang 正方
 =Li Yan/Ping 李嚴/平
 Zhengfu 正輔=Yuan Zhong 袁忠
 Zhengli 正禮=Ding Yi 丁儀
 Zhengli 正禮=Liu Yao 劉繇
 Zhengliu 正流=Li Ping 李平
 Zhengnan 正南=Shen Pei 審配
 Zhengnan 正南=Tang Fu 唐扶
 Zhengping 正平=Ni Heng 禰衡
 Zhengsi 正思=Ouyang Xi 歐陽歛
 Zhengxiu 整脩=Yang Ding 楊定
 Zhengzong 正宗
 =Wang Hong 王宏
 Zhenji 眞紀=Lü Meng 呂孟
 Zhibo 志伯=Zhao Jie 趙戒/誠
 Zhibo 智伯=Deng Biao 鄧彪
 Zhichang 稚長=Zhao Rong 趙融
 Zhichu 智初/知初=Lu Xu 陸績
 Zhidu 穉都=Zhou Ze 周澤
 Zhigui 稚珪=Zhao Yan 趙琰
 Zhihuang 雉璜=Pei Yu 裴瑜
 Zhiji 稚紀=Wang Sheng 王升
 Zhiming 智明=Zhang Hao 張顥
 Zhiqing 稚卿=Sun Cheng 孫程
 Zhiquan 稚權
 =Xiahou Hui 夏侯會
 Zhishu 稚叔?=Chen Lin 陳臨
 Zhishu 稚叔=Zhang Yang 張楊
 Zhisun 知/智孫
 =Yin Can/Shen 殷參
 Zhitong 稚通=Zhang Fen 張奮
 Zhiwei 穉威=Hu Ning 胡寧
 Zhiye 雉業=Cheng Ji 程基
 Zhiyua 穉淵=Yang Bao 楊寶
 Zhizi 稚子=Wang Huan 王渙
 Zhongbo 仲伯=Luo Heng 羅衡
 Zhongcai 仲才=Yin Tao 殷陶
 Zhongcheng 仲成
 =Sima Bao 司馬苞
 Zhongcheng 仲承=Liu Shu 劉淑
 Zhongchun 仲春=Huan Yu 桓虞
 Zhongda 仲達=Sima Yi 司馬懿
 Zhongda 仲達=Yang Bo 楊博
 Zhongda 仲達
 =Pang Can/Shen 龐參
 Zhongde 仲德=Fan Yi 樊毅
 Zhongdu 仲都=Li Zhong 李忠
 Zhongdu 仲都=Xu Feng 徐豐

Zhong'en 仲恩=Huan Yu 桓郁
 Zhonggong 仲公
 =Ding Sheng/Cheng 丁盛
 Zhonggong 仲公=Lei Yi 雷義
 Zhonggong 仲弓/躬
 =Chen Shi 陳寔
 Zhonggong 仲弓=He Tang 何湯
 Zhonggong 仲弓
 =Yuan Zhen 苑鎮
 Zhongguo 仲國=Wang Peng 王彭
 Zhonghe 仲和=Kong Xi 孔僖
 Zhonghe 仲和=Ren Wei 任隗
 Zhonghe 仲和=Song Han 宋漢
 Zhonghe 仲河=Yuan Tang 袁湯
 Zhonghe 仲和=Li Sheng 李盛
 Zhonghua 仲華=Deng Yu 鄧禹
 Zhonghua 仲華
 =Fan Ye/Yu 樊曄/煜
 Zhonghuan 仲桓
 =Yang Hou/Xu 楊厚/后/序
 Zhonghuan 仲桓=Yang Ban 楊班
 Zhonghuan 仲桓=Yang Lun 楊倫
 Zhonghuang 仲黃/潢
 =Han Shao 韓韶
 Zhonghui 仲回=Wang Dan 王丹
 Zhongjian 仲堅=Wei Gu 衛固
 Zhongjian 仲簡
 =Chunyu Qiong 淳于瓊
 Zhongjiang 仲將=Wei Dan 韋誕
 Zhongjie 仲節=Ying Zhi 應志
 Zhongjie 仲節=Zhang Bing 張秉
 Zhongjin 仲進=Zhou Fu 周福
 Zhongjing 仲景=Zhang Ji 張機
 Zhongju 仲舉=Chen Fan 陳蕃
 Zhongkang 仲康=Lu Gong 魯恭
 Zhongkang 仲康=Xu Chu 許褚
 Zhongli 仲理=Yang Lun 楊倫
 Zhongli 仲理=Cao Feng 曹鳳
 Zhongliao 仲遼=Liu Guang 劉光
 Zhongliao 仲遼=Wang Zhuo 王卓
 Zhonglin 仲麟=Chen Xiang 陳翔
 Zhonglü 仲慮=Bi Fan 費汎/汜
 Zhongmao/Zhongmou 仲茂
 =Xun Hong 荀閎
 Zhongmiao 仲邈=Huo Jun 霍峻
 Zhongming 仲明=Cai Lang 蔡朗
 Zhongming 仲明=Chen Yan 陳弇
 Zhongming 忠明=Duan Wei 段熒

Zhongmou 仲謀
=Diwu Fang 第五訪
Zhongmou 仲謀=Sun Quan 孫權
Zhongnan 仲南=Guo Pei 郭配
Zhongning 仲寧=Yong Lang 雍朗
Zhongning 仲寧
=Liang Tong 梁統
Zhongning 重寧=Liu Ao 劉囂
Zhongping 仲平
=Linghu You 令弧由
Zhongqian 仲謙=Tang Yue 唐約
Zhongqin 仲欽=Li Zhuang 李譔
Zhongqing 仲卿=Chen Gang 陳綱
Zhongqing 仲卿=Li Zhong 李忠
Zhongqing 仲卿=Yi Ying 乙瑛
Zhongquan 仲權
=Xiahou Ba 夏侯霸
Zhongrang 仲讓=Su Qian 蘇謙
Zhongren 仲仁=Chen Bao 陳褒
Zhongren 仲任
=Wang Chong 王充
Zhongru 仲孺=Sun Ru 孫孺
Zhongshan 仲山=Feng Ji 封岌
Zhongshan 仲山
=Kong Song 孔嵩
Zhongsheng 仲升=Ban Chao 班超
Zhongshi 仲始=Hu Kang 胡康
Zhongshi 仲師=Zhao Mu 趙牧
Zhongshi 仲師
=Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
Zhongshi 仲式=Sun Qi 孫期
Zhongshu 仲叔=Min Gong 閔貢
Zhongshu 仲叔=Zhang Ye 張業
Zhongshu 仲舒=Fu Xian 傅賢
Zhongsi 仲嗣=Zhang Cheng 張承
Zhongsui 仲綏=Lang Zong 郎宗
Zhongsun 仲孫=Guo Gong 郭躬
Zhongtai 仲臺=Sun Guan 孫觀
Zhongtong 仲通=Wang Jing 王景
Zhongtong 仲通=Yang Tong 楊統
Zhongwei 仲威=Li Zhen 禮震
Zhongwei 仲威=Zhu Chong 朱寵
Zhongwen 仲文=Song Guo 宋果
Zhongwen 文=Feng Bao 馮豹
Zhongwu 仲吾=Zhang Shou 張壽
Zhongxian 仲先=Zhu You 朱祐
Zhongxiang 仲嚮
=Tian Sheng/Cheng 田盛

Zhongxiang 仲翔=Yu Fan 虞翻
Zhongxiang 仲饗/嚮
=Zhou Jing 周景
Zhongxin 仲信=Dun Dun 杜敦
Zhongxin 仲信=Xi Xun 郗/郤巡
Zhongxuan 仲宣=Wang Can 王粲
Zhongyan 中兗=Xia Cheng 夏承
Zhongyan 仲巖=Lu Jun 魯峻
Zhongyan 仲彥=Jiao Shen 橋慎
Zhongye 仲業=Wen Ping 文聘
Zhongyi 仲乙=Song Guo 宋果
Zhongyi 仲異=Zhang He 張合
Zhongyi 仲異=Sun Yu 孫瑜
Zhongying 仲穎
=Dong Zhuo 董卓
Zhongying 仲膺=Shu Shao 舒邵
Zhongying 仲英=Dun Kuang 都匡
Zhongyu 仲彘=Sun Qi 孫期
Zhongyu 仲虞=Zheng Jun 鄭均
Zhongyu 仲譽=Yuan Jing 袁京
Zhongyu 仲豫=Xun Yue 荀悅
Zhongyu 仲魚=Yang Ji 羊羣
Zhongyuan 仲原=Hu Gen 胡根
Zhongyuan 仲淵=Kong Fu 孔扶
Zhongyuan 仲瑗/遠/援
=Ying Shao 應劭
Zhongyuan 仲遠
=Zhou Bi 周秘/邈
Zhongyun 仲允=You Chu 游楚
Zhongze 仲則=Cao Xi 曹喜
Zhongzhao 仲昭=Wang Fu 王福
Zhongzhen 中真
=Yuan Kang 苑康
Zhongzhen 仲真=He Chun 賀純
Zhongzhi 仲治=Xin Ping 辛評
Zhongzhi 仲直=Zhou Qun 周羣
Zhongzhou 仲周=Xie Mi 謝宓
Zhongzi 仲子
=Song Hong 宋弘/宏
Zhongzi 仲子
=Song/Zong Zhong 宋/宗忠/衷
Zhongzi 仲子=Wang Liang 王良
Zhongzi 仲子=Yin Tao 殷陶
Zhongzong 仲宗=Zhang Yi 張異
Zhoufu 周甫=Dun Mi 杜密
Zhougong 周公=Dou Rong 竇融
Zhoulin 周林=Wei Teng 魏滕
Zhounan 周南=Yin Zhou 尹宙

Zhouyang 周陽=Yuan Feng 袁逢
Zhugong 諸公=Dun Mao 杜茂
Zhuhu 朱虎=Cao Biao 曹彪
Zhujun 諸君=Zhang Zong 張宗
Zi'a 子阿=Zhongli Yi 鍾離意
Zi'ai 子艾=Huang Yun 黃允
Zi'an 子安=Cao Jun 曹峻
Zi'an 子安=Zhang Qian 張鉗
Zi'ang 子昂=Xing Yong 邢顗
Zibing 子並=Zhang Chao 張超
Zibing 子炳=Wang Huan 王奐
Zibing 文公=Zhang Bu 張步
Zibo 子伯=Chen Zhan 陳湛
Zibo 子伯=Xu Qing 許慶
Zibo 次伯=Liu Liang 劉良
Zibo 次伯=Yin Shi/Zhi 陰識
Zibu 子布=Zhang Zhao 張昭
Zicai 子才=Shi Xu 石勣
Zicai 子材=Li Xiu 李休
Zichan 子產=Tang Tan 唐檀
Zichan 子產=Wei Li 衛胤
Zichang 子長=Cui Rong 崔融
Zichang 子昌=Wang Huan 王奐
Zichi 子勅=Qin Mi 秦宓/密
Zichu 子初=Liu Ba 劉巴
Zichu 資初=Feng Shi 馮石
Zichun 子春=Huan Rong 桓榮
Zichun 子春=Lu Hong 陸閎
Zichun 子春=Wang Zun 王遵
Zichun 子春=Zhu Hao 祝皓
Zida 子大=Yu Yan 虞延
Zidan 子丹=Cao Zhen 曹真
Zide 子德=Cai Zhan 蔡湛
Zidu 子度=Meng Da 孟達
Zidu 子篤=Zhang Zhong 張重
Zidu 欠都=Zheng Jing 鄭敬
Zifang 子方=Mi Fang 麋芳
Zifang 次房=Wen Xu 溫序
Zifu 子服=Wang Fu 王服
Zifu 子甫=Jiang Han 江漢
Zigang 子綱=Zhang Hong 張紘
Zigao 子高=Dai Zun 戴遵
Zigao 子高=Liu Hong 劉弘
Zigao 子高=Liu Xuan 劉宣
Zigao 子高=Sun Deng 孫登
Zigao 子高=Wu Ping 吳馮
Zigao 次高=Dun Yuan 杜瑗
Zigong 子公=Chen Ao 陳囂

Zigong 子恭=Rong Liang 戎良
 Zigong 子恭=Xue Qin 薛勤
 Zigong 子恭=Yang Song 楊疎
 Zigu 子穀=Cao Cheng 曹成
 Zigui 子珪=Bian Yu 卞玉
 Zihan 子幹=Lu Zhi 盧植
 Zihe 子和=Cao Chun 曹純
 Zihe 子和=Kong Xi 孔偁
 Zihe 子和=Zheng Chong 徵崇
 Zihe 子河/何=Ci Chong 茨充
 Ziheng 子橫=Guo Xian 郭憲
 Ziheng 子璜=Liu Xun 劉勳
 Ziheng 子璜=Quan Zong 全琮
 Ziheng 子衡=Lü Fan 呂範
 Zihou 子厚=Jia Shu 賈淑
 Zihua 子華=Sima Zhi 司馬芝
 Zihuan 子桓=Cao Pi 曹丕
 Zijì 子伋=Jian Tan 堅鐔
 Zijì 子奇=Fei Sui 費遂
 Zijì/qì 子期=Cao Jing 曹竟
 Zijia 子家=Lu Yu 盧毓
 Zijian 子堅=Li Gu 李固
 Zijian 子建=Cao Zhi 曹植
 Zijian 子建=Cui Ting 崔挺 [
 Zijiang 子將=Xu Shao 許劭
 Zijie 子節=Meng Zheng 孟政
 Zijin 子禁=Zhang Fan 張汎/汜
 Zijing 子京=Wei Feng 魏諷
 Zijing 子敬=Huang Mu 黃穆
 Zijing 子敬=Lu Su 魯肅
 Zijing 子敬=Meng Da 孟達
 Zijing 子景=Han Xuan 韓宣
 Zijing 子經=Qian Zhao 牽招
 Ziju 子助=Han Zhuo 韓卓
 Ziju 子居=Zhou Cheng 周乘
 Zijun 子儁=Zhang Xun 張馴
 Zijun 子均=Wang Ping 王平
 Zijun 子浚=Song Chong 宋冲
 Zijun 子雋=Song Chong 宋冲
 Zikang 子康=Pang Meng 逢萌
 Zikang 子康
 =Zhuo Mao/Mou 卓茂
 Zike 子恪=Lü Qian 呂虔
 Zikuang 次況=Yao Qi 鈔期
 Zilan 子蘭=Wu Shi 吳碩
 Zilang 子朗=Li Xiu 李休
 Zilang 子郎=Zhang Na 張納
 Zilang 次朗=Chao Kan 巢堪

Zili 子禮=Cai Mao 蔡茂
 Zili 子禮
 =Handan Chun/Zhu 邯鄲淳/竺
 Zili 子禮=Xue Dun 薛惇
 Zili 子離=Wang Hao 王皓
 Zilian 子廉=Cao Hong 曹洪
 Ziliang 子良=Bao Xian 鮑咸
 Ziliao 子遼=Zhu Ye 朱野
 Zilin 丘子林
 =Taoqiu Hong 陶丘洪
 Zilin 子林=Xiahou Mao 夏侯楸
 Zilin 子麟=Chen Xiang 陳翔
 Ziling 子陵=Diwu Xi 第五頡
 Ziling 子陵=He Lin 何臨
 Ziling 子陵
 =Shentu Pan 申屠/徒蟠
 Ziling 子陵
 =Yan Guang/Zun 嚴光/遵
 Zilong 子龍
 =Shentu Pan 申屠/徒蟠
 Zilong 子龍=Zhao Yun 趙雲
 Zilu 子路=Yuan Zeng 爰曾
 Zilü 子閭/廬=Fan Qian 范遷
 Ziluan 子鸞=Zhao Qi 趙旂
 Zimei 子沒=Song Chong 宋冲
 Zimin 子閔=Fan Zeng 范曾
 Ziming 子明=Lü Meng 呂蒙
 Ziming 子明=Xu Xiang 徐詳
 Ziming 子明=Zhang Zun 張鎔
 Ziming 子明=Zhou Cheng 州稱
 Zi'nan 季南=Zhao Shao 趙邵
 Zini 子尼=Guo Yuan 國淵
 Zipei 子佩=Han Heng 韓珩
 Zipi 子皮=Jian Tan 堅鐔
 Ziping 子平
 =Xiang/Shang Chang 向/尚長
 Ziping 子平=Jiang Qi 姜岐
 Ziqi/ji 子期=Cao Jing 曹竟
 Ziqi 子起=Gongsha Shao 公沙紹
 Ziqi 子棄=Liu Fang 劉放
 Ziqi 子奇=Xie Lu 謝祿
 Ziqi 子旗=Wei Jing 衛旌
 Ziqi 子奇=Wen Qi 文齊
 Ziqian 子騫=Cai Gong 蔡弓
 Ziqiao 子喬=Zhang Song 張松
 Ziqin 子琴=Liu Ci 劉賜
 Ziqing 子卿=Diao Yao 刁曜
 Ziqing 子卿=Yu Fang 虞放

Ziran 子然=Chen Lin 陳臨
 Ziran 子然=Ding Gong 丁恭
 Ziran 子然=Li Bing 李昞
 Zirao 子饒=Duo Rang 杜穰
 Ziren 子仁=Duo Ci 杜慈
 Ziren 子仁=Liu Dun 劉惇
 Zirong 子容
 =Zhuo Mao/Mou 卓茂
 Zirong 子榮=Diao Wei 刁韙
 Zirou 子柔=Feng Xi 馮熙
 Zirou 子柔=Kuai Liang 蒯良
 Zirou 子柔=Zhao Wen 趙溫
 Zishan 子山=Bu Zhi 步騭
 Zishan 子山=Yang Zhong 楊終
 Zishen 子慎=Fu Qian 服虔
 Zishen 子慎=Fu Zhi 服祗
 Zishen 子慎=Fu Zhong 服重
 Zisheng 子升=Hu Teng 胡騰
 Zisheng 子聲=Zhao Shang 趙商
 Zishi 子師=Wang Yun 王允
 Zishi 子師=Zheng Zhong 鄭眾
 Zishi 子石=Wang Pan 王磐
 Zishi 子石=Zhang Pan 張磐
 Zishu 子叔
 =Handan Chun/Zhu 邯鄲淳/竺
 Zishu 次叔=Zhou Zhang 周章
 Zishuo 子碩=Ma Ping 馬平
 Zisi 子嗣=Wang Shen 王詵
 Zisong 子松=Kong Qiao 孔喬
 Zisong 子誦=Xin Xian 鐔顯
 Zisu 子肅=Jin Gong 金恭
 Zisun 次孫
 =Zhai Tong/Yong 祭彤/彤
 Zitai 子泰=Tian Chou 田疇
 Zitai 子臺=Liu Xun 劉勳
 Zitong 子通=Jiang Ji 蔣濟
 Ziwei 子威=Che Cheng 車成
 Ziwei 子微=Xie Zhen 謝甄
 Ziwei 子瑋=Cui Qi 崔琦
 Ziwei 子衛=Fu Jun 傅俊
 Ziwei 子衛=Liu Mao 劉茂
 Ziwen 子文=Cai Zhi 蔡質
 Ziwen 子文=Cao Zhang 曹彰
 Ziwen 子文=Wang Jun 王儁
 Zixia 子夏=Qin Qing 禽慶
 Zixian 子憲=Li Fu 李孚
 Zixian 子顏=Wu Han 吳漢
 Zixiao 子孝=Cao Ren 曹仁

Zixiao 子孝=Zhang Zhan 張湛
 Zixing 子興=Chen Xuan 陳宣
 Zixing 子行=Yang Zheng 楊政
 Zixiu 子休=Taoqiu Hong 陶丘洪
 Zixiu 子脩=Cao Ang 曹昂
 Zixu 子緒=Dü Xi 杜襲
 Zixu 子緒=Yao Zhou 姚祐
 Zixu 子許=Wei Zi 衛茲
 Zixun 子勳=Ji Liao 荀遼
 Zixun 子訓=Ji Liao 荀遼
 Ziya 子牙=Wei Xi 隗禧
 Ziya 子雅=Chen Jin 陳禁
 Ziya 子雅=Zhao Xuan 趙宣
 Ziyan 子琰=Huang Wan 黃琬
 Ziyan 次彦=Zhou Pang 周滂
 Ziyang 子揚=Liu Ye 劉曄
 Ziyang 子陽
 =Gongsun Shu 公孫述
 Ziyang 子陽=Peng Xiu 彭脩
 Ziyan 子嚴=Ying Rong 穎/穎容
 Ziyi 子異=Kong Qi 孔奇
 Ziyi 子異=Pang Yu 龐涓
 Ziyi 子義=Taishi Ci 太史慈
 Ziyi 子翼=Jiang Gan 蔣幹
 Ziyi 子翼=Kou Xun 寇恂
 Ziyi 子翼=Yan Yu 嚴羽

Ziyi 子議=Zhang Zi 張咨/資
 Ziyin 子殷=Duan Gui 段珪
 Ziyong 子雍=Wang Su 王肅
 Ziyong 子佑=Fan An 樊安
 Ziyong 子優=Mou Rong 牟融
 Ziyong 子游=Chen Yi 陳逸
 Ziyong 子猷=Yang Ci 楊賜
 Ziyu 子序=Jia Shu 賈淑
 Ziyu 子玉=Cui Yuan 崔瑗
 Ziyu 子玉=Gui Dan 桂丹
 Ziyu 子瑜=Hou Jin 侯瑾
 Ziyu 子瑜=Zhuge Jin 諸葛瑾
 Ziyu 子羽=Shi Yi 是[氏]儀
 Ziyu 子虞=Liang Xi 梁習
 Ziyu 子魚=Zhou Fang 周魴
 Ziyuan 子元=Wang Fu 王扶
 Ziyuan 子源=Zang Hong 臧洪
 Ziyuan 子遠=Wu Yi 吳懿/壹
 Ziyuan 子遠=Xu You 許攸
 Ziyuan 子遠=Zhang Xia 張遐
 Ziyuan 次元=Li Tong 李通
 Ziyun 子雲=Li Tan 李曇
 Ziyun 子雲=Li Tan 李曇
 Ziyun 子雲=Zhang Jin 張津
 Zizeng 次曾=Yin Feng 尹奉
 Zizhang 子張=Ma Wu 馬武

Zizhang 子張=Xie Gong 謝躬
 Zizhang 子張=Xu Jing 許荆
 Zizhang 子璋=Lu Mao 陸瑁
 Zizhao 子昭=Chen Jun 陳俊
 Zizhao 子昭=Yang Yong 楊顥
 Zizhao 子超=Zhai Fu/Pu 翟輔/酺
 Zizhen 子慎=Zhang Xiu 張修
 Zizheng 子政=Xu Qian 許虔
 Zizheng 子正=Chen Duan 陳端
 Zizheng 子正=Shen You 沈友
 Zizheng 子正=Tang Gu 唐固
 Zizheng 子正=Ying Yu 應余
 Zizhen 子眞=Cui Shi/Zhi 崔寔/治
 Zizhi 子智=Sun Lü 孫慮
 Zizhi 子治=Xia Fu 夏馥
 Zizhi 子穉=Sun Kan 孫堪
 Zizhong 子仲=Fan An 樊安
 Zizhong 次中=Dai Ping 戴憑
 Zizhong 子仲=Mi Zhu 麋竺
 Zizhong 子仲=Yu Fang 虞放
 Zizhong 次仲=Wei Hong 衛宏
 Zongmei 宗美=Ma Jiang 馬姜
 Zongxin 宗昕=Sun Xun 孫訓
 Zuoming 作明=Peng Hong 彭閔
 Zuozhi 佐治=Xin Pi 辛毗
 Zurong 祖榮=Liu Chong 劉寵

NOTABLE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN

The list below may serve as a guide to some of the activity by and related to women recorded in the histories.

Some attitudes or incidents which may be considered normal are not specifically referred to. I do not include, for example, references to regular marriage or concubinage; to the proper respect shown by a child to its mother or between husband and wife; to the unfortunate fate of the family of a defeated politician or military man; nor to the political complications of the imperial harem and the court: accounts of these last may be found in the biographies of various empresses and concubines.

It should be noted, moreover, that in most cases we are not told the status of an individual's mother: whether she was a full wife or a concubine. And while the fact of adoption is often identified, the natural lineage is frequently ignored or left uncertain. Two important examples from the end of Later Han are the origins of Cao Song, father of the warlord Cao Cao, and the exact relationship between two of his rivals, Yuan Shu and Yuan Shao.

Each citation below is intended as a guide to an entry in the biographical list, where an incident or attitude is described in more detail.

PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES AND QUALITIES

Beauty

Lady Du I
Lady Gan, concubine of Liu Bei
Han Zhongbo, wife of
Ladies Qiao
Lady Ren II
Sun Shou
Wu Ji
Lady Zhen
Ladies Zhao
Zuo Da'e
Zuo Shao'e

Extravagant/poor conduct

Lady Cui, wife of Cao Zhi [executed
for disobeying sumptuary laws]
Lady Huan II [over-dressed at funeral]
Liu Shou [spoilt and jealous,
killed by husband]
Sun Shou

Fine conduct

Cao E [filial piety to death]
Fan Xian, mother of [inspires son to face
execution]
Kong Zhou, widow of
Lady Liu V
Ma Yi [suicide for chastity]
Song Run [chastity]
Xian Luo [filial piety]

Wang Ji [suicide for chastity]

Yue Yangzi, wife of [suicide
for chastity]

Zhao Hua [suicide for chastity]

Heroic conduct

Gou Yu [vendetta]
Lady Jiang II [defiance to death]
Lady Kong I [defiance to death]
Lü Rong [revenge and chastity]
Lady Xu IV [revenge]
Yang Jingyang [vendetta]
Zhao E [vendetta]

Literary and scholarly ability

Ban Zhao
Cai Yan
Cao Fengsheng
Lady Ding I
Huangfu Gui, wife of
Lady Kong II
Ma Lun
Ma Zhi
Xu Shu
Yin Jipei

Sexual misconduct

Ai Zhi
Lady Bian [sing-song girl]
Lady Cao II
Lady Chen I [sing-song girl]

Cheng Tuo [murdered by his wife's lover
Guo Zhen]
Deng Yuan [go-between for adultery]
Empress-Dowager Dou of Emperor
Zhang [accused of fornication]
Dun Zixian, wife of [kills husband
through intercourse]
Liu Huang
Liu Xiande
Liu Zheng
Sun Shou
Ren Yong, wife of
Lady Xu I
Zhou Bi [adultery arranged by husband]

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

[see also Sexual misconduct above;
[and Widows and Household below]

Questionable marriage/concubinage

Lady Bian, wife of Cao Cao
[former sing-song girl]
Lady Cao V and He Yan
[half-brother and sister]
Cao Boshi [demands another's wife;
she kills herself]
Cao Pi and Lady Zhen [first husband
still alive]
Lady Chen I, mother of Emperor Zhi
[former sing-song girl]
Chen Jiao [marries woman of his own
birth-clan]
Lady Dong [forced to re-marry
while her husband still alive]
Dou Mu [forges orders for divorce]
Dou Yuan [ordered to marry
imperial daughter]
Li Niao
[formerly in imperial harem]
Li Yusheng [king marries a former slave]
Liu Chang [dismisses wife
to marry concubine]
Liu Qian [takes late father's concubine]
Lady Xiahou II [abducted by Zhang Fei]
Li Yusheng [former slave]
Wang Yong and Liu Gui
[wet-nurse and imperial kinsman]
Lady Xu/Ying [transferred from one
husband to another for breeding]

You Tongji [formerly in imperial harem]
Affection/respect between husband and wife
Chang Lin
Fan Shu
Luxi [fatal]
Pang Degong
Peng Chong
Qin Jia
Sheng Ji
Wang Gong
Xun Shuang
Zhou Jizhen
Zhuge Jin [concubine]
Wife supports husband
Han Shu'nan
Huan Shaojun [hermit life]
Huang Bo
Liu Yiwang
Meng Guang [hermit life]
Wang Ba
Yang Ji
Lady Yuan I [hermit life]
Zhai Zun
Zhang Chunhua
Wife reforms husband
Liu Pu, wife of [warns children
of his faults]
Lü Rong
Yue Yangzi, wife of
Zhao A [unsuccessful]
Wife/concubine harms husband
Lady Cao II, wife of Xiahou Mao
[angered by his adulteries]
Lady Cheng, wife of Yang Qiu
Fan Sheng, third wife of
Li Yan, wife of [husband insane]
Zhou Ba [wife arranges changeling]
Husband and wife parted
Lady Dai and Huang Chang
Liu Bei, various wives and concubines
Ren Teng
Sun Ben
Lady Xi and Pang Lin
Husband's lack of concern/respect for wife
Feng Liang
Han Chong
Han Pin
Han Zhongbo

Jiang Shi
 Kong Fen
 Kong Rong
 Li [personal name unknown]
 Li Ye
 Qiu Lan
 Wang Yan [wife feels insecure]
 Wei Zhen
 Xia Chen
 Xue Qin
 Yang Pei
 Yuan Peng
 Zang Hong [kills favourite concubine
 to provide meat during a siege]
 Zhou Ze
 Zhu Fu [kills wife to escape]
 Family gains nothing from official position
 Ba Zhi
 Fan Qian
 Fu Yu
 Gao Shen
 Han Chong
 Pei Qian
 Wang Liang
 Wei Ba
 Xie Dun
 Yang Mao
 Husband divorces/sends away wife
 Bao Yong [wife spoke unkindly to a dog]
 Fan Sheng [divorces several wives]
 Huan Rong [failure to breed]
 Li Chong [prefers own family]
 [sub] Li Jing [wife kills maid-servant]
 Liu Chang [marries concubine instead]
 Liu Xu [obliged to divorce wife
 by forged imperial order]
 Lady Ren I by Feng Yan [madness?]
 Lady Ren II by Cao Pi [nagging]
 Ru Dun [greedy wife]
 Lady Xiahou I from Huang Yun
 Lady Xu/Ying
 Women accompany campaign
 Ban Chao [wife and family]
 Feng Gun [female slaves]
 Feng Yi [wife and family]

Special cases
 Chen Wu [concubine and retainers said to
 have been buried with him]
 Guanqiu Chang [wife allowed into prison
 to become pregnant]
 Eunuchs take concubines
 Ju Yuan
 Tang Heng
 Xu Huang
 Zuo Guan

HOUSEHOLD AFFAIRS

Worthy women at home
 Lady Yao, mother of Ren An
 Yang Ji
 Yang Jin
 Yang Ligui
 Zhang Huiying
 Zhang Lixiu
 Worthy women bringing up children
 Cheng Zhenjue [cares for nephew and
 other dependents]
 Du Taiji
 Lady Geng [nephew]
 Huang Lieying [step-children]
 Liu Taiying
 Liu Yiwang [nieces]
 Ma Jiang [daughters]
 Sima/Ma Jingsi [step-children]
 Wang He
 Wen Ji [step-children]
 Zhang Shuji
 Zhang Yu [brothers]
 Worthy women managing household
 Lady Ma I [when young]
 Lady Ma IV [given charge of affairs
 for incompetent son]
 Lady Zhou II [given charge of affairs
 for incompetent grandson]
 Domestic disorder
 Ai Jiao [murders brother-in-law]
 Fan Feng, wife of [kills maid-servant]
 Lady Feng III [murdered by rivals]
 Han Xu [murdered]
 He Shi [attacks husband's aunt]
 Li Li [kills brother-in-law]
 Li Yi [murdered]

Lady Liu XV [kills and mutilates late husband's concubines]
 Liu Ding, wife of [insulted by husband's brother, who was severely punished]
 Liu Shou [murdered]
 Liu Xiande [murdered]
 Lady Ren I [attempted murder]
 Pang Can, wife of [kills step-children]
 Tian Sheng [murdered by Dowager Dou]
 Lady Wang [murdered by Empress He]
 Lady Xu II [ill-treated by step-son]
 You Tongqi [mutilated]
 Zhang Chunhua [kills maid-servant]
 Lady Zong [quarrels with sons]

WIDOWHOOD

Marriage of widows

Lady Du I [forced]
 Lady Dong V [forced]
 Lady Fan II, sister-in-law of Zhao Fan [offered]
 Lady Wu III [to Liu Bei]

Widows: refuse to remarry

Cao Jing [attempted suicide]
 Chang Yuan [suicide]
 Chen Zhu [attempted suicide]
 Cheng Zhenjue
 Du Ci [suicide]
 Han Jiang [suicide]
 He Xuan [suicide]
 Lady Huan I [cuts off ear]
 Huangfu Gui, wife of [killed by Dong Zhuo]
 Li Er [cuts off hair]
 Li Ping [attempted suicide]
 Peng Fei [cuts off hair]
 Tang Ji [former concubine of Liu Bian the Little Emperor]
 Wang He [cuts off ear]
 Xiang Wu [suicide]
 Xun Cai [suicide]
 Yuan Fu [suicide]
 Lady Zhang I [cuts off hair and ears]
 Zhang Zhaoyi [suicide]
 Zhou Du [cuts off hair, then nose]

Widows: other virtues

Lady Cao I
 Chang Michang
 Luo Gong
 Xie Ji [ashamed to have no children: suicide]
 Yang Ligui
 Yin Jipei
 Lady Zuo

Widow chooses life and burial separate from her late husband: Sima/Ma Jingsi

Widower refuses to marry again
 Zhu Hui

OTHER FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Mother: special affection

Guanqiu Chang
 Hu Hao for Zhao Yongjiang
 Kong Fen
 Lu Xu
 Wei Xiang
 Wu Shun
 Xu Shu
 Zhang Chunhua [supported by children against father]

Mother: lack of respect

Wu Xiong
 Yuan Hong
 Zhen Shao

Mother-in-law: ill-treatment by

Lady Li IV, wife of Deng Yuanyi and then of Ying Shun
 [sub] Li Jing [daughter-in-law accused of theft]
 Zhang Lixiu [by husband's aunt]

Mother-in-law: devotion to

Pang Xing
 Lady Xu III
 Yang Jin
 Zhang Xianzhang

Step-mother

Li Mujiang [ill-treated by step-sons]
 Li Tan [shows great respect]
 Wen Ji
 Pang Can
 Lady Xu II [ill-treated by step-son]
 Yang Bo [ill-treated by step-mother]
 Lady Zhu [ill-treats step-son]

Grief for loss of child

Lady Lin and Ma Keqing

Grief for loss of a foster-child

Lady Ding III and Cao Ang

PUBLIC LIFE

Advice, good/wisdom

Chen Huiqian

Li Wenji [advises caution]

Lady Sun II

Xie Gong, wife of

Xin Xianying

Yue Hui, wife of [advises caution]

Advice, bad/interference/intrigue

Lady Liu XV, wife of Yuan Shao

Lady Cai IV, wife of Liu Biao

Guo Si, wife of

Lady Han, concubine of the Gengshi

Emperor

Li Tong, wife of [unsuccessful]

Lü Bu, wife of

Shama

Shang Dan

Wang Li

Wei Zhu

Lady Yang, wife of Ma Chao

Lady Zhang II

Zhao Rao

Aggression

Lady Hou, mother of eunuch Hou Lan

Lady Peng [punished for staring]

Lady Sun III

Sun Shou

Crime: punished for relative

Lady Bo [liable for execution]

Jiao Kuang [family punished]

Jiang Pin [exiled although betrothed]

Lady Kou I, wife of Deng Zhi

Shi Jun [executed for son]

Lady Song III

Yin Jiu and wife [for son Ying Feng's

murder of his wife, Princess Liu Shou]

Zhao Yuanjiang

Crime: victim

Li Gao, concubine of

[murdered in vendetta]

Li Yong, wife of [murdered in vendetta]

Liu Shou [murdered for adultery]

Su E and her servant Zhi [murder]

Yao Bi [murdered]

Yao Rao [murdered]

Hostages

Bi Chen [changes sides]

Cen Peng [forced to fight]

Guan Tong [family killed]

Kong Fen [family killed]

Li Zhong [no change; later released]

Liu Bei [several times: no change]]

Liu Long [family killed]

Liu Zhi [family killed]

Pi Tong [no change; later released]

Xu Shu [changes sides]

Yang Hou [no change; later released]

Zhao Bao [family killed]

Zhu Ling [mother killed]

Magical/mystical experience/ability

Lady Huang II [changed shape]

Lady Li I [divination]

Xian Luo [appears in a dream]

Lady Wu I [taken by a demon]

Yao Bi [appears in a dream]

Yao Rao [appears in a dream]

Yi Xi [poltergeist]

Lady Zhang III, mother of Zhang Lu

[religious adept]

Medical treatment

Cao Daofei and sisters

Rescued from tomb

Li E

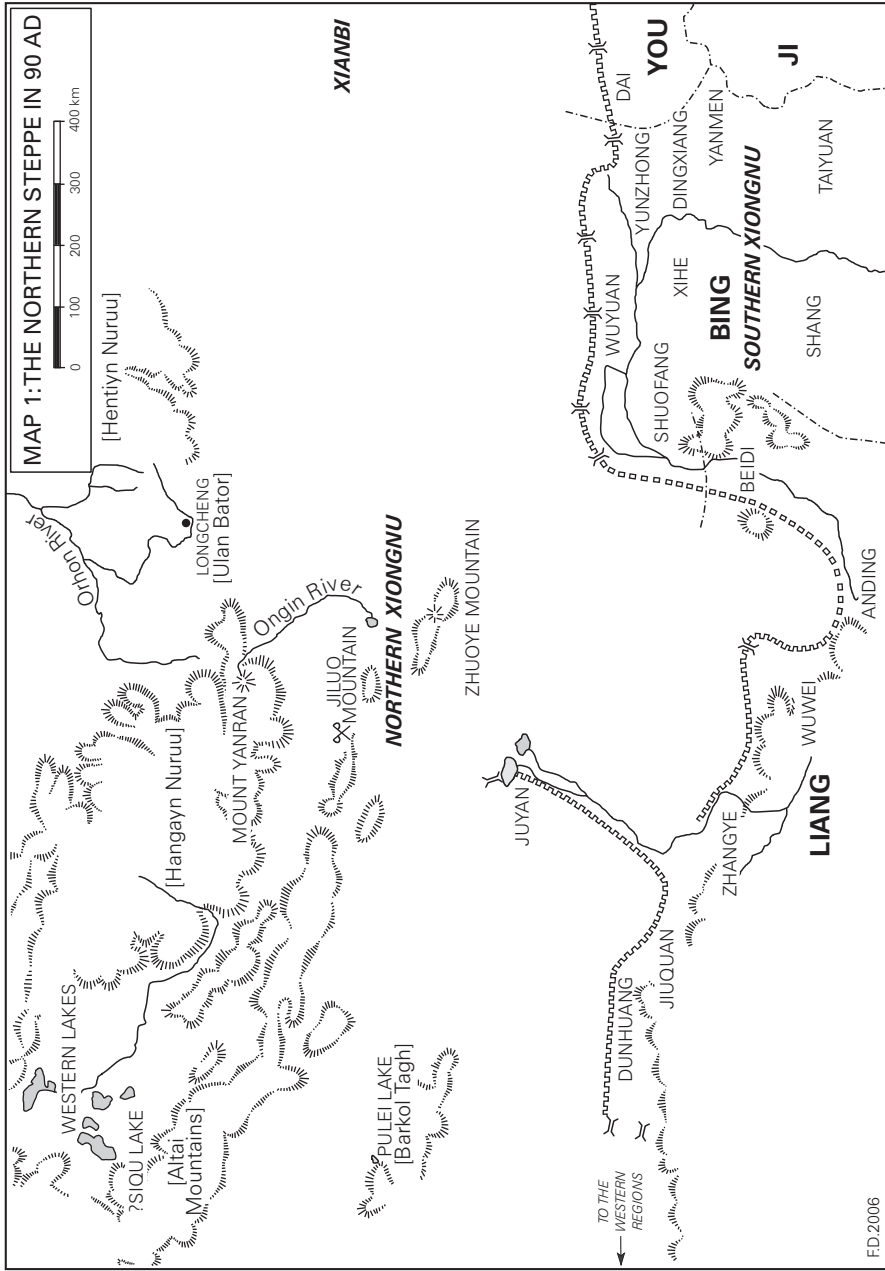
Strange births

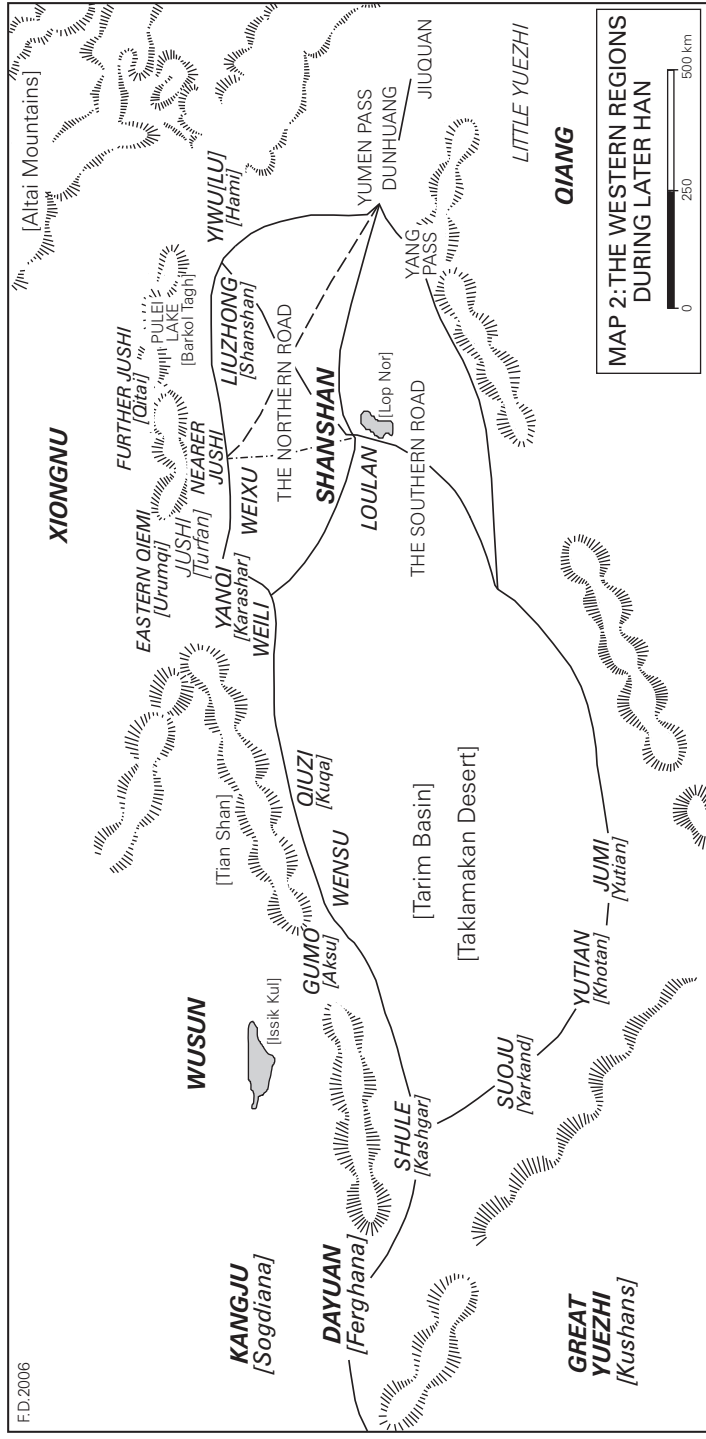
Dou Feng, wife of [gives birth to a snake]

Liu Cang, wife of [child with two heads]

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: The Northern Steppe in 90 AD	1308
Map 2: The Western Regions during the Later Han Period	1309
Map 3: The Later Han Empire in 140 AD	1310





MAP 3: THE LATER HAN EMPIRE *c.* 140 AD

For the generality of the empire, commandery units are shown with their boundaries, but in the region of the North China plain they are indicated by the sites of their capitals, with abbreviated names as listed below:

Ji province:		Yan province:		Qing province:		Xu province:		Yu province:	
AP	Anping	CL	Chenliu	BH	Beihai	DH	Donghai	C	Chen
BH	Bohai	D	Dong	DL	Donglai	GL	Guangling	L	Liang
CS	Changshan	DP	Dongping	JN	Jinan	LY	Langye	LU	Lu
HJ	Hejian	JB	Jibei	LA	Lean	PC	Pengcheng	P	Pei
JL	Julu	JY	Jiyin	PY	Pingyuan	XP	Xiapi	RN	Runan
QH	Qinghe	RC	Rencheng	QI	Qi			YC	Yingchuan
W	Wei	SY	Shanyang						
Z	Zhao	TS	Taishan						
ZS	Zhongshan								

On the northern and western frontier, **DS** indicates a dependent state.

